IMMIGRANT IDENTITIES AND GEOGRAPHIES OF BELONGING:
JAMAICAN IMMIGRANT ORGANIZATIONS IN TORONTO

JANINE ROSE

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Abstract

The dissertation explores the relationships between the construction of Jamaican immigrant identities and the organizations they establish in Toronto. I investigate how various axes of identity including generation, race, gender, class and ethnicity influence Jamaican immigrants' involvement in immigrant organizations and the impacts of their involvement on sense of belonging and identity. The research involved the examination of the relationship between place, sense of belonging and identity to demonstrate how the identities of Jamaican immigrants reflect particular experiences of place that influence their narratives of belonging and their tendency to engage in Jamaican immigrant organizations.

This study utilized a qualitative research approach that involved semi-structured interviews and archival research. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 48 Jamaican immigrants who were members of Jamaican immigrant organizations as well as Jamaican immigrants who were former members or not involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations at the time of the study. The interviews shed light on the settlement experiences of Jamaican immigrants as well as their reasons for participation or non-involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Archival research involved a review of ethnic newspapers that produced content for Caribbean communities in Toronto to understand the factors that influenced the formation and orientation of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Census information was also analyzed to update the social characteristics of Jamaican immigrants and compare them with other visible minority immigrants.

The research findings show that period of arrival differentiates Jamaican immigrants. The extent to which Jamaican immigrant organizations were viewed as legitimate sites for negotiating belonging is influenced by the specific circumstances of settlement which Jamaican

immigrants from different migration cohorts encountered in Toronto. Cohorts of Jamaican immigrants who arrived in Toronto between 1950 and 1970 were more likely to be members of Jamaican immigrant organizations. For early cohorts, Jamaican immigrant organizations were significant for uniting Jamaican immigrants and engendering their belonging in a place that lacked institutional infrastructure that could offer settlement services and support and where the Jamaican immigrant and visible minority populations were still small. In contrast, Jamaican immigrants who arrived after 1989 were less likely to be involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations. This group of immigrants arrived in Toronto when the city had a much larger visible minority immigrant population and a dense network of ethno-specific and multicultural organizations.

By considering Jamaican immigrants who are not involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations, the study extends previous research about the reasons for involvement in immigrant organizations. The significance of period of arrival for understanding variations in organizational involvement and its relations to Jamaican immigrants' sense of belonging and identities demonstrates that identity construction and expressions of belonging through civic engagement are historically and spatially contingent processes that change over time.

By examining reasons for participation and non-involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations, the study also contributes to a growing body of research about intra-group diversity. Jamaican immigrants demonstrate diverse social identities reflecting their experiences with racialization in Toronto, their connections with Jamaica and gendered settlement experiences.

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Chapter 1: Jamaican Immigrants and Organizations in Toronto

Introduction

The implementation of an immigration policy that overturned pro-white nation-building strategies in the 1960s produced visible transformations in Canada's ethno-racial landscape (Simmons 2010). Prior to the 1960s, Canada supported and implemented immigration policies that favoured Western Europeans and White immigrants from the United States (Li 2003). During this period, restrictions were placed on the immigration of non-whites to Canada, as they were perceived as unable to assimilate into Canadian society. With the new, class-based immigration system, migration by members of Asian, Caribbean, and other non-white groups to Canada increased (Mensah 2002; Simmons 2010). Some attribute this change in policy to a desire for workers who were willing to undertake hazardous jobs that Canadians were unwilling to fulfill because they paid too little (Mensah 2002). Ethnic and cultural diversity contributed to the passing of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act that recognized and respected the diverse backgrounds of Canada's newcomers while allowing them to learn and adopt Canadian values and identity. Notwithstanding the changes in immigration policy and the demographic shifts in the ethnic and racial composition of major Canadian cities such as Toronto and Montreal, the racialization of immigration continues to relegate visible minority immigrant groups to inferior status (Das Gupta 2009 and Galabuzi 2006), and their settlement experiences are often marked by marginalization, institutionalized discrimination, and exclusion from the labor market.

The findings of this research indicate that the function of racialization in Canadian society is important for understanding sense of belonging among Jamaican immigrants and the construction of their social identities. Galabuzi (2006) defines racialization as the process by which the social construction of the category, race, is imposed on particular groups and

associated with specific experiences of oppression. Given their low incomes and levels of occupational attainment, Jamaican immigrants are an interesting case with which to study the effects of racialization on the settlement trajectories of visible minority immigrants (Statistics Canada 2006). A significant proportion of Jamaican immigrants experience discrimination based on their "ethnicity, race … [and] accent but this is particularly noticeable when they are applying for jobs" (Lindsay 2007). The challenge of facilitating the settlement of visible minorities, including those from Jamaica, and fostering their sense of belonging in Canada so that they participate in a meaningful way in their adopted countries has become an issue of increasing concern to scholars and policy makers. Acknowledging the research on immigrant organizations, I maintain that Jamaican immigrants' sense of belonging is bound up with their ability to maintain and perform their identities. Furthermore, they engage in civic activities in order to mediate the challenges associated with integrating into their new place of residence. Here, my argument takes into account definitions of integration that include: socio-economic integration, defined in terms of access to goods, quality housing and high incomes, and civic integration, which involves participation in democratic political processes and institutionalized aspects of social life (Simmons 2010: 171). Relatedly, civic participation typically includes formal activities such as public involvement in politics and informal activities including volunteering in community organizations (Preston, Kobayashi and Man 2006) that facilitate sense of belonging in places of settlement. Formal and informal civic activities may also be related to maintaining connections with the country of origin or promoting integration in the receiving country.

Immigrant organizations are important arenas for civic participation in receiving countries. Immigrant organizations act as venues through which immigrants can achieve a sense of comfort in the receiving country by participating in organizational activities that facilitate transnational ties with the home countries and valorize transnational identities. These

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organizations also afford opportunities for immigrants to form relationships with other members of their immigrant group. Previous research by Gleeson and Bloemraad (2013), Babis (2014), Veronis (2010), Brettel (2010), and Waldinger et al. (2007) has established that immigrant organizations are diverse in orientation. For instance, some immigrant organizations support political campaigns in the country of origin while others facilitate adjustment to the place of settlement (Creese 2011) by hosting sociocultural activities that draw on home country traditions or by providing programs and services that facilitate settlement (Deverteuil 2011). According to various studies, immigrant organizations that acknowledge and support transnational identities and connections linking immigrants to their countries of origin facilitate settlement by engendering a sense of comfort in immigrants, thereby encouraging them to more actively participate in Canadian society (Snel and Engbersen 2006; Nagel and Staeheli 2008). The issue of Jamaican immigrants' belonging and integration, the subject of this study, is complex and assumes added importance given the tensions Jamaican immigrants face within various institutions such as the educational and criminal justice systems (Burman 2011).

Jamaican immigrants have established more than 80 Jamaican immigrant organizations of varying types in Toronto alone (Consular General of Jamaica, Toronto, personal communication, October 16, 2012). The primary purpose of the majority of these organizations is to promote settlement and maintain the cultural identities of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto (Consular General of Jamaica, Toronto, personal communication, October 16, 2012). This is in line with the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. Still, involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations is low (Ethnic Diversity Survey 2002). Jamaican immigrants, however, also report a strong sense of belonging to Canada. Interestingly, individuals who are not involved in any of the Jamaican immigrant organizations report a comparable sense of belonging to the ethnic group as well (Ethnic Diversity Survey 2002). This study will utilize Jamaican immigrants' diverse

relationships with these organizations to analyze how the construction of Jamaican immigrant identities in particular places influences their articulation of belonging.

Jamaican immigrants' involvement or non-involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations demonstrates how Jamaican immigrants' identities are constituted through diverse experiences and interactions in and with place. Therefore, this study employs a *relational approach to place*, which allows for an examination of how "socially, politically and economically interconnected interactions among people, institutions and systems" produce meaning, shape identities and motivate action (Pierce, Martin and Murphy 2011: 59). In particular, changes in place affect the manner in which Jamaican immigrants negotiate their identities and expressions of belonging. Such changes, however, may lead to the emergence of meanings that are oppositional but also overlapping as individuals hold on to particular meanings and experiences of place for social and political purposes despite the shifting social and spatial processes occurring around them.

Because specific changes and spatio-temporal processes contribute to a production of place that is dynamic and multilayered, this research incorporates historical as well as geographical considerations in its analysis. Specifically, it applies a generational[1] approach in its analysis of the relationships of Jamaican immigrants and Jamaican immigrant organizations. This analytical approach recognizes historically grounded generations, that is, generations distinguished by period of arrival, as such distinctions affect interpretations and narratives of belonging that may "impede mutual understanding within immigrant groups" (Berg and Eckstein 2015: 10). Jamaican immigrants considered in this research arrived in two main migration streams; the first was made up of Jamaican immigrants who arrived in the period 1950 through

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[1] In this research, I utilize Karl Mannheim's (1952) definition of generation as a cohort of individuals who share a temporal experience.

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1970, and the second stream is comprised of individuals who arrived post 1989. Jamaican immigrants who arrived during these two periods encountered varying settlement conditions that shaped their relationships with other Jamaican immigrants and the manner in which they expressed belonging in Toronto, of which participation or non-involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations can provide a measure.

Jamaican immigrants' narratives about their relationships with Jamaican immigrant organizations reveal the manner in which social and spatial processes change the meaning of place over time, the circumstances influencing competing interpretations of these meanings, and the way that spatial practices, which are the result of these processes, impact Jamaican immigrant identities. To explicate how negotiations of identity and belonging change from place to place, this research employs a critical human geography approach that acknowledges the multiple and changing meanings of place and the ways that race, class, and gender influence experiences of place (Berg 2010; Blomley 2011).

This research provides insight into the circumstances that inform how immigrant organizations become important for facilitating immigrant integration as well as the extent to which these organizations should be privileged as a "training ground for civic and political engagement" (Gleeson and Bloemraad 2013: 347). It demonstrates that immigrant identities and processes of integration are constantly evolving due to changes occurring in immigrant groups and the societies in which they settle. Geographical research on the relationship between immigrant identities and the organizations they establish at their place of residence highlight that immigrant identities and their strategies for civic engagement are fluid, thereby taking on different meanings across time and place.

Research Objectives

This research aims to fulfill three main objectives, namely, to show that: generational analysis is a productive approach to migration research, intra-group diversity is significant for understanding expressions of belonging and the factors affecting involvement in immigrant organizations include the historically specific circumstances that immigrants experience in the countries of settlement.

Demonstrating the importance of generational analysis for research on immigrant identities and belonging is an important objective of this study. The research emphasizes how settlement patterns and expressions of belonging are historically specific phenomena. Each migration cohort has distinct and different settlement experiences. These experiences affect their identities and, hence, their views and relationships with immigrant organizations. Specifically, immigrants who settled in cities that had not adapted to ethnoracial diversity have different views than immigrants that arrived after these locales had embraced diversity through policies and programs designed to acknowledge and manage it.

The research aims to highlight the diversity of the Jamaican immigrant population and the significance of intra-group diversity for understanding the settlement trajectories of Jamaican immigrants and the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Research on ethnospecifc immigrant organizations emphasizes that experiences of marginalization and exclusion by dominant groups in the receiving country are important factors influencing involvement in immigrant organizations (Mensah 2009 and Portes, Escobar and Walton Radford 2007). Intra-group interactions, however, also influence expressions of belonging particularly immigrants' involvement in immigrant organizations. "National identity, which is often thought to be a foundation for unity within immigrant groups, may prove to be exclusionary as it silences differences" (Anderson 1983) based on class, gender and ethnicity. Generation, class and

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ethnicity emerged as important dimensions of diversity within the Jamaican immigrant population that influence the extent to which Jamaican immigrant organizations are viewed as legitimate spaces for expressing belonging and negotiating identities. Immigrant organizations that mobilize individuals around particular identities may exclude some Jamaican immigrants, motivating them to affiliate with other organizations that reflect their settlement experiences and identities.

Additionally, this research aims to extend limited research on circumstances influencing non-involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Scholars such as Moya (2005) and Owusu (2000) emphasize that studies of ethnospecific immigrant organizations focus on demonstrating reasons for involvement and characteristics of organizational membership without much attention to the circumstances deterring participation in these institutions. By considering Jamaican immigrants who are not involved in Jamaican immigrant organization, this research shows that immigrants' diverse social identities result in varied experiences of their place of residence and, hence, expressions of belonging in Toronto, particularly involvement in immigrant organizations. The inclusion of Jamaican immigrants who are not involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations also highlights aspects of diversity that complicate attempts to mobilize Jamaican immigrants through immigrant organizations in Toronto.

In the sections that follow, I explore the utility of several concepts including sense of belonging, place and identity for understanding the construction of Jamaican immigrant identities and, particularly, the implications of these concepts for understanding the extent to which Jamaican immigrant organizations are legitimated as venues for expressing belonging. This section is followed by a discussion of the research questions, which have framed my examination of the relationships between Jamaican immigrant identities and the organizations they establish in their places of settlement. The chapter progresses with a discussion of several research

contributions including how the analysis adds to the geographical literature on relational approaches to place and extends historically grounded analyses of immigrant identities and sense of belonging. The chapter concludes with a summary and outline of the chapters that comprise this dissertation.

Key Concepts

Several concepts are key to the analysis of how participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations influences Jamaican immigrant identities and are influenced by it – *place, sense of belonging* and *identity*.

Key Concept: Place

This study will examine the influence of competing definitions and experiences of place on immigrants' struggles to feel a sense of belonging in their places of settlement (Ralph and Staeheli 2011). This study recognizes that places are fluid due to social and spatial processes that shift meanings over time and space. The research draws on Massey's (1994) view of place to argue that places influence the manner in which identities are formed and articulated and derive meaning from social relations that may change over time. The study will examine the influence of competing definitions and experiences of place on immigrants' struggles to feel a sense of belonging in their places of settlement (Ralph and Staeheli 2011).

This research will demonstrate the manner in which differing experiences and interpretations of place affect the Jamaican immigrant organizations and their impacts on Jamaican immigrant identities and belonging. This dissertation will show that the shifting nature of place and the diverse and intersectional nature of immigrant identities do not belie the bounded and fixed meanings assigned to groups and individuals. Thus, belonging is often constructed in relation to places that are "simultaneously mobile and sedentary" (Ralph and Staeheli 2011). This conceptualization of place helps explain the co-existence of cleavages

among Jamaican immigrants in Toronto and conflicts between immigrant organizations on the one hand and, on the other, the desire for an immigrant group unified through identification with a single country of origin and members' struggles as a predominantly visible minority group of newcomers settling in Toronto.

Key Concept: Sense of Belonging

Sense of belonging is also relational in that positive and stable relationships with other individuals are required in order to generate feelings of belonging (Antonsich 2010). Thus, my conversations with Jamaican immigrants revealed that intergroup interactions and intra-group interactions contributed to notions of belonging, a finding that coincides with evidence from Bosma and Alferink's (2012) research on the experiences of Surinamese immigrants in Amsterdam. The exclusion experienced by Surinamese immigrants and the pluralistic nature of the group contributed to the establishment of a wide range of Surinamese organizations with diverse orientations.

Immigrants' sense of belonging is also shaped by their settlement experiences. Many Jamaican immigrants experience marginalization and exclusion that limit their social and economic mobility and these, in turn, may influence their sense of belonging. These immigrants, however, may also experience positive interactions with friends and family that promote feelings of well-being and adjustment in receiving countries. Alternatively, intragroup interactions that reproduce exclusionary practices and divisions from the country of origin may also shape experiences of belonging. The national identity of that country, which would ordinarily be expected to increase a sense of belonging in the immigrant group, then becomes simplified and exclusionary (Anderson 1983). Such exclusionary definitions of identity may produce resistance and divisions within an immigrant group when alternative or contradicting notions of identity conflict with notions produced by dominant groups.

Sense of belonging is associated with personal feelings of being at home in a place (Antonsich 2010) or with the sense of comfort and security an individual feels while in the presence of other groups or individuals with whom he or she is comfortable. For some immigrants, sense of belonging may be based on attachment to national identity. National identity, the idea on which imagined communities are based, "is seen as a unit of belonging through which an individual gains a sense of identity" (Kennedy and Roudometof 2001). Establishing a sense of belonging around national identity is often seen as crucial for immigrants' adjustment to the host country (Anderson 1983). This, however, may be problematic because of how discourse around the national identities of immigrant groups can be simplified; these groups tend to fill belonging with the rhetoric of sameness that belies differences defined by such constructs as class and gender as well as period of arrival (Antonsich 2010). While national identities can be operationalized for unifying efforts, the basis on which such identities are defined can become a source of conflict within an immigrant group (Mavroudi 2007).

Race, gender, and class and the interrelationships between these signifiers of identity have shaped the settlement experiences of Jamaican immigrants and their expressions of belonging. For instance, organizational practices centered on recognizing the settlement experiences of African-descended Jamaican immigrants ignore the tense relations between African-descended Jamaican immigrants and Jamaican immigrants with other ethnic ancestries. The dominant constructions of Jamaican national identity, which are often centered on the history of Jamaican immigrants of African descent, may also be challenged. Similarly, Jamaican immigrants who do not share the social status of an immigrant organization's dominant membership may find sense of belonging difficult to achieve through involvement in that organization.

Belonging can also be gendered, as access to time, spaces of representation and authority often lies with men (Mayer 2000). The involvement of women in these spaces may be limited by their participation in paid and unpaid work. Male immigrants also tend to become involved in organizational spaces that facilitate recognition at their destinations due to the status decline often associated with migration (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002). Therefore, expressions of belonging can be viewed as embodied experiences that demonstrate gendered social relations and patterns of settlement.

The Jamaican immigrant population, in particular, has a history of feminized migration (Henry 1994). The West Indian Domestics Scheme was organized to allow women to migrate to Canada provided that they worked as domestic workers in Canadian homes (Bakan and Stasiulis 1994). For some Jamaican immigrant women, their roles as mothers as well as their participation in gendered occupations in Jamaica produced gendered patterns and narratives of belonging. Other Jamaican immigrant women became involved in activities that embodied and reflected their experiences as women educated in a female-dominated Jamaican educational system. For instance, female members of The Project for the Advancement of Early Childhood Education (PACE) became involved in this organization to support the work of Jamaican educators, who are predominantly female.

Sense of belonging is a critical indicator of successful adjustment in host countries. The issues with respect to belonging and to participation in meaningful forms within Canadian society for immigrants not only arise out of tensions and contradictions inherent in the continued racialization of visible minorities but also by intra-group social relations that are defined by gender, race and ethnicity.

Key Concept: Identity

This research is also premised on the view that identities are situational and relational (Benmayor and Skotness 2005). As such, the construction of various axes of identity including race, ethnicity and class vary over time and space. For instance, some sociologists (Waters 1994 and Knowles 1999) view race as historically constructed. This concept enables a better understanding of the interrelationships between Jamaican immigrant identities, sense of belonging, and organizational efforts among Jamaican immigrants. Jamaican immigrants are racialized through a history of enslavement and social exclusion (Burman 2001). However, racism is experienced differently by visible minority immigrants that have different ethnic, class, and gender backgrounds. Ethnicity is relevant for understanding the relationships among Jamaican immigrants in Toronto because it affects interpretations of place and the extent to which Jamaican immigrant organizations are viewed as a legitimate avenue for achieving a sense of belonging. The Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto is predominantly comprised of individuals of African descent. The Jamaican immigrant population, however, also includes persons of differing ethnic ancestries. For instance, in Toronto, Jamaican immigrants of Chinese descent are particularly recognizable.[2] Jamaican immigrants may identify with Jamaica as the country of origin but not necessarily with dominant definitions of Jamaican identity that emphasize Jamaican immigrants as Black. Thus, the experiences of sub-groups within the

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[2] I highlight Chinese Jamaican immigrants in this study due to their recognition in established research on Jamaican immigrants in Canada (Mensah 2002; Taylor 2012; and Lindsay 2007) as well as their visibility within the network of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Still, White, Jewish, Indian, and Arab Jamaicans also comprise sub-groups within the Jamaican population (Carpenter and Devonish 2008). Settlement patterns for individuals within these sub-groups are unclear. Nonetheless, these groups may also struggle with homogenizing constructions that classify all Jamaican immigrants as Black and, consequently, poor and disorderly citizens. Color and ethnicity also have implications for the extent to which non-Black Jamaican immigrants identify with predominant constructions of Jamaican identity in Toronto.

Jamaican immigrant population are partially defined by their phenotypical characteristics. Chinese Jamaican immigrants, for instance, may experience lower levels of disadvantage than Jamaican immigrants who are of African descent (Simmons and Plaza 1998). Chinese-Jamaican immigrants may also be viewed as privileged by other Jamaican immigrants as they are often considered part of an affluent fair-skinned middle class that derives power from closer proximity to whiteness within the hierarchy that defines class relations in Jamaican society.

Social class is also relevant to discussions concerning Jamaican immigrants' identity, their view of Jamaican immigrant organizations, and how these organizations affect sense of belonging. Jamaican immigrants have varied histories of migration to Canada and come from many different socio-economic backgrounds with different levels of resources. I take Green's (1999) argument that immigrants who arrived in earlier migration cohorts (prior to 1970, in the case of the Jamaican immigrants considered in this study) are more likely than later cohorts to be well-established in Canada and have more social and economic resources that enable them to participate in immigrant organizations. Utilizing a historically grounded generational frame (Berg and Eckstein 2015) draws attention to the multilayered nature of places. A generational frame also highlights socio-spatial changes that affect identity formation.

Concepts such as sense of belonging, place, and identity are useful for exploring the relationships between immigrant organizations and the identities of Jamaican immigrants. Jamaican immigrant identities and sense of belonging have implications for inter-group and intra-group relations and their influence on settlement and political mobilization in Toronto. I am interested in exploring how immigrant organizations are constructed as spaces where social, cultural, and symbolic aspects of class are expressed. These constructions may affect perceptions of these organizations, for example, as exclusionary spaces for Jamaican immigrants with diverse settlement experiences. The relationships between Jamaican immigrants and Jamaican immigrant

organizations can reveal the effects of place on immigrant identities and negotiations of belonging.

This research will show that the participation and involvement of Jamaican immigrants in immigrant organizations is tied to changing social and spatial processes. The study also establishes connections between urban transformations taking place in Toronto, changes in the Jamaican immigrant population itself, and the evolving availability of services for immigrants in order to explicate the circumstances shaping Jamaican immigrants' identities and their relationships with Jamaican organizational activities.

Research Questions

The central concerns of this research are the relationships between Jamaican immigrant identities and Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. These relationships are investigated to learn how Jamaican immigrants in Toronto construct and negotiate their identities and, consequently, their sense of belonging. The central problem is: *How do Jamaican immigrant organizations influence the identities of Jamaican immigrants and their sense of belonging in Toronto?* The social identities of Jamaican immigrants and their identification with Jamaican immigrant organizations are relational, affected by the shifting social and spatial processes that influence the social relations of Jamaican immigrants.

This study employs a geographic approach to examine how Jamaican immigrants negotiate their identities and articulate belonging in Toronto. It draws on the view that, place, with its multiple relations and meanings, is always in flux, constantly in the process of becoming (Massey 2007). The research approach operationalizes a relational and contingent conceptualization of place, acknowledging that places are multilayered due to historical and social forces. For the purposes of this analysis, I argue that place may be essentialized

discursively in order to reflect specific experiences that may, in turn, motivate action (Pierce, Martin and Murphy 2011).

This study highlights the complexity of Jamaican immigrant identities and how these identities and experiences are negotiated, constructed, and reflected through various expressions of belonging including participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Jamaican immigrants' narratives about Jamaican immigrant organizations reflect differing experiences with Toronto and Jamaica. The multiple meanings of national identity appropriated by Jamaican immigrants and Jamaican immigrant organizations as well as the myriad reasons for participation and non-participation in Jamaican organizations reflect this diversity.

The relationship between Jamaican immigrant identities and the development of Jamaican immigrant organizations may be viewed usefully as a two-way relationship. Therefore, my research sub-question asks: *What are the various axes of identity that influence Jamaican immigrants' participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations?* To answer this question, I compare the social characteristics of members of Jamaican immigrant organizations with those of Jamaican immigrants who are not involved in these organizations to show how their experiences and encounters in Toronto at specific points in time influence their involvement in immigrant organizations and their sense of belonging in Toronto.

A related sub-question asks: *How have migration and settlement experiences in Toronto influenced the emergence of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto?* Diverse Jamaican immigrant organizations have developed in Toronto to express specific social identities and experiences of Jamaican immigrants. The varied migration histories, settlement trajectories, and social identities of Jamaican immigrants have affected the extent to which Jamaican immigrants view these organizations as legitimate pathways to belonging in Toronto. This research pays

particular attention to how immigrant identities impact the organizational activities of Jamaican immigrants living in Toronto.

An additional sub-question is: *How have Jamaican immigrant organizations affected Jamaican immigrants' identification with Jamaican identity*?

The Jamaican immigrant population comprises individuals with diverse social identities that complicate attachments to Jamaican national identity. Although Jamaican immigrant organizations can cultivate sense of belonging by reinforcing a shared national identity, varied attachments and identifications with this identity may result in conflict. This research considers the social identities, experiences and interpretations of Jamaican identity reinforced or silenced by Jamaican immigrant organizations particularly how organizational activities may influence sense of belonging or unbelonging among Jamaican immigrants.

Research Contributions

This research makes five contributions to geographical analyses of immigrant identities and sense of belonging. Specifically, the study contributes to a further understanding of how the social and spatial processes that construct immigrant identities have implications for how immigrants express their sense of belonging. This research also builds on a historically situated geographical analysis, which demonstrates that integration and identity are constructs that change over time and space (Sardinha 2009). As such, immigrants' period of arrival will affect their settlement experiences, particularly the significance accorded to immigrant organizations as sites for reproducing national identities and negotiating sense of belonging.

The study extends and builds on historically grounded generational analysis in migration studies (Berg and Eckstein 2015 and Mannheim 1952). This approach analyzes immigrants' experiences by cohort in order to determine how period of migration affects immigrants' lived experiences. Employing this framework demonstrates how the formation of immigrant identities

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is socially and spatially contingent (Mannheim 1952). A generational analysis advances the argument that immigrants who have migrated and settled at different times have different lived experiences, identities, and, consequently, varied narratives of belonging. The Jamaican immigrants considered in this research arrived during two major waves of migration, 1953-1975 and post 1989. Those arriving in the earlier migration cohort had a different experience in Toronto due to the smaller size of the visible minority immigrant population and the absence of a legal framework that supported pluralism in Canadian society. In contrast, Jamaican immigrants who arrived after 1989 encountered a city defined by diversity, a legal framework that promoted inclusion and multicultural tolerance, and an established network of institutions and services to facilitate settlement in Toronto. Jamaican immigrants' settlement experiences in Toronto illustrate how socio-spatial and temporal processes affect the identities of immigrants and their negotiations of belonging. Jamaican immigrant organizations, such as the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA), established by an older cohort of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto are seen to represent a particular experience in the city with which more recently arrived Jamaican immigrants may not identify. The historical narratives embedded within the activities and operations of long-established Jamaican immigrant organizations that were intended to welcome an early cohort of immigrants may be perceived as alienating to others.

This study extends research (Bosma and Alferink 2012; Veronis 2010; Owusu 2000 and Goldring 2006) studying how diversity within immigrant groups influences their identities and sense of belonging in their countries of settlement. Aggregating immigrant groups based on region or predominant racial categories silences important differences and conceals tensions within immigrant groups (Premdas 2004; Hopkins 2006 and Veronis 2010). Jamaican immigrants are often lumped into the broader Caribbean and Black populations in Toronto. Taking into account the diverse ethnic backgrounds, pre-migration histories, and social

characteristics of Jamaican immigrants, however, will add to our understanding of their diverse migration and settlement experiences.

The research shows that Jamaican immigrants form a diverse group due to the history of their migration and settlement in Toronto. In addition to arriving in two waves, the population also includes multiple ethnic groups, including individuals of Chinese descent who have established their own organizations in Toronto distinct from those that emphasize the identities and experiences of Jamaican immigrants of African descent. Class divisions that originate in Jamaica also complicate social relations among Jamaican immigrants. Jamaican immigrants who have a longer history of settlement in Toronto encountered different settlement challenges than recently arrived Jamaican immigrants now experience. As such, immigrant organizations formed by an earlier and well-established cohort of immigrants are more likely to be dominated by immigrants who are well-established and have the time and resources to become involved in these organizations. These organizations, however, risk alienating Jamaican immigrants from other ethnic and class backgrounds.

This dissertation explores the extent to which Jamaican immigrant organizations influence the identities of Jamaican immigrants and their sense of belonging in Toronto. By focusing on Jamaican immigrant organizations, the study addresses the limited research about the settlement of Jamaican immigrants in the Toronto CMA. Much of the research on immigrant organizations in North America has considered Latin American immigrant groups and has investigated immigrant organizations in the USA (Portes and Zhou 2012; Landolt and Goldring 2009; Waldinger et al 2007; Portes, Escobar and Radford 2007; Goldring 2002; Orozco and Lapointe 2004). Some research has considered Chinese (Salaff and Chan 2007), Ghanaian (Owusu 2000), Filipino (Kelly 2007), and Latino organizations in Canada (Landolt 2007; Landolt and Goldring 2009; Veronis 2010). Recent detailed research about Caribbean and

Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto and even in Canada as a whole is limited to a study of Indo-Caribbean immigrants in Toronto (Premdas 2004), an investigation of the history of the Jamaican Canadian Association (Williams 2012), and an examination of the relationships between the newly formed Jamaican Diaspora Canada foundation and the Jamaican government (Sives 2012; Mullings 2012). In contrast, this research highlights how the diversity of Jamaican immigrant identities and their settlement experiences have affected the organizations they establish in Toronto. I also use the 2006 Census of Canada and the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey to create an updated demographic profile of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto, examine their participation in various types of civic organizations, and assess the extent to which they feel a sense of belonging in Toronto and Canada.

The research also highlights how spatial processes and social relations affected the settlement of two cohorts of Jamaican immigrants, the types of Jamaican immigrant organizations that they established in Toronto, and their involvement in immigrant organizations. Many immigrants who are members of Jamaican immigrant organizations are well-established, long-time residents who helped to create the organizations in the 1960s and 1970s. Jamaican immigrants who arrived after 1980 could obtain support from numerous immigrant-serving organizations as well as an established Jamaican immigrant population, so their organizational activities differ from those of their predecessors.

This study also contributes to research about the factors encouraging and limiting involvement in ethnic organizations. Although research by Scott, Selbee, and Reed (2006), Ray and Preston (2009), and Owusu (2000) shows that participation in immigrant organizations is generally low, little research explores the circumstances that underpin involvement (Owusu 2000; Moya 2005). Aside from their exclusionary experiences in the receiving country and the desire to maintain connections with their home country, Jamaican immigrants have diverse

explanations for their participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations. I examine reasons for non-involvement to highlight how differences in settlement experiences and period of arrival in an evolving Toronto inform participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations. The research findings challenge the notion that immigrant organizations are necessarily important avenues for settlement and integration (Gleeson and Bloemraad 2013; Portes, Escobar and Walton Radford 2007 and Caselli 2010). My research shows that immigrant organizations may be constructed as exclusionary collectives based on essentialized identities that silence important differences in the settlement experiences of Jamaican immigrants and the ways they identify with Jamaican national identity.

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation is divided into nine chapters. Chapter Two, entitled Geographical Perspectives on Immigrant Organizations, Identity, and Sense of Belonging, underscores the importance of place for understanding the relationships among Jamaican immigrant identities, sense of belonging, and involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Debates about critical concepts, including place, sense of belonging and identity, are explored in the chapter. Investigating the linkages between these concepts opens up an analytical terrain that highlights how places influence Jamaican immigrant identities, in particular the social and spatial processes that contributed to their formation in Toronto between the 1960s and 2012.

Chapter Three describes the study's research methodology. This chapter outlines and justifies the research methodology and methods used to explore the influence of place on the relationships among Jamaican immigrant identities, sense of belonging, and involvement in immigrant organizations. This chapter also identifies how my own positionality informed the research questions and my methodological approach, which is primarily qualitative and

interpretative. I explore how critical philosophies such as feminism facilitate an understanding of how my positionality has shaped my research decisions as well as the research process.

Using information from the 2006 Canadian census, Chapter Four examines the migration histories of Jamaican immigrants residing in the city of Toronto. The chapter also compares the settlement experiences of Jamaican immigrants, specifically their residential geography, dwelling type, and housing tenure, their socioeconomic achievements as described by highest level of education and occupations, their current labor market involvement in terms of employment rates and income, and the family composition of Jamaican immigrant households with those of foreign-born visible minority groups. The comparisons illustrate the complex patterns of disadvantage experienced by Jamaican immigrants. Specifically, the analysis shows the impacts of ethnicity on the disadvantage experienced by visible minorities in the Toronto CMA. The predominance of women in Jamaican immigrant flows contributes to diverse intra-group experiences of disadvantage. Jamaican immigrant women are often single parents who earn low incomes compared to those of Jamaican immigrant men. The complex patterns of disadvantage experienced by the Jamaican immigrant population affect how Jamaican immigrants in Toronto articulate their identities.

Chapter Five presents a typology of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto that reflects their diverse purposes and histories. The historical analysis reveals how the changing nature of the Jamaican immigrant population, the increasing diversity of Toronto's population, governments' responses to diversity, and immigrants' changing sense of belonging to an immigrant group, have shaped the emergence of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Findings indicate that temporally specific experiences of place contributed to the development of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto.

Chapter Six employs data extracted from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) to compare the sense of belonging expressed by people who identify with Jamaican ethnicity with that of other visible minority groups. Sense of belonging is measured through a variety of activities including participation in immigrant organizations, involvement in religiously affiliated groups, the frequency of contact with family members in Canada and trips to the country of birth.

Chapter Seven argues that immigrant organizations may be spaces of exclusion as much as they promote a sense of belonging, Factors such as gender, ethnicity, and class have the potential to fragment solidarity among Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. They also contribute to changes in Jamaican immigrant identities over time as immigrants change and are changed by the evolving social, political, and spatial characteristics of Toronto. The ways in which Jamaican immigrants negotiate their identities and express belonging have evolved, sometimes underscoring divisions within the Jamaican immigrant population and challenging the legitimacy and value of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. The chapter also considers the increasing significance of churches as venues for belonging and civic participation in Toronto.

Chapter Eight explores the factors that shape participation and lack of participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto and its implications for identity and sense of belonging. The specificity of the migration experiences for Jamaican immigrants who arrived at different points in time influences participation in immigrant organizations and whether Jamaican immigrant organizations are considered as legitimate and valuable avenues of civic participation.

Chapter Nine concludes the dissertation with a summary of the study's main arguments. In this chapter, I also consider the implications of the research findings for understanding complexities associated with mobilizing immigrant groups and promoting their long-term integration.

Chapter 2: Geographical Perspectives on Immigrant Organizations, Identity, and Sense of Belonging

Introduction

The places where Jamaican immigrants settle, the impact of these places on immigrants themselves, and the immigrants' own migration histories influence the ways in which each migrant group organizes and participates in organizations that claim to represent the Jamaican immigrant population. Drawing on literature in geography and sociology, this chapter explores how the relationships among participation in immigrant organizations, sense of belonging, and identity are contingent on various aspects of place.

The chapter begins by discussing conceptualizations of place as an entry point for evaluating the relationships between Jamaican immigrant identities and the Jamaican immigrant organizations that have emerged in Toronto. The chapter then highlights the linkages between conceptualizations of place, immigrant organizations and identity. I examine how these concepts elucidate the construction of Jamaican immigrant identities as well as the shifting spatial patterns and social relations that mediate (re) negotiations of belonging (Massey 2007). I argue that the fluid nature of place produces variations in the salience of homeland national identity for immigrants, the construction of immigrant identities, and expressions of belonging. I also argue that the development of immigrant organizations is shaped by the desire to retain stable identities and promote singular experiences of place that are in conflict with the diverse identities of Jamaican immigrants.

Constructions of Place and Immigrant Identity

Theories of place highlight the processual nature of social relations as well as the entanglements and disconnections embedded in the relationships between immigrants and the organizations they establish. Places can be defined as locations, both physical and intangible, that

are created or transformed through human actions and interactions (Cresswell 2004; Featherstone and Painter 2013). The impact of the connections that immigrants maintain with their home countries as well as exclusionary norms and practices that immigrants experience where they settle are significant aspects of place that shape Jamaican immigrant identities and their sense of belonging at their destinations. The sections that follow explore various perspectives that elucidate place-based processes impacting identity construction and sense of belonging among immigrants.

Several conceptualizations of place inform my understanding of the relationships between Jamaican immigrants, their identities and sense of belonging in Toronto. Agnew (1993) outlined three fundamental aspects of place—location, locale, and sense of place. Agnew's (1993) identification of place as a physical location, a set of social relations, and a cognitive or emotional experience allows for a consideration of the influence that racialization and exclusionary social relations in Canada have on feelings of belonging at specific locations. Other perspectives on place usefully expose the social and spatial processes that influence immigrant identities as constructed and expressed. Doreen Massey's (1994) theorization of place proves useful in this conceptual framework as she suggests that places can be viewed as locations that are subject to change and always in process. Her conceptualization of place moves beyond simply using place as a frame for investigating social relations (Agnew 2011; Pred 1984). In her view, places are processual as they derive meaning through interactions and connections with other places, temporally as well as spatially. A 'progressive' definition of place emphasizes flexibility, the significance of human interactions, and the regressive impact of boundary making on social phenomena and relationships. Massey's (1994) relational understanding of place is particularly helpful in the context of this study for examining how migrants' lives at their destinations are interconnected in diverse ways with those of other

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individuals, with social groups, and with other locations. The emphasis on fluidity and dynamism in this definition of place allows for consideration of the multiple circumstances influencing the construction of Jamaican immigrants' identities and ways of expressing belonging.

Place is also produced through differentiated social relations and hierarchies (Massey 1994). This argument is particularly true for immigrants, who are diverse in terms of their social status, gender, age, and other demographic and social characteristics. They have diverse motives for migration, varied migration histories, and differing experiences of exclusion and inclusion at their origins and destinations. Migrating from different locations or at different times from the same location has also resulted in varying experiences with mobility and settlement (Berg and Eckstein 2015). A historically grounded analysis of place enriches our understanding of immigrant experiences at their destinations by focusing attention on the temporal and spatial contexts in which Jamaican immigrant identities and expressions of belonging develop.

The emphasis on dynamism and fluidity in Massey's (1994) conceptualization of place may underestimate how phenomena are shaped by places and boundaries that remain stable, concrete, and intransient (Ralph and Staeheli 2011; Haesbaert 2013). David Ley (2004) emphasizes the importance of place stability noting that the social geographies of immigrants' lives and emotions are spatially grounded despite their involvement in transnational spaces. Place stability, then, is particularly significant for understanding how immigrants attempt to maintain a sense of comfort and security in their new places of settlement. This stability is evident in some immigrants' idealized interpretations of their country of origin and in livelihoods that allow them to maintain connections between the countries of origin and settlement. The importance of flexibility and mobility in defining places should not be discounted, but emphasizing the influence of stable interpretations of place on immigrants' lives at their destinations is also important.

The political, material, social, and cultural characteristics of cities influence all aspects of immigrant settlement including the founding and operation of immigrant organizations (de Graauw 2011). The impact of the political is evident in government policies and decisions about the types and numbers of immigrants admitted to Canada that influence the establishment of immigrant organizations in Toronto. In turn, these political decisions are shaped by institutionalized racism and Whiteness in Canadian society (Peake and Ray 2001). Prior to 1967, the immigration of non-White individuals was restricted, as they were perceived as being disruptive of the "White" social fabric of Canadian society (Galabuzi 2006). During the 1950s and early 1960s, immigrants from diverse racial groups were present in Toronto, albeit in limited numbers when compared with European immigrants. During this time, Caribbean immigrants, primarily immigrants of Jamaican origin, entered Canada through the West Indian Domestic Scheme in which women of Caribbean origin were hired to do domestic work in the homes of Canadian families (Siemiatycki et al 2003). Many of these early immigrants migrated to Toronto when ethnic diversity was still limited, racialized immigrants were still viewed as alien and out of place by Torontonians, and government-funded settlement supports for their settlement were absent. According to Gooden (2008), the circumstances of settlement for visible minority immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s affected the mandates and activities of immigrant organizations. Issues of racism, employment, and emotional support were areas of concern for organizations established in the 1950s and 1960s (Siemiatycki et al 2003). As a result, organizations such as the United Negro Improvement Association and The Negro Citizenship Committee were established to serve the Black community regardless of nationality or place of origin. Their goals included addressing the racism and discrimination that characterized Toronto in the 1950s and 1960s (Gooden 2008).

Chain migration often attracts more immigrants from the same origins. The growing numbers of immigrants from a single country of origin may facilitate the establishment of immigrant organizations (Van Dijk 2011). In 1967, a new immigration policy was implemented to encourage the immigration deemed necessary to assure post-war economic revitalization in Canada (Kobayashi 1993; Anisef and Lanphier 2003). With the implementation of this policy, all "vestiges of racial and ethnic discrimination were …expunged from Canadian immigration regulations…[and the] privilege of applying to bring in family members was extended to all Canadian citizens and landed immigrants alike" (Troper 2003: 41). Consequently, there was a significant increase in the percentage of non-white immigrants from the Caribbean, Asia and Africa residing in Toronto. Siemiatycki et al (2003: 373) note that, in 1971, approximately "six in ten Toronto area residents claimed British origin." By 1996, "only 16% of residents in Toronto's Census Metropolitan population identified as British" (Siemiatycki et al 2003). Increasing ethnoracial diversity in the immigrant population in Toronto can perhaps explain the proliferation of organizations that developed to advance the diverse interests within the Jamaican immigrant population.

Although adjustments to Canadian immigration policy in 1967 involved "the removal of formal racism, biases related to race still structure[d]" immigration policy and the immigration experience (Abu-Laban 1998: 70). Canada's history of racially selective nation-building strategies and White Canadian norms (Peake and Ray 2001) limited the full incorporation of Jamaican immigrants in Canadian society. The gap between policy and the actual experiences of visible minorities is reflected in the difficulties that Jamaican immigrants had acquiring jobs commensurate with their qualifications and in average incomes that fell below the Canadian average (Lindsay 2007). These exclusionary and marginalizing experiences influenced how immigrants mobilized to address racism and advocate for minorities (Simmons 2010).

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Specifically, I argue that immigrant organizations were developed to cater to the needs of specific immigrant groups and compensate for their exclusionary experiences.

Implementation of multiculturalism policies, intended to nurture the cultural heritage of minorities in Canada and a pluralist model of nation building (Anisef and Lanphier, 2003: 421), also had important implications for immigrant organizations in Toronto. Kristin Good (2005) notes that, of all the municipalities in the Greater Toronto Area, the City of Toronto is the most responsive to the needs and preferences of immigrants. To reflect the shift in the City's demographics and an acceptance of a pluralist society, municipal officials in Toronto developed services that responded to the culturally specific needs of immigrants in Toronto. They included "race sensitivity training for police officers and an accelerated minority hiring program of officers in Toronto" (Troper 2003:60). The impact of the Multiculturalism Act was also evident in municipal legislation in Toronto including the Multicultural funding policy that was implemented in 1988 to provide funding to encourage ethno-specific and mainstream service agencies to collaborate in the delivery of services to targeted communities (Siemiatycki 2003). Municipal funding for ethno-specific and mainstream organizations facilitated the emergence of organizations that cater to the settlement of Jamaican immigrants.

City-funded services that recognize the diversity of the population in Toronto and the needs and challenges of immigrants also have implications for immigrant organizing. For instance, the implementation of the Multiculturalism Act and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms by the federal government also influenced the passing of an Antiracism and Equity Policy in 1998 that required grant recipients to demonstrate how their organizational activities, clients and employees reflected the City's diversity (Siemiatycki 2003). The City of Toronto also instituted formal policies including the Employment Equity Policy, a Human Rights Policy (1998) and a Hate Activity Policy (1998) to address systemic barriers to integration and belonging that

immigrants experienced in Toronto (Good 2005). These transformations likely influenced the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations and Jamaican immigrants' desire to participate in these organizations.

Sense of Belonging and Mobilizing for Successful Settlement

The immigrant organizations that Jamaican immigrants form to represent themselves are bound up with claims for belonging in specific places. Geographers such as Yi Fu Tuan (1977) argue that constructions of belonging reflect a sense of place that develops through human attachments and belonging to geographical locations. Recently, more complex definitions of belonging have been proposed.

Marco Antonsich (2010) complicates the concept of belonging by arguing that belonging is more than a personal experience based on emotional attachment and a sense of being at home in a particular place. In his view, belonging is also a relational concept in that it is constructed through interactions between individuals and societal norms within social contexts. Interactions with individuals may be inclusionary or exclusionary, resulting in a politics of belonging where belonging is a discursive construct used to resist or claim exclusionary and inclusionary norms and values (Antonsich 2010; Yuval-Davis 2006). Of particular relevance to the settlement of Jamaican immigrants and the organizations they form at their destinations are the factors that influence or shape the construction of belonging. Place belongingness exemplifies immigrants' experiences as it relates to rootedness, comfort, and the need for security. An individual feels a sense of belonging when he or she feels at home in a material space or within a particular set of social relations. A sense of belonging in place can occur in a variety of geographical settings including the house, neighborhood (Savage et al. 2004), and homeland (Ralph and Staeheli 2010).

Antonsich (2010) provides a useful framework for understanding the conditions that shape sense of belonging. He identifies five factors that are relevant for understanding sense of belonging: autobiographical, economic, legal, cultural and relational factors. *Autobiographical factors* relate to the influence of one's past history and personal experiences on feelings of belonging to a place. An individual's life experience, particularly the types of relationships that individuals have with others, is important for engendering a sense of belonging. Long lasting and positive relationships are important for generating belonging to a group. As such, negative relationships between individuals can create social distance between individuals in a group, or a sense of unbelonging. Antonsich (2010) also argues that *economic factors* that involve the maintenance and creation of safe and stable material conditions can also allow individuals to feel safe and secure in their places of residence. As previously mentioned, these feelings of security are also associated with a sense of belonging, particularly for immigrants who settle in countries where their immigration status is racialized and where they experience discrimination, including labour market exclusion that puts them at a disadvantage. *Legal factors* also contribute to the security needed for a sense of belonging. For immigrants in Canada, multicultural policies, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the granting of full citizenship to immigrants engender a sense of belonging. *Cultural factors* involve feelings of familiarity and belonging, which are inspired by connections with a shared ancestral background and place of origin. While cultural connections can activate a sense of belonging for individuals with a shared national identity and culture, individual identifications with definitions of national and cultural identity may evoke conflict or contestation due to the exclusions associated with such constructions of identity. The impact of *relational factors* on belonging is evident in the way that the social construction of immigrants as foreigners and outsiders in cities such as Toronto, inspires emotional attachments to home or a greater identification with the country of origin. The effects

of negative and exclusionary experiences on belonging highlight the relationship between *relational* and *cultural factors* in shaping belonging. These experiences may inspire immigrants to develop connections with individuals or groups associated with their countries and cultures of origin (Salih 2013; Quirke, Potter and Conway 2010).

The exclusion that immigrants sometimes experience and their responses to exclusionary experiences produce a politics of belonging that involve boundary-creating practices and discourses whereby some individuals are included while others are excluded. In Toronto exclusionary experiences reinforce visible minority immigrants' status as outsiders and foreigners at their destinations (Peake and Ray 2001; Castles and Miller 2014).

For the purposes of this research, sense of belonging is thought of as mediated through relations within the immigrant group and through interactions in the wider social context, specifically Canadian society as well as in Toronto. This suggests that there are different paths through which immigrants can realize belonging including "becoming a citizen in the formal and legal sense" (Reed-Danahay and Brettel 2008: 20) or in a social sense through access to multicultural services which are not ethno-specific but promote settlement by providing services that assist immigrants with finding employment and affordable housing that improves their quality of life. Alternatively, immigrants' sense of belonging can be mediated through relationships with co-ethnics (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002). This research is interested in sense of belonging to the country of settlement and sense of belonging to one's immigrant group. However, these dimensions of belonging are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Belonging to the immigrant group can potentially complement incorporation and belonging to the country of settlement. Immigrants can learn how to become part of a society through ethno-specific organizations that may be used as a means to facilitate social learning and adaptation to the country of settlement (Reed-Danahay and Brettel 2008: 21).

Personal experiences are structured by various axes of identity including ethnicity, class, gender, and even length of residence that may also influence sense of belonging. Markova and Black (2007) argue that length of residence can often define a sense of belonging due to the increase in resources and improved quality of life that immigrants attain over time. Length of residence, however, can also divide immigrant populations due to associations between length of residence and the social characteristics of immigrants. The exclusions that many migrants experience may also change over time as immigrants change, often acquiring more economic resources. Economic differences between recently arrived and well-established immigrants can affect performances of belonging.

Visible minority immigrants' experience of disadvantage is defined by race but complicated by the effects of gender (Bakan and Stasiulis 2005). Men who are well established and possess high levels of economic and cultural capital will often lead collective action through participation in immigrant organizations. Differences in the settlement experiences and status within groups of immigrant may be silenced to enable collective activity (Hopkins 2006). Immigrants have diverse social identities shaped by various places that are complicated further by differences in their settlement experiences.

Social processes of inclusion and exclusion depend critically on the categorization of people as belonging and not belonging. As a result, numerous studies have focused on the way that members of dominant groups categorize migrants (Leitner and Erkhamp 2006; Yuval-Davis 2006). These studies suggest that belonging is never entirely about immigrants' subjective feelings of fitting in or not, but also relates to how powerful others (within and outside the immigrant population) specify who belongs (Peake and Ray 2001). For example, "ghetto or near ghetto imagery" is ascribed to Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Canadian cities and can be read as a spatialization of their exclusion and racialization (Peake and Ray 2001: 180). Within the Afro-

Caribbean immigrant populations, there are expectations as to how claims for belonging should be made public in Canada. These expectations are evident in the acceptance of immigrant organizations as a venue for demonstrating belonging in the country of settlement. Some immigrants, however, may not subscribe to these expectations and, as a result, they find alternative sites for expressing belonging. It is in this context that sense of belonging can be understood as a process shaped by interactions and conditions in particular places. For Jamaican immigrants, sense of belonging may involve negotiation with members of dominant groups as well as other Jamaican immigrants.

Identity

Identity is a complicated concept (Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Castells 1997; Tracy and Robles 2013). Established definitions emphasize that identity constitutes social, historical, and geographical features that are used to define and locate individuals within particular groups (Tracy and Robles 2013). "Identity consists of the confluence of … personal characteristics, beliefs, roles and positions in relation to significant others; … [collective identity or] membership in social groups and categories (including status within a group and the group's status within the larger context)" (Vignoles, Schwartz, and Luyckx 2011:4). Identity is also relational in that identity relies for its existence on something outside of itself (Hall 1996). A relational definition of identity recognizes the influence of historical and geographical contexts on the construction of identity. This research is interested in the way that national identity, a form of collective identity, can engender a sense of belonging or be used as a vehicle for mobilizing and organizing immigrant groups.

National identity is a multidimensional concept employed in reference to groups of people that share a nationality, place of origin, common ancestry, and culture to which they may feel a sense of belonging. However, Benedict Anderson's (1983) seminal work on imagined

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communities, in which he argues that national identity is the willed incorporation of disparate individuals into an 'imagined community' that has the potential to be transformed and contested, complicates this seemingly straightforward concept. Anderson (1983) argues that communities may be imagined "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each [individual] lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1983: 49). These communities are also imagined because, "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each community, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 1983: 50). The imagined community takes on political significance when it is used as a basis for mobilizing marginalized groups (Farrar 2001).

The symbolic significance of national identity is emphasized in this research, particularly its importance for understanding the motivations influencing the establishment of organizations by Jamaican immigrants, a racialized immigrant group in Toronto. The promotion of imagined communities reinforces the significance of fixed and bounded notions of national identity for immigrants (Ralph and Staeheli 2011). These imagined communities may foster a sense of belonging and solidity within shifting situations and negative circumstances.

Previous research has established the significance of national identity for Jamaican immigrants (Henry 1994; Henry 2012; James and Davis 2012). Negative and exclusionary experiences may inspire Jamaican immigrants to cultivate a sense of belonging by fostering the development of connections with individuals or groups associated with the country or culture of origin. Furthermore, Jamaican immigrants who recover national identity may use this construct to mobilize and lobby the government to address exclusions and obtain greater rights in Canada.

Although imagined communities can empower and unify immigrants, they can also be used to reinforce divisions that destabilize and fragment groups or are used to pursue negative

ends such as exploitation. Imagined community constructs can reinforce inequalities and aid in the construction of unequal power relations. Scholars such as Yuval Davis (2006) and Anderson (2006) recognize that imagined communities are "central to multiple forms of power relations: for example, national projects that construct racial, ethnic, and religious communities via inclusionary and exclusionary policies" (Hill-Collins 2010). The limitations of imagined communities demonstrate how immigrant organizations, formed on the basis of national identity, may silence differences related race, class, gender and migration history to achieve political ends. Expressions of belonging that reflects past experiences of place that are often out of date and do not reflect changes after their departures can also be considered as a form of silencing. The silencing which Yuval Davis (2006) and Hill-Collins (2010) describe may be relevant to Jamaican immigrants and Jamaican immigrant organizations that reflect the experiences and concerns of a sub-group, rather than the immigrant population as a whole. Jamaican immigrants ascribe to multiple social identities that relate to their profession, education, nation, class, gender and ethnicity. Of particular interest in this research is the way in which class, race, ethnic and gender identities intersect with national identity to influence how Jamaican immigrants express sense of belonging in Canada. The Jamaican immigrant population is comprised of various ethnic sub-groups including individuals of Chinese, European and Indian descent. These ethnic sub-groups may perceive constructions of Jamaican national identity that are associated with African descent or Black as a racial identifier as exclusionary.

The way in which immigrant identities are formed has implications for how immigrants mobilize to resist exclusion and promote their well-being (Simmons 2010: 203). Castells (1997) presents three types of identity, *legitimizing identity*, *resistance identity*, and *project identity* that are particularly useful for highlighting how identities are formed and expressed in place. *Legitimizing identity* is "introduced by dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalize

their domination," and reproduce identities that perpetuate domination (Castells 1997: 8). A *resistance identity* is generated out of circumstances of oppression and contributes to the formation of communities of resistance against this oppression (Castells 1997: 8). *Project identity* occurs "when social actors ... build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, [transforms social structures]" (Castells 1997: 8). Unlike resistance identity, which derives its meaning from dominant structures, project identities are created based on new meanings and values. Castells' (1997) theorization of the relationship between identity and activism is particularly relevant for understanding how immigrants try to maintain a balance between their ethnic identities and mainstream receiving society (Simmons 2010). Identity is often operationalized at the interpersonal level in face-to-face engagements and collectively (in the case of immigrant organizations).

Castells' (1997) conceptualization of how identities are constructed resonates with the experiences of Jamaican immigrants and the impacts of settlement experiences on the construction of their identities. Specifically, resistance identities may emerge in contexts where negative experiences occur due to exclusion and discrimination. Jamaican immigrant men and women may reinforce their relationships with their country of origin or with individuals with whom they share a cultural background as a way of dealing with exclusion. Project identities are transformative in the sense that they emerge and take form in a social movement that addresses broader societal changes rather than individual concerns. Legitimizing identities are pertinent to an analysis of the social construction of the Canadian nation as White and the attendant exclusion experienced by racialized groups, including Jamaican immigrants, which contribute to the formation of resistance identities that contest *unbelonging*. While Castells (1997) does not explicitly apply his conceptualization of identity to immigrants, he provides a framework for

identity construction that helps to explain how places may influence identities and inform how identities are negotiated.

Different dimensions of individual and collective identity are strategically grounded and constituted by and through particular situations (Benmayor and Skotness 1994; Hall 1996). As a result, the meanings ascribed to identity as well as the way it materializes and is experienced by individuals varies (Winders and Schein 2014). Identity construction is always spatially contingent, in that historical and geographical contexts as well as socio-economic and political processes determine who mobilizes specific identities, the symbolic content of those identities, and their meanings for those who impose and those who identify themselves with these identities (Wills 2013). Accordingly, place is crucial for understanding the construction and negotiation of Jamaican immigrant identities. It influences how immigrants negotiate their identities in the same way that their identities reflect the changing places they inhabit (Chavez 2005).

Ethnicity, Race, Class, Gender and Color

Class, gender, ethnicity, and race complicate experiences of belonging, the purposes and reasons for establishing immigrant organizations, and the extent to which individuals locate themselves as insiders or outsiders relative to their immigrant population. Inclusions and exclusions are not only shaped by differences between majority and minority groups in contexts of immigration but also by the varied settlement outcomes and migration histories of individuals within particular immigrant populations. The intersections of gender, race, and class are important for explaining immigrants' experiences of organizations and the way immigrants define and construct belonging (Goldring 2001; Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2005; Leitner 2012 and Preston, Kobayashi and Man 2006).

Ethnicity and Race

Ethnicity differentiates the settlement experiences of Jamaican immigrants (Waters 1994; Mcleod 1998). Ethnicity is shaped by the culture and customs that individuals share, and members who identify or can be identified with these characteristics are included in the ethnic group. Ethnic groups are also constructed through the interaction of internal and external boundaries (Isajiw 1999). Internal boundaries allow members of a specific group to identify with individuals sharing the same background and origin whereas external boundaries set the limits of exclusion from ethnic groups and activate ethnic consciousness (Isajiw 1999). Internal boundaries provide a basis for defining immigrant groups and for including individuals. Although ethnic groups are often identified through the cultural characteristics that individuals share, ethnicity may also be associated with race (Satzewich and Liodakis 2013). Ethnicity can form the basis of exclusion and marginalization of immigrants and therefore plays a central role in the immigration experience, as immigrants often face hostility in the societies they enter, and form ethnic bonds and associations to increase their political credibility, economic viability and sense of social belonging (Hiebert 2009). Experiences with discrimination can lead to increased ethnic consciousness and thereby reinforce the boundaries of the ethnic group (Hiebert 2009). Moreover, ethnicity is constructed through the economic, social, and political processes employed to define ethnic categories (Isajiw 1999).

Race is a socially produced construct that shapes the daily lives, subjectivities, and actions of individuals assigned to specific racial categories. Race is used to classify individuals based mainly on physical characteristics, particularly skin color. The historical association between race and socially negative evaluations has been used to inform whether specific groups or individuals are privileged or disadvantaged. Racial groups are socially constructed as inferior through oppression and exclusion that legitimate and reproduce their status as disadvantaged minority groups (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014). Emphasizing the socially constructed nature of

racism, Henry and Tator (2006: 22) argue that racism in Canadian society is complex in that different forms of racism may develop under various circumstances. Specifically, *democratic racism* emerges when "commitments to democratic principles such as … equality … coexist with attitudes and behaviours that include negative feelings about minority groups, differential treatment and discrimination against them." Democratic "racism can be expressed through, myths, explanations, codes of meaning and rationalizations that have the effect of establishing, sustaining and reinforcing the inferior status of particular racial groups" (Henry and Tator 2006: 24). *Institutional racism* refers to the way that "the power of dominant groups is sustained by structures such as laws, policies and administrative practices that exclude or discriminate against the dominated group" (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014:60). Associated with racism is the process of racialization whereby racial meanings are ascribed to a group having specific phenotypical characteristics for the purpose of continuing the privilege of dominant groups and disadvantage of marginalized individuals. Scholars cite the significance of racialization and, relatedly, race as analytical concepts (Henry 1994; Calliste 1993; Mensah 2009; Mullings 2011). Racialization emphasizes exclusion and oppressive circumstances, which individuals assigned to particular racial groups (Miles and Torres 2007). Racism can motivate immigrant groups to establish immigrant organizations to cope with and address the experiences of marginalization they encounter at their destinations (Landolt and Goldring 2009; Castles, Haas and Miller 2014)).

Several features of the Jamaican immigrant population underscore the salience of race for this study's analysis of Jamaican immigrant organizations. "Jamaica has been a major source of Black immigrants to Canada" (Mensah 2002: 101). Various forms of racism continue to deny many Black immigrants full participation in Canadian society (Mensah 2002; Essed 1990; Henry 1994). Racialization is also an important factor influencing sense of belonging amongst Jamaican immigrants (Henry 1994).

The Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto is diverse, with several different subgroups. The diversity of the Jamaican immigrant population's ethnic composition has implications for the expression of sense of belonging and the extent to which immigrant organizations are seen as avenues for demonstrating sense of belonging in Toronto. Predominantly Black, Jamaican society also includes a significant brown or mixed population as well as descendants of other ethnic groups including those of Chinese descent[3] (Mensah 2002). In Canada, Jamaican immigrants who identify as Black and those with mixed ethnic origins predominate, with a small proportion of Jamaicans originating from other ethnic groups (Lindsay 2007). Jamaican immigrants of Hakka Chinese background comprise a major ethnic sub-group in Toronto, and they have established their own organizations, for instance the Tsun Tsing Association and the Caribbean Chinese Association, to celebrate Hakka culture as well as aspects of their Jamaican heritage (Taylor 2012). Mary Waters (1999:43) emphasizes the complexity of the Jamaican population, stating, "[I]t is important to understand the very distinctive social history of the Caribbean in order to understand the subtleties and layers of meaning attached to race and color among present-day migrants." Historically and geographically defined experiences with race shape solidarities amongst immigrants as well as the extent to which they feel a sense of belonging and give it expression through immigrant organizations.

Despite the ethnic diversity within the Jamaican immigrant population, there is a tendency to homogenize Jamaican immigrants as Black. James and Davis (2015) explain that this homogenized construction of Jamaican immigrant identities results from the numerical dominance and, relatedly, the cultural visibility of Jamaican immigrants of African descent in

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[3] Jamaican society is also comprised of individuals who are of European, Lebanese, Syrian, and Indian descent. However, this research highlights the experiences of Jamaican immigrants of Chinese descent due to their visibility within Jamaican migration streams and the network of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto.

Toronto. Jamaican immigrants are often criminalized and labeled as disruptive, and these constructions have implications for the views of other Canadians of African descent (James 2012). Homogenization of the Jamaican immigrant population as Black also affects other sub-groups within the Jamaican immigrant population in that these groups may have a conflicted relationship with dominant representations of Jamaican identity. Individuals within these sub-groups may seek to resist the constraints imposed by stereotypical and homogenizing constructions of Jamaicanness by distancing themselves from African-descended Jamaican immigrants, including organizations that embody these constructions of Jamaican identity.

Class

Culture and class intersect to shape the construction and negotiation of immigrant identities (Bottero 2004; Savage, Bagnall, Longhurst 2001). This research utilizes post-modern theorizations of class (Bottero 2004; Savage 2003), which emphasize that class manifests in a variety of ways and is constituted by a range of factors, including patterns of consumption, and through the intersection of racialized and gendered identities. This vision of class is premised on an individualized notion of the concept, reproduced through social and cultural preferences, as well as on recognition of the relationship between economic, social, and cultural factors (Bottero 2004). This conceptualization is also useful for understanding how the organizational activities of immigrants are shaped by the class identities they retain and develop in places where they settle. For instance, immigrants may experience negative settlement outcomes (including employment in lower status occupations and low incomes). As a result, they may attempt to change their class position by participating in social, economic, and cultural activities, including immigrant organizations that may be a source of capital and resources that will enhance their social position and mobility (Satzewich and Liodakis (2010). These experiences may also contribute to the development of resistance identities or enhance the desire of immigrants to

build relationships with other immigrants that boost their sense of belonging. Immigrants may also be involved in immigrant organizations to express the class identities they attained while residing in the country of origin.

The class composition of current migration streams from Jamaica is not clear but I contend that the Jamaican class structure (as informed by Whiteness in both a cultural and color sense) has significance for understanding Jamaican immigrants and the organizations they create. The class structure in Jamaica was shaped by a primarily White and male dominant planter class, and this legacy has led to the construction of racialized and gendered class identities in both the contemporary and historical Caribbean (Reddock 2004 and M.G. Smith 1974). A post-modern approach to class analysis is particularly relevant here as it recognizes that class is not only defined by an individual's or group's relationship to the means of production … [but also by] cultural processes defined by consumption patterns, bodily performance and intersections with racialized and gendered identities (Kelly 2012: 154). Although class is still defined through material relations, scholars such as Joan Acker (2006) and Linda McDowell (2008) agree that class should be viewed through the intersection of such axes as ethnicity, race, and gender, as these aspects of social differentiation are important for understanding geographically specific constructions of inequality.

Jamaica's history with colonialism partly defines its class cleavages, in that complex colour gradations define social class in Jamaica (Clarke 2006). Whiteness continues to define the Jamaican class structure in a very specific way. Orlando Patterson (in Waters 1999: 27) states that "White culture is pervasive in the Caribbean without the pervasiveness of Whiteness." As a result, while only a few individuals in the upper echelons of Jamaican society are White, knowledge of White European norms and customs is associated with superiority and is deeply internalized in the Jamaican class system and culture. A post-modern conceptualization of class

highlights the way that class identities and practices may influence Jamaican immigrants' sense of belonging. Class cleavages disrupt notions that immigrant organizations are equally important for all racialized immigrants, even those who share a national origin. Race, ethnicity, and gender influence how immigrants perform class identities.

Gender

Gender can influence expressions of belonging, including participation in immigrant organizations. Although roughly equal numbers of men and women are now migrating from Jamaica (Statistics Canada 2006), early migration streams from Jamaica were highly feminized. The West Indian Domestic Scheme allowed Jamaican women to migrate to Canada as domestic workers (Mensah 2002: 99; Bakan and Stasiulis 1994 and Johnson 2012), but, in 2001, women still comprised the majority (54%) of the Jamaican immigrant population in Canada (Lindsay 2007). Many Jamaican immigrant women in Canada are single or single mothers who are their families' primary caregivers and wage earners (Henry 1994). Their position as sole wage earners compounds their disadvantage as racialized immigrants and shapes their organizational participation and belonging in Toronto in ways that reflect their diminished social and economic status. Scholars such as Lindsay (2007), Man (2004), and Boyd (1992) argue that female immigrants have higher levels of employment and participation in the labor market than Canadian-born women. Many immigrant women perform low-paying and low-status jobs, and Jamaican immigrant women experience a double jeopardy due to gender and racial discrimination. Family relationships further complicate the ability of many immigrant women to integrate successfully and be involved in immigrant organizations (Man 2004). Gender hierarchies have implications for Jamaican immigrants' interrelationships as well as for participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Women and men respond differently to settlement experiences. Men may gravitate to immigrant organizations as a result of the

emasculation they experience during settlement; membership in an immigrant organization may boost their self-esteem and confidence. In contrast, women's work and family responsibilities may limit their participation in immigrant organizations. Additionally, while women are often part of the general membership of immigrant organizations, men usually assume leadership positions (Goldring 2001).

Jamaican Immigrants, the Impact of Place, and Identity Construction

Several scholars have explored the influence of place on representations and negotiations of Jamaican immigrant identities (Foner 1975; Henry 1994; Olwig 2007). The research highlights how the immigration context, the class and gender identities of Jamaican immigrants and the composition of Jamaican migration streams impact Jamaican immigrant identities.

Scholars such as Nancy Foner (1976) document the role that gender and place play in the performance of identities by Jamaican men and women in New York and London. Foner (1976) highlights the varied adaptive strategies employed by Jamaican immigrant men and women as a result of the diverse circumstances they encountered in England. Foner (1976) argues that women dominated early migration streams from Jamaica to London, England, and New York in the USA. While Jamaican men migrated to England for economic reasons, women migrated to England to join their spouses and other relatives. The current status of Jamaican men and women in London is affected by the overwhelming importance of colour; Jamaican immigrants are defined as Black and therefore marginalized by White counterparts, resulting in limited economic opportunities. In New York, the historical racialization and exclusion of African Americans produced residential areas with high concentrations of Blacks and Caribbean immigrants. The large Black population in New York also led to a network of institutions to provide Jamaican business people and professionals with a large clientele for their services. Foner (1976) argues that "Jamaican women, unlike Jamaican men, are more cushioned to some

extent from the bitter sting of prejudice by their role in the family as homemakers and mothers that severely restricts the time available for employment opportunities..." (Foner 1976: 31). Though they confront racial prejudice, they receive prestige from their valued role as mothers. Moreover, by being good mothers and homemakers, they fulfill expectations regarding women's roles. Women also tend to have higher participation rates in churches, an acceptable environment for women. In contrast, the rum shop is a male-dominated space that Jamaican men in both London and New York frequently visit for emotional release (Foner 1976). For Jamaican immigrant women, their valuable roles as caregivers gave them a sense of belonging in the country of settlement. In contrast, Jamaican immigrant men sought places of belonging that were outside the home, particularly masculinized places such as the rum shop, which reinforced their masculinity and provided them with a sense of belonging in New York and London. Foner's (1976) study demonstrates the significance of gender in understanding immigrants' identities and their implications for identity performance.

Frances Henry's (1994) research in Canada demonstrates how the material and lived aspects of place affected immigrants' activities in Toronto. Henry (1994) examined the specificity of factors and conditions that shape Caribbean immigrants' experiences in Toronto. Henry (1994) acknowledges that encounters with racism in Toronto have influenced the coping strategies of many Jamaican immigrants. She suggests that racialization and various forms of exclusion influence both the individual and collective activities of Jamaican immigrants. Moreover, Henry (1994) states that Jamaican immigrants reside in neighborhoods having many other Caribbean immigrants in order to feel a sense of security. Networks that developed through participation in church activities also enhance their sense of belonging. Various organizations, including those dedicated to specific Caribbean immigrants, have played a significant role in building solidarity and creating networks among immigrants, even though individuals identifying

with subgroups defined by ethnicity, race, gender, and social class tend to fragment this solidarity (Henry 1994). Henry (1994: 235) cites two island associations, the Jamaican Canadian Association and a Guyanese association in Toronto, as well as organizations that organize around Black or Caribbean identities.

Some Caribbean immigrant organizations also reflect social changes in Toronto. Island associations have multiplied on the Toronto landscape since Henry's (1994) research (Premdas 2004; Gooden 2008). This change reflects the ethno-racial diversity that has characterized the Canadian landscape since the late 20th century. Caribbean immigrants have become more diverse in composition and a diverse set of immigrant organizations has emerged to reflect the multiple identities of Caribbean immigrants.

The geography of Jamaican immigrant settlement in Toronto has implications for the ways immigrant identities are formed and expressed. Burman (2011: 4-5) suggests that the increasing presence of Caribbean immigrants in the city of Toronto, transnational connections between Jamaica and Toronto, and dramatic changes in the city's immigrant populations over the past 50 years have influenced and continue to influence Jamaican immigrant settlement in Toronto. The transformation of the city has been fuelled by "major diasporic cultural events like … Caribana" but also by the violent racialization and exclusion of Jamaican immigrants enacted partially through such policies as deportation, which disproportionately affects Jamaican-born men in Toronto. Burman (2011: 5) also observes that Jamaica and Toronto are linked by cultural exchanges, monetary flows, resistance to … neo-colonial legacies, "desires … and other affective dimensions." In Jamaica, migrants are part of everyday life. Jamaican newspaper articles cite return migrants who invest in the local economy and deportees forced to return 'home' because of criminal charges in Canada. In addition, the Diaspora conference is held every four years in Kingston, Jamaica (Burman 2011:71). These activities demonstrate the dialectic

relationship between Jamaican migrants and their new and former dwelling places, particularly the manner in which both places are transformed through their interactions. Burman (2011: 108) documents how Jamaica and Toronto become spatially and imaginatively bounded through mobilizations of Jamaicanness, an image reinforced not only by media portrayals of Jamaicans as Black/African (despite the migration of Indo-Jamaicans and Chinese Jamaicans also) but also by Torontonians identifying themselves as spokespeople for Jamaicans in Toronto. Included among these spokespersons are members of such organizations as the Jamaican Canadian Association that claims to represent the interests and concerns of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto (Burman 2011). While this study identifies how Jamaican immigrants have transformed themselves and the city of Toronto, Burman's (2011) study does not include the voices of Jamaican immigrants. Her analysis is primarily textual, demonstrating the significance of "circular migration patterns that connect the Caribbean and Toronto" and how these patterns shape the collective identities of Jamaican immigrants (Zaiden 2014: e38). Adding the voices of Jamaican immigrants themselves would have led to a more nuanced understanding of migrant populations' appropriations and transformations of cities and the manner in which specific locales have marked their own migration experiences.

Karen Fog Olwig (2007) provides a detailed understanding of how place informs the settlement experiences of Jamaican immigrants, albeit by investigating the migration and settlement of one Jamaican family in the United States. She draws attention to the role of family networks in place-making and the manner in which place-making reinforces a sense of belonging and identification for migrants. Olwig (2007) shows that the context of immigration and the increasing presence of Jamaican immigrants in ethnic neighborhoods inform the settlement experiences of the Muir family in New York. Olwig's (2007: 6) treatment of the way "unequal socio-economic relations transform physical movements into possibilities for socio-economic

mobility" differs from that of other studies of Jamaican immigrants that focus on the experience of African-descended Jamaicans that have migrated to Britain, Canada, and the United States (Jones 2008, Henry 1994, Foner 1997; Vickerman 2001; Calliste 1993). Olwig (2007) explores the lives and settlement experiences of the racially mixed Muir family and the way in which place has changed and acquired meaning throughout their lives in the USA.

The particular place of the Muirs in Jamaican society as well as their social relations with other Jamaican immigrants are described as having influenced their community affiliation, adaptation, and integration strategies in New York. Interview participants in Olwig's (2007) study lived most of their lives in Jamaica. Emma Muir emphasized that she belonged to a respectable middle-class family in Jamaica that spoke 'proper' English and attended prestigious high schools with a British curriculum. Education played a significant role in the maintenance of middle-class status for the Muirs in Jamaica, a factor that continued to resonate during their migration and settlement overseas. Their position within the complex class hierarchy in Jamaica continued to be an important factor shaping their migratory ambitions. The Muir family hoped that migration would allow them to increase their status in Jamaican society but instead encountered strong associations between non-White Caribbean immigrants and lower class Blacks "regardless of their middle-class background and light skin color" (Olwig 2007: 63). The Muir family members who settled in New York became American citizens, owned their own homes, and "rejected the place ascribed to them based on their ethnic and racial background as Jamaican" (Olwig 2007:70). They were able to maintain their Jamaican middle-class identity by attaining higher education, marrying persons from 'the proper' social circles, and maintaining a nice home in a good area of New York where other middle-class professionals resided (Olwig 2007). Crown Heights, the area in which the Muirs resided, changed with the influx of Caribbean immigrants, and the Muir family, who did not take part in neighborhood cultural activities,

viewed this transformation negatively. The Muir family shielded their children from the changing neighborhood and sheltered them in an environment formed by relations with family members and friends who had the same social background in Jamaica (Olwig 2007). The Muirs thus used various strategies to avoid the Jamaican immigrant population that settled in their neighborhood and instead created a closed community that included close friends and family members from the same class background in Jamaica and isolated themselves from other Jamaicans of a lower class position.

Olwig's (2007) study shows how particular sites, such as the neighborhood and the home, can mediate negotiation of Jamaican immigrant identities in receiving countries. The Muir family maintained the status that they had acquired in Jamaica by shielding themselves from the marginalizing experiences to which Jamaican immigrants are so often subjected in specific neighborhoods, avoiding 'community' and cultural activities, and isolating themselves from other Jamaican immigrants. Olwig's (2007) analysis is useful for highlighting the emergence of color and class cleavages among Jamaican immigrants in migration contexts. Such cleavages may intervene in the relationships between Jamaican immigrants and their expressions of belonging. Like Olwig (2007), my research focuses on the manner in which places can become bounded and particularistic and also fluid due to shifting social processes. Whereas Olwig (2007) frames her study primarily in terms of the life history of one Jamaican family, my study considers a broader set of life histories, voices, and stories from Jamaican immigrants in Toronto that extend across class and color lines and thereby provide a poly-vocal understanding of the dynamic interactions of identity, power, and place.

Jones' (2008) study of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto and South Florida highlights how the social geographies of particular places have impacted the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Jones (2008) provides a comprehensive overview of Jamaican immigrants in

Toronto and Florida, particularly immigrants' demographic characteristics, policies to address

labor market exclusion, and the manner in which settlement experiences in Miami and Toronto

create distinct patterns of socio-economic mobility for Jamaican immigrants. Jones (2008)

observes that Jamaican immigrants in South Florida tend to have higher education levels and

higher incomes than Jamaican immigrants in Toronto even though many of the Jamaicans who

immigrated to Toronto were skilled workers. Racial prejudice and lack of recognition of foreign

credentials were often impediments to labor market access and socio-economic mobility in

Toronto.

Jones (2008) concluded that the connections immigrants maintain with their home

countries impact individuals' social identities. Jamaican immigrants in South Florida were more

active in transnational activities than those in Toronto. Unlike the Jamaican immigrants

interviewed in Toronto, the South Floridians were able to visit Jamaica more frequently and sent

large sums of money to Jamaica (Jones 2008). Consequently, Jones (2008:160) asserts that

"physical distance and differences in economic status explain the slight differences in

transnational activities" between Jamaican immigrants in Toronto and those in South Florida.

Jones (2008) also explores differences in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto

and South Florida. At the time she wrote, Jones (2008) found 82 Jamaican immigrant

organizations in Toronto, of which 58% were alumni organizations, 21% were social and cultural

organizations, and 20% were charitable organizations. Jamaican immigrants in Toronto also

exhibited a higher level of participation in organizations (46%) than those residing in South

Florida (21%) (Jones 2008: 108). Jones (2008) suggests that organizations are strong indicators

of cohesion amongst Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. While this study constitutes a useful

contribution to understanding the influence of geographic locales on organizations led by

Jamaican immigrants, Jones (2008) has treated Jamaican immigrants in Toronto and South

Florida as homogeneous groups. Jones (2008) did not investigate the effect of race, ethnicity, colour, class, and gender and differing arrival times on involvement in organizational activities. Mary Waters (1999: 43) would question this approach. Waters (1999) suggests that the distinctive social history of the Caribbean shapes the subtleties and layers of meaning attached to race, [class] and color among present-day migrants." Jones (2008), however, does not explore the role that Jamaican immigrants' differentiated experiences play in the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations. The establishment of such organizations in Toronto was influenced by several aspects of place, including the history of social relations between racialized and dominant groups, the history of Jamaican migration, and the specificities of Jamaican immigrants' experiences with integration.

Immigrant Organizations: Understanding the Impact of Place and Transnationalism

The linkages that immigrants maintain with multiple places manifest themselves in material ways, for instance, through the establishment of immigrant organizations, and in intangible ways, for example, through continued identification with the country of origin. A geographical approach, emphasizing a material and relational conception of place, highlights the role that immigrants' attachments with their countries of origin; settlement experiences; and racial, ethnic, gender, and class identities play in shaping participation in immigrant organizations.

Transnationalism takes account of the identities and livelihoods that Jamaican immigrants maintain simultaneously in countries of origin and settlement (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc 1995). A significant theme in the international migration literature, transnationalism describes the various ways in which migrants maintain connections that span countries of origin and reception through such activities as sending remittances, return visits, and participation in

philanthropic activities in the home country. Portes et al. (1999) identify transnationalism as a mode of immigrant adaptation that involves maintaining two types of connections: broad connections, which on occasion involve a large number of people, and narrow connections, "situations in which a small proportion of people are involved in frequent and intense transnational activity" (Itzigsohn et al. 1999 cited in Goldring and Krishnamurti 2007). While transnational connections are not new, improvements in transportation and communication technologies have intensified and expanded them (Foner 1997).

Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) state that immigrants exhibit ways of belonging and ways of being transnational. Ways of belonging refer to the transmigrant identities forged and created transnationally while ways of being refer to material transnational practices (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004), including involvement in political parties and campaigns from overseas and returning to the home country to vote; involvement in migrant and home town associations and their fundraising activities; and a business based in the receiving country that draws upon the resources of the home community. Ways of belonging transnationally are lived through feelings of connection to places of origin and of reception, and thus the term can also be employed in reference to the identities that are shaped by symbolic and material connections to multiple places within a transnational landscape. The organized and highly visible forms of transnational activity listed above do not always demonstrate belonging.

Immigrant organizations are a material representation of the relationships that immigrants maintain between the country of origin and reception as well as macro level processes in the country of reception. They exemplify how immigrants' lives continue to be informed by relationships that originate in more than one place. Involvement in immigrant organizations is also a form of civic participation that allows individuals to overcome disadvantages associated with lower socio-economic status, become part of the civic life of their country of settlement

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(Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008) and increase their sense of political efficacy (de Graauw 2011).

The literature on transnationalism has tended to focus on immigrant organizations as a common way for immigrants to claim belonging in their countries of residence. These organizations are often created to reinforce attachments to national identities and to the wider immigrant group in the new places of settlement. Immigrant organizations exist in various forms, including hometown, alumni, ethnic, and sociocultural associations (Portes, Escobar and Radford 2007), and are often established on the basis of perceived commonalities in social and historical experiences. Other motives for their establishment are to exploit financial and human resources within the diaspora for political activism and to advance communities in both sending and receiving countries.

Immigrant organizations offer several benefits to immigrants. Specifically, they can play an important role in facilitating a sense of belonging through programming which focuses on celebrating community achievements and reinforcing cultural ties and transnational connections. Immigrant organizations may, however, also naturalize and perpetuate exclusions that exist amongst immigrant groups. Although immigrant organizations play an important role in the settlement and integration of newcomers, many immigrants do not participate in them (Moya 2005) and they are not alone in providing support to immigrants as "formal organizations are only one part of a complex system of networks through which individuals and groups organize " (Rex 1987 in Hopkins 2006).

Place shapes the way immigrants collectively mobilize for social and political purposes (Nicholls 2009), and specific characteristics of place may influence participation in immigrant organizations. The literature on immigrant organizations highlights several factors that shape participation in immigrant organizations, including the migration histories of immigrants settling

in particular locations, immigrants' settlement experiences and their transnational identities. The

migration histories of particular immigrant groups often shape participation in immigrant

organizations. Immigrants may demonstrate a greater desire to participate in immigrant

organizations in receiving countries where they find a relatively small immigrant population is

already present, as their small numbers seems to engender a greater desire to bond with other

individuals from the same immigrant population (Williams 2012; Chavez 2005). Immigrants also

become involved in immigrant organizations in order to receive support with settlement and

integration in the receiving country. For instance, in receiving countries exhibiting significant

"cultural differences between the native population and dominant groups," negative experiences

that immigrants encounter during the settlement process may influence participation in

immigrant organizations (Schrover and Vermeulen 2005: 825). Political opportunity structures

may also influence participation in immigrant organizations due to government and

institutionally funded infrastructures that increase possibilities for organizational involvement

(Bosma and Alferink 2012). Thus, state funding for immigrant initiatives, including immigrant

organizations of course, can also increase opportunities for participating in organizational

activities.

Immigrants' desire to maintain connections and relationships with their countries of origin is still

another factor influencing participation. Immigrants can become involved in organizations that

are directly involved in home country activities or that conduct activities intended to reproduce

the culture and practices of the country of origin (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2005). Itzigsohn and

Saucedo (2005) describe three factors that affect the participation in immigrant organizations

promoting transnational ties. The first, *linear transnationalism*, occurs when transnational

practices result from ties that immigrants maintain with their families in the countries of origin,

while the second, *resource dependent transnationalism*, occurs once immigrants have sufficient

resources to engage in transnational activities (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2005). The authors

contend that resource availability is the more significant of the two for explaining the

participation of women in transnational activities. The third factor, *reactive transnational*

activities, is a response to exclusionary experiences such as discrimination; however, the authors

state that this explanation is relevant primarily to men's participation in immigrant organizations.

Negative experiences influence expressions of belonging, particularly the participation in

immigrant organizations of male Latin American immigrants. The loss of status that Latin

American men experience due to labor market exclusion can inspire them to become involved in

organizations that reinforce their masculinity (Goldring 1991; Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2005).

Latin American women, on the other hand, are more likely to participate in organizations that

provide social services (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2005). Sense of belonging and emotive and

affective relationships with places of origin and destination may influence participation in

immigrant organizations. The specificity of the relationship between places and organizational

participation requires critical examination for Jamaican immigrants.

A growing literature shows that several social characteristics also influence the likelihood

of participation in immigrant organizations in Canada, specifically length of residence, age, and

religious and professional background. Using data from the National Survey of Giving,

Volunteering and Participating (2000) and the General Social Survey (2003), Scott, Selbee, and

Reed (2006) examined patterns of civic engagement in Canadian society. The authors are

particularly interested in whether factors such as "age, gender, education, employment status,

household income and length of residence in Canada" influence participation in voluntary

activities. Their study focused on immigrant volunteering in sport-related, religious, and

recreational organizations and ethnic or immigrant organizations. The authors consider

membership rates in voluntary organizations in which immigrants become engaged. Residence

in Canada for long periods of time was found to be positively associated with the likelihood of membership in organizations. While this study did not focus specifically on immigrant organizations, this study is one of the few that attempts to explain immigrant participation in voluntary organizations across Canada. The authors highlight how length of residence may influence participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations.

Several additional social characteristics, including age, religious and professional background, also affect immigrants' involvement in organizations. Volunteering was more common amongst immigrants over the age of 55 (Scott, Selbee, and Reed 2006). Age at immigration also had an impact on organizational memberships, in that immigrants who arrived as adults (aged 40-45) were more likely to become involved in organizations (Scott, Selbee and Reed 2006) than those who arrived at younger ages. The authors state, "religious affiliation has a strong influence on volunteering…. [particularly] protestants were most likely to volunteer" (Scott, Selbee and Reed 2006:14). Immigrants with professional backgrounds (76%), particularly managers and administrators (63%), exhibited higher levels of volunteering (Scott, Selbee, and Reed 2006). Volunteering was highest amongst individuals who worked part time.

Reasons typically cited by immigrants for volunteering included supporting a cause they believed in, using skills not used in day jobs, fulfilling religious obligations, and improving access to job opportunities (Scott, Selbee, and Reed 2006: 16). Reasons cited by immigrants for not volunteering were that they are unable to commit the time and money needed to volunteer, they lacked information about how to become involved in volunteer activities, and they lacked interest in volunteering or were dissatisfied with their previous volunteer experiences (Scott, Selbee, and Reed 2006: 17). Using data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002), Scott, Selbee, and Reed found that participation in ethnic or immigrant organizations was more important for first generation immigrants than for their children. The authors note that participation in

immigrant organizations was low, 6%, but they do not explain the low levels of participation in immigrant organizations.

The ethnic and cultural backgrounds of immigrants play a significant role in shaping organizational activities. Several studies have demonstrated a high level of participation in organizational life among Latin American immigrants, particularly Mexicans (Goldring 2001), Salvadorans (Landolt's 2007), Dominicans and Colombians (Portes, Escobar, and Walton Radford 2007) in the United States, although the four Latin American groups organize differently.

Mexican immigrant organizations in the US focus on the welfare of mostly rural communities, and a high level of governmental intervention infused their activities (Portes, Escobar, and Walton Radford 2007: 267). In contrast, the activities of Dominican and Colombian organizations tended to be broader in scope and were more often created in response to spontaneous grassroot initiatives in the face of disasters and other national emergencies (Portes, Escobar, and Walton Radford 2007: 267). Portes, Escobar, and Walton Radford (2007: 271) argue that the rural nature of the Mexican immigrant population translates into traditional loyalties to local birthplaces and so results in the proliferation of hometown civic associations as continuations of traditional obligations. Dominican and Colombian associations, which often depend on occasional events such as dances and raffles to raise funds for improvement projects in their home country, differ greatly from Mexican ones (Portes, Escobar, and Walton Radford 2007: 271).

Studies of immigrant organizations in Canada also demonstrate that modes of immigrant incorporation vary across North America and that there are contextual factors, which must be taken into consideration when examining the orientation of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Landolt and Goldring (2010) show that Chileans and Colombians in Toronto have

different ways of doing politics, due largely to variations in political cultures, strategies for political action and the relationships between migrant and non-migrant counterparts in Toronto. Chilean-Canadian activists have modes of political action that reflect "mutual intelligibility and easy translatability of concerns," whereas Colombian Canadians have activist dialogues or patterns of political interaction that "reflect sporadic, project specific and instrumental collaborations" (Landolt and Goldring 2010: 445). For Chilean-Canadians, convergences and collaborations with non-migrant political actors have produced thicker and more stable transnational social fields, whereas for Colombian Canadians, transnational fields do not persist. Chileans established organizations that were stable and long lasting due to the strong relationships they developed with other organizations including the Toronto Action for Chile and the Toronto Chilean Society Popular Unity Groups.

Landolt's (2007) comparative analysis of Salvadoran refugees found that Salvadorans in Los Angeles developed strong transnational organizations and identities, whereas Salvadorans in Toronto established organizations characterized by short-term transnational engagements. Social networks in Toronto facilitated the migration of Salvadorans to Canada. Thus, organizations and community projects spearheaded by Salvadorans were shaped and defined by "nuclear family ties and social networks" (Landolt 2007: 205). State involvement in Salvadoran organizations differed between Toronto and Los Angeles. In Los Angeles, limited settlement assistance provided by "FMLN affiliated community organizations … that linked … reception assistance to political education" led to the formation of organizations that, in turn, linked Salvadorans with politically connected Salvadoran community organizers (Landolt 2007: 205). In Toronto, where Salvadoran organizations were limited and their collective activities characterized by ad hoc initiatives, the provision of state-funded settlement services did not increase the formation of Salvadoran organizations (Landolt 2007).

The experience of Chinese immigrant organizations in Toronto illustrates the tensions

that can exist within and across immigrant organizations belonging to broader diasporic groups.

Salaff and Chan (2007) suggest that the Chinese immigrant population presents "differing

interests, political issues and power hierarchies," which, in turn, influence Chinese immigrant

associations and the services they tend to offer. These differences were evident in the variety of

organizations that were established according to surnames as well as places of origin. Umbrella

associations attempted to establish some order in the representation of Chinese immigrant

groups, primarily for lobbying purposes, but cultural and linguistic differences as well as

political disagreements persisted and limited immigrants' ability to act as a united group.

Studies of Caribbean immigrant organizations in Toronto by Gooden (2008) and Premdas

(2004) demonstrate that the establishment of organizations reflects diverse settlement

experiences. Gooden (2008) and Premdas (2004) examined the proliferation of island

associations in Canada and their significance for immigrants from the Caribbean. Island

associations were limited prior to the 1960s, as the numbers of immigrants from different

Caribbean islands were small, leading to the existence of few "formal or informal institutions

based on place of birth" (Gooden 2008: 418). As the number of immigrants from various

Caribbean islands increased, so did the imperative for organizing based on place of birth. Thus

place of birth began to play a more prominent role in immigrant organizations. The distinct

migration and settlement patterns exhibited by Jamaican immigrants in Toronto influenced the

emergence of Jamaican immigrant organizations at this time (Gooden 2008); the Jamaican

Canadian Association is an example of an organization identified by place of birth (Gooden

2008, Premdas 2004).

Examining the role of the Ontario Society for Services to the Indo-Caribbean community

(OSSIC), Premdas (2004) noted that some "Indo-Caribbean persons [often] found themselves in

a twilight zone of being neither a meaningful part of a wider Caribbean community to which they were publicly assigned nor part of the South Asian community to which they were phenotypically associated" (Premdas 2004: 552). Moreover, they were often overshadowed by the Afro-centric images of Caribbean organizations. Organizing gave them a separate space for mobilization and rescued them from being silenced, marginalized, and excluded by the claims of Caribbean communities dominated by individuals of African descent. The authors note that the ethnic and class diversity within each Caribbean island has meant that organizations can exclude those who do not completely identify with each organization's definition of the nation. Still, an updated analysis of immigrant organizations established by Caribbean immigrants is needed as a wide variety of Caribbean organizations have emerged to represent the diverse interests and backgrounds of Caribbean immigrants since the early 1990s, when Premdas (2004) conducted the research. A comprehensive analysis of the various backgrounds and settlement experiences of Caribbean immigrants as well as the roles of these factors in shaping immigrant organizations is needed.

Bosma and Alferink (2012) also discuss the effect of immigrant diversity on immigrant organizations. In the Netherlands, immigrant organizations were more prominent amongst the Surinamese population, who come from a very pluralistic society that included Afro-Surinamese, Hindustani, Maroons, and Javanese. Each group wanted to be represented in the Netherlands by its own organization and government policies offered funding for ethno-specific groups. The diversity of the Surinamese population in the Netherlands as well as the government's multicultural policy contributed to an increase in Surinamese organizations in the Netherlands prior to 1970. Immigrants within the Indische population also commanded differing levels of social capital. Members of the Indische population in the Netherlands were more educated than many other immigrant groups, possessed more political connections, and had a long history of

organizational development in the Netherlands that provided the experience and knowledge required for the expansion of their organizational network (Bosma and Alferink 2012: 275). This research underlines the importance of the conditions under which government assistance to immigrant organizations can positively impact processes of social and political institutionalization amongst newcomers.

Akcapar and Yurdakul (2009) also show that a long history of migration provides immigrants with greater opportunities for establishing organizations. The long history of Turkish migration has led to immigrant organizations that address exclusionary experiences while simultaneously providing cultural activities to facilitate integration (Akcapar and Yurdakul 2009). Also influencing organizational formation by Turkish immigrants are their political identities. For example, Turks on the right and left have established competing political organizations that represent their separate interests. The work of Akcapar and Yurdakul (2009) emphasizes the significance of examining the features of the Jamaican immigrant population to understand the types of immigrant organizations they have established in Toronto. As previously mentioned, the Jamaican immigrant population is diverse in terms of its class, ethnic, and gender composition.

Geographical studies of immigrant organizations such as those of Owusu (2000), who studied Ghanaian immigrant organizations, and Mensah (2008), whose research on Ghanaian churches in Toronto showed that religious transnationalism was more likely among Ghanaians who kept in touch with family members in Ghana or had an interest in returning to reside there, explored how the ethnic heterogeneity of the Ghanaian population shapes the organizations themselves. They uncovered an association between Ghanaian immigrant organizations and residential concentrations of Ghanaian immigrants. Although the authors note that immigrant organizations may contribute to fragmentation within the immigrant population, they do not

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examine, in detail, the processes leading to consolidation and fragmentation. Additionally, while Mensah (2008) and Owusu (2000) recognize that many immigrants do not belong to organizations, their focus has been exclusively on participants in immigrant organizations and churches. These studies highlight the influence of Jamaican immigrants' diverse identities on the activities of Jamaican immigrant organizations and immigrants' participation in these organizations. But in order to understand the relationships between immigrant identities and the organizations they create, knowledge of immigrants who do not participate in immigrant organizations as well as those whose identities are shaped by organizational participation is required.

<p align="center">*Political Context and the Establishment of Immigrant Organizations*</p>

Social and political processes in specific places play an important role in defining, facilitating and limiting the formation of immigrant organizations. In the country of reception, political structures, including immigration and settlement policies that encourage acceptance and celebration of the values and cultures of immigrant populations, may influence participation in immigrant organizations (Schrover and Vermeulen 2005). The provision of funding to immigrant organizations is another aspect of the political structure that can encourage the development and growth of immigrant organizations. Odmalm (2009: 15) explains that the shifting political climate, from one that did not recognize or consider the interests of immigrants to one that "was … aimed at promoting and preserving cultural identities and… representing community interests [was] essential for facilitating the proliferation of immigrant organizations" in Europe.

Bosma and Alferink (2012) argue that the growing population of immigrants of non-western background in the Netherlands led to the implementation of a *minorities' policy* in the 1980s. This policy emphasized the need to integrate immigrant minorities by allowing them to maintain their identities and home country traditions. More importantly, the minorities' policy

encouraged the development of immigrant organizations in the Netherlands. However, its impact on the proliferation of organizations amongst post-colonial immigrants in the Netherlands was limited, subsequently, by cutbacks in subsidies to immigrant organizations in the 1980s.

Akcapar (2009:40) also acknowledges that political structures, specifically homeland policies, also shape the creation of immigrant organizations in receiving countries. In the United States, positive attitudes toward immigrants encouraged the establishment of a multitude of organizations with various mandates and orientations. Akcapar (2009:180) argued that Turkish Americans were encouraged to establish a wide variety of organizations when there "was more support from the home country to unite to defend their interests regarding foreign policy [and] when they realized that American policy supports migrant organizations." Some organizations are focused on supporting home country politics, defending the interests of Turkish communities in the US, and institutionalizing their religious values.

The Imagined Community and Immigrant Organizations

The mobilization of imagined community may exclude some immigrants from full representation in this community. Staeheli's (2008) examination of Arab organizations in the USA is useful for highlighting how immigrant organizations become sites of struggle over whose identities and interests are to be represented. Staeheli (2008) argues that in the case of Arab American organizations, visibility through immigrant organizations may be an important way to empower Arab immigrants as citizens. Some Arab Americans, however, may reject the idea of participating as they question the extent to which the organizations represent the diverse views and perspectives of Arab Americans. Arab Americans may experience anxiety about the silencing of their particular backgrounds and interests in an effort to present Arab Americans as a unified group.

Specific experiences in particular places can divide immigrants, as some members may identify with an imagined nation while others do not. Mavroudi (2010) demonstrates how the diversity of the Palestinian population in Greece gives rise to diverse views about their identities and homeland. Specifically, non-elite Palestinians have a stronger attachment to their communities of origin than elite Palestinians (Mavroudi 2010: 241). As a result, the non-elites are more likely to become involved in transnational activities related to Palestine. Mavroudi's (2010) research emphasizes that sense of belonging may be flexible for elite Palestinians but bounded or primarily rooted in the home country for non-elites (Ralph and Staeheli 2011). Elite and non-elite Palestinians have different connections to their places of origin and settlement. These differences contribute to fragmentation within the Palestinian immigrant population. The aforementioned studies suggest that the imagined unity of Jamaican immigrants may be used to create organizations that support Jamaican immigrants and celebrate their identities, however, the success of these activities will depend on the way in which the nation and interests of the Jamaican immigrant group are represented. While these immigrant organizations, which are anxious to recruit nationals as members, often associate intimacy and commonality with Jamaican immigrant identity, taken-for-granted aspects of territory, nation, and ethnicity may have divisive effects (Hasbullah and Korf 2013).

The Role of Churches in Immigrant Settlement

Churches form an important part of the institutional network through which immigrants claim belonging at their destinations (Agrawal and Quadeer 2008 and Warner 1998). Churches provide important social services that facilitate immigrant adjustment in the country of settlement and they offer emotional and spiritual support to immigrant members. Ley (2008: 2065), for instance, notes that the church has been a place of healing for many who have been "hurt emotionally by family members" and other individuals. Immigrants can also obtain social

capital from churches that can be used to facilitate their social and civic integration in the country of settlement (Putnam 2000). Mensah (2009) also emphasized that "racial minority immigrants, in particular, [use churches] and religious practices to counteract the cultural shock, alienation and discrimination they encounter in their adopted countries" (Mensah 2009: 22). Churches also offer opportunities to redress status loss that immigrants, particularly men, experience. Examining Chinese immigrants in Vancouver, Ley (2008: 2065) notes that Chinese men who are no longer able to act as heads of households can find opportunities to occupy leadership positions including head and associate pastors in churches (Min 1992 and Frazier 1963). Opportunities to build networks and get support from other individuals within their immigrant group can also be found in churches. This function is particularly noticeable among culturally homogenous religious institutions that are characterized by congregations that speak languages that are specific to their country of origin (Ley 2008). Breton (1964) also notes the sense of belonging that is fostered in churches that perform bonding functions by offering culturally specific activities. Breton (1964) observed that churches hold considerable weight in ethnic communities as immigrants feel a sense of comfort and support in churches where the national sentiments of the immigrant population are emphasized and the language or images used in preaching are those known to immigrants from early childhood (Breton 1964: 201). Churches also commemorate events that are significant in immigrants' countries of origin including the consumption of food. As such, culturally homogenous churches may become a second home for immigrants.

In early research on Caribbean immigrants in Toronto, Henry (1994) also stated that Caribbean immigrants in Toronto frequented churches that are part of denominations that are common in the home country including Anglican, Baptist and Pentecostal churches. Caribbean

immigrants preferred churches with other individuals of Caribbean origin in the congregation. Churches with predominantly white congregations were considered less welcoming.

Mensah (2008) demonstrates that religious institutions are important conduits for immigrants to construct transnational identities. Ghanaian immigrants who contacted family members in Ghana on a regular basis and felt the need for intervention in visa applications were more likely to be engaged in religious transnationalism.

Emphasizing church attendance as a coping mechanism, Henry (1994) argues that church involvement is an important cultural pattern for Caribbean immigrants who often face difficult settlement circumstances and, as a result, seek help or assistance from a religious institution (Duncan 2008). Still, Henry (1994) noted Caribbean immigrants who are of middle-class status are more likely to be involved in churches that include congregants of West Indian origin. Henry (1994), however, concedes that Caribbean immigrants also attended churches with congregations that were less diverse as long as they were considered to be warm and accommodating.

Brown-Spencer (2009) also recognized that churches that do not focus on a particular nationality can potentially act as a surrogate family and a place of liberation for immigrants (Brown-Spencer 2009). In her study of Black Oneness[4] churches that were formed between 1960 and 1980, Brown-Spencer (2009) found that Black churches in Canada were borne out of the influx of Afro-Caribbean immigrants who wanted to resist marginalizing and discriminating practices. Still, the significance of the Black Oneness churches is also context specific. The formation of Black churches was particularly rapid between 1960 and 1980 when Canada was adjusting to an increasingly diverse population (Brown-Spencer 2009). Many organizations

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[4] The Black Oneness church was formed by Afro-Caribbean immigrants of the Oneness faith. The Oneness faith comprises Pentecostals of the Apostolic faith who are also known as Oneness Pentecostals (Brown-Spencer 2009).

established in this period emphasized the benefits of organizing around racial constructs and experiences. While the literature demonstrates that churches remain significant venues for negotiating Black and Afro-Caribbean identities in Canada, it does not consider comprehensively how social, political and economic changes in Canada and changes in immigrant groups since the 1980s affect immigrants' involvement in churches and their affiliation with secular organizations.

Conclusion

A place-based analysis allows for a systematic evaluation of the historically and geographically specific processes that influence identity and sense of belonging. The preceding analysis has demonstrated that places are much more than frames in which social relations are contained. Rather, places shape social relations between immigrants as well as immigrants' expressions of belonging.

While the fluidity of place is significant for understanding immigrant experiences, scholars such as Ley (2004) and Ralph and Staeheli (2011) emphasize that stable interpretations of place also influence the formation of immigrant identities. Immigrants may "desire to pin-down their identities in discretely defined" places despite the fluidity and flux that often define the locations that they inhabit (Ralph and Staeheli 2011: 522). Multiple interpretations of place can co-exist and be operationalized within an immigrant group due to such factors as period of arrival, class, ethnicity, and gender. Diverse interpretations can shape the formation of diverse immigrant collectives, including immigrant organizations. It remains to investigate the extent to which immigrant organizations are venues for constructing belonging.

An analytical approach that recognizes how identities are formed in place and influence expressions of belonging is useful for examining the relationships between Jamaican immigrant identities and Jamaican immigrant organizations. The marginalization and exclusion of Jamaican

immigrants is evident in their economic, social, and political achievements in Toronto. The exclusion of Jamaican immigrants has also altered Toronto by encouraging the establishment of immigrant organizations, some of which provide settlement supports to immigrants and others that lobby for increased opportunities for Jamaican immigrants (Williams 2012). The exclusion experienced by Jamaican immigrants is also reflected in the settlement patterns of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto, another factor affecting the development of immigrant organizations. In order to provide insight on how I learned about the construction of Jamaican immigrant identities and their expressions of belonging, I discuss the methods I adopted to investigate the relationships between Jamaican immigrant identities and Jamaican immigrant organizations in Chapter Three.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Design

Introduction

Experiences of belonging and the way that immigrant groups organize are grounded in place. Place is often thought to foster a "common identity, based on common experiences, interests and values" (Martin 2003). Sense of belonging and the mobilization of immigrants through immigrant organizations are also influenced by the class, ethnic, racial and gender identities of immigrants themselves. These identities influence the ways in which immigrants interact and how they interpret these social relations. I adopt a methodology that recognizes how identity influences immigrants' participation in immigrant organizations and how participation, in turn, affects immigrant identities.

The themes that I discuss in the following chapters are situated in a literature (Pierce, Martin and Murphy 2011 and Massey 1994) that underscores the dynamic ways that place influences the relationships between immigrant identity, immigrant organizations, and sense of belonging. The methodological strategies employed to accomplish this research as well as the challenges that I negotiated will be discussed in this chapter. I justify the methodological choices and research methods in terms of the research problem and my own ontology, which views reality as situated, historically constructed and defined by power relations (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2011). The type of knowledge that I wish to produce requires the use of a methodology and, consequently, a set of research methods informed by a critical theory paradigm[5] that necessitates a qualitative research approach. A qualitative approach is appropriate for this study

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[5] Guba and Lincoln (1994: 105) use the term paradigm to identify "the belief system or worldview that guides the investigator in choices of method." As such, they believe that the term qualitative should be reserved for descriptions of method and methodology. They identify 3 main paradigms that guide interpretative research: critical theory, constructivism and participatory paradigms. Notably, positivist and post positivist paradigms of inquiry refer to approaches often associated with scientific methods and quantitative methodologies.

given that I aim to develop an understanding of how Jamaican immigrants' relationship with Jamaican immigrant organizations is influenced by the way their identities are constructed and negotiated in particular places (Sayer 1992).

Qualitative approaches that are based on the critical theory paradigm allow for an exploration of experiences, which are context specific and constructed in relation to power structures defined by race, gender and class. A qualitative approach is also associated with the idea that "social life is the product of interactions and the beliefs of social actors" (Bahari 2010: 23). As such, the selection of a qualitative research approach is partly a reflection of my positionality as a Jamaican immigrant woman with personal experiences with Jamaican immigrant organizations.

This research concerns two groups; Jamaican immigrants in Toronto who participate in immigrant organizations as well as Jamaican immigrants who are not currently members of immigrant organizations. To accommodate the diversity of the research participants, a mixture of methods shaped by the types of people to be recruited for the study, the types of questions to be asked as well as the characteristics of the researcher (Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Valentine 2001) was employed.

In this chapter, I outline several methodological concerns. In section 1, I identify how my paradigmatic location in relation to the research influences the methodological choices made in the research design. Secondly, I discuss my data collection strategies particularly the types of methods I employed to conduct the research. I explain their usefulness for capturing the complex relationships between place and identity that undergird immigrants' participation in immigrant organizations. I also provide a description of my sampling strategies as well as a description of the participants involved in this research. Section 3 highlights the implications of a critical human geography approach for my research. A critical human geography approach is concerned

with the utility of multiple critical philosophies and ideological rubrics, such as feminism, for explicating the ways that power defines place (Kincheloe and McLaren 2000). An approach that is sensitive to relationships between place and identity is crucial for explaining Jamaican immigrants' relationships with immigrant organizations and the construction of Jamaican immigrant identities. This section is followed by a consideration of how social location influenced the research process as well as the challenges I encountered during fieldwork. Section 5 discusses how the findings of the research were examined to describe Jamaican immigrants' participation in organizations, the factors affecting their participation, and its implications for Jamaican immigrants' identities.

Paradigmatic Considerations and Qualitative Research

The paradigmatic location of the researcher informs her methodological design (Lincoln and Guba 2000). Essentially, methods cannot be utilized appropriately without a consideration of how paradigmatic assumptions inform their use as well as how information or findings from the research will be interpreted. My paradigmatic location is in the critical theory paradigm which views reality as shaped by the specificity of social, economic, cultural, ethnic, racial and gender values that change overtime (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2011). Both researcher and participants are seen as agents in the construction and representation of knowledge (Denzin and Lincoln 2011 and Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2011).

The critical theory paradigm assumes post-modern concerns that acknowledge the way that the fluid and historically contingent nature of place and the identities of individuals embedded in those places influence immigrant identities and their expressions of belonging. As such, a qualitative research approach based on the critical theory paradigm is appropriate given that the relationships between participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto and Jamaican immigrants' identities constitute my substantive area of interest. Specifically, the

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historical development of Jamaican immigrant organizations, the levels of inclusion and exclusion involved in the construction of these organizations and various aspects of place that influence these organizations are central areas of interest for this research.

The philosophical location of the researcher determines how the research is carried out, the questions asked and how they are asked of the research informants (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Specifically, the positivist paradigm that often involves quantitative methodologies assumes that a partial reality exists separate from the observer and as a result can be segmented and studied in parts (Guba and Lincoln 1994). The critical theory paradigm understands reality as constructed through interactions defined by social structures and individual locations along particular axes of power. Additionally, the fact that the knower and the known are seen as independent in the positivist paradigm while thought to be interactive or relational in the critical theory paradigm results in the use of different methods (Guba and Lincoln 1994 and Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2011). In the positivist paradigm, methods will be applied in a rigorous and unbiased manner so as to maintain objectivity while the relationship between the knower and the known is central to the process of inquiry in the critical theory paradigm (Guba and Lincoln 1994). Consequently, in the positivist paradigm, generalizations are made independent of time and context so as to propose general laws that enable predictions; whereas the critical theory paradigm holds that interpretations are necessarily context and time dependent due to the specificity of each experience. The context of verification and discovery is interactive and emergent in the critical theory paradigm while these are separate and distinct processes in the positivist paradigm.

Operating within the positivist paradigm, control is also vested primarily in the inquirer whereas it is negotiated through dialogue and exchange between the inquirer and participants in the critical theory paradigm (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2011). These assumptions are

demonstrated through the methodological workings of the positivist paradigm that begin with hypotheses followed by a bounded process of proposition, testing and generalization. The methodology of the critical theory paradigm is based on the fact that knowledge derived from a natural setting develops through a cyclical, fluid and interactive process that is grounded in the context in which the observations are being made.

Qualitative research is appropriate for this study due to the interest in investigating how participation in immigrant organizations influences identities. My position in relation to the phenomena is also involved by virtue of the fact that I identify as a Jamaican immigrant who was involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. This subjective and value-laden position requires an explicit acknowledgment of biases with regard to the phenomenon. Consequently, the knowledge produced will be a situated knowledge that derives from the specificity of (my) place and history as well as the experiential realities of Jamaican immigrants living in Toronto.

Data Collection Strategies

Qualitative Research Methods

The methodological choices outlined below are informed by a critical theory paradigm that promotes a qualitative research methodology. Qualitative research methods are appropriate for this study given that I view reality and the relationship between researcher and participants as subjective and intertwined. Qualitative research is concerned with elucidating human environments and human experiences within a variety of conceptual frameworks (Hay 2010:5). The process is often circular due to the inter-subjective, value-laden and situated nature of the methodology.

Various methods are used in qualitative research, some of which are oral techniques such as interviews and focus groups and some that are visual techniques such as "observationally based

ethnographies" (Hay 2010: 8). Textual methods analyze archival and documentary sources and observational methods include participant observation. The most popular qualitative research methods in geography that involve talking with people and allowing individuals to speak in their own voices. Using the words of the participants will tell us a "great deal about their experiences and attitudes, but they may also reveal key underlying social structures" that construct place (Hay 2010:13). These are post-modern concerns that imply a shift away from the unitary and essentializing views associated with a positivist stance to one that acknowledges the multiplicity and fluidity of reality.

A Multi-Method Approach

Although this research is largely qualitative and draws on a variety of qualitative techniques including interviews and interpretation of archival data, I also use quantitative methods including statistical analysis of information from the 2006 census and the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002). Scholars such as Elwood (2010) consider the problems associated with mixed approaches. Elwood (2010:94) acknowledges that there is a tendency in geography to see mixing research paradigms as incompatible as there have been "long-standing debates in geography that have sought to demarcate quantitative and qualitative methods, or positivist, humanist, post-structuralist, and other epistemological perspectives." Elwood (2010) advocates mixing methods in creative ways to develop ways of doing research that disrupts persistent efforts to frame different modes of inquiry as inherently incompatible. I ascribe to her complementary approach to mixed methods that "understands knowledge as situated…inherently partial and [therefore] involves approaches that rely upon multiple types of data, modes of analysis or ways of knowing" (Elwood 2010: 94). Also, I agree with many feminist geographers who state that the appropriateness of specific research methods is partly determined by the manner, extent and purposes for which they will be used (McDowell 1992; Harding 1987).

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There are several practical reasons for using mixed methods. Multiple methods may compensate for weaknesses and inadequacies of information derived from singular research methods. The quantitative data used in this research will situate the experiences of Jamaican immigrants in a broader social and economic context and reveal characteristics of the Jamaican immigrant population that could not be derived from qualitative information. Data from the 2006 census of Canada and the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002) provide information about the broader social and economic circumstances of Jamaican immigrants as well as general trends in their settlement in Toronto and Canada. This information provides a snapshot of Jamaican immigrants on a larger scale than qualitative information would provide. Still, I recognize that caution is necessary when using quantitative methods in research about immigrants and racialized groups. Traditionally, these methods, which were used as tools to enable colonization and domination, have ignored the experiences of racialized minorities (McDowell 1992; Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). Although, I ultimately subscribe to qualitative methods, I also utilize a mix of information that includes interview material, newspaper clippings, survey data and statistical information. The information is triangulated for richer case studies, which elucidate the relationship between identity and participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations.

Case studies that use a variety of methods, including interviews, archival research and statistical methods allow the researcher to place the experiences of research participants within a larger context. With a case study, it is possible to conduct an in-depth exploration of social, historical, and cultural factors that shape relationships between immigrants, immigrant organizations and their identities (George and Bennett 2005). Case studies were also useful for producing historical analyses of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. The case studies of Jamaican immigrant organizations highlighted specific social and cultural factors in Toronto

that shaped involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations and the identities of Jamaican immigrants.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews allow the researcher to elicit detailed responses about the phenomenon being studied and how people view and interpret their experiences (Valentine 2001:44). As Hay (2010: 110) explains, "the semi-structured interview is organized around ordered but flexible questioning…and the role of the researcher is recognized as being more interventionist than in unstructured interviews." Semi- structured interviews allow researchers and participants the flexibility of using open and closed-ended questions as well as introducing new topics of conversation and concerns during the interviews. Furthermore, this method allows researchers to continue interaction with research participants over time. Therefore, ambiguity and contradictions can be clarified through follow-up interviews. Factors such as body language, tone or the general dynamics of the interview can be recorded to inform interpretation and provide new insights on the phenomenon of interest.

For the interviews that informed this project, an interview guide or schedule was used with both open and closed-ended questions. The interview schedule included questions about the circumstances influencing the migration of the research participants, their experiences with settlement in Canada, their connections with Jamaica, the level of knowledge and experiences with Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto, and their views on the divisions within the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto. Jamaican immigrants who were members of Jamaican immigrant organizations were asked about their experiences and activities with Jamaican immigrant organizations during interviews. These questions allowed me to explore how the migration and settlement experiences of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto influence participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations.

The interview questions were developed through: a review of interview schedules used in previous studies of immigrants in Toronto; by conducting a pretest to identify weaknesses in the interview design, and through consulting academic resources that provided information which allowed me to develop more effective and useful research questions (Cresswell 2007). While questions were developed for the interview guide, topics raised or problems encountered during initial interviews were used to alter interview questions in order to seek information from research participants more effectively. For instance, a question about Jamaican immigrants in Toronto was revised to, more directly, ask participants about their views on the types of people that make up the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto, whether the population is united or divided, and the factors influencing unity or divisions. The open-ended nature of the interviews allowed for discussions about the church and its role in engendering sense of belonging among Jamaican immigrants.

Informed consent forms describing the study and the rights of the participants in regard to the research (particularly maintaining anonymity and ensuring that they understood that participation was voluntary) were also provided at the beginning of the interview. The informed consent forms were handed to or read to the participant before the beginning of each interview and signed to acknowledge understanding of the requirements and risks associated with the interview. A copy of the informed consent form was given to each participant and I, as the principal investigator, kept another copy.

Interviews were conducted in public places including coffee shops and the organizations of which some participants were members. The length of interviews ranged from 40 minutes to 3 hours. There were cases where interviewees cancelled interviews or were unable to meet in person. For those individuals who were unable to meet in person, telephone interviews were made available to accommodate their circumstances.

Interviews were tape recorded with the permission of the participants. This allowed for more critical attention to be paid to the interviewees, particularly the creation of appropriate prompts and compilation of notes about the expressions and gestures of the participants, which added additional meaning to the interview itself. Though tape recorders may inhibit the informant's response, this problem was not encountered very often. There were some instances where interviewees requested that the recorder be turned off so as to maintain confidentiality on sensitive topics. In such instances, field notes were recorded immediately after the interviews.

Procedures for handling interview transcripts included full transcriptions of each interview. In some cases, elements of the conversation that were not highly pertinent to the research were labeled with a time bracket and issues or themes were noted for later use. I conducted follow-up interviews with participants in cases where issues required clarification. Interviewees were contacted after transcription to see if they would like a copy of the transcript and whether they were comfortable with how their information would be used for the dissertation.

A brief survey was used to gather demographic information from the participants. I found, however, that there were challenges associated with collecting this type of information, as some participants were not willing to invest the time to answer survey questions after a lengthy in-depth interview. Some participants also felt that questions related to age and education were invasive. As a result, they opted to complete some sections of the survey and ignore requests for other types of information. Scholars such as Valentine (2001: 47) emphasize the importance of a contingency plan that will prepare the researcher for any changes that occur throughout the project. For participants who were exhausted by the end of the interview process, I offered the option of taking home surveys for completion at a later time. I also offered to send an electronic version of the survey that they would complete and return at a later date. Although these options

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were effective in allowing me to collect more demographic information from research participants, I realized that the returned surveys were often incomplete. As a result, the table outlining the characteristics of participants includes missing information.

The specificity of challenges associated with conducting research with particular immigrant groups is an issue I would like to explore in future research. For instance, Marin and Marin (1991: 42) argue that "cultural barriers may make it difficult for minority and non-minority researchers to work" with immigrant groups. These groups may have culturally specific experiences that may interfere with a researchers ability to collect particular types of information. Marin and Marin (1991) note that some immigrants may be reluctant to share particular details about their lives and experiences if they have lived in societies where sharing personal information is potentially dangerous. Culturally specific factors that limit research with particular immigrant groups in specific locations is a topic that warrants future research.

Case Studies

Instrumental case studies were the main method used in this research. The case studies allowed for a detailed examination of each individual case and provided a basis for a comparison between the organizations so as to gain a greater understanding of participation in immigrant organizations in Toronto (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 370). Case studies incorporate a variety of methods, including interviewing and observation, which are useful for gaining deeper insights on the phenomenon being studied. The triangulation of methods evident in case studies also allows for flexibility in terms of the range of data sources available. It may, however, add another layer of complexity to the study due to the level of detail that will be acquired through the use of different methods. Unlike intrinsic case studies that allow the researcher to focus on a single instance of the phenomenon so as to understand a particular case in itself, an instrumental case study allows the researcher to gain insight into a larger issue so as to derive a theory (Stake

2000) which, in this case, would be the extent to which the Jamaican immigrant organizations

are legitimate venues for expressions of belonging and civic participation in Canadian society.

An instrumental case study also allows for an understanding of the general processes that

encompass several instances of the phenomenon (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Stake (2000: 440),

however, also emphasizes that "even when stated for generalization, [case studies also] serve to

deepen an understanding of the specific case."

In the case studies, observations are enhanced by in-depth interviews that provide more

detailed information about participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations including the

circumstances shaping organizational formation, day-to -day activities, the nature of the

membership and so on. Moreover, the fact that case studies incorporate various methods

(observation, interviews as well as archival information) meant that the organizations could be

studied at different levels, namely through personal experiences and investigating the histories of

organizations as whole, to create a richer story about Jamaican immigrant organizations.

In this research, case studies focus on Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto to

allow for an understanding of the factors leading to the establishment of these organizations.

More specifically, I investigate the nature of immigrant organizations that are established to

provide social services to immigrants and a space for the preservation of cultural traditions. I am

primarily interested in organizations that value, highly, their nationality and the national

sentiments of both participants and non-participants (Breton and Reitz 2005). Breton (1964)

emphasized that a wide variety of organizations, including ethnic churches and ethnic

organizations, are central to achieving institutional completeness. I recognize that churches play

an important role in immigrant adjustment (Ley 2008) and the maintenance of transnational

identities (Mensah 2008 and Mensah 2015). However, this research focuses on immigrant

organizations that are recognized as important for mobilizing immigrants, fostering their sense of

belonging as well as their civic, social and political integration in places of settlement through primarily nationalist and secular activities and discourse. Researchers have emphasized that immigrant organizations are important avenues for civic engagement in the country of settlement for immigrants (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008, Portes, Escobar and Walton-Radford 2007, Goldring 2002 and Gooden 2008). But little is known about the extent to which secular immigrant organizations foster sense of belonging within diverse immigrant groups. Therefore, this study places emphasis on immigrant organizations in order to better understand the extent to which they foster sense of belonging and promote civic engagement among immigrant groups they are intended to serve.

Archival Research

Researchers have focused on traditional qualitative methods including interviewing, participant observation, focus groups and case studies to study migration in geography. Mayhew (2003) in Hay (2010: 175), states that historical geography has a "two-fold significance for the discipline [that is,] … to re-evaluate taken for granted concepts and to develop a comparative perspective, so that as geographers, we might fully appreciate what is distinctive about today's world and how we understand it in disciplinary terms." Archival research was conducted at York University to create an inventory of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto and to develop an understanding of the context in which they emerged. Ethnic/Caribbean newspapers that were established in the 1950s such the *West Indian News Observer* to more recent newspapers including *the Share* magazine were examined. I left the archives with detailed information about the social and historical circumstances influencing how Jamaican immigrant organizations developed and the various types of organizations that were formed in Toronto to serve Jamaican immigrants.

Sampling Strategies

I recruited participants and collected information in several ways. Organizations considered in this research were selected from an inventory of Jamaican immigrant organizations. I compiled a list of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto from three sources; the Internet, archival research, and information provided by the Jamaican Consular General's Office in Toronto. Jamaican immigrant organizations with an Internet presence including information about their activities, mandates and location were included in the inventory. Organizations were also identified by consulting ethnic newspapers that serve Caribbean communities, including the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto, specifically *the Islander*, *Share* and *Contrast* newspapers. Newspaper articles published between the 1960s and the year 2007[6] were reviewed. The newspaper articles revealed the various types of immigrant organizations established by and for Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. The establishment and events of some Jamaican immigrant organizations were also advertised in the newspapers. The Jamaican Consular General's office in Toronto also provided a list of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Though outdated, the list provided information for organizations that were not otherwise found on the Internet or in newspapers.[7]

With the inventory of approximately 83 organizations, I began a process of classification that occurred in three stages. First, I searched for contact information and details about the orientation and mandates of each of the organizations identified in the inventory.[8]

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[6] The archive of Caribbean newspapers available in the York University micro-text library spanned this period (1960-2007).
[7] It is important to note that the list of organizations provided by the Consulate included organizations that were located in provinces outside Ontario as well as organizations that were primarily established to address experiences related to Pan-African identities in Toronto.
[8] Organizations without an internet presence were excluded from the final inventory.

Secondly, I classified the immigrant organizations based on the following characteristics: their location in or outside Toronto, whether they were founded by Jamaican immigrants, and whether they offered services or hosted events that targeted Jamaican immigrants and their families. More specifically, given that the study is focused on Jamaican immigrants' expression of belonging in Toronto, organizations that were located in Toronto were selected. Included in the list of organizations that were considered are those that were founded by Jamaican immigrants. Organizations with an internet presence that also showed evidence of activities intended to celebrate Jamaican immigrants' cultural ties and practices were also identified and selected. Some organizations in the inventory were identified as a Caribbean rather than a Jamaican organization. Still, organizations such as the Caribbean Chinese Association were classified as Jamaican institutions, as their memberships are dominated by Jamaican immigrants and they host events that celebrate Jamaican heritage.

Thirdly, I used my knowledge of the literature about immigrant organizations to classify the Jamaican immigrant organizations that were listed in the inventory by orientation. For instance, I was aware that scholars such as Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2000) identified organizations that were interested in providing a space for immigrants to practice their cultural heritage as socio-cultural. Premdas (2004) also examined the way that some Indo-Caribbean immigrants organized based on their ethnic identity. These organizations provided opportunities for Caribbean immigrants to participate in activities that recognized the specificity of their cultural ancestry and ethnic identities (Premdas 2004). As such, organizations that focused on celebrating the ethnic identities of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto were identified as ethnic organizations.

Moe (2011) and Brettel and Reed-Danahay (2008) recognize that groups of individuals and immigrants in the USA establish special interest groups that focus their work on particular

activities and sectors of interest. In their study of Vietnamese immigrants in Texas, Brettel and Reed-Danahay (2008) found that these immigrants established a wide variety of interest groups that included Vietnamese medical and professional associations as well as Vietnamese martial arts groups in Texas.

Brettel and Reed-Danahay (2008) also argue that Asian Indians in Dallas-Fort Worth, Texas have established political or lobbying associations such as the Indian American Friendship Council. The authors state that the Indian American Friendship Council was established " to create political awareness among Indian Americans and maintain an ongoing dialogue with local, national and international policy makers…" (IAFC, Teas Chapter, Banquet Program, March 2006 in Brettel and Reed-Danahay 2008: 208).

The alumni association is also an important organizational form within the Jamaican immigrant population. Alumni associations allow immigrants to maintain connections with their Alma Mater while residing in the country of settlement. Scholars such as Saxenian, Motoyama and Quan (2002) recognize that alumni associations are important types of organizations within immigrant communities. They found that immigrants from Greater China, for instance, attended meetings of alumni associations as frequently as professional or technical associations (Saxenian, Motoyama and Quan 2002).

I found that most existing Jamaican immigrant organizations demonstrated at least one of four main orientations: sociocultural, ethnic, political and special interest organizations. Alumni groups, the fifth main orientation, were also well represented among Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Organizations such as the Jamaican Canadian Association, which promoted the cultural heritage of Jamaican immigrants and provided settlement services, were placed in the sociocultural category (jcaontario.org). Similarly, organizations such as the Caribbean Chinese Association were categorized as ethnic as their organizational mandate

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emphasized the importance of sustaining the cultural and heritage of individuals with Caribbean and Chinese heritage (caribbeanchinese.ca). Having categorized the 83 organizations (Appendix E and F), I selected one organization to represent each of the primary orientations of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto.

I contacted the executive members of organizations selected to represent each type to schedule a meeting to discuss my research and the possibility of recruiting members of their organization to participate in the study.

It should be noted that every effort was made to recruit equal numbers of Jamaican immigrant men and women from each organization that was selected and considered in the study, however, an equal sample was not achieved in all cases. Interviewing executive members of each type of organization was challenging. Individuals responsible for organizations in the outer suburbs were difficult to reach as emails were not monitored regularly and, in many cases, contact information was difficult to find. In some cases, I attended events at specific organizations to speak with members of the organization about my research. One such organization was the Jamaican Canadian Association that hosted events that were open to the public. I attended some of their meetings and events including 50th anniversary functions in 2012 that celebrated Jamaica's independence where I was able to recruit 10 men and 10 women. The sampling method was reputational in that my initial group of participants referred me to individuals who were qualified and interested in participating in the research. This was the case for the five organizations represented in the study. Networks were critical for building the research sample. The networks included members of Jamaican immigrant organizations who completed interviews during the early stages of the research as well as friends and family members.

The second sample included Jamaican immigrants who were not members of Jamaican immigrant organizations. The sample was mixed and the recruitment strategies were also varied in an attempt to recruit individuals from different backgrounds. The non-organizational group comprised 10 men and 10 women, who were former members of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto, Jamaican immigrants who were members of churches and those who had no past or current affiliation with Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Colleagues who were part of my personal network were crucial for putting me in contact with former members of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. One supervisory committee member also helped me contact a Toronto Seventh Day Adventist church that had many Jamaican immigrants in its congregation. Another contact at the church recommended people she knew from the congregation to participate in the study. Other participants in the non-participant sample also referred me to individuals who they knew would be interested in the research.

My experiences with the recruitment of research participants demonstrate the utility of a reputational sample. A reputational sample is particularly useful when the population of interest is not fully accessible to the researcher and, therefore, necessitates a strategic approach to recruitment (Valentine 2001). This type of sample allowed me to increase the number of participants that I recruited from particular organizations thereby enhancing the level of detail that could be provided in this research. Another advantage associated with reputational samples is that the researcher can ensure that the "chain of referrals remain within the boundaries of the study" (Tansey 2007: 18).

There are also disadvantages associated with the use of case studies in this research. Specifically, the level of diversity within the sample may be limited. There is also the potential to recruit individuals with similar outlooks and, therefore, some of the interpretations may reflect the viewpoints of individuals with similar experiences. I recognize the limitations associated

with recruiting Jamaican immigrants will influence the insights I gained from the individuals who participated in this study.

Characteristics of the Interview Participants: Toronto, Canada

In the sections that follow, I describe the social characteristics of Jamaican immigrant men and women who were interviewed as part of this research. Interviews were conducted with 29 Jamaican immigrant men and women who were members of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Nineteen Jamaican immigrant men and women who were former members or not involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations at the time of the study were also interviewed. An elite interview was also conducted with a Jamaican diplomat who was a member of the Jamaican Diaspora Canada Foundation in Toronto. The social characteristics of the research participants are compared with those of the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto to ascertain how the research participants were similar or different from the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto (Table 3.1). The demographic information is also useful for comparing the characteristics of Jamaican immigrants who participate in organizations with those of Jamaican immigrants who are not involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations. This information helps me investigate how Jamaican immigrants' experiences with Jamaican immigrant organizations are, in part, shaped by their social characteristics.

Table 3.1: Demographic Characteristics of Jamaican Immigrants Participating in the Study

*Name9	Gender	Year of Birth	Marital Status	Immigration Status	Year of Arrival	Highest level of education	Education Prior migration to Canada	Employment	Identity

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[9] Pseudonyms have been assigned to each of the research participants to maintain the anonymity of the research and the confidentiality of the information provided by the participants.

					Project for the Advancement of Childhood Education (PACE)				
Francis	F		Single	Citizen	1960	Bachelors	Primary	Retired	Black
Gina	F	1928	Single	Citizen	NA	Doctorate	Doctorate	Retired	Jamaican
Gabrielle	F	1950	Married	Citizen	NA	Bachelors	Bachelors	Retired	Jamaican Canadian
Iris	F		Single	Citizen	1959	None	High school	Retired	Jamaican Canadian
Jen	F			Citizen	1959	High School	No Formal Education	Retired	Jamaican Canadian
Kevin	M		Married	Citizen	1968	Doctorate	Some University	Retired	Jamaican
Lamont	M	1939	Married	Citizen	1967	Masters	Some College	Retired	Black Jamaican
				Jamaica Diaspora Canada Foundation					
Carl	M	1951	Married	Diplomat	NA		Masters	Yes, Government Official	Jamaican
Frederick	M	1940	Married	Citizen	1969	Masters	Post High School program	Retired	Black
Anderson	M	1942	Married	Citizen	1967	Doctorate	Post High School Program	Retired	Jamaican
				Meadowbrook High School Alumni Association					
Fabian	M	1970	Married	Permanent Resident	2008	None	High school	Yes, Senior Yes, Manager	Chinese Jamaican
Belinda	F	1967	Married	Permanent Resident	2007	None	Masters	Yes, Word Processing	Black
Gabe	M	NA	Married	Permanent Resident	1991	Some University	High School	Yes	Jamaican
Irvin	F	1968	Married	Citizen	1990	Some University	Post High School program	Yes, Bank Agent	Jamaican Canadian

Jamaican Canadian Association									
Wendy	F	1975	Married	Permanent resident	2006	Bachelors	Some University	Yes	Jamaican
Simone									
Andrea	F	1934	Single	Citizen	1965	Masters	Bachelors	Retired	Jamaican Canadian
Eileen	F		Single	Citizen	1959	Some graduate studies	High school	Retired	Black
Max	M		Single	Citizen	1971	Bachelors	High school	Yes, Teacher	Black Jamaican
Connor	M		Married	Citizen	1953	Masters	Bachelors	Retired	Jamaican Canadian
Brent	M	1926		Citizen	1963	Other	High school	Retired	Jamaican Canadian
Andrew	M	1934	Divorced	Citizen		Other	High school	Retired	Black
Aaron	M	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Caribbean Chinese Association									
Abner	M	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	Yes, Doctor	NA
Camille	F								
Benjamin	M	1941	Married	Citizen	1975	Bachelors	Bachelors	Retired	Chinese Jamaican
Conrad	M	1945	Married	Citizen	1973	Some University	Some University	Retired	Chinese Jamaican
Ernest	M	1966	Married	Citizen	1978	Bachelors	High School	Yes, Information Security Consultant	Chinese Jamaican
Mary	F	1950	Married	Citizen	1970	Some University	Some University	Retired	Chinese
Francis	M		Married	Citizen	NA	NA	Bachelors	NA	Chinese

Non-Organizational Participants									
Carol	F	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	Yes, Lecturer	
Sharon	F	1962	Married	Citizen	1976	Some college	Primary	Yes, Bank teller	Jamaican Canadian
William	M	1937	Married	Citizen	1969	Doctorate	Primary	Yes, Pastor	Christian Jamaican
Michelle	F	1966	Married	Citizen	1987	Bachelors	Some university	Yes	Black
Joseph	M	1984	Single	Permanent Resident	2007	Other	Other	Yes, Mechanic	Black Jamaican
Thomas	M	1970	Single	Citizen	1970	High school	Primary	Yes, Radio Host	African Jamaican
Daniel	M	1978	Married	Citizen	1996	High School	High School		Jamaican
Mark	M	NA	Married	Permanent Resident	2007		Some University	Yes, Teacher	Black Jamaican
Steven	M	NA	Married	Citizen	1990	Bachelors	High School		Afro-Caribbean
Ruth	F	1969	Single	Citizen	1999	Other	Post High School Program	Yes, Court Auditor	Jamaican Canadian
Donna	F	1977	Single	Citizen	2005	Masters	Post High School Program	Yes, Manager	Jamaica
Helen	F	1983	Single	Citizen	1975	Masters	Primary	Yes, Management Coordinator/Public Service	Jamaican
Nancy	F	NA	Single	Citizen	1992	Some Graduate Studies	No formal Education	Yes, Community Services	Black
Barbara	F	NA	Single	Citizen	1975	Other	Primary	Yes,	Jamaican

								Youth Councilor	with Mixed Heritage
Lorraine	F	NA	Single	Citizen	1974	Doctorate	No Formal Education	Yes, Lecturer	Black
Kerry	F					Doctorate			
Gary	M	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Alek	M	1966	Married	Citizen	2010		High School	Unemployed	Jamaican Canadian
Peter	M	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Data from the 2006 census indicate that Jamaican immigrants residing in the Toronto CMA were less likely than other foreign born visible minorities [10]to have a university education and employment in a professional or management occupation. This finding is also corroborated by Colin Lindsay's research about Jamaican immigrants in 2001. The information in table 3.1 suggests that, unlike the wider population of Jamaican immigrants in the Toronto CMA, Jamaican immigrants who participated in the study are more likely to be university-educated and employed in professional occupations than all Jamaican immigrants who resided in the Toronto CMA in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2006). Of the participants who identified their highest level of education (n=30), the largest proportion had a graduate or professional degree (46%). The second largest proportion had a Bachelors degree (27%).

The 2006 census of Canada also suggests that the largest proportion of Jamaican immigrants residing in the Toronto, CMA arrived between 1971 and 1980. Similarly, most Jamaican immigrants interviewed in this study arrived between 1953 and 1978 (57%). The

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[10] It should be noted that while the label 'visible minority' usefully categorizes racialized groups who experience disadvantage for the purposes of statistical analysis, the term silences diverse experiences among individuals in this group.

second largest proportion of Jamaican immigrants that were interviewed arrived between 1990

and 2010 (40%). Only one research participant arrived in the 1980s.

I tried to interview 5 men and 5 women from each organization. Interview participants

were recruited from five Jamaican immigrant organizations: The Project for the Advancement of

Early Childhood Education (PACE), the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA), the

Meadowbrook Alumni Association, the Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA) and the Jamaica

Diaspora Foundation. It was not always possible to recruit equal numbers of individuals from

each organization due to the organization's small membership, a lack of membership records and

the fact that many members did not participate in all of the organization's events. Information

about the organizations was also often incomplete.

Interview participants who were members of PACE differed markedly from immigrants

who were recruited from other immigrant organizations to participate in the study. Seven

members of PACE participated in the study (See table 3.1: Project for the Advancement of Early

Childhood Education). They are mostly women, with only two male participants. Most live in

the city of Toronto, all are Canadian citizens and all are retired. Most interview participants who

were members of PACE arrived in Canada in the 1960s and have at least a high school

education. Four of the participants in this group also have postgraduate degrees such as Masters

and Doctorates.

Research participants who were members of the JCA often arrived between 1959 and

1971, most are retirees, they are now Canadian citizens and identify as either Black or Jamaican

Canadian (See Table 3.1: Jamaican Canadian Association). The Jamaica Diaspora Canada

Foundation (JDCF) deals with the affairs of the diaspora "particularly in areas related to

citizenship, migration, Jamaican professional networks, deportation, remittance flows, analysis

of second and third generation affinity to Jamaica and business formation by Jamaican

immigrants" (Jamaica Diaspora Canada.ca). Three members of the Jamaican Diaspora Canada Foundation participated in the study. They were highly educated men who have postgraduate degrees and had arrived in the 1960s (See Table 3.1: Jamaica Diaspora Canada Foundation). One of the participants, a key informant, was employed as a diplomat while the others were retired.

The Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA) "provides a community focus for 170 Caribbean Chinese families that migrated to Toronto" ("Caribbean Chinese Face Cultural Dilemmas: Our Support is Needed"). The participants from this organization included five males and two females who live in outer suburban areas including Whitchurch-Stoufville, Pickering, and Markham.[11] Many of the participants arrived in the 1970s and approximately half are retired (See Table 3.1: Caribbean Chinese Association).

The Meadowbrook Alumni association promotes fundraising activities to support Meadowbrook High School in Kingston, Jamaica. Established in 2005, much later than the other organizations included in the study, participants from this organization also arrived later, between 1990 and 2000, than other research participants (See Table 3.1: Meadowbrook Alumni Association). Most of the participants from this organization resided in outer suburban areas including Brampton and Mississauga. They were employed in various professions and each member had acquired some post-secondary education in Canada.

Table 3.1 also shows that ten Jamaican immigrant men and ten Jamaican immigrant women who did not participate in immigrant organizations were part of the study. Approximately half of these individuals live in the City of Toronto and the other half live in the outer suburbs mainly in Brampton. Most participants are Canadian citizens that arrived in Canada through family sponsorship between 1970 and 2000. All participants had a primary school education upon

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[11] Information about the residential location of interview participants was removed from the table to maintain participant anonymity and confidentiality of their responses.

arrival and had completed at least high school or some college in Toronto. Most participants identified as being Jamaican or Jamaican Canadian. All are employed, working in various economic sectors including education, services, management and banking.

Reflections on Methodology: A Critical Human Geography Approach

A critical approach to Human Geography has informed this research. Firstly, the objective of critical human geography is to promote ideology or theories, which "unmask the actors, interests and consequences of… claims to objectivity … [and] the role of social interests, human agency and institutions in shaping existing and possible worlds" (Pickles 2011). Theoretically, critical human geography is linked or informed by critical philosophies such as Feminism, Marxism and post-colonialism. As a qualitative researcher I draw on and identify with aspects of these research traditions. Critical theory is the basis of the critical human geography approach and it is "concerned with issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, matters of race, class, gender… religion and other social institutions and cultural dynamics interact to construct a social system" (Kincheloe and McLaren 2000:281). Of particular concern to critical human geography is the process by which the status quo as well as the inequalities caused by multiple forms of power related to race, gender, sexuality and class is maintained and how "greater degrees of autonomy and human agency can be achieved" (Kincheloe and McLaren 2000:282). Therefore, critical research aims to reveal power dynamics that structure unequal social relations in particular places. This type of research highlights the specificities of the relationships between place, race, ethnicity and gender. Critical theory emphasizes that all research is situated; interpreters and all interpretation is historically and culturally situated (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Feminist methodologies and epistemologies force researchers to be critically reflexive and aware of their role in constructing the social systems and situations, which they study (Kobayashi 2001). Additionally, "post-colonial and feminist

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critiques [demand] recognition and acknowledgement of social differences of gender, race, sexuality as well as class…and the power relations underpinning these differences" (Mohammad 2010:102).

Although issues such as ensuring informed consent, avoidance of harm, confidentiality, and responsive communication with participants are important in qualitative research, there is also a need to be "[sensitive] to the ways in which different subjects construct meaning and how emotional responses occur" (Sieber 1993 in Kobayashi 2001). This is particularly the case in research with vulnerable groups including racialized immigrants. For feminist researchers, it is not enough to be sensitive and aware of these situations, the researcher must also aim to change oppression and reduce inequality. Feminist research has been challenged due to its focus on the experiences of white women and limited attention to the experiences of women from racialized communities (McDowell 1992 and Phoenix 2000; Haraway 1988 and Mohanty 1991). Also, in feminist research, the issues of power, trust, positionality and activism are still paramount.

I recognize the significance of principles within feminist research that highlight how social differences related to gender, race and class are constructed and reproduced. A feminist approach acknowledges that all knowledge is situated and not disembodied and therefore knowledge is only partial, in that it only represents the views of the researcher and the participants included in this study. Thus, Mohammad (2010:103) argues that "the researcher is part of a social world: he or she is like Jonah…inside the whale…making objectivity and neutrality impossible…[and] the claim to objectivity and neutrality only serves to make invisible the biases and subjectivity of the information that is collected and coded as knowledge." Research is always defined in relation to the researcher and in terms of the questions asked, the methods and methodology selected and the individuals chosen for interviews. As a result, greater self-awareness was required on my part, in terms of my interactions with participants, the

questions I asked them and the stories I shared about my experiences in Toronto. Experiences that I shared with my participants varied. Initially, I was concerned about sharing my negative experiences with Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto in the past. However, in cases where participants shared similar and personal information with me, I also shared information about myself. As I built a better rapport with participants and as the research progressed, I was able to share and connect on more of an emotional level with participants about whether or not their experiences had been positive or negative. The information presented in this research reflects interactions with me as a former participant in Jamaican immigrant organizations, a Jamaican immigrant who has lived in Toronto for 10 years, a graduate student and a woman.

Due to the diversity of Jamaican immigrants included in the study and my personal identity and positionality, it is important to recognize that the knowledge derived from this research is both situated and partial. Still, the information gleaned from this research is meaningful as it allowed for an understanding of the social and spatial processes shaping Jamaican immigrants' experiences and relationships with organizations in Toronto from their own perspectives.

Positionality: The Challenges of 'Insider' Research

The challenges of insider /outsider research became apparent during the data collection phase of the research (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). In formulating the research design, I felt that a case study of Jamaican immigrant organizations was reasonable and feasible given my epistemological and substantive location in relation to the research. I am a Jamaican immigrant who resides in Toronto, Canada and participated in Jamaican immigrant organizations so I felt I could relate to the experiences of research participants. I also felt that I would be afforded practical advantages such as access to research participants due to my positionality. My

positionality, however, did not shield me from challenges related to access and building trust with research participants.

First, it must be stated that the experience of being an insider and outsider had to be navigated carefully in order to speak with participants who could provide useful information for my research. In some situations, my position in relation to the research participant was equal in that I shared a place of birth with the informant, and although power relationships were not absent, recruiting these individuals was less difficult. In other circumstances, some participants were reluctant to participate in the research and unwilling to share many personal details. For example, I interviewed Jamaican senior government officials in Toronto. They were more than willing to assist me, a student, with my research. A telephone call to their place of work or an email was sufficient to arrange a meeting. Members of some organizations, however, were very suspicious when I approached them to talk about my research. It is possible that these participants may have been cautious about sharing personal information (Mohammad 2010: 109). As a result, contact with general members often had to be mediated by a long time member or executive of the organization. In contrast, executives for each organization were often easier to contact than individuals in the general membership. Valentine (2001) highlights the importance of building relationships with specific individuals in the research setting particularly in the case of institutional research in community settings where research participants may be more difficult to access. Tansey (2007) agrees that elite interviewees such as organizational executives provide opportunities for researchers to speak directly with research participants.

These experiences also reveal how status and power interacted with my insider/outsider positionality to shape my fieldwork. As an insider, it would seem that my access to participants would be easier, but this was not always the case. The researcher's identity defines who and what is researched (Cook 2005). I recognize that my experiences with immigrant organizations in

Toronto influenced the research process. As a Jamaican immigrant who was aware of the exclusionary orientations of some Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto, I was motivated to investigate other types of Jamaican immigrant organizations established to provide settlement supports and venues for belonging and civic participation in Canadian society. As such, I entered the research process with the intention of investigating how Jamaican immigrant organizations may reproduce class and gender biases that originate in Jamaican society. The study, however, exposed me to a wide range of Jamaican immigrant organizations that forced me to question my perception of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto and the roles they play in the lives of Jamaican immigrants. The emergent nature of a qualitative research process allowed me to de-centre my initial views. Incorporating other voices and perspectives into the research process have challenged and enriched my understanding of Jamaican immigrant organizations.

The exclusionary experiences I encountered in Jamaican immigrant organizations also influenced my desire to enter academia to pursue doctoral studies. I believed that my educational pursuits would provide me with a platform to put forward my point of view about Jamaican immigrant organizations, which was suppressed during my previous encounters with these organizations. Perhaps the limitation of this privilege is related to how "academic research expertise…may unintentionally hide and silence the voice of other" individuals who participated in the research (Wallerstein and Duran 2006:316). Although the recognition of my privilege in this research is not sufficient to reduce my power as a researcher in this study (Kobayashi 2001), I have taken steps to ensure that the voices of the research participants are reflected in the research. I use italic font to distinguish the voices of the research participants from my own interpretations of the participants' experiences, resulting in the production of a final text that highlights the voices of the research participants while illuminating my understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

The challenges highlight the quandaries associated with being an insider/outsider with which I had to contend through my research. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) would describe my experience in the field as inside/out and outside/in research. An insider is someone who is similar to their informants in many respects, while an outsider differs substantially from their informants (Hay 2010). According to Robina Mohammad (2010: 101) "insider/outsider refers to the boundary marking … that is seen to circumscribe identity, social position and belonging and, as such, marks those who do not belong and hence are excluded." One argument about insider/outsider research is that if you are an insider then your interpretations are more valid than those of outsiders and people are more likely to speak with you freely because you share the same outlook as the participants (Valentine 2002 in Hay 2010). My experiences, however, illustrate that these boundaries are complex. I was never simply an insider or outsider as there were "overlapping racial, socio-economic, gender, ethnic and other characteristics that influenced influence the research" (Hay 2010: 36). I was an insider due to my status as a Jamaican, an immigrant, and individual with middle class status. I was also an outsider due to my status as a researcher and a woman.

To overcome the challenges of positionality, I relied on critical reflexivity, a constant process of (re)thinking and reflection about the impact of our assumptions, values and actions on others (Cunliffe 2004). Valentine (2001: 47) also emphasizes the importance of reflexivity during the design formulation process particularly where it concerns how the researcher's positionality will affect interaction or communication with research participants. While I recognize that reflexivity is important for constructing situated knowledge (Haraway 1991), l concur with Kobayashi's assertion that this reflexivity will not always reduce power differentials between researcher and participants. (Re) negotiating and (re) assessing the methods appropriate for recruiting participants for the research as well as how and which questions were asked of

particular participants was a constant feature of the fieldwork. This experience reinforces the need for creating alternative plans that will address potential challenges that researchers can encounter during the research (Valentine 2001).

Analysis and Interpretation

In my analysis of the information collected through the interviews, I attempted to present the information in the way it was told by the participants. Nevertheless, I am aware that this information is mediated by my own interpretations. This is one of the privileges of authorship as I am controlling the research process (Rose 1995). One of my responsibilities as a researcher is to incorporate the voices of participants, to create a text that is multi-vocal and provides an understanding of the phenomena as it is conceived, constructed and understood by the research participants.

This research utilized manifest content analysis to assess the visible, surface content of documents as well as latent content analysis to identify themes underlying meanings in interview transcripts (Hay 2010:125). Once patterns and themes are identified, "tacit knowledge or knowledge of contextual information … [is used] to interpret meaning and conceptualize observations" (Boyatzis 1998:8). I began by conducting manifest analysis of interview transcripts and continued with latent content analysis through the use of Nvivo software to tally the occurrence of words as they appeared in these transcripts. These tallies were then coded as large categories to sort and retrieve data from the transcripts line by line. Sections were extrapolated and read as a single document in MS word. The transcripts were then reviewed manually for themes. Nvivo software was also used to identify significant themes and issues that were presented during the interviews. Summaries were written for each theme and combined with selected sections of interview content.

Content analysis is useful for identifying and interpreting explicit themes that emerge during conversations with research participants however it overlooks the information available from gestures and patterns of speech. Discourse analysis examines the forms and mechanisms of actual conversations and pays attention to the sociolinguistic form of conversations (Boyatzis 1998:7) empowering those who have been silent or marginalized. By relying on content analysis in this study, I recognize that some aspects of the settlement experience may have been overlooked. For instance, when I attempted to discuss the West Indian Domestic Scheme with Jamaican immigrant women who I knew to be former domestic workers, they would often remain silent about their involvement in the domestic scheme or emphasize positive settlement outcomes and achievements in Canada. Despite my attention to reflexivity (Waitt 2010), it is only after reflecting on the completed analysis that I can see silences and emphases in the conversations that warrant more investigation. I return to this topic in the conclusions.

I also utilized an inductive approach to the analysis of the transcripts by deriving variables or categories that emerged in the transcripts. I read through each transcript and identified themes then created nodes for each of the themes derived from the transcripts. I then conducted a further analysis of latent content within each node and created sub-nodes that were related to each major or parent node. The resulting node hierarchies allowed me to explain relationships between themes, particularly how nodes related to each other. Themes related to organizational development, motivations for involvement, settlement experiences and identity were the parent nodes that had the most connections or relationships with other themes or nodes that emerged through transcript analysis.

While analyzing and writing about the experiences of the research participants, I realized that I identified with participants and non-participants. I was reminded that the process of writing and interpretation is subjective particularly because of my ability to identify with the differential

experiences that individuals with Jamaican immigrant organizations revealed in the transcripts. To represent the voices of all research participants, the analysis considers the viewpoints of participants and non-participants so as to ensure that the voices and perspectives of one group of participants did not dominate the dissertation.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methods and challenges experienced throughout my research with Jamaican immigrants and Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. The methods selected for this research are influenced by my positionality. The way in which the research was carried out, the selection of research participants and the questions asked as well as my interactions with research participants were influenced by my own subjectivities. The body of work I have created about Jamaican immigrants and Jamaican immigrant organizations is a situated knowledge (Haraway 1988) informed by my social location and experiences as a Jamaican immigrant in Toronto.

For this dissertation, I utilized a suite of research methods that allowed me to address the literature about Jamaican immigrants as well as promoting a polyvocal discourse about the relationships between identity construction, sense of belonging and participation in immigrant organizations. Still, I encountered challenges in the recruitment of Jamaican immigrants as research participants who often saw me as both insider and outsider. I had to adapt my recruitment strategies to reflect the multiple identities and diverse circumstances of research participants as well as my own positionality. The views presented are not only my own but also those of people who have dedicated their time to sharing their experiences with me. I make no claims of generalizabilty, as the findings reflect only the perspectives of those who participated in this study. They illustrate how participation and non-participation in immigrant organizations may influence immigrants' identities and sense of belonging.

This research underscores the usefulness of a mixed method approach in the study of the relationships between Jamaican immigrants, Jamaican immigrant organizations and Jamaican immigrants' identities. A mixed method approach provided information that enriched my analysis of the circumstances influencing the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations and Jamaican immigrants' experiences with these organizations. For instance, archival information allowed me to write an analysis of the factors contributing to the emergence of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Multiple data collection methods allowed me to demonstrate and better understand the character of the places shaping the experiences of Jamaican immigrants and their subjectivities. The research also demonstrated the importance of adaptability when conducting research with immigrant groups. The researcher's positionality may limit the number and types of researcher participants. As such, data collection and recruitment strategies may have to be adjusted and reassessed to address challenges in the research process.

The advantages of a mixed method approach include allowing for a more in-depth analysis of the social phenomenon being studied. The next chapter uses data from the 2006 census to highlight migration and settlement patterns among Jamaican immigrants in the Toronto, CMA. Subsequent chapters will present an analysis of the research findings, particularly as they relate to the reasons for participating in Jamaican immigrant organizations, the construction of Jamaican immigrant identities and the implications of these identities for Jamaican immigrants' involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto.

Chapter 4: The Geography of Migration and Settlement amongst Jamaican Immigrants in Toronto

Introduction

Racial discourses and exclusion still affect immigrants in ways that limit their ability to integrate successfully into Canadian society (Hou and Coulombe 2010). Immigration status is racialized and used as a means to relegate immigrants to a low status (Galabuzi 2006). As such, foreign-born visible minorities have to deal with the effects of racialization, including limited employment opportunities that constrain their socioeconomic integration and reproduce disadvantage in Canadian society (Henry and Tator 2000). I use the term *disadvantage* to describe differentials in economic attainment as evidenced by participation in low status occupations, earning below average incomes and limited housing options that, in turn, restrict social and economic integration (Pendakur and Pendakur 1998 and Hum and Simpson 1999). Indicators of disadvantage may be useful for understanding the circumstances that influence participation in immigrant organizations by Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Supporting this argument are scholars including Owusu (2000); Scott, Selbee and Reed (2006) and Nicholls (2009) who suggest that individuals who are well established in their occupations, have a substantial income and high levels of educational attainment are more likely to become involved in immigrant organizations. As such, this analysis highlights the multidimensional character of disadvantage through its consideration of variables such as income, education and occupation that indicate the quality of settlement outcomes.

I situate this study in relation to existing research that has examined discrimination and exclusion in the lives of visible minorities. I extend the existing research by exploring variations in levels of disadvantage among visible minorities. Among visible minorities, Chinese Canadians experience greater economic advantages in Canada than others. In contrast, Blacks

(the racial category to which Jamaican immigrants are predominantly assigned) experience disproportionately high levels of disadvantage (Hum and Simpson 1999; Reitz 2001; Reitz, Banerjee and Phan 2009), higher than those experienced by Chinese and South Asian Canadians (Hou and Coloumbe 2010). Compared with Chinese and South Asian Canadians, Black Canadians are more likely to have an earnings disadvantage in full-time work (Hou and Coloumbe 2010). Data from the 2006 census also corroborates previous evidence that suggests that disaggregating visible minorities enhances understanding of disadvantage (Pendakur and Pendakur 1998). In addition, previous research (Hum and Simpson 1999) showed that immigrants are more likely to experience disadvantage than their Canadian born counterparts – this is particularly the case for recent immigrants who may experience greater challenges in the labor market. Together, these studies demonstrate the value of separate analyses of Canadian and foreign-born visible minorities belonging to racialized groups (Hou and Coloumbe 2010).

The high levels of disadvantage experienced by Jamaican immigrants are well documented in the literature (Burman 2011, Simmons 2010 and Mensah 2009). I separated Jamaican immigrants from all foreign-born visible minorities in my analysis to examine how their social and economic experiences differ from those of other foreign-born visible minorities – mainly Chinese and South Asians (Hou and Coloumbe 2010).

This chapter examines the socio-economic integration of Jamaican immigrants, the largest ethnic group amongst Blacks in Canada, to understand their settlement experiences[12] in Toronto (Statistics Canada 2006). To establish the disadvantage that they experience, the chapter

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[12] Integration describes a process by which immigrants and their descendants become part of receiving societies (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014). Social and economic integration, Simmons (2010: 170) argues, is often defined in terms of "avoiding marginalization with respect to jobs, incomes and housing."

uses information from the 2006 census to compare Jamaican immigrants in Toronto with foreign-born visible minorities[13] along social and economic dimensions. The goal is to uncover differential impacts of racialization on the settlement experiences of Jamaican immigrants. The data also provide the base from which to understand the social and economic circumstances that shape the identities of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto and influence their involvement in immigrant organizations.

The chapter begins with a description of the ethnic makeup of the Jamaican immigrant population in the Toronto CMA in 2006.[14] This is followed by a discussion of variables including place of residence, housing, levels of education, labor market activities, occupations, incomes and family structure that describe integration. I utilize these variables in my analysis for the following reasons. The analysis of earnings in assessments of disadvantage among visible minorities is well documented (Hou and Coulombe 2010; Pendakur and Pendakur 1998. Frank, Phythian, Walters and Anisef (2013) show that the educational credentials possessed by visible minorities are also useful indicators of disadvantage. Housing has also historically been associated with disadvantage as residential choices are often shaped by ethno-racial background and income (Murdie et al 1996; Mensah and Williams 2013). Other variables such as family structure are also considered as the prevalence of single parent households within some groups has the potential to aggravate disadvantage (Zhou 1997 and Murdie et al 1995). Age also

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[13] This group includes persons who are non-white in color and who do not report being Aboriginal (Statistics Canada). However, it should be noted while the label visible minority usefully categorizes racialized groups for statistical analysis, the term silences the diversity of experiences among individuals in this group.

[14] Using the 2006 census allows for the creation of a more recent demographic profile of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. This information updates earlier studies that examined the demographic characteristics of the Jamaican immigrant population using census data collected in the 1990s (see Lindsay 2007).

influences the disadvantage that visible minorities experience. For instance, Palameta (2004) notes that immigrants between the ages of 16 and 24 are more likely to have low incomes than other age groups. Time of arrival also increases the likelihood of low income among visible minority immigrants. Recent immigrants are more likely than well-established immigrants to have low incomes for at least one year (Palameta 2004).

The analysis reveals that disadvantage among visible minorities is mediated by the intersections of ethnicity and immigration status with specific social characteristics. In addition to providing an updated demographic profile of the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto (see especially Lindsay 2007), this research extends studies conducted by Pendakur and Pendakur (1998); Baker and Benjamin (1994) and Hou and Coloumbe (2010) by examining ethnic differences in disadvantage among Toronto's visible minority population.

Understanding Disparities in the Socio-Economic Integration for Visible Minorities

Despite the implementation of legislation such as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 and the Multiculturalism and Employment Equity Act that placed "emphasis on inclusion, equality and access for all Canadians" (Government of Canada 2011), visible minorities continue to experience marginalization in Canada. In Canada, non-white individuals have been racialized, suffering disparities in social and economic outcomes when compared with whites (Hou and Coulombe 2010). Several studies have analyzed the challenges of settlement for visible minorities by comparing their average earnings with the averages for whites (Hum and Simpson 1999 and Pendakur and Pendakur 2002). These studies have shown that visible minority groups earn below average incomes despite having similar levels of education (Lian and Matthews 1998). In comparison, Whites and individuals of European descent report above average earnings, reflecting their privilege in the labour market (Hou and Coloumbe 2010; Teelucksingh and Galabuzi 2006; Lian and Matthew 1998; Hum and Simpson 1999; Mensah

2009 and Das Gupta 1996). Scholars have observed that disparities between the earnings of Whites and visible minority groups have been escalating since the 1970s. Economic outcomes for immigrants and the Canadian-born have been diverging in that immigrants' relative incomes have declined by 25% while incomes earned by the Canadian born have improved by 12% (Liu and Kerr 2003 and Palameta 2004). Emphasizing the significance of period of arrival for understanding the settlement outcomes of immigrants, Frenette and Morissette (2003:12) argue that "15 years after arrival, male and female immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1985 and 1989 could generally expect to receive between 15% and 24% lower earnings than their Canadian-born counterparts." Some have attributed these economic outcomes to the devaluation of foreign qualifications and academic credentials (da Silva 1992; Mensah 2009). Visible minorities' presence in precarious employment also increased their disadvantage relative to the Canadian born (Picot and Hou 2003). Scholars such as Reitz (2004) also argue that the rise in levels of education amongst native Canadian-born individuals since the 1970s has contributed to increasing economic difficulties among immigrants and visible minorities in Canada.

The earnings disadvantage also varies between men and women in the visible minority population. Visible minority immigrant women experience a triple jeopardy as they earn less than men of European background due to their gender, immigrant and visible minority status (Hiebert 1999). Preston and D'Addario (2009) also note that immigrant women are less likely to be employed in prestigious jobs than Canadian-born women. In 2001, "almost 14% of migrant women with at least one university degree work in sales and service compared with only 7% of equally educated Canadian-born women" (Preston and D'addario 2009:148). The authors also show that university-educated migrant women are less likely to be in the labor force than Canadian-born women with similar levels of education (Preston and D'addario 2009).

Still, some visible groups encounter greater settlement challenges in Canada than others. Skuterud (2010), for instance, notes that of all visible minority groups, Blacks have large income disparities even after controlling for Canadian-born ancestry, gender and occupation. Reitz and Banerjee (2007) also argue that, in 2001, poverty rates among South Asians and Blacks were nearly double that of the rest of the population.

Recent studies have also begun to emphasize differentials in socio-economic integration among visible minority groups. Scholars such as Hum and Simpson (1999) recognize that visible minorities are stratified as shown by differences in the occupational status, earnings and education of visible minority residents. Blacks experience more disadvantage than other visible minorities (Li 2003; Reitz 2001; Preston, Lo and Wang 2003); they were in the lowest earning occupations including services, clerical work and sales in contrast to other visible minority groups that were better represented in managerial and professional occupations (Skuterud 2010; Gingrich 2013). In contrast, Chinese Canadians have an earnings advantage (Reitz, Zhang and Hawkins 2011). Chinese Canadians are achieving more socio-economic integration as a result of having advanced and professional degrees.

Although these comparisons of visible minority groups are informative, they partly rely on simplified categorizations of people. The visible minority population is diverse. Factors such as gender shape their experiences of disadvantage. Visible minority groups have to be deconstructed in order to understand the specific circumstances underlying their disadvantage in Canadian society.

Ethnicity and Year of Immigration

Table 4.1 highlights identification with Jamaican identity for Jamaican immigrants, that is people born in Jamaica and currently residing in Toronto. More than 80% of Jamaicans

immigrants identify as Jamaican in terms of their ethnicity.[15] About one in five Jamaican

immigrants identify with other ethnic and cultural backgrounds including: African (2.8%), Asian

(8.2%) as well as Central/South American and Middle Eastern origins (5.4%).[16]

Table 4.1: Ethnic Identification, Jamaican Immigrants, Toronto CMA, 2006

Ethnicity	Jamaican	Caribbean	European	African	Asian	Other: Central/South American and Middle Eastern	Total
N	72435	2440	240	1280	7235	4730	88360
%	82	2.8	0.3	1.4	8.2	5.4	100

The ethnic diversity within Toronto's Jamaican immigrant population was shaped by a history of

colonialism and labor migration in Jamaica that created a plural society comprised of individuals

with diverse backgrounds (Smith 1974). The ethnic makeup of the Jamaican immigrant

population has implications for their experiences with racialization, as there are Jamaican-born

Canadians who also identify with European, Asian, Middle Eastern and Latin American

populations. They may have different experiences with disadvantage than Jamaican immigrants

who are identified and identify as Black (Simmons and Plaza 1998). The diverse backgrounds of

Jamaican immigrants have implications for relationships between Jamaican immigrants in

Toronto as well as their sense of belonging and level of identification with the Jamaican

immigrant population in Toronto. This issue is further explored in chapters 7 and 8 where I

discuss how the identities of Jamaican immigrants influenced the types of Jamaican immigrant

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[15] Here, ethnicity refers to the national or cultural origins of the respondents' ancestors (Statistics Canada 2006).

[16] Jamaican society is comprised of individuals with diverse ethnic ancestries (including Lebanese, Chinese, Syrian, Indian and European ancestry). As such, they may identify with multiple ethnicities. Still, I recognize that it is possible that Jamaican immigrants may embrace multiple identities that are not captured in this table.

organizations established in Toronto as well as diverse expressions of belonging in this immigrant group.

Although the ethnic backgrounds of Jamaican immigrants are diverse, research has shown that members of the Jamaican immigrant population who identify as Jamaican are predominantly individuals of African descent who are also identified as Blacks (Mensah 2002 and Lindsay 2007). These Jamaican immigrants often face various forms of disadvantage due to their racial identity (Mensah 2002: 96).

Patterns of Migration: Jamaican Immigrants in Toronto

Jamaican immigrants have a history of migration to Canada that predates the change in immigration legislation, in 1967, that opened the door to immigrants from diverse racial backgrounds. The 2006 census reports 1,500 Jamaican immigrants arrived prior to 1960. Most Jamaican immigrants residing in Canada in 2006 arrived in the preceding three decades. The largest number of Jamaican immigrants (29,095) arrived between 1971 and 1980, with the second largest number of Jamaican immigrant men and women, 21,220, arriving between 1981 and 1990 (Table 4.2). This pattern of migration is also consistent with changes to immigration policy in 1967, which introduced the points system by which immigrants were selected mainly on the basis of education and occupation. The migration of Jamaican nationals to Toronto declined slightly after 1978 due to reduced emphasis on the family class and policies favouring highly educated and professional immigrants (Mensah 2002: Simmons 2010). In contrast, there was a notable increase in the migration of all other foreign-born visible minorities after 1971 with fairly stable migration rates up to the year 2000. Specifically, 203,115 foreign-born visible minority men and women migrated to Toronto between 1971 and 1980. The number of foreign-born visible minorities that migrated between 1971 and 1980 is almost 8 times greater than the number (57,835) of foreign-born visible minority immigrants that arrived in the previous decade.

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The 2006 census data also confirms that Jamaican migration as well as the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto is feminized. There was a slightly higher percentage of visible minority women than men in Canadian migration streams with the proportion of foreign-born visible minority women being at least two percentage points higher than the percentage for all foreign-born minority men arriving in Canada during these periods. This disparity, however, is relatively small compared to Jamaican migration streams where there was at least 16% more women migrating in each period before 2001. Table 4.2 shows that the highest proportion (64%) of women came before 1960. Between 1981 and 1990, women comprised 61% of the migration stream. The West Indian Domestic Scheme as a migration route for Jamaican immigrant women may have contributed to the prevalence of Jamaican women in migration streams to Toronto prior to 1960 (Henry 1968; Bakan and Stasiulis 1994; Calliste 1993). Jamaican immigrant women represented the highest proportion of individuals in the West Indian Domestics Scheme in the 1950s and Jamaican women were being recruited to participate in the West Indian Domestic Scheme from as early as 1920 (Johnson 2012, Mensah 2002, Henry 1968; Bakan and Stasiulis 1994).

The dominance of women in Jamaican migration streams is a factor shaping the population's social and economic integration (Browne and Misra 2003; Preston and Cox 1999). Jamaican immigrant migration streams were much more feminized than migration streams for all foreign-born visible minorities. The predominance of women in Jamaican migration streams continued up to 2006 with at least 16% more women arriving in each period of migration. Still, the largest number (17,070) of Jamaican immigrant women arrived between 1971 and 1980. In contrast, the highest number of foreign-born visible minority women (192, 845) arrived between 2001 and 2006. Notably, the number of women in Jamaican immigrant migration streams fell to

12,975 after 1981. Still, Jamaican immigrant women made up more than 60% of the total number of Jamaican immigrants who migrated in the same period.

Table: 4.2 – Period of Arrival for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born Visible Minorities in the Toronto, CMA

	Jamaican Immigrants					Foreign-born Visible Minorities				
	Female		Male		Total	Female		Male		Total
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	
Before 1960	955	64	545	36	1500	3545	51	3370	49	6915
1961-1970	6505	59	4525	41	11030	31220	54	26615	46	57835
1971-1980	17070	59	12025	41	29095	108235	53	94880	47	203115
1981-1990	12975	61	8245	39	21220	156825	53	140950	47	297775
1991-1995	8355	58	6150	42	14505	153500	54	132750	46	286250
1996-2000	5265	59	3680	41	8945	149700	51	141485	49	291185
2001-2006	3995	53	3555	47	7550	192845	53	173850	47	366695
Total	55120	59	38725	41	**93845**	795870	53	713900	47	1509770

Scholars such as Gopaul-McNicol (1993: 73) agree that an important feature of Jamaican migration streams to Canada has been the above average proportion of women that migrate alone or as single mothers, migrating to support their families in Jamaica. The prevalence of women in Jamaican migration streams is also linked to the predominance of female-headed, single parent households in Jamaica. Women have had to "assume the social and economic responsibility for their families... they have [also] gained considerable power from their own income generating activities (Henry 1994: 60). The feminized nature of Jamaican migration streams suggests that broader patterns of integration within the immigrant group may be shaped by the experiences of Jamaican immigrant women in paid and unpaid work. While labor market demands and

household responsibilities can potentially influence organizational involvement in negative ways; it is possible that the disadvantage that they face due to their racial and gender identities may positively influence organizational involvement.

Residential Geographies

Examining the distributions of immigrants at various geographical scales allows us to assess immigrant settlement patterns and experiences in different places (Ray and Preston 2009; Ray and Preston 2013 and Abu-Laban and Garber 2005). The Toronto CMA is an important destination for many newcomers, particularly Jamaican immigrants. To analyze how geographical variations may be related to identity formation and involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations, I evaluate the residential patterns of visible minorities at various scales: provincial, regional and municipal. By discussing geographies of settlement for Jamaican immigrants in relation to the residential patterns of foreign-born visible minorities, the analysis lays the groundwork for examining how residential location influences identity formation and sense of belonging.

Residential geographies often reveal systemic discrimination (Bauder and Sharpe 2002:206; Balakrishnan, Maxim and Jurdi 2005). Immigrant settlement patterns may reflect the desire to reside in areas with preexisting networks where immigrant concentrations also support the development of institutions that promote group interests. The 2006 census confirms that Jamaican immigrants primarily reside in metropolitan locations where family members and large and established immigrant populations are present (Statistics Canada 2006). Access to employment and educational opportunities also shape patterns of residence amongst Jamaican immigrants in Toronto.

Although major cities of immigration such as Toronto and Vancouver may not exhibit all the features of a global city, the global reputations of these cities, the presence of major financial and

educational institutions as well as their significant cultural and political connections to other

countries attract immigrants (Sassen 1998). Table 4.3 shows that 88.6% of Jamaican immigrants

reside in Ontario. Provincial residential patterns in 2006 are similar to those found by Lindsay

(2007) in 2001 where Ontario was home to 85% of the Canadian population that identified as

Jamaican. Quebec (4%), Alberta (4.4%) and British Columbia (2.3%) have lower percentages of

Jamaican immigrants.

Table 4.3: Province of Residence for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born visible minorities in 2006

Province/Territory of Residence	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born Visible Minorities	
	N	%	N	%
Atlantic Provinces	315	.3	21770	.65
Quebec	5490	4.4	428145	12.7
Ontario	109360	88.6	1858480	55.3
Manitoba	1435	1.2	67475	2
Saskatchewan	235	0.2	19760	.6
Alberta	3760	3	288025	8.6
British Columbia	2790	2.3	676105	20.1
North West Territories	40	.03	2390	.1
Total	123425	100	3362150	100

The settlement patterns of all visible minority immigrants share some similarities with

those of Jamaican immigrants. Visible minority immigrants reside primarily in Ontario (55.3 %),

British Columbia (20.1 %) and Quebec (12.7 %). Much higher proportions of visible minority

immigrants than Jamaican immigrants, reside in British Columbia and Quebec.

While many immigrants reside in the City of Toronto, at the center of the Toronto CMA, they are increasingly residing in suburban areas, especially Peel Region (Table 4.4). The majority of Jamaican immigrants are similar in that more than half resided in Toronto (51.6%) and in Peel Region (31.6%) in 2006 (Table 4.4). This finding is also consistent with research that shows that most visible minorities in Canada tend to reside in the largest metropolitan areas, namely Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (Ray and Preston 2013). These cities are consistent with the provinces where Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities were most likely to reside in 2006.

Table 4.4: Residential Location in Toronto CMA for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born Visible Minorities, 2006

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born Visible Minorities	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Region of Residence				
Durham	5665	6.0	34705	2.3
York	8350	8.9	232955	15.4
Toronto	48400	51.6	81550	54.0
Peel	29635	31.6	397720	26.3
Other: Dufferin; Halton, Simcoe	1790	1.9	28850	1.9
Total	93840	100	1509780	100

The settlement patterns of all visible minority immigrants share some similarities with those of Jamaican immigrants. Visible minority immigrants reside primarily in Ontario (55.3 %), British Columbia (20.1 %) and Quebec (12.7 %). Much higher proportions of visible minority immigrants than Jamaican immigrants, reside in British Columbia and Quebec.

While many immigrants reside in the City of Toronto, at the center of the Toronto CMA, they are increasingly residing in suburban areas, especially Peel Region that is now home to

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26.3% of foreign-born visible minorities (Table 4.4). The majority of Jamaican immigrants are similar, in that approximately half resided in Toronto (51.6%) and 31.6% in Peel Region in 2006 (Table 4.4).

Figure 1: Map[17] of Jamaican Immigrant Population in the Toronto CMA
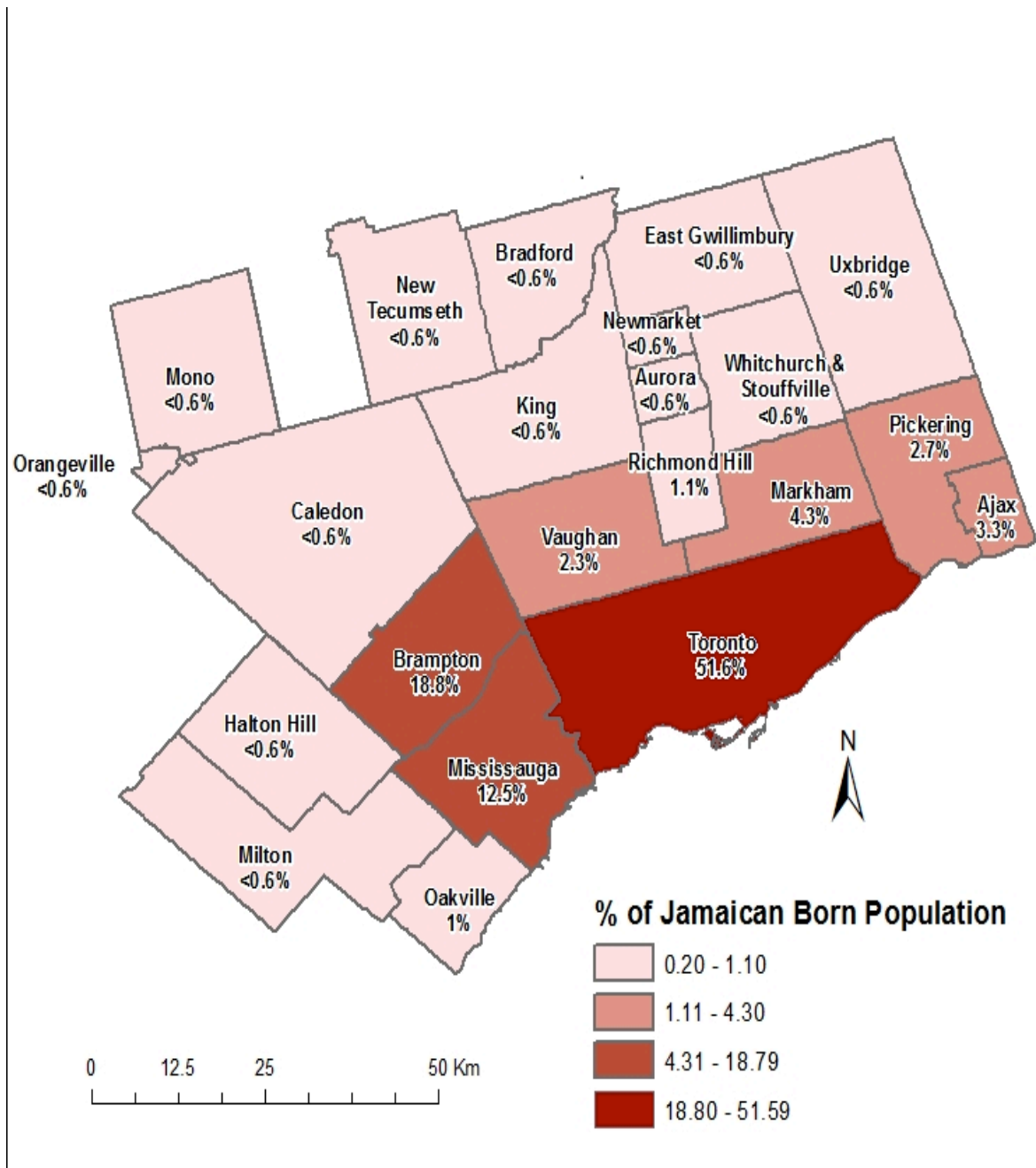
Data Source: Census of Canada 2006

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[17] Density categories were developed using the Jenks' Natural Breaks Method. Jenks' Natural Breaks Method finds natural groupings in the data set. The resulting categories vary in size but reflect the distribution of values within the data set.

Table 4.5: Municipality of Residence for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born Visible Minorities, Toronto CMA, 2006

CSD	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born Visible Minorities	
	N	%	N	%
Pickering	2515	2.7	15775	1
Ajax	3125	3.3	18680	1
Uxbridge, Caledon, Mono, Orangeville, Halton Hills, New Tecumseth, Bradford[18]	540	0.6	5415	0
Vaughn	2145	2.3	41715	3
Markham	4015	4.3	122745	8
Richmond Hill	1055	1.1	54665	4
York, Whitchurch and Stoufville, King, East Gwillumbury	315	0.3	2860	0
Toronto	48400	51.6	815550	54
Mississauga	11750	12.5	233150	15
Brampton	17615	18.8	162290	11
Oakville	975	1	19815	1
Milton	490	.5	5740	0
Missing		.9		1
Total	92940	99.1	1498400	99

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[18] Some municipalities were combined due to sample size and data reporting restrictions set by Statistics Canada.

Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities are also well represented in Mississauga and Brampton (Figure 1), confirming the suburbanization of visible minority groups and the increasing diversification of municipalities that were traditionally framed as white (Ray, Halseth and Johnson 1997 and Good 2009). Ray (1994: 264) argues that the increasing presence of visible minorities in suburban areas is an indicator of their socioeconomic resources in that "immigrants with some financial means who wish to own a home and prefer single family housing are much more likely to fulfill their housing aspirations in the suburbs." Visible minorities are also living in suburbs because they are more likely to encounter individuals from diverse ethno-racial backgrounds (Murdie and Texeira 2003).

Dwelling and Tenure

Homeownership is often viewed as an indicator of social and economic integration (Simmons 2010). Homeownership indicates that individuals have sufficient financial resources to invest in a home (Edmonston and Lee 2013: 71). The 2006 census indicates that ethnicity and generation are associated with differences in homeownership propensities. Previous research by Skaburskis (1996) also shows that race has a strong impact on levels of homeownership. Visible minorities particularly Blacks are much less likely to own a home than Whites. Results from the 2006 Census, also demonstrate that there are notable differences in homeownership levels within the visible minority population.

The housing circumstances of Jamaican immigrants differ from those of all foreign-born visible minorities. Murdie and Texeira (2003) explain that immigrants sometimes live in distinct housing arrangements. Immigrants may share accommodations with two or more families; whereas non-immigrants tend to live in smaller households with less doubling-up (Murdie and Texeira 2003: 14). By 2006, the majority of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto (61.2%) lived in owner-occupied housing, possibly due to their long periods of residence in Canada. Home

ownership is more common amongst immigrants who have lived in Canada for 10 or more years (Government of Canada 2012). Levels of homeownership indicate improving fortunes amongst Jamaican immigrants in Toronto as their length of residence in Canada increases. The high levels of homeownership among Jamaican immigrants may also reflect the suitability of owned housing for large, extended families.

Table 4.6: Housing Tenure and Dwelling Type for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born Visible Minorities Over the Age of 15, Toronto CMA, 2006

	Jamaican Immigrants			Foreign-born Visible Minorities		
Housing Tenure	**% of Total**	**F**	**M**	**% of Total**	**F**	**M**
Owned by a Member of the Household	61.2	58.6	64.5	69.5	68.9	70.2
Rented	38.8	41.4	35.1	30.5	31.1	29.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Dwelling Type (Structure)	**% of Total**	**F**	**M**	**%**	**F**	**M**
Single Detached	32	29.4	35.2	38.1	37.4	39
Semi-Detached, Row House, Apartment in Duplex, Other Single Attached, Mobile Home, Other Movable Dwelling	31	31.7	30.6	25.7	25.7	25.6
Apartment with Five or More Stories	27	28.8	24.2	27.4	28.1	26.6
Apartment with Less than Five Stories	10	10	10	8.8	8.8	8.8
Total	100	99.9	100	100	100	100

Owusu (1999) argues that housing types is indicative of integration in the place of residence. Table 4.6 shows that in terms of dwelling type, Jamaican immigrants tend to live in

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single detached houses (32%) with a small percentage (31%) residing in semi-detached, row house and attached houses. Additionally, a higher proportion of Jamaican born men (64.5%) than women (58. 6%) own houses in the Toronto CMA. High levels of home ownership and residence in single detached and semi-detached housing may be due to Jamaican immigrants' long residence in Toronto that has enabled them to acquire the resources needed to finance home ownership.

Compared with Jamaican immigrants, a higher proportion of foreign-born visible minorities (69.5%) own their own homes and a much larger percentage lives in single detached houses (38.1%). Specifically, 61.2% of Jamaican immigrants owned their own home in 2006 and 32% lived in single detached housing (Table 4.6).

An analysis of housing tenure suggests that Jamaican immigrant women are disadvantaged compared to Jamaican immigrant men. More men than women owned housing units; whereas more women rented housing in 2006. Specifically, 58.6% of Jamaican immigrant women owned a home in 2006. In contrast, 64.5% of Jamaican immigrant men owned a home (See Table 4.6). Of the two groups of immigrants, Jamaican and all visible minorities, gender differences were more prevalent for Jamaican immigrants than foreign-born visible minorities. Jamaican immigrant women (58.6%) had the lowest levels of home ownership, particularly when compared with Jamaican immigrant men (64.5%). In contrast, there was not a large disparity between the percentages of foreign-born visible minority women (68.9%) and men (70.2%) who owned their housing.

The impact of gender on disadvantage is quite recognizable when women of Jamaican ethnicity are considered. Gender based inequalities, particularly higher levels of disadvantage and slower integration for Jamaican immigrant women were readily apparent.

Age

More than 50% of Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities are of
working age, between the ages of 35-59. Foreign-born visible minorities, however, are slightly
younger than the Jamaican immigrant population. In 2006, 12% of foreign-born visible
minorities were between the age of 15 and 24; whereas 9.3% of Jamaican immigrants were in
this age group. In the same way, approximately four percentage points separated the percentages
of foreign-born visible minorities (16.6%) and Jamaican immigrants (12.2%) in the 25-34 age
group. Compared with foreign-born visible minorities, Jamaican immigrants are older with
14.8% and 22.4% of each group in the 60+ age group, respectively. The ages of Jamaican
immigrants reflect their long period of migration and settlement in Canada.

**Table 4.7: Age Categories for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born visible minorities Toronto
CMA, 2006**

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born Visible Minorities	
Years	N	%	N	%
0-14	2,330	0	0	0
15-24	8745	9.3	182,3600	12.1
25-34	11,430	12.2	250,030	16.6
35-44	23,200	24.7	356,040	23.6
45-59	27,125	28.9	392,400	26
60+[19]	20995	22.4	222795	14.8
Total	93825	100.1[20]	1509465	100.1

[19] The number of individuals over age 60 was too small to be reported. To protect the
confidentiality of census respondents in this age bracket, age groups greater than 60 were
aggregated to create a 60+ age category.

[20] In some cases the total percentage may not amount to 100% due to rounding errors.

<div align="center">**Level of Education**</div>

Educational attainment may influence sense of belonging and involvement in immigrant organizations. Education and affluence distinguish immigrants who participate in immigrant organizations from those who are not involved (Owusu 2000; Goldring 2001; Routledge 2003). Canadian immigration policy has also emphasized that skills and education are key to labour market success in Canada. The acquisition of education, training and skills are expected to increase human capital and result in an earnings advantage (Ferrer and Riddell 2003 and Picot 2008). The data show that the effects of education on earnings are mediated by place of birth. Galarneau and Morissette (2008) found that between 1991 and 2006 foreign-born visible minorities had levels of education that were higher than levels of educational attainment for native born Canadians. Although visible minority immigrants are more likely than Canadian-born adults to have at least one university degree, educational attainments vary among visible minority groups. Specifically, more than 71% of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto have a high school diploma and a trade, college or university certificate (See table 4.8) and only 18% had less than a high school diploma in 2006.

Table 4.8: Highest Level of Education, for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born Visible Minorities Toronto CMA, 2006

	Less than a High School Diploma			High School Graduation Certificate or Equivalent			Trade Certificate or Below, University Certificate or Diploma Below Bachelors			Bachelor's Degree			University Certificate Above Bachelors, Medical Science, Masters, Doctorate		
	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M
Jamaican Immigrants	18	16.1	20	24.7	23	27.2	46.5	49.5	42.2	7.4	7.7	7.1	3.7	3.7	3.6
Foreign-born Visible Minorities	18	19.9	16.5	24.5	24.8	24.3	28.1	28.8	27.2	18.6	18	19.4	10.5	8.6	12.6

Despite their participation in post-secondary education, small percentages of Jamaican immigrants have obtained university degrees. Only a small percentage of Jamaican immigrants (11.1%) have at least one university degree. Since university education is related to successful integration (Abada, Hou and Ram 2008), the educational attainments of Jamaican immigrants are significant. Jamaican immigrant women are better educated than their male counterparts. They are more likely to have completed trade school, college (49.5%) or some university in 2006, a pattern reported by Lindsay (2007) for 2001. The largest differences in levels of education between Jamaican immigrant women and men were evident in the category of post-secondary education. Slightly more women have upgraded their educational qualifications after secondary school, perhaps to resist subordinate social status (Cammarota 2004).

Compared with the Jamaican born, a much larger percentage of foreign-born visible minorities have at least one university degree (29.1 %). On the other hand, large proportions of foreign-born visible minorities have not finished high school (24.5 %) or have only a trade, university or college certificate (28.1%). There are only slight differences between foreign-born visible minority men and women at most levels of education suggesting foreign-born visible minority men and women, are at the same risk to experience disadvantage.

Confirming Simmons and Plaza's (1998) earlier research on the educational attainments of African Caribbean immigrants and their children in Toronto, Jamaican immigrant women are far more likely than Jamaican immigrant men to have a University education. This pattern is similar to the gendered dimensions of disadvantage among the Jamaican immigrant population in the Toronto, CMA.

If educational attainments contribute to successful economic integration then Jamaican immigrants are more likely than all visible minority immigrants to experience disadvantage due to their low rates of university completion. Levels of education among Jamaican immigrants also

have implications for their involvement in immigrant organizations, in that immigrants with advanced degrees are more likely to participate in civic activities (Scott, Selbee and Reed 2006).

Levels of Employment

The census data show that national origin and ethnicity are key determinants of economic integration. High levels of employment and occupational attainment positively influence settlement and integration in Canadian society. However, visible minorities often experience institutional discrimination that limits their employment opportunities and earning potential, further perpetuating their disadvantage (Mensah 2002). Limited employment opportunities that are not commensurate with their qualifications may constrain the integration of visible minority immigrants and lead to marginalization that in turn, affects organizational participation. While visible minority immigrants tend to have much higher rates of unemployment than the White population, research by scholars such as Sedwab (2008) demonstrates that there are important differences among groups within the visible minority population.

Data from the 2006 census corroborates Lindsay's (2007: 7) earlier findings that Canadians of Jamaican origin are more likely to be employed than other visible minority Canadians. The 2006 census data also indicate that Jamaican immigrants had higher levels of employment than all visible minority immigrants. Specifically, 68% of Jamaican immigrants and 63% of foreign-born visible minorities (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9 Employment and Unemployment Rates for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born Visible Minorities over Age 15, Toronto CMA

	Jamaican Immigrants			Foreign-born Visible Minorities		
	T	F	M	T	F	M
Employed	68	65	73	63	57	70
Unemployed	5	5	5	6	6	5
Not in the Labour Force	27	30	23	31	38	24

There are large differences in employment and unemployment rates for men and women in the Jamaican immigrant population. Jamaican immigrant men (73%) were more likely to be employed than Jamaican immigrant women (65%) in 2006. There are also marked differences in the labour market experiences of foreign- born visible minority men and women. Table 4.9 shows that employment rates for foreign-born visible minority men (70%) and women (57%) differed by as much as 13 percentage points.

Participation in the labour market may affect Jamaican immigrants' civic participation. Women may experience greater disadvantage as a result of normative gender identities (Preston, Kobayashi and Man 2006). Many Jamaican immigrant women may be focused on creating better lives for themselves and their children and, as a result, lack the time to become involved in immigrant organizations.

Labour Force Activities- Industry Sectors

Analysis of the 2006 census provides insight into the employment of visible minorities in various industrial sectors. The employment of visible minorities in various industrial sectors has the potential to exacerbate income disparities or to reduce them (Rollins 2011; Boyd 1992; Mensah 2002). Reitz (1998) found that the economic disadvantage experienced by visible

minorities was influenced by the structure of the labor market and their placement within this occupational structure. Scholars point to the concentration of visible minorities in the secondary labor market, which includes many jobs in services and manufacturing (Buzdugan and Halli 2009). The secondary labour market is often characterized by jobs with limited benefits, low pay and unstable work conditions (Osberg 1981). Buzdugan and Halli (2009) find evidence of a dual labor market "in which the Canadian born work for higher wages and another in which the foreign trained work for lower wages" Buzdugan and Halli (2009: 370). Although individuals in both groups may do similar work, they are remunerated differently. Importantly, labor market activities often reinforce the racialization of visible minorities' identities (Simmons 2010) and influence their involvement in civic activities such as immigrant organizations (Scott, Selbee and Reed 2009).

Visible minorities work mainly in industrial sectors with low paying jobs that maintain their vulnerability and reproduce their disadvantage. In 2006, Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities were well represented in construction and manufacturing (18.4% and 22.1%) as well as a diverse set of administrative and service industries (33% and 21.8%).

The effects of gender and ethnicity were evident in Jamaican immigrants' participation in the labor market. Much larger proportions of Jamaican immigrant women than Jamaican immigrant men worked in the administrative support, social assistance and health care sectors, 44.8% vs.18.2%. In 2006, Jamaican immigrant men were more likely to work in construction and manufacturing (30.4%) than their female counterparts (9.2%). Like Jamaican immigrants in the Toronto CMA, foreign-born visible minority men (27.9%) are more likely than visible minority women (16%) to work in construction and manufacturing. Additionally, employment in services is higher for foreign-born visible minority women (29.1%) than for men (15. 1%).

Analysis of employment trends across industrial sectors suggests that the labor market activities of Jamaican immigrants reproduce gendered labour market segmentation (Preston and Giles 1997). Jamaican immigrant women and men work in industrial sectors that are female-dominated and male-dominated, respectively. Moreover, the concentration of Jamaican immigrant women in the secondary labor market contributes to the triple disadvantage that Jamaican immigrant women face as a result of their gender and their status as immigrants (Preston, Kobayashi and Man 2006). The participation of Jamaican immigrant women in immigrant organizations may be related to their racialized identities and the disadvantage they experience as a result of their labor market experiences.

Table 4.10: Industrial Sectors of Employment for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born Visible Minorities Toronto CMA, 2006.

%	Jamaican Immigrants			Foreign-born Visible Minorities		
	T	F	M	T	F	M
Agriculture, Fishing, Forestry, Hunting, Mining, Utilities	.6	.3	.8	.8	.5	1
Construction and Manufacturing	18.4	9.2	30.4	22.1	16	27.9
Wholesale and Retail	13.8	12.7	15.3	16.6	16.8	16.5
Transportation and Warehousing	7.8	3.8	13	5.7	2.7	8.5
Information and Cultural Industries	3	3	3	2.8	2.6	3
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate, Rental and Leasing	7.6	9	5.8	9.7	11.3	8.2
Professional, Scientific and Technical services	5.1	4.9	5.3	8	7	8.9
Administrative Support; Waste Management, Health Care, Social Assistance, Public Administration, Other Services	33.3	44.8	18.2	21.9	29.1	15.1
Education Services	4.8	5.4	4	4.8	6	3.6
Accommodation and Food Services	5.7	6.9	4.1	7.6	7.9	7.4
Total	100	100	99.9	100	99.9	100

The presence of a higher percentage of visible minorities in the service sector is potentially related to the existence of a race based hierarchy within the labour market (Hiebert 1999). Visible minorities work in sectors that increase their disadvantage. The over-

representation of visible minorities in the service sector is evidence of a labour market that is segmented along ethnic lines (Hiebert 1999).

Table 4.9 shows that, when compared with foreign-born visible minorities, Jamaican immigrants have very little representation in well-paid sectors of the labor market. Foreign-born visible minorities have a stronger presence in growing industries including finance, insurance, real estate as well as professional and technical services (17.7%). In contrast, only 12.7% of Jamaican immigrants reported being employed in finance, insurance, real estate as well as in professional and technical services, respectively.

Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities are equally under-represented in education (4.8% and 4.8%) and information and cultural industries (3% and 2.8), respectively. The labour market experiences that visible minorities face have implications for their involvement in civic activities including participation in immigrant organizations.

The data on occupational outcomes point to some circumstances that may foster a sense of belonging as well as participation in activities that may generate attachment to a new place of residence (Scott, Selbee and Reed 2006). Alternatively, economic instability may inspire engagement in organizational activities that engender feelings of attachment and inclusion.

Occupations

Data on visible minorities' occupations indicate the persistence of racially segmented labour market outcomes that may influence participation in organizational activities. The literature shows that foreign-born visible minorities do not have the same occupations as Canadian born natives (Hou and Balakrishnan 1996). For instance, Preston and D'addario (2009: 148) argue that occupational status is affected by gender, in that foreign-born visible minority women are more likely to be employed in low status occupations than their Canadian born counterparts. The visible minority population is not homogenous in its experiences of labour

market integration; visible minorities may exhibit variations in their occupational status (Hou and Coulumbe 2010).

Information on the occupational status of visible minorities will enhance our understanding of their disadvantage. The data show that there are important differences in the occupations of visible minorities in the Toronto, CMA. Foreign-born visible minorities are more likely to be employed in high status occupations than Jamaican immigrants. In 2006, a higher percentage of foreign-born visible minorities (9.4%) worked in occupations within the natural and applied science compared with Jamaican immigrants (4.3%). This is most likely a reflection of their levels of educational attainment, specifically much higher percentages of foreign born visible minorities than Jamaican immigrants had Bachelors, post graduate and medical degrees in 2006 (See Table 4.8).

Table 4.11: Occupational Groups: Broad Categories for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born Visible minorities Toronto CMA, 2006

	Jamaican Immigrants			Foreign-born Visible Minorities		
	T	F	M	T	F	M
Management Occupations	5.9	4.9	7.1	8.3	6.3	10
Business Finance and Administration	22.1	27.9	14.4	21.2	28.5	14
Natural and Applied Sciences Related Occupations	4.3	2.1	7.1	9.4	4.7	13.9
Health Occupations	10.8	17.9	1.6	5.3	8.4	2.3
Occupations in Social Science, Education, Government Service and Religion	6.2	8.7	2.8	5.3	7.5	3.2
Occupations in Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	2	1.8	2.2	1.9	2.1	1.8
Sale and Service Occupations	22.7	27.1	17	23.4	26.8	20.1
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators Related Occupations	16	2.4	33.7	11.4	2.3	20.1
Occupations Unique to the Primary Industry; Processing, Manufacturing and Utilities	10.2	7.3	14.1	13.8	13.5	14.6
Total	100.2	100.1	100	100	99.8	100.5

Jamaican immigrants were most likely to be employed in sales and service (22.7%) as well as business finance and administration (22.1%) occupations. Similar patterns were evident among foreign-born visible minorities. Foreign-born visible minorities were most likely to work

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in sales and service occupations. The data reinforce Hou and Coulombe's (2010) argument that visible minority groups occupy sales and service occupations where remuneration is lower than in other occupations.

The effects of gender varied among between Jamaican immigrants and all visible minority immigrants. Data from the 2006 census show that there is considerable variation in the occupational status of women in the visible minority population. Many Jamaican immigrant women (17.9%) continued to work in health professions in 2006. In contrast, a smaller percentage of foreign-born visible minority women (8.4%) worked in health related occupations in 2006.

A much higher percentage of Jamaican immigrant women (17.9%) than men (1.6%) also work in health-related occupations. The migration of Jamaican nurses to Canada has reinforced gendered and racialized divisions in the labour force (Calliste 1993). The bodies of Jamaican immigrant women are labelled as appropriate for these positions in the health sector.

For both groups, there are more women than men in business and finance occupations as well as jobs related to the social sciences, education, government services and religion category. There was at least a 10% difference in the participation of women and men in business and finance occupations and at least a 4% difference in social science occupations for all groups when compared with men.

Place of birth and ethnicity differentiate experiences of disadvantage within the visible minority population (Hou and Coulombe 2010). The data show that Jamaican immigrants' disadvantage is partially explained by a greater presence in low status occupations where the incomes are often low. The occupational status of Jamaican immigrants like that of all visible minority immigrants has potential implications for involvement in immigrant organizations, in

that professionals who are well established in their jobs tend to have the highest rates of civic participation (Owusu 2000 and Scott, Selbee and Reed 2006:15).

Income

The low value placed on educational and occupational credentials obtained overseas often contributes to low incomes and settlement challenges for foreign-born visible minorities (Preston and D'Addario 2009; Simmons 2010; Galabuzi 2006). Early research by Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) showed that wage differentials also exist between the visible minority population and the non-visible minority population. Emphasizing disadvantage among visible minorities, Palameta (2004) also demonstrates that visible minority immigrants are more likely than other immigrants and non-immigrants to have low incomes, regardless of their length of residence in Canada. On average, visible minority workers in Canada earn less than their counterparts who are not racialised.

Levels of income have important implications for organizational involvement. Scott, Selbee and Reed (2006) argue that individuals who are well established, have professional careers and high incomes are more likely to be involved in immigrant organizations than people with less successful careers and low incomes.

The average household income ($80,343) and after-tax income ($39,068) for the Toronto CMA in 2006 are used to assess the economic performance of Jamaican immigrants (City of Toronto 2008). Three measures of income were selected to capture the earnings of visible minorities at various levels of income, particularly after-tax income: total income and household income, and nuance the discussion of income disadvantage. After-tax income refers to personal earnings before income tax deductions. Total income measures the total "monetary receipts from certain sources before income tax deductions. It includes employment income from wages, salaries, tips, commissions, self employment …and income from government sources including

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social assistance and child benefits" (Statistics Canada 2014). Household income refers to a household's total income from all sources before income taxes and deductions. Taken together, these data measurement of disadvantage, as it relates to income, among visible minorities. The data show that the struggle for higher socio-economic status persists for Jamaican immigrants and their descendants.

After-tax Income

Early research on the incomes of the visible minority population points to the wage disadvantage they experience as a result of racialization in the Canadian labor market (Palameta 2004 and Hum and Simpson 1999). Data from the 2006 census points to the persistence of this disadvantage within the visible minority population. Table 4.12 shows that in 2006, people from both visible minority groups are concentrated in low-income categories, particularly incomes between $10,000 and $29,000.After-tax incomes for more than 50% of Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities were also below the average income ($39,068) for the Toronto CMA.

Jamaican immigrant women report lower incomes than visible minority immigrant women. Categorized as Black, Jamaican immigrant women contend with racializing discourses that categorize them as inferior. They are more likely to experience labor market challenges, as a result (Boyd 1984 and Browne and Misra 2003). As Jamaican immigrants, they may be stereotyped as undisciplined, which also limits their participation in Canadian society (James 2012).

In 2006, the gender differentials in income for Jamaican immigrant men and women were similar to differences found by Colin Lindsay (2007) for 2001. On average, Jamaican immigrant women had lower incomes than men and they were more heavily represented in lower income brackets in 2001(Lindsay 2007). A larger percentage of Jamaican immigrant men reported higher incomes

in 2006, particularly incomes over $39,999. Women's incomes reveal the gender inequities that prevail in the labor market. The persistence of low incomes among Jamaican immigrant women is noteworthy as the Jamaican immigrant population has a higher percentage of women than men.

Table 4.12: After-tax Income for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born Visible Minorities Over Age 15. Toronto CMA, 2006[21]

	Jamaican Immigrants			Foreign-born Visible Minority		
	T	F	M	T	F	M
$0-$9999	19.2	18.1	20.8	30.3	33.6	26.6
$10000-$19999	20.9	23.6	16.9	22.6	25.1	19.9
$20000-$29999	19.3	20.7	17.3	16.3	16.5	16.2
$30000-$39999	19	19	19	13.3	12.2	14.5
$40000-$49999	10.4	9.4	11.7	7.5	6	9.1
$50000+	11.3	9.2	14.2	9.9	6.6	13.8
Total	100.1	100	99.9	99.9	99.7	100

The influence of gender on the earning disadvantage of visible minority women is remarkably evident in 2006 census data. Many men had incomes higher than the median income ($39,068) for the Toronto, CMA in 2006 (City of Toronto 2008). Visible minority women experience an earnings disadvantage that has implications for how and the extent to which they participate in immigrant organizations.

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[21] High-income categories (that is, incomes over $60,000) have been removed due to Statistics Canada disclosure rules. Incomes over $60,000 were collapsed with the $50,000+ category to protect the confidentiality of census respondents in this income bracket.

Total Income

Using multiple income measures allows for a more nuanced understanding of income

distribution and inequalities within the visible minority population in Toronto. Most (53.6%)

Jamaican immigrants have total incomes between $0 and $29,999, well below the median total

income of $39,068 for the Toronto CMA in 2006. A higher percentage of women (74.3%) than

men (64.2%) are in these low-income brackets, in that total incomes of more than $40, 000 are

more common for Jamaican immigrant men than women.

Table 4.13: Total Annual Income Jamaican Born, Canadian Born of Jamaican Ethnicity; Foreign-born Visible Minority and Canadian Born Visible Minorities Over, Age 15 Toronto CMA, 2006

	Jamaican Immigrants			Foreign-born Visible Minority		
	T	F	M	T	F	M
$0-$9999	19.1	17.9	20.7	30.2	33.5	26.5
$10000-$19999	19.3	22.2	15.1	20.9	23.3	18.2
$20000-$29999	15.2	16.5	13.3	13.6	14	13
$30000-$39999	16.6	17.7	15.1	11.9	11.4	12.5
$40000-$49999	11.3	10.4	12.5	8.2	7.1	9.4
$50000-$59999	6.9	6.0	8.3	5.1	3.9	6.4
60,000+	11.6	9.2	14.9	10.2	6.7	14.1
Total	100	99.9	99.9	100.1	99.6	100

Like Jamaican immigrants, a higher percentage of foreign-born visible minority women

(56.8%) than men (44.7%) earned between $0 and $19,999. For incomes over $40,000, the

percentages of foreign-born men were larger than for foreign-born women.

Household Income

The data on household income underscore the disadvantage of visible minorities even
after the incomes of multiple earners in a single household are considered. Table 4.14 shows that
close to half of Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities have household
incomes less than $60,000, approximately $20,000 below the average household income for the
Toronto, CMA in 2006.

**Table 4.14: Household Income for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born visible minorities over
age 15 Toronto CMA, 2006.**

	Jamaican Immigrants			Foreign-born Visible Minority		
	T	F	M	T	F	M
$0-$9999	4.4	4.5	4.3	4.3	4.2	4.2
$10000-$19999	7.3	9.1	4.8	6	6.7	5.2
$20000-$29999	7.8	9.1	6.0	7.8	8.1	7.5
$30000-$39999	9.3	10.2	8.	9	9.1	8.8
$40000-$49999	9.0	9.4	8.5	9	9.1	8.9
$50000-$59999	8.9	8.6	9.3	8.6	8.6	8.7
60,000+	53.2	49.2	59.1	55.3	54.1	56.6
Total	99.9	100.1	99.7	99.7	99.9	99.9

The feminization of Jamaican immigrant migration streams coupled with the
disadvantages associated with their racialization and educational attainments shape labor market
outcomes. Jamaican immigrant women who are more likely to have low after-tax and total
incomes than their male counterparts, report lower household incomes than Jamaican immigrant
men. Jamaican immigrant men were more likely to have household incomes over $50, 000 than
Jamaican immigrant women.

Household incomes have implications for participation in immigrant organizations. The literature suggests that individuals who are well established with higher incomes and professional backgrounds are more likely to become involved in immigrant organizations (Owusu 2000). But it is also possible that involvement in immigrant organizations may be a gendered experience. Women are less likely to participate in immigrant organizations due to competing family obligations and lack of financial resources (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2005). Women may be "more interested in improving their situation in the place of settlement through other means than participating in immigrant organizations" (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2005: 900).

Family Structure

Family structure is associated with indicators of social and economic integration including educational attainment (Bowlby and McMullen 2002). Shields et al (2011) also found that there is a positive relationship between poverty rates and marital status. Marriage or common law status reduces poverty rates. The degree to which parents are directly involved in the lives of their children may also affect post-secondary aspirations that can potentially reduce disadvantage, in the long-term, for visible minority families (Krahn and Taylor 2005) and influence visible minorities' propensity to become involved in civic activities. Single parents in visible minority households may have less time for organizational involvement due to family obligations and labour market challenges.

In 2006, there were notable differences in family structure between Jamaican and all visible minority immigrants. Even though the percentage of Jamaican immigrants who reported living as a married opposite sex couple with children increased from 34% in 2001 (Lindsay 2007) to 41.6% in 2006, lone parent family with a female parent (32.3%) was the second most prevalent family structure among Jamaican immigrants in 2006.

Table 4.15 - Census Family Structure for Jamaican Born and Foreign-born Visible Minorities, Toronto CMA, 2006

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born Visible Minorities	
	N	%	N	%
Married Opposite Sex Couple, Without Children	10410	14.8	202270	16.8
Married Opposite Sex Couple with Children	29320	41.6	804810	66.7
Opposite Sex Common Law Couple Without Children	1875	2.7	16665	1.4
Opposite Sex Common Law Couple with Children	3265	4.6	23450	1.9
Lone Parent Family, Male Parent	2835	4	23055	1.9
Lone Parent Family, Female Parent	22725	32.3	136670	11.3
Total	70425	99.7	1206915	100

Scholars such as Henry (1994) and Anderson (1986) explain that the single parent household is a legacy of colonialism in the Caribbean. Marriages were not encouraged and men were often forced to live in separate households or to migrate to distant plantations for employment. Therefore, women were left alone to take care of the households of plantation

masters as well as their own families. Many Caribbean families tried to adopt the nuclear family pattern of European family life in which parents were married and lived in the same household as their children (Lowenthal 1972). However, under colonial circumstances, diverse and complex patterns of family organization emerged in the Caribbean (Henry 1994). The fragmentation of families continues for many Jamaican immigrants and their descendants (Chamberlain 2002 and Higman 1975). Therefore, the image of the absent father, and the female head of household is a recurring feature of Jamaican Canadian families in Toronto. Nevertheless, there is a higher percentage of married couples with children than female-headed lone parent households amongst Jamaican immigrants.

The low incomes of many female single parents[22] coupled with the responsibility for a household may limit many immigrants, especially immigrant women's, abilities to participate in Jamaican organizational activities in Toronto. Jamaican immigrants' family structure may contribute to the reproduction of immigrant organizations as a male dominated site of collective activity (Goldring 2001). The influence of family responsibilities on gendered patterns of participation was documented in Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo's (2005) research on transnational involvement. The authors argue that participation in immigrant organizations is a function of resource availability, in that women will invest their time and financial resources in their households before using them for other activities. Women will participate in organizations less frequently as they are deeply embedded in family life (Hondagnu-Sotelo 1992).

Foreign-born visible minorities were more likely to report a hetero-normative family structure than Jamaican immigrants. More than 66.7% of foreign-born visible minorities lived in a traditional nuclear family, as married opposite sex couples with children.

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[22] At the metropolitan level, income could not be disaggregated by family type due to low counts in some categories.

Conclusion

With the largest foreign-born population of any metropolitan area in Canada, the Toronto CMA is an important gateway for immigrants. The data confirms that the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto is feminized. Jamaican immigrants are also moving to suburban areas, especially the areas of Peel and York Regions in the Toronto CMA. Despite the fact that Toronto is being changed due to immigration, the economic integration of immigrants is still challenging.

Racialization has had different results for various visible minority groups. Data from the 2006 Census suggests that racial status combined with ethnic ancestry and generation influence integration. Foreign-born visible minorities appear to integrate more successfully than Jamaican immigrants. Most (70%) foreign-born visible minorities own their homes. Foreign-born visible minorities are also more likely than Jamaican immigrants to be employed in high paying industrial sectors and occupations related to the natural sciences.

Gender continues to be an important factor that is driving disadvantage among Jamaican immigrants. Specifically, despite having higher levels of education than those of Jamaican immigrant men, Jamaican immigrant women have low incomes and low occupational status. Gender intersects with race to create economic disadvantage in the form of low incomes for some Jamaican born women. This disadvantage is complicated by the fact that lone parent families headed by women are more prevalent amongst Jamaican immigrants than foreign-born visible minorities. Under these circumstances, the low average incomes earned by Jamaican women who are the primary breadwinners in their household have significant implications for their social status in Toronto as well as their involvement in immigrant organizations. The relationships between gender, social status, levels of integration and participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations are further explored in chapters 7 and 8).

Essentializing visible minority groups masks variations within groups. People from different visible minority groups and even from a single visible minority group may have differing circumstances, including levels of educational attainment and income, which influence their settlement outcomes. The data point to an uneven disadvantage affected by the social and economic characteristics of visible minorities. A person's gender and place of birth are important for understanding experiences of disadvantage that may affect sense of belonging and feelings of being out of place in Canadian society. The research findings are consistent with Lian and Matthews' (1998) assertion that a color mosaic, based on differences in income and employment levels across visible minority groups, has emerged in Canadian society. Data from the 2006 census contextualizes our discussion of the settlement experiences that shape the identities of Jamaican immigrants and their civic participation in Toronto. Scholars such as Simmons and Plaza (2010) and Hou and Simpson (1999) emphasize that immigrant groups are not homogenous and experience different social and economic circumstances that shape their disadvantage in Canada. As such, "there are individuals and groups who are relatively advantaged as well as those who are disadvantaged within the visible minority population" (Simmons 2010: 213). The research findings demonstrate that ethnicity and place of birth differentiate Jamaican immigrants' experience of disadvantage and these experiences in turn shape marginalized identities and sense of belonging.

Chapter 5: The Historical Formation of Jamaican Immigrant Organizations in Toronto, Canada.

Introduction

Immigrant organizations emerge in situations where immigrants attempt to create spaces of comfort, belonging and representation at unfamiliar destinations. Although some scholars suggest that attention should be given to hair salons (Trotz 2007) and bars (Foner 1976) as sites of collective activity for Jamaican immigrants, I focus on immigrant organizations that are recognized by scholars, international organizations and government actors as important vehicles for immigrant integration (Moya 2005; Caselli 2010 and Sardinha 2009). Additionally, the existing literature indicates that churches facilitate immigrant settlement (Henry 1994, Ley 2008 and Min 1992). However, this dissertation examines immigrant organizations that, unlike the churches attended by Jamaican immigrants[23], are ethno-specific in their orientation and reflect the identities and settlement experiences of the immigrant groups they serve (Moya 2005). Immigrant organizations have been constructed as institutions that speak on behalf of the immigrant group and facilitate their integration (Gleeson and Bloemraad 2012). The literature on immigrant organizations has tended to focus on how these organizations foster a sense of belonging by providing spaces for immigrants to socialize and build social networks within the immigrant group. Much of the literature on immigrant organizations looks at variations in the establishment of organizations across immigrant groups with limited attention to the different types of immigrant organizations established by immigrants from the same country of origin (Veronis 2010; Brettel 2011 and Gooden 2008). Jamaican immigrants and the immigrant organizations they establish are an interesting case to explore how intra-group variations in

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[23] The existing literature on Jamaican immigrants does not identify the churches with which Jamaican immigrants affiliate as ethno-specific religious institutions (Henry 1994 and Foner 1976).

organizing are shaped by complex interactions between identity (that are often plural) and place (to which attachments and relationships are often diverse). Toronto is a particularly appropriate place for studying the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations. As previously mentioned in Chapter 4, most Jamaican immigrants in Canada reside in Toronto. Jamaican immigrants in Toronto are also relatively well established due to their long history of migration to Canada (Mensah 2002).

Jamaican immigrants have a long history of migration to Canada as well as an established network of more than 80 Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto alone (Consulate General of Jamaica 2013). However, the results of the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002) reveal that while Jamaican immigrants' sense of belonging to their ethnic group is relatively strong, their participation in immigrant organizations is very low. Underpinning these trends are complex patterns of belonging and association that require further exploration. This chapter will investigate the main types of organizations established by Jamaican immigrants as well as the factors that influenced their development. I use information from semi-structured interviews with Jamaican immigrants to assess the prominence of different Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Information acquired from archival research and secondary sources were used to create a typology that highlighted the features of different types of organizations established by Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. The typology suggests that immigrant organizations are not only shaped by a need to foster a sense of belonging and solidarity amongst members of an immigrant group. Jamaican immigrant organizations developed as a result of changes in Toronto occurring in tandem with shifts in the composition of the Jamaican immigrant population that had diverse attachments to Jamaican national identity

This chapter begins with a discussion of a typology of immigrant organizations that highlights the features of the five main types of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto

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and provides a foundation for the subsequent discussion of factors that explain their emergence. The characteristics of Jamaican immigrant organizations as well as the circumstances influencing their formation reveal complex patterns of belonging in Toronto and Jamaica, and diverse attachments to Jamaican national identity. The development of Jamaican immigrant organizations is intimately tied to the geography of the places where they are formed. Jamaican immigrant organizations are spatial representations of an increasingly diverse Jamaican immigrant population and an evolving Toronto, a place of residence that has transformed due to historically specific social processes.

A Typology of Jamaican Immigrant Organizations in Toronto

The number of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto grew rapidly between the 1970s and 1980s. While many studies (Portes, Escobar and Radford 2007; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008; Holder 1998) describe the mandates and primary activities of immigrant organizations, much of this research does not examine the circumstances that shaped the development of each type of organization.

The typology of Jamaican immigrant organizations described below was created by synthesizing research examining the functions of organizations established by Jamaican immigrants. Alumni associations that provide avenues for individuals to maintain relationships with their alma maters (Saxenian, Motoyama and Quan 2002, Yoo 2000) are an important part of the organizational network for Jamaican immigrants. Scholars such as Mael and Asforth (1992), Singer and Hughey (2002), Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) and Portes, Escobar, Arana (2008) use the term 'sociocultural' to identify organizations where the continuation of cultural heritage at immigrants' destinations is central to the activities of the organization. The term sociocultural is therefore fitting for organizations such as the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) as they focus on providing a space for Jamaican immigrants to continue cultural traditions. Political

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organizations that organize activities for immigrants to support political parties in the country of origin are also identified in the migration literature as avenues through which immigrants engage in political transnationalism (Itzigsohn 2000; Portes, Escobar and Radford 2007). Additionally, organizations such as the Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA), though less explored in the literature, are identified as ethnic organizations as they were established to, make visible the cultural background of Jamaican immigrants with both Chinese and Jamaican heritage. Scholars such as Ralph Premdas (1994) and Bosma and Alferink (2012) explore how the diverse ethnic origins of individuals within immigrant groups influence the establishment of organizations that represent their specific identities, albeit without defining them as ethnic associations. Special interest group is a term used to identify organizations that focus on carrying out charitable work in specific sectors (Moe 2011). The term special interest group is therefore used to describe organizations that mobilize individuals to advance issues of interest to the individuals they represent.

Sociocultural Organizations

Sociocultural organizations are largely concerned with fostering sense of belonging in the place of settlement by helping immigrants retain cultural practices and traditions that originate in the country of origin. Scholars (Henry 1994; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2002; Owusu .2000; Brettel 2005; Brettel 2009) agree that immigrant organizations with a sociocultural orientation engender a sense of belonging by promoting and celebrating events that are specific to the place of origin and familiar to immigrant members of the organization. Members of sociocultural organizations host activities that bring together individuals from the same immigrant group to participate in activities of common interest. These organizations also assist in the integration and settlement of newcomers by providing support and assistance with finding housing and employment as well as providing advice about human rights through services or

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social networks of individuals. The Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) is the most prominent and well-known sociocultural Jamaican immigrant organization in Toronto (Gidengil and Stolle 2009). Founded in 1962, the JCA was the first organization that was established to serve and support Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. The JCA is also well known outside the Jamaican immigrant community as a result of the organization's ability to access both ethno-specific and cross-cultural networks and social capital (Brettel 2005). When Jamaican Canadian participants were asked about their knowledge of Jamaican immigrant organizations, they often made reference to the JCA. For instance, Jamaican immigrant respondents who were not members of the JCA or other Jamaican immigrant organizations at the time of the study were aware of the organization's existence as well as its activities. For instance, when asked if he was involved in any Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto *Mark said,

> "*I was not involved in any organizations but I knew about the JCA, which has been there for many years. I [also] attend [some of] the functions they keep*" (*Mark).

When asked if she knew of any Jamaican immigrant organizations, *Kerry also said that she knew of the JCA.

> "*I [owned] a gallery and used the JCA to establish connections with both the Caribbean and African communities" in Toronto*" (*Kerry).

*Barbara, a Jamaican immigrant who was not involved in any of the JCAs activities and events, said that:

> "*I know about the JCA, I drove by and it is right there and they gave me flyers to put around the school"* (*Barbara).

Residential geographies influenced the establishment of the JCA (Nicholls 2009). The fact that the JCA is centrally located in the Toronto metropolitan area may be a function of the residential concentration of Jamaican immigrants. As mentioned in Chapter 4, data from the

2006 census indicate that more than 50% of Jamaican immigrants chose Toronto as their municipality and region of residence. Residential concentration may have provided the JCA with organizational advantages such as facilitating more opportunities for Jamaican immigrants to work cooperatively and providing them with a numbers advantage when presenting their concerns to political representatives (Foner 1998).

Continued connections with the home country inform the programming of sociocultural organizations like the JCA. For example, the impetus for the creation of the JCA was the fact that Jamaica successfully relinquished its colonial status and gained its independence from British rule in August 1962 (Jamaican Canadian Association, n.d.). The founding members of the JCA came together to plan a celebration of Jamaican independence. This celebration motivated Jamaican immigrants in Toronto to "create a permanent entity..." where they could come together and celebrate their history and heritage (Jamaican Canadian Association, n.d.).

Although the Jamaican Canadian Association was initially established as an organization to celebrate Jamaican culture, the organization also expanded its mandate to support individuals of Afro-Caribbean background, as there were no other Caribbean organizations in existence at the time. The pro-European immigration policy in this period meant that Caribbean immigrants to Toronto "would rarely see another black person for days or even weeks…they were few [in number] and widely scattered" (Williams 2012: 11). Therefore, Caribbean immigrants often felt lonely and isolated and would seek the company and comfort of like persons. Furthermore, "there were few opportunities for … social contact other than at some churches [however] not all … were welcoming…as the memberships were totally white…" (Williams 2012: 12). As a result, sociocultural organizations like the JCA were very important during the 1960s. They provided an environment where Jamaican immigrants could celebrate their heritage and socialize with others of like culture and settlement experience.

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Violent forms of exclusion and the absence of social services to assist newcomers in Toronto created an even greater need for these institutions. While the JCA was established to celebrate Jamaica's independence, the organization began to take up advocacy issues as early as 1963. Roy Williams (2012: 27) writes that "while the JCA provided a vehicle for social interaction and national patriotism, [they were also] the voice of the voiceless, they championed the cause of the disadvantaged, represented the underrepresented and acted as a bastion against inequity, racism and discrimination." Jamaican immigrants comprised the majority of the Black population in a city where residents were highly conservative and averse to non-European migration to Canada. As a result, members of the JCA were motivated to be advocates of the disadvantaged. The Jamaican Canadian Association addressed issues related to discrimination that was particularly evident in the areas of housing and police brutality. The JCA also began to deliver social services to address the varied settlement needs of a rapidly expanding population (Williams 2012).

Outreach is also an important part of the activities of the JCA. A 1975 article in *The Islander* states that the JCA "applied for a grant in the amount of $24,000 with which to initiate an immigrant outreach program that began on November 10, 1975 and was directed specifically to the Caribbean immigrant population in Toronto" ("Jamaican Canadian Association News Briefs" 1975). The JCA also had summer programs and a multicultural coordinator program that were sponsored by Canada Employment and Manpower, the Ministry of Community and Social Services and the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture in Ontario to provide Caribbean immigrants with more opportunities for training and employment ("JCA Planning Summer programs" 1983). The JCA received more public recognition than other Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto, so its history and the issues that it has encountered over time are discussed in detail in the media ("No Thanks from JCA" 1982).

With the support of grants from the Canadian government, the JCA grew in size and influence even as other sociocultural organizations appeared. Organizations such as the Progressive Jamaicans Association (PROJAM), the West Indian Social and Cultural Society, and the Mississauga Social and Cultural Organization provided important services to newcomers and a culturally friendly environment for Jamaican immigrants who are now long-time residents in Toronto. These organizations were established after 1970 and did not engage in political activism on behalf of Black and Caribbean communities in the same way as the Jamaican Canadian Association. Changes in advocacy occurred as Toronto's landscape began to change with immigration legislation that permitted the entry of racial minorities into Canada (Simmons 2010). The encounters between racialized immigrants and the conservative and exclusionary cultural norms of Canada challenged social structures that were resistant to change. With its settlement programs and advocacy, the JCA paved the way for immigrant organizations that offered programs and services that went beyond the promotion of national culture and activism (Williams 2012). Special interest groups, alumni, ethnic and political organizations emerged after the establishment of the JCA. Many of these organizations also host events that promote Jamaican culture and allow Jamaican immigrants to build relationships with each other. Hosting socio-cultural activities, however, is often not the primary focus of these organizations.

Ethnic Organizations

Ethnic organizations, while social in their orientation, were established by a sub-group of immigrants within the Jamaican immigrant population that were excluded from popular understandings of Jamaican identity (Lindsay 2007). Sub-groups within the Jamaican immigrant population include immigrants who are not part of or regarded as Black or of African descent. These sub-groups include Jamaican immigrants who are of mixed origins as well as those of Indian and Chinese descent (Mensah 2002; Lindsay 2007).

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One of the best-known Jamaican immigrant ethnic organizations is the Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA). The Caribbean Chinese Association is labelled as a regional association due to the fact that it welcomes all Caribbean peoples of Chinese origin. Jamaican immigrants of Chinese heritage, however, dominate the CCA. The CCA was established in 1977 to "provide a community focus for the 170 families that belong to it" ("Caribbean Chinese Face Cultural Dilemma: Our Support is Needed" 1981). The CCA was important for reuniting families who had fled Michael Manley's democratic socialist regime. They celebrate their Jamaican heritage by hosting various events including brunches and New Years Eve dances where they play Jamaican music and serve Jamaican food. They also organize events such as the annual Moon festival and a mid-autumn festival that celebrates Chinese heritage. These events allow the children of Chinese Jamaican immigrants to learn about their identities as Chinese Jamaicans and maintain connections with extended family members of Chinese Jamaican background ("Caribbean Chinese Face Cultural Dilemma: Our Support is Needed" 1981). The Tsun Tsin Association of Ontario is another ethnic organization dominated by Jamaican Chinese immigrants residing in Toronto.

The establishment of ethnic organizations is relevant for understanding how plural identities within the Jamaican immigrant population contribute to diverse levels of identification with Jamaican national identity. This diversity has influenced the establishment of organizations that cater to Jamaican immigrants who are not of African descent.

Special Interest Groups

Special interest groups are organizations that address social issues of interest to their members. The establishment of special interest groups shows how the growth of the Jamaican immigrant population and the increasing number of Jamaican immigrant organizations has created opportunities for Jamaican immigrants to affiliate or organize based on one aspect of

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their social identities. Several factors have allowed special interest groups to focus on particular initiatives. For example, Toronto became more welcoming to immigrants due to the adoption of an official multiculturalism policy in 1971 and the growth of visible minority immigrant groups. Several ethno-specific and multicultural organizations that catered to settlement needs and issues created avenues for organizations to focus on issues of interest to their membership.

The Project for the Advancement of Early Childhood Education (formerly called Women for PACE), established in 1987, is one of the most prominent special interest groups in Toronto. PACE is "a voluntary organization established by a group of charitable Canadian women to provide support to early childhood institutions, that educate children between the ages of 3 and 5 years, by providing them with educational toys, playground equipment and teaching materials" (Maylor 1987). Women for PACE is dedicated to supporting the improvement of early childhood education in Jamaica. Women for PACE was later renamed as PACE to include and recognize the increasing number of men who were joining the organization. The organization was founded by Dr. Mavis Burke, who at the time was a well-known educator in Toronto and Jamaica. She recognized the need to support Jamaican basic and elementary schools that were understaffed or had limited resources. During a visit to Toronto in 1987, former Prime Minister Edward Seaga appealed for "economic and educational assistance from Canada particularly in light of an island wide community based pre-school initiative" promoted by the government of Jamaica (Burke n.d). As a result, PACE was established to support and complement the government of Jamaica's educational initiatives. Over time, PACE became a registered charitable institution and required that "anyone seeking membership in [the organization would] have to apply and be formally accepted" by the organization (Depradine 1989).

PACE has supported the improvement of early childhood education in various ways. In the 1970s, PACE created a professional development program in which early childhood

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education departments in Canada and Jamaica exchanged information and personnel to assist "Canadian educators in becoming culturally sensitive to pre-school children with Caribbean backgrounds" (Maylor 1988). The organization also made appeals to immigrants in Ontario "to mobilize resources ... in a coordinated effort to provide in-kind assistance in the form of donations of playground equipment, teaching and learning materials" to early childhood institutions (Maylor 1988). Over the years, PACE has helped other organizations in Ontario with the provision of educational services to underserviced communities in Toronto. For example, they supported the Jane and Finch Concerned Citizen Organization (JFCCO) by "distributing toys to underprivileged children in the Jane and Finch community." PACE also hosts social events particularly a Strawberry Tea fundraiser where they invite members, friends and families to make donations to support its programs.

The proliferation of Jamaican immigrant organizations established to promote the diverse interests and transnational connections of Jamaican immigrants are evident in the growth of other special interest groups such as Help Jamaica Now." Help Jamaica Now is a special interest group, which was established to assist the families of Jamaican immigrants that were devastated by Hurricane Gilbert in the 1980s ("J'can organization launched" 1989). Other special interest groups established by Jamaican immigrants in Toronto include the Helping Hands Foundation and Friends of St. Thomas Association that fund basic schools in Jamaica and the distribution of medical support/services to low income families and communities in Jamaica.

Political Organizations

Political organizations are organizations that are established by Jamaican immigrants who may have had a history of affiliation with political parties in their country of origin and wish to continue these connections in their new places of residence. Political organizations are in some ways special interest groups but they are interested in mobilizing Jamaican immigrants to

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support political initiatives, activities and parties in their home countries. The Jamaica Nationals League (JNL) was the first political organization established by Jamaican immigrants. The JNL began when a group of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto wrote a letter to the editors of *The Islander* newspaper expressing their "interest in an organization affiliated to the PNP (or the Peoples National Party), which is one of the two major political parties in Jamaica" ("Letters" 1974). In a letter to the editor, one Jamaican immigrant indicated that there was "no room for political participation by inference or otherwise implicit in the constitution of any existing organization …in Toronto" ("Letters" 1974). As a result, the JNL was established in 1974 and operated as an overseas division of the PNP. They would have regular visits from members of the PNP to discuss issues such as voting in Jamaican elections and the development of political tribalism through violent confrontations between members and supporters of the two ruling parties in Jamaica. Additionally, a 1976 article entitled '*Fracas Interrupts JNL Me*et' explained how events happening in Jamaica affected the JNL. The 'fracas' refers to the confrontation between the left and right wing factions of the Jamaica Nationals League "closely resembling the split within the ranks of the Peoples National Party in Jamaica" ("Fracas disrupts JNL meet" 1975). Political organizations such as the JNL are deeply embedded in transnational social fields that cross geographical and political borders (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004 and Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc 1995). The Jamaica Nationals League does not exist today but political affiliations are still evident in organizations such as the Jamaican Canada Diaspora Foundation - a state body that was established by the Jamaican government to mobilize Jamaican immigrants to support the economic development and growth of Jamaica. Members of the executive meet directly with the Jamaican government to discuss how Jamaicans can assist the Jamaican government in advancing various initiatives.

Alumni Associations

Alumni associations are examples of another type of organization that accommodates and represents the diverse identities and social affiliations of Jamaican immigrants as well as the myriad transnational connections that they maintain while residing in Toronto. Alumni associations exemplify plural identities; identification with alumni associations indicates close ties with the post-secondary and tertiary institutions they attended in Jamaica. Alumni associations were established to bring together and support graduates of major educational institutions (particularly universities and elite high schools in Jamaica). There are many Jamaican alumni groups in Canada but most affiliate with the Alliance of Jamaican Alumni Associations (AAJA), an umbrella organization that represents all Jamaican alumni associations in Toronto. The AAJA was established by members who recognized that many secondary schools in Jamaica were in great financial need. Members of the AAJA also realized that if the needs of the institutions from which they graduated were great, then other schools that had much less resources needed their assistance (Fanfair 1998). There are 36 alumni associations registered with the AAJA but many others remain unregistered (AJAA, n.d.). At its inception, the AJAA comprised graduates from 38 secondary schools and two post-secondary institutions-the Mico Teachers College and the University of the West Indies Nurses College (Fanfair 1998). St. Georges College and Kingston College are examples of two postsecondary institutions that established alumni associations in Toronto. One of the founding members, Olive Parkins-Smith, "...shared his idea of forming an alumni group to assist Jamaican high schools with fellow graduates of St. Georges College and Kingston College" (Fanfair 1998). Parkins-Smith decided to host a soccer competition between these two all-male institutions to generate interest and membership for the organization. They have also conducted activities in Canada including the "graduates community reception to honor Ontario High school graduates and a job shadowing

program that provided minority students with career role models and exposure to the work environment" (Fanfair 1998).

In summary, five main types of Jamaican immigrant organizations exist in Toronto namely sociocultural, political, alumni and ethnic organizations as well as special interest groups. While the activities of these immigrant organizations sometimes overlap, each type has a different orientation and different circumstances that influenced its development. Despite differences in their mandate, Jamaican immigrant organizations created spaces of sociality for Jamaican immigrants. Together, these organizations provided spaces for immigrants to celebrate cultural heritage and network with other Jamaican immigrants through various social, cultural and philanthropic activities.

Factors Influencing the Development of Jamaican Immigrant Organizations

The typology of immigrant organizations described in the preceding section suggests that the changing immigration context and the diverse identities of individuals within the Jamaican immigrant population influenced the characteristics of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Jamaican immigrant organizations play myriad roles in building a sense of belonging in the new place of residence. They provide a space for organizing based on national identities and the desire to maintain connections with the country of origin particularly in a context where there are experiences with exclusion, status loss and displacement.

Sense of Belonging, Reactionary Productions of Place and the Establishment of Sociocultural Organizations

The fact that sociocultural organizations such as the Jamaican Canadian Association were initially established to reinforce Jamaican identities and create networks amongst Jamaican immigrants in Toronto shows how transnational identities and sense of belonging have informed the emergence of Jamaican immigrant organization in Toronto. Many immigrants participate in

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immigrant organizations to maintain ties with their home country, the "place where many Jamaican immigrants feel they truly belong psychologically, socially and culturally" (Santos 1983 cited in Wolf 2006: 264). Establishing an immigrant organization that fostered sense of belonging by representing national and cultural forms of expression that were specific to Jamaican immigrants was particularly important when Toronto had a small Jamaican immigrant population. The significance of cultural activity is highlighted by Frances Henry (1994) who explained that the "Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) … emerged [out of attempts to] redefine [and specify national] cultural activity in their new home by sponsoring, dances, sports, clubs, alumni associations and celebrating [Jamaican] independence day." The Jamaican Canadian Association continues to host events such as dinners and dances that celebrate Jamaican independence, the Jamaica Flag raising at City Hall and an annual picnic where Jamaican cuisine is sold to raise funds that are used to support the philanthropic activities of the organization (www.jcaontario.org).

Establishing immigrant organizations was not only important for reinforcing transnational connections and increasing comfort in the new place of settlement, it was also important to combat the racism that visible minority populations experienced in Toronto. At the time of the JCA's establishment, Toronto was still unfriendly to the growing population of visible minority immigrant groups who challenged their "sense of who and what was Canadian" (Troper 2003: p 68). As a result, the executive of the JCA diversified their services and functions to include activities that involved defending the rights of Jamaican immigrants and lobbying the government for changes that enhanced their sense of belonging and long-term integration in Toronto. For instance, a 2002 article in *The Share* describes how the "JCA received $30,000 in provincial funding to alleviate violence that caused the death of more than 100 Blacks between 1998 and 2000" (Grant 2002). The JCA also had meetings with Metro Toronto Police to address

the criminalization of young Black men in Toronto and the violently racialized actions taken by the police against these individuals (Donkoh 1997). Although, Canada is now a country "that recognizes human rights, maintains a broad social safety net and promotes an open door policy toward immigrants... discriminatory and exclusionary practices still endure" (Wong 2006: 366). Discriminatory practices not only inhibited incorporation in Canadian society but also shaped the orientation and activities of many Jamaican immigrant organizations (Henry 1994; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005).

The JCA's involvement in activism to defend the marginalized and disadvantaged as well as its ability to acquire funding to support the services for Jamaican immigrants enhanced the organization's prominence and facilitated its development as an organization. Former president of the JCA, Roy Williams (2012) emphasized that the JCA was "hardly established" when they became involved in their first human rights case. A young woman was accosted and wrongfully detained by the police. The JCA requested an investigation that facilitated the resolution of the matter. The victory confirmed the JCAs "authenticity and established that there was a need for an organization that could intervene on behalf of others in the community" (Williams 2012: 27-28).

The role of immigrant organizations in representing the claims of Jamaican immigrants and making their cultural identities visible was established by earlier organizations such as the United Negro Improvement Association and Black Coalition of Canada (Gooden 2008). These organizations were established to defend the rights of Blacks who were marginalized and build networks that would facilitate social and economic mobility for Blacks in Canada. Many immigrant groups within the Black population, however, began to establish their own organizations based on their specific cultural identities, interests and experiences. The emergence of Jamaican immigrant organizations that enhance sense of belonging and support the full incorporation of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto is informed by the numbers and identities of

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Jamaican immigrants, transforming the social geography of Toronto (Harvey 1989). Multiculturalism policies created the socio-legal environment necessary for immigrants to celebrate their individual cultures. The increasing presence of Jamaican immigrants also provided an opportunity to build networks within the immigrant population. Additionally, organizations such as the UNIA paved the way for other visible minority immigrant groups to establish their own organizations. The growing size of the Jamaican immigrant population in conjunction with the increasing density of organizations that supported the integration of visible minorities created opportunities to share information, financial resources and establish contacts that were instrumental for the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations (Nicholls 2008).

Ethno-cultural Diversity and the Establishment of Ethnic Organizations in Toronto

While the literature on immigrant organizations often argues that the reinforcement of solidarity and maintenance of cultural commonalities are significant factors encouraging the establishment of immigrant organizations (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002; Camozzi 2011; Premdas 2004; Williams 2012); the history of Jamaican immigrant organizations shows that the diverse identities of individuals within the Jamaican immigrant population have also contributed to the proliferation of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Studies by Hopkins (2006), Salaff and Chan (2007), Premdas (1994) and Akcapar and Yurdakul (2009) highlight the ways in which tensions within immigrant populations can influence the establishment and activities undertaken by immigrant organizations. The diverse ethnic and cultural composition of the Jamaican immigrant population is particularly significant for understanding immigrant organizing. Perceptions of the Jamaican immigrant population and the ways it is seen by out-group members are influenced by the largest ethnicities that make up this immigrant population in Canada, particularly Jamaican immigrants of African descent who are highly racialized. Defining the Jamaican immigrant population as black is problematic as it homogenizes Jamaican immigrants

and essentializes differences within the Jamaican immigrant population. Consequently, tensions among immigrants may be silenced and different ways of relating to Jamaican identity undermined. Ethnic diversity within the Jamaican immigrant population has meant that organizations that are defined by Afro- Jamaican identity can potentially exclude those who do not completely identify with this way of imagining Jamaican identity.

The Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA) in Toronto illustrates how Jamaican immigrants have organized based on ethnic identity. The CCA was established in 1977 to contribute to the advancement of the Caribbean Chinese immigrant population and improve the quality of community life amongst Caribbean Chinese immigrants in Toronto (Caribbean Chinese Association.com). While the CCA was established to support the Caribbean Chinese immigrant population in Toronto, it continues to be dominated by Jamaican immigrants. This organization is significant for Chinese Jamaican immigrants in Toronto as they " [often] found themselves in a twilight zone of being neither a meaningful part of a wider Jamaican immigrant population to which they were publicly assigned nor a part of the South East Asian community to which they were phenotypically associated" (Premdas 2004: 552). Chinese Jamaican immigrants felt that they had a specific cultural heritage that needed to be recognized and therefore had a desire to create a space in which they could make identity and community claims that were specific to their identities as non-Black Jamaican immigrants. This was reinforced in a 1981 article in the *Share* where a former president of the CCA stated that "we're really not Chinese in a cultural sense, but we are not truly West Indian either...I find that I'm not really accepted in Chinatown as Chinese because I can't speak the language, and we're not fully accepted by other West Indian organizations here" ("Caribbean Chinese Face Cultural Dilemma" 1981). Although "the CCA was serious about developing a better relationship between all West Indians and individuals from other ethnic groups," establishing their own organization gave them a separate

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space for mobilization and saved them from being silenced, marginalized and excluded by the claims of the larger Jamaican immigrant population that was dominated by individuals of African descent ("Caribbean Chinese face Cultural Dilemma" 1981). By associating Jamaican identity with blackness, the identities and interests of Chinese Jamaican immigrants were silenced or excluded. These examples show how the increase in the number of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto stems partly from varying degrees of identification and disaffection with dominant definitions of Jamaican identity associated with African descent and the disadvantage associated with blackness.

Although color and ethnicity continue to divide Jamaican immigrants, there are efforts to unite all Jamaican immigrant organizations despite diverse interests and identities. The National Council of Jamaicans and Supportive Organizations in Canada and the Caribbean Liberation Union, two organizations that are now defunct, were efforts to unite the diverse interests and identities of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto.

Transnational Connections and Social Identities: The Formation of Special Interest Groups, Alumni Associations and Political Organizations by Jamaican Immigrants in Toronto

Jamaican immigrants arrived in Canada with different social backgrounds and maintained identities that were mutually constructed by places of origin and destination. Differences in the social backgrounds and identities of Jamaican immigrants have shaped the organizational activities they pursue. Specifically, educational background and political affiliations have been important aspects of the social identities of Jamaican immigrants that influenced the organizations they established in Toronto. Jamaican immigrant alumni associations such as the Mico College Alumni Association and the University of the West Indies Alumni Association (Toronto Chapter) were established by Jamaican immigrants who wanted to maintain

connections and support the improvement of their former high schools and universities in Jamaica.

Organizations such as the Jamaica Nationals League also demonstrate how Jamaican immigrants who were heavily involved in the activities of political parties in Jamaica continued to support party leaders by sending remittances to fund campaigns and mobilizing Jamaican immigrants to support the political parties with which they were affiliated. The Jamaica Nationals League (JNL) was established as an affiliate to the Peoples National Party (PNP) that was led by Michael Manley in the 1970s. According to a 1974 news article in *The Islander,* the JNL was established by a group of 200 Jamaican immigrants living in Toronto to "encourage Jamaican immigrants living in Canada to support Jamaica and especially the PNP" ("Metro J'cans to Aid PNP" 1974). The organization would also deal with issues such as "voting by proxy in Jamaican elections, and rallying the league behind worthwhile causes [that benefitted] the whole country" (1974 Metro J'cans to Aid PNP).

The 1970s and 1980s was a particularly turbulent time during the Manley era (Koslofsky 1981). Rising crime and political tribalism encouraged the increasing migration of skilled and highly educated Jamaican nationals. These events also spurred the development of the JNL. Many of the issues that were occurring in Jamaica during the 1970s were taken up by the JNL during their meetings in Toronto. For instance, a 1976 article in *The Islander* recounts a clash between rival factions of the Jamaica Nationals League that "closely resembled the split within the ranks of the [the PNP] in Jamaica" ("Fracas disrupts JNL meeting" 1976). These divisions led to clashes between the two groups that often resembled the violent altercations that took place between the two ruling political parties in Jamaica. Although the Jamaica Nationals League is no longer in existence, organizations such as the Jamaica Canada Diaspora Foundation still

operate as state led organizations that are intended to mobilize Jamaican immigrants to support state interests..

Special interest groups such as PACE were also influenced by events occurring outside Canada. Specifically, the members of PACE focused their efforts on supporting Jamaican basic and elementary schools that were often understaffed or had limited resources. Responding to calls from former Jamaican Prime Minister, Edward Seaga, for transnational activism by Jamaican immigrants focused on early childhood education, PACE was established to fund the construction and improvement of early childhood education initiatives in Jamaica. There were many articles in the *Share* (Depradine 1989; Maharaj 1989; Grant 1992) that described fundraising events hosted by PACE such as the annual Strawberry Tea event mentioned earlier (Grant 1992).

The activities of PACE and the JNL demonstrate how some Jamaican immigrant organizations emerge out of connections cultivated and maintained between Jamaica and Toronto. The transnational connections separate these organizations from Jamaican immigrant organizations that are localized in their operations and, therefore, focus on supporting Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Organizations such as PACE and the JNL allow their members to function at the center rather than periphery of transnational space (Portes, Guarnizo, Landolt 1999). Differences in the extent to which members of Jamaican immigrant organizations are involved in activities occurring in the country of origin reinforces Hiebert and Ley's (2006:77) assertion that "there is much variation in the extent and intensity of transnational activity" in which immigrants in Canada are involved. Some Jamaican immigrant organizations focus primarily on institutionalized activities that continuously embed organizational members in a web of relations that connect Toronto with Jamaica.

State Relations and The Establishment of Immigrant Organizations

State involvement has been crucial to the establishment of many immigrant organizations (Goldring 2002, Salaff and Chan 2007). The Jamaican government has helped to facilitate and even motivate the establishment of immigrant organizations by calling on members of Jamaican immigrant populations overseas to mobilize support for political parties as well as specific social and economic initiatives in Jamaica. Organizations such as the Jamaica Nationals League exemplify how transnational affiliations between Jamaican immigrants and the Jamaican government led to the establishment of a political organization that was the base for the Peoples National Party in Toronto. The establishment of PACE also demonstrates the importance of transnational connections in understanding the reasons behind the establishment of Jamaican immigrant organizations.

The Canadian government has also facilitated the establishment of Jamaican immigrant organizations. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act created a socio-political environment that allowed Jamaican immigrants in Canada to create a social and physical space where they could celebrate their individual identities and cultures. Although some scholars may argue that the policy of multiculturalism is divisive (Bisoondath 1994), reproduces marginalization (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010) and has done little to address the social exclusion that immigrants continue to experience (Ley 2010), the Multiculturalism Act was designed to foster sense of belonging to the nation while allowing minorities to preserve their cultural heritage. Ethnic minority groups were to be treated as integral members of society. The Act also provides for freedom from discrimination based on religion, race, color and gender and emphasizes the importance of providing both capacity and opportunity for immigrant groups to be active citizens in Canadian society while maintaining their cultural heritage. Various government grants have also allowed some immigrant organizations to expand their services and facilities. For instance, a

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1989 article in the *Share* highlighted how a grant of more than $46,000 from the provincial government to the Jamaican Canadian Association allowed it to expand the services for Jamaican and Caribbean immigrants in Toronto (Depradine 1989). The grant was part of a Multicultural Service Program that was established to subsidize the operating expenses of immigrant-serving organizations (Depradine 1989). The Jamaican Canadian Association has received many government grants to support the various settlement services provided to the Jamaican population in Toronto. The Jamaican Canadian Association has had a long history in Canada, partly due to these grants that allowed the organization to expand facilities, employ staff and continue to provide services such as legal advice to immigrants and summer programs for youth. This type of governmental support is not only important for facilitating social integration but also for building greater visibility of the cultural identities and concerns of the Jamaican immigrant population. Funding that supports institutions that organize around cultural identity symbolizes that their "differences have equal worth and value" and reinforces the tenets of recognition and equality that a truly multicultural society should espouse (Fleras 2009: 16).

The fact that the JCA is the only Jamaican immigrant organization with a permanent meeting place that is owned by members of the organization is noteworthy as it signifies the prominence and visibility of the JCA as an ethno-specific organization. This organizational space symbolizes the legitimacy and recognition that the JCA has achieved over time due to the organization's success in lobbying for greater inclusion of Jamaican immigrants as well as its engagement with government actors in facilitating these changes (Williams 2012).

Conclusion

This study of Jamaican immigrant organizations addresses ongoing calls by migration scholars to examine how intra-group dynamics contribute to differences in the types of organizations established by immigrant populations (Veronis 2010; Owusu 2000 and Portes et al

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2007). The variety of organizations established by Jamaican immigrants points to the ways that the process of settlement and the construction of sense of belonging is often shaped through intersections of place and identity. Expressions of belonging will vary depending on the identities of the individuals involved as well as the changes occurring in locations that immigrants adopt as their places of residence. Jamaican immigrant organizations reflect the social diversity of the Jamaican immigrant population, varying degrees of identification with Jamaican national identity and individual differences in the significance of transnational identities for these immigrants. Additionally, the provision of settlement supports by a wide variety of multicultural and ethno-specific organizations and other changes at the destination have created a social safety net that has allowed many immigrant organizations to extend their mandates beyond the provision of culturally sensitive settlement services. Therefore, the development of Jamaican immigrant organizations also reflects changes in Toronto as a city of residence and, consequently, the changing needs of Jamaican immigrants.

The arrival of immigrants from diverse social and racial backgrounds led to changes in legislation and social policy particularly the Multiculturalism Act. The provisions of the Multiculturalism Act as well as the services provided by other organizations created the environment necessary to foster immigrants' plural social identities. Specifically, many Jamaican immigrant organizations began with a social mandate, in that they celebrated the cultures of their country of origin and provided a place of solace and support for Jamaican immigrants who often experienced exclusion and discrimination in their everyday lives. The types of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto, however, expanded primarily due to the increasingly diverse ethnic and social backgrounds of Jamaican immigrants that began to arrive in Toronto after 1970. Through the Jamaican immigrant organizations that had a sociocultural orientation

and multicultural organizations with government funding, Jamaican immigrants could establish organizations that addressed their diverse social interests and social backgrounds.

Places change and may acquire multiple attributes that exist simultaneously. The evolution of Toronto as a city that excluded visible minorities to a place that was more tolerant and respectful of the diverse cultural identities and concerns of immigrants also influenced the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Sociocultural Jamaican immigrant organizations, such as the JCA, were initially established to defend the rights of Jamaican immigrants and enhance their sense of belonging in Toronto by offering culturally sensitive programs and services. With the advent of anti-racist immigration policy, the policy of multiculturalism, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and a network of social service organizations that were created to facilitate the integration of visible minorities, Jamaican immigrant organizations that organized around social identities and mobilized interests that were not related to the provision of settlement services began to emerge. Therefore, ways of belonging and expressing identity are continuously (re)constructed in relation to shifting places.

Chapter 6: Sense of Place and Belonging among Jamaican Immigrants in Canada: Findings from the Ethnic Diversity Survey

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I explored the way that interactions between changes in Toronto's social geography, the identities of Jamaican immigrants, and their experiences in Toronto shaped the types of organizations established by Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. In this chapter, I use data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002) to evaluate the extent to which participation in immigrant organizations is an important indicator of belonging for Jamaican immigrants.

Sense of belonging, a feeling or sense of attachment that individuals have with people, places, groups and cultures (Antonsich 2010), is an important aspect of settlement for visible minority groups that often struggle with experiences of exclusion and marginalization (Dovidio et al 2010). Scholars have different ways of characterizing sense of belonging (Chow 2007). For example, immigrants' readiness to naturalize, acquire citizenship or participate in Canadian affairs has been measured to assess sense of belonging. Several scholars have shown that belonging also operates at various scales such as the house, neighborhood and the home country and can be measured through a variety of activities including participation in immigrant organizations (Antonsich 2010). Still, differences in sense of belonging among various immigrant groups have received limited attention.

Various studies of belonging in Canada have emphasized that there are important differences between Whites, Canadian natives and immigrants. For instance, using data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002), Reitz and Banerjee (2007) showed that visible minorities express a stronger sense of belonging and are more satisfied with life in Canada than Whites of European origin. Sense of belonging and satisfaction with life in Canada, however, were more

pronounced among visible minorities who were recently arrived. Reitz and Banerjee (2007) suggest that, in contrast to the literature that suggests length of residence contributes to social integration and sense of belonging (Hagerty et al 1992), recent immigrants are more likely to feel a strong sense of belonging to Canada than earlier arrivals. The authors suggest that comparisons between life in Canada, the country of settlement and their country of origin underlie recent newcomers' attachment to Canada (Reitz and Banerjee 2007). The Canadian multicultural framework and its associated programs and policies may also engender a sense of belonging in Canada.

There are notable variations in sense of belonging among visible minorities. For instance, Reitz and Banerjee (2007) note that Chinese immigrants reported less satisfaction with life in Canada than other visible minority groups. Blacks, on average, were more likely to report a lower sense of trust in others when compared with other visible minority groups (Reitz and Banerjee 2007).

Other researchers have shown that sense of belonging among immigrants varies from place to place. For instance, in their analysis of variations in sense of belonging among Canadian born and immigrant residents in Charlottetown, PEI, Hamilton, Ontario and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, found that sense of belonging was highest among immigrants who had resided in Charlottetown and Saskatoon for more than 10 years. The authors also show that positive perceptions of school and neighborhood are associated with improving sense of belonging among immigrants (Kitchen, Williams and Gallina 2015).

The empirical analysis in this study extends the research about sense of belonging within the visible minority population by examining how racial and ethnic identities contribute to differences in sense of belonging among visible minorities. Attention is focused on the sense of belonging of Jamaican immigrants in Canada.

To appreciate Jamaican immigrants' sense of belonging, this chapter draws on the Ethnic Diversity Survey to explore how the identities of Jamaican immigrants influence their sense of belonging as measured by various forms of civic activity as well as statements of trust and their attachments to ethnic groups and Canada, respectively. The analysis compares foreign-born[24] visible minorities with Jamaican immigrants to explore how patterns of belonging vary across visible minority groups. Previous research has demonstrated that activities including travel to the country of origin; relationships with co-ethnics (Ray and Preston 2009) and relationships with family members in the place of settlement (Mora Sitja 2011) are important factors informing sense of belonging among racialized minorities. Variables such as trips to the country of birth, friends of the same ethnic ancestry and frequency of contact with family members in Canada were analyzed. I compare the degree to which the groups feel a sense of belonging to their ethnic group and Canada as well as their levels of involvement in immigrant organizations. This comparison will provide the context for exploring how the construction of immigrant identities informs patterns of association that are linked to sense of belonging. The ways that visible minorities with differing experiences of racialization and settlement engage with their place of residence demonstrate variations in the constitution of identities and sense of belonging. The descriptive analysis situates the organizational activities of Jamaican immigrants in relation to identity and sense of belonging; an issue that will be investigated in subsequent chapters.

The Ethnic Diversity Survey

The EDS is a post-census survey that was administered by Statistics Canada in 2002. Approximately 42,000 Canadian residents, who were at least 15 years of age, completed the

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[24] Foreign-born visible minorities include respondents who are Jamaican born. It is important to note that, in the analysis, Jamaican immigrants were separated from foreign-born visible minorities to isolate the impact of ethnicity on sense of belonging.

survey.[25] The objective of the survey was to facilitate a better understanding of "how people's

cultural backgrounds affect their participation in the social, economic and cultural life of Canada

... [as well as] how Canadians of different ethnic backgrounds interpret and report their

ethnicity" (Statistics Canada 2006: 1). To highlight the way in which Jamaican immigrants are

different from other immigrants, the analysis compares various measures of sense of belonging

among Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minority men and women.

The sample size of the EDS was too small for visible minority groups to be disaggregated

and examined at a detailed scale such as the Toronto CMA, which is the primary spatial

reference for this research and where more than 50% of Jamaican immigrants in Canada reside

(Statistics Canada 2011). Consequently, information was extracted at the national level.

The subsample of Jamaican immigrants was dominated by women (64%) and immigrants

over the age of 25 (89%).[26] The dominance of women in the Jamaican immigrant population has

implications for sense of belonging amongst Jamaican immigrants; since women may experience

greater levels of disadvantage, i.e., low incomes and earnings and lower levels of educational

attainment than men (Creese and Wiebe 2012; Mensah 2002; Browne and Misra 2003 and Man

2004). The gendered racialization of Jamaican immigrant women may influence their sense of

belonging.

The EDS is the only source of comprehensive information about how visible minorities

across Canada interpret and express their ethnicity. Still, there are limitations with these data.

The data only describe sense of belonging for survey respondents who completed the survey

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[26] The small sample size restricted the level of detail that could be reported. As a result, different groups are reported in some tables.

between 2001- 2002. Therefore, the data are a snapshot at one point in time. They do not show temporal changes in the identities of visible minorities as settlement occurs.

Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group [27]

Jamaican immigrants (71%) expressed a higher degree of belonging to their ethnic group than all visible minority immigrants in Canada. Still, it is important to note that although Jamaican immigrants demonstrate the highest levels of belonging to their ethnic group; more than half of foreign-born visible minorities (64.6%) had very strong levels of belonging to their ethnic groups as illustrated in Table 5.1.

Table 6.1: Sense of Belonging to Ethnic Group

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign Born[28] Visible Minorities	
	N	%	N	%
Strong Sense of Belonging	40020	71.1	1489490	64.6
Medium to Weak Sense of Belonging	16310	28.9	817150	35.4
Total	56330	100	2306640	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

The strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group amongst Jamaican immigrants may be due, in part, to the disadvantage that Canadians of Jamaican background experience. Scholars such as Burman (2011), James (1993) and Henry (1994) emphasize that discrimination on the basis of race and culture characterizes the lives of many Caribbean immigrants in the city of

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[27] The Ethnic Diversity Survey (2003) uses the term ethnic group to categorize individuals who self-identify with groups with whom they share cultural characteristics. Ethnic and cultural background was used interchangeably in the questionnaire used to collect information that constitutes the EDS dataset.

Toronto and Canada. Jamaican immigrants may often develop attachments to their ethnic group as they share experiences of discrimination and disadvantage with co-ethnics.

Experiences with racism and discrimination, however, also play significant roles in the lives of all visible minorities and their offspring (Reitz, Banerjee, Phan and Thompson 2009). The discomfort that accompanies exclusion is primarily based on perceived vulnerability and inability to engage fully in Canadian society. Reitz and Banerjee (2005:2) state that "when diversity results in inequality, it may undermine the sense of fairness and inclusion among individuals and groups." Visible minority groups are more likely to have experiences of exclusion than their white counterparts as a result of their ethnic and racial identity. Consequently, sense of belonging to the ethnic group with which they share a cultural background and similar settlement experiences may intensify.

Organizational Participation

Immigrant organizations[29] (included among ethnic associations in the Ethnic Diversity Survey) allow immigrants to claim belonging based on their links to ethnic or geographical communities (Owusu 2000). Participation in immigrant organizations is an important way of facilitating comfort and adjustment as it allows immigrants to maintain these connections. Despite the strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group, the information from the Ethnic Diversity Survey indicates that the level of participation in voluntary/ organizational activities is very low for all foreign-born visible minorities (See table 5.2).

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[29] The terms ethnic association and immigrant organization are both used to refer to institutions, primarily operated by immigrants, that provide services and social supports that facilitate the settlement and integration of immigrant members (Statistics Canada 2002). These associations are also formed for the purpose of socializing, carrying on customs and traditions, which are felt to be important by the organization's members. The term ethnic association is used here to maintain consistency with terminology used in the EDS.

Table 6.2[30]: Frequency of Participation in Ethnic associations[31] in the past twelve months

	Foreign-born visible minorities	
	N	**%**
Yes	157430	6.3
No	2335380	93.7
Total	2492810	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

Table 6.3: Knowledge of Ethnic or Cultural Association in City or Town

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born visible minorities	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Yes	29190	57	1091970	62.5
No	21910	42.8	655450	37.5
Total	51100	100	1747420	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

The majority of Jamaican immigrants, 57%, are aware of ethnic or cultural associations in their city or town of residence; however even more foreign-born visible minorities, 62.5%, knew about ethnic or cultural associations in their town or city

Several scholars (Waldinger et al 2007 and Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002) have suggested that immigrant organizations are important venues through which migrants reinforce connections with their cultural heritage, countries of origin and the transnational identities that connect them to their countries of origin. These organizations also provide social services that address

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[30] Visible minority groups reported in some tables will differ as some groups could not be reported due to the small sample size.

[31] The Ethnic Diversity Survey refers to ethnic associations as organizations with which immigrants affiliate (Statistics Canada 2002).

challenges experienced during settlement. However, the EDS shows that the percentage of the immigrant population that participates in organizational activities is low.

The Ethnic Diversity Survey suggests that many immigrants do not have the time or resources to participate in organizations. Several factors related to settlement in Canada such as balancing work and family life as well as the need and desire to upgrade qualifications for Canadian employment may impede participation in immigrant organizations. Limited time and resources are particularly significant for immigrant women who often have additional household responsibilities including caring for children and the elderly (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005). Findings from another survey of voluntary activity suggest that only immigrants with spare time such as retirees and part time workers are likely to participate. In addition to having time for participation, many seniors and part-time workers also become involved in immigrant organizations to facilitate their involvement in community activities and gain useful work experience (Scott, Selbee and Reed 2006).

Other Forms of Organizational Participation: Religious Institutions

Religious institutions are also an important part of the organizational landscape. These institutions often provide social support that engenders a sense of belonging in Canada (Owusu 2000). Scholars such as Mensah (2009), Boyce-Duncan (2000) and Chatters et al (2009) report that involvement in religious institutions is one way in which racialized minorities address experiences of exclusion. Religious institutions provide formal and informal types of support that contribute to well-being and engender a sense of belonging. Table 5.4 below shows that the percentage of Jamaican immigrants who reported involvement in religiously affiliated groups was much higher than for all foreign-born visible minorities.

Table 6.4[32]: Frequency of Participation in Religious Affiliated Groups in the Past 12 months

	Jamaican Immigrants[33]		Foreign-born visible minorities	
	N	%	N	%
Sometimes (Once or twice a week	10110	17	209660	8.4
Not Applicable (No Religious Group	49250	83	2282960	91.6
Total	59360	100	2492620	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

Participation in religious organizations is approximately twice as high for Jamaican immigrants as for foreign-born visible minorities. Specifically, 17% of Jamaican immigrants were involved in religious groups in the 12 months before the study. In contrast, 8.4% of foreign-born visible minorities were involved in religiously affiliated groups during the same period. The frequency of participation in religious groups was also higher than the level of participation in immigrant organizations for Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities (See Table 5.4). The EDS data indicate that religious activities have more significance for Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities than immigrant organizations.

Sense of Belonging, Identity and Transnationalism

Transnational activities such as returning to the country of origin also influence sense of belonging. Studies of Jamaican immigrants suggest that return visits are one of the important ways that they maintain connections with their home country (Henry 1994; Jones 2008;

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[32] The small sample size of the survey restricted the comparisons in some cases. As a result, some tables do not include all four groups (that is, Jamaican immigrants, Canadian-born of Jamaican ethnicity, foreign and Canadian- born visible minorities).

Simmons, Plaza, Piche 2005). The EDS showed that most Jamaican immigrants, 87.1%, have

been back to their country of birth since arriving in Canada, far more than the 66.8% of all

foreign-born visible minorities in Canada that reported travelling back to their country of birth.

Table[34] 6.5: Have you been back to country of birth?

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born visible minorities	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	50490	87.1	162650	66.8
No	7490	12.9	810210	33.2
Total	57980	100	972860	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

While only about a quarter of foreign-born visible minorities, 25.8%, have travelled to their

homelands more than 4 times, almost half of Jamaican immigrants, 44.2%, have travelled back to

their country of birth more than four times since arriving in Canada.

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[34] All four visible minority groups could not be reported in some instances due to the small sample size of the survey.

Table 6.6[35]: Number of Trips to Country of Birth

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born visible minorities	
Number of Trips	N	%	N	%
1-4 Times	28170	55.8	1201520	74.2
More than 4 times	22320	44.2	416700	25.8
Total	50490	100	1618220	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

The frequency of trips back to Jamaica is noteworthy. Jamaican immigrants are much more likely than all foreign-born minorities to have travelled back to their country of birth more than 4 times. The high percentage of Jamaican immigrants travelling back to Jamaica frequently underscores the continued importance of home country connections and transnational identities for Jamaican immigrants (Schiller, Basch and Blanc 1995). Frequent returns to the country of origin facilitate the maintenance of practices that symbolize Jamaican immigrants' connections to their home country and reinforce their Jamaican identities (Lewis 2010). The frequent travel may also be a function of Jamaicans' long histories of settlement in Canada and their financial resources (Waldinger et al 2007). Scholars such as Foner (1997: 369) also state that "modern technology, the new global economy and culture, and new laws and political arrangements have all combined to" facilitate regular and more frequent travel to the home country.

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[35] Some groups could not be disaggregated due to small sample size. As a result, this table does not include all four visible minority groups.

Other forms of Sociality: Family Members and Friends of the Same Ethnic Ancestry

Jamaican immigrants, like all visible minorities, have low levels of involvement in ethnic associations but they express a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group. This strong sense of belonging may be due in part to close relations with co-ethnics in Canada. Data from the EDS show that the majority of foreign-born visible minorities (56.9%) maintain friendships mainly with co-ethnics (See table 5.7). In contrast, fewer Jamaican immigrants (45%) have as many friends from the same ethnic background. Still, while fewer Jamaican immigrants claim co-ethnics as all or most of their friends, almost 75% of Jamaican immigrants report that co-ethnics are at least half of their friends.

Table 6.7: Friends with the Same Ethnic Ancestry

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born visible minorities	
	N	%	N	%
All or most of them	24610	45	1219160	56.9
About Half of them	14090	25.8	438750	20.5
A few of them	16010	29.3	485780	22.7
Total	54710	100	2143690	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

Shared ethnicity is a salient element of the social relationships that all visible minorities develop in Canada. For Jamaican immigrants, economic disadvantage and exclusion may influence interactions with co-ethnics. Maintaining friendships with individuals of the same ethnic ancestry may be very important in the social integration of Jamaican immigrants as these relationships symbolize positive experiences that reinforce their identity and sense of self (Sardinha 2009).

Maintaining relationships with family members in Canada may also play an important role in maintaining ethnic identity and building sense of belonging amongst Jamaican

immigrants. Families are important social institutions in the lives of visible minority immigrants as they may mitigate the negative consequences of marginalization and exclusion by providing a support system (Mora Sitja 2011). In the EDS, 80% of Jamaican immigrants stated that they contacted family members in Canada at least once a week. Families are potentially important for engendering sense of belonging amongst Jamaican immigrants. Family reunification that requires sponsorship also encourages frequent contact between Jamaican immigrants (Anderson 1993).

Table 6.8: Frequency of Contact with Family Members in Canada

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born visible minorities	
Frequency of Contact	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Once a week	42440	80	1074890	65
Once a month or less	10400	20	577870	35
Total	52840	100	1652760	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

Maintaining contact with family members in Canada is also important for foreign-born visible minority groups. More than half of foreign-born visible minorities contacted family members in Canada at least once a week. Foreign-born visible minorities (65%) contacted their family members in Canada less frequently than Jamaican immigrants (80%) (See table 5.8). Contacts with family members in Canada may influence sense of belonging as matters relating to ethnicity, settlement or life in Canada can be discussed freely with family members (Alba 1990). Pearce (2008) also shows that particularized trust that develops through relationships with family members can engender a sense of belonging to Canada among immigrants as family rituals and routines facilitate adjustment amongst many visible minority groups.

Identity, Experiences with discrimination, Trust and Social Relations

Experiences with discrimination influence many aspects of everyday life for visible

minority groups (Ray and Preston 2009). More Jamaican immigrants reported discrimination[36]

than foreign-born minorities. Approximately half of Jamaican immigrants reported that they had

experienced discrimination. Foreign-born visible minority groups (34.8%) reported much lower

levels of discrimination than Jamaican immigrants (50.6%) (See table 5.9).

The rates of discrimination experienced by Jamaican immigrants (50.6%) are higher than

those reported by all visible minority groups –reinforcing the conclusion that Jamaican

immigrants are highly racialized in Canada. Racialization may contribute to a heightened sense

of discrimination and unfair treatment. Burman (2011) and Henry (1994) argue that Jamaican

immigrants and their descendants are often criminalized, have lower incomes than other visible

minority groups, and face higher levels of deportation.

Table 6.9: Discrimination in Canada

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born visible minorities	
Discrimination in Canada	N	%	N	%
Yes	28330	50.6	830290	34.8
No	27600	49.3	1556530	65.2
Total	55930	100	2386820	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

These findings are consistent with earlier research showing that visible minority groups

in Canada perceive higher levels of discrimination than their White counterparts (Gilkinson and

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[36] Ray and Preston (2009:229) define discrimination as "a perception of unfair treatment
that individuals attribute to difference based on race or skin color.

Sauve 2010; Ray and Preston 2009) as each visible minority group has a unique experience settling in Canada (Razack 2007). Non-Whites are defined as "other." Reitz and Banerjee (2007) show that experiences of discrimination and vulnerability slow the integration of visible minorities. This process of othering is informed by race, ethnicity and gender. Jamaican immigrants are often more highly racialized than other visible minority groups due to their long-term exclusion and marginalization as Blacks. The conception of the nation as White may lead to othering of Jamaican immigrants who perceive higher levels of discrimination than all foreign-born visible minorities that include large numbers of Chinese and South Asians.

The level of trust that visible minority groups feel has implications for their perceptions of discrimination and their sense of belonging in Canada (Ray and Preston 2009). The data from the EDS demonstrate that Jamaican immigrants have lower levels of trust than all foreign-born visible minorities. Approximately 78.9% of Jamaican immigrants indicated that 'you cannot be too careful when dealing with people' (See Table 5.10).

Table 6.10: Trust in people

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born visible minorities	
	N	%	N	%
People can be trusted	12100	21.1	1117690	48.5
You cannot be too careful in dealing with people	45390	78.9	1185880	51.5
Total	57490	100	2303570	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

In contrast, just over half of foreign-born visible minority respondents (51.5%) indicated that you cannot be too careful with people. A relatively low level of trust exists amongst all visible minority groups but levels of trust are especially low for Jamaican immigrants. Respondents who

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were born in Jamaica also had higher levels of discrimination. The perception of discrimination may reduce their trust in others (Dion 2002; Ray and Preston 2009).

When asked if they trust people they know from school or work, foreign-born visible minorities expressed high levels of trust (See table 5.11). Specifically, 89% of foreign-born visible minorities indicated that they had a medium to high level of trust at school or work. Although levels of trust were slightly lower for Jamaican immigrants than levels of trust for foreign-born visible minorities, the vast majority trusts co-workers and other students. Trust increases with people who are known to respondents, almost compensating for the distrustfulness reported earlier.

Table 6.11: Trust in people at school and work

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born visible minorities	
	N	%	N	%
Low level to no trust at all	10040	20	211990	10.6
Medium to High Level of Trust	41100	80	1786320	89.4
Total	51140	100	1998300	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

Sense of Belonging and Civic Participation in Canada

Consistent with existing research on sense of belonging among immigrants (Reitz and Banerjee 2007 and Pearce 2008), data from the EDS shows that the majority of foreign-born visible minority respondents had a strong sense of belonging to Canada. Foreign-born visible minorities felt they belonged in Canada with 82.8% reporting that a strong sense of belonging to Canada. Place of birth matters to sense of belonging. Jamaican immigrants were even more at

home in Canada with approximately 87% having a strong sense of belonging to Canada (See

table 5.12).

Table 6.12: Sense of Belonging to Canada

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born visible minorities	
	N	%	N	%
Strong Sense of Belonging	49670	87	1940660	82.8
Medium to Weak Sense of Belonging	7450	13	404120	17.2
Total	57120	100	2344780	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

Visible minorities' strong sense of belonging to Canada may reflect the impact of

multicultural policies as well as the various policies and programs implemented to facilitate

integration and greater social cohesion amongst Canadians (Pearce 2008). Sense of belonging to

Canada may be particularly high for Jamaican immigrants who believe education and hard work

are the main determinants of success (Waters 1999). Canada provides more work and

educational opportunities than Jamaica and it is a welfare state that has provisions for health

care, social services and multicultural policies that increase Jamaican immigrants' comfort.

Voting is one way in which sense of belonging to Canada is expressed (Scott, Selbee and

Reed 2006). A high proportion of immigrant respondents in the EDS participated in federal,

municipal and provincial elections (See table 5.13). Specifically, 81.6% of Jamaican immigrants

and 75% of foreign-born visible minority groups voted in elections.

Table 6.13: Voting in Elections

	Jamaican Immigrants		Foreign-born visible minorities	
	N	%	N	%
Voted in federal, municipal and provincial elections	28080	81.6	1145030	75.1
Did not Vote	6330	18.4	379330	24.9
Total	34410	100	1524360	100

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002).

While more than half of Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities voted in federal, municipal and provincial elections, the percentage of foreign-born visible minorities (75.1%) that voted was less than for Jamaican immigrants, 81.6%.

Conclusion

Sense of belonging to one's ethnic group is stronger among Jamaican immigrants than all foreign-born visible minority groups. The strong sense of belonging is expected because Jamaican immigrants report higher levels of disadvantage and more exclusion than the other visible minority groups. High levels of belonging to an ethnic group are not necessarily reflected in high levels of participation in ethnic associations. The disparity between sense of belonging to one's ethnic group and the level of participation in ethnic associations may signal limited resources and underlying tensions within immigrant groups. Participation in ethnic associations is not reducible to sense of belonging to the ethnic group or experiences with discrimination. The trends in the Ethnic Diversity Survey contradict previous research that suggests experiences with discrimination (Portes et al 2007; Owusu 2000; Camozzi 2011; Babis 2014) as well as attachments to the home country and ethnic group (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008) influence organizational involvement. It is also noteworthy that Jamaican immigrants have

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higher levels of belonging to Canada and their ethnic group than all foreign-born visible minorities.

Research by scholars such as Mora Sitja (2011) and Alba (1990) highlight that frequency of contact with family in Canada could potentially contribute to sense of belonging for Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities. Ray and Preston (2009: 246) also suggest "informal types of socializing may be very important in constructing sense of belonging." Data from the EDS (2002) corroborates this research as it shows that interactions with people at work or school engender trust for Jamaican immigrants and foreign-born visible minorities. Co-ethnics are also part of Jamaican immigrants' social networks.

The EDS (2002) data suggest that involvement in ethnic associations is not only complex but also contradictory. It raises several questions. Are ethnic associations important avenues for Jamaican immigrants to negotiate belonging to Canadian society and their ethnic group? What are the circumstances influencing involvement in these associations? How are Jamaican immigrants maintaining sense of belonging in Canada and in the urban region where they have settled? The following chapters will explore the linkages and relationships between sense of belonging and identity and how these relationships are influenced by socio-spatial processes that change over time. The narratives of Jamaican immigrants that follow highlight the links between identities and the places where immigrants settle. Since places are always in a process of (re) construction and negotiation, belonging varies within and between immigrant groups. This argument holds true for Jamaicans immigrants in Toronto and is consistent with the findings of Kitchen, Williams and Gallina's (2015) comparison of sense of belonging for immigrants and Canadian born residents in Canadian municipalities.

Chapter 7: Longing for Unity: Jamaican Immigrant Organizations and the Politics of Belonging in Toronto

Introduction

Immigrant organizations can promote a sense of belonging amongst immigrants in their new place of residence by providing spaces where discursive constructions of an imagined community (Anderson 1983), founded on shared national identity, culture and place of origin, are reproduced. By reproducing notions of an imagined community, immigrant organizations create an environment of familiarity and comfort for immigrants (Herbert 2006). Reproducing an imagined community or collective identity that is based on shared membership and self-identification with a nation is also important for mobilizing immigrant groups to effect social and political changes in their new places of residence (Sokefeld 2006). Although, recent scholarship has begun to explore how diversity within immigrant groups may inform the development of immigrant organizations and complicate the mobilization of immigrant groups on the basis of national identity (Mavroudi 2010; Staeheli 2008; Hopkins 2006; Salaff and Chan 2007 and Veronis 2010); little attention has been paid to how these organizations influence and sometimes disrupt immigrants' sense of belonging to immigrant groups themselves. This study investigates how immigrant organizations that are often assumed to foster a sense of belonging for immigrants can also be spaces of exclusion and *unbelonging*. The research presented in Chapters 4 and 5 indicates that gender is an important axis of identity influencing sense of belonging amongst Jamaican immigrants. The findings in this chapter reinforce the significance of period of arrival and demonstrate the influence of class and ethnicity on Jamaican immigrants' experience of Toronto as a place of residence and, consequently, the extent to which they construct Jamaican immigrant organizations as spaces of belonging.

In this chapter, I examine how Jamaican immigrant organizations influence sense of belonging for the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto. The term belonging is used to identify feelings of being at home or attachment to particular places and individuals (Antonsich 2010). Belonging is also discussed as a sense of comfort, security and familiarity that immigrants may feel in particular places (Yuval-Davis 2006). As such, the idea of unbelonging is used to signify experiences of exclusion and alienation that emerge as a result of divisive individual or collective practices. I investigate the extent to which the research participants felt a sense of belonging or unbelonging to the Jamaican immigrant population. Specifically, in response to interview questions about whether the Jamaican immigrant population was united or divided, many participants identified with the Jamaican immigrant population as a community with which they shared a country of origin, cultural practices and values. But their discussions of the Jamaican community did not always resonate with notions of attachment, inclusion or feelings of unity.

I begin the chapter by examining how Jamaican immigrant organizations promote attachments and feelings of belonging to the Jamaican immigrant population through philanthropic endeavors and the various social services they provide to facilitate the settlement of Jamaican immigrants. Jamaican immigrant organizations are then discussed as spaces that reproduce unbelonging and exclusion amongst Jamaican immigrants. Feelings of unbelonging emerge out of organizations' struggles to represent the interests of a changing and increasingly diverse Jamaican immigrant population. These diverse interests are informed by differences in time of arrival as well as the diverse class and ethno-cultural backgrounds of Jamaican immigrants. Jamaican immigrants also have varied levels of attachment to the Jamaican immigrant population due to social, economic and cultural changes that have occurred in Toronto; the transfer of class hierarchies that originate in Jamaica, the country of origin, as well as the changing composition of the Jamaican immigrant

population over time. These factors have contributed to complicated and dynamic social relations among Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Still, many Jamaican immigrants yearn for a unified Jamaican immigrant population that can express its unity to Toronto residents. For many Jamaican immigrants, a united Jamaican immigrant community would enable its members to take effective political action against the marginalizing and exclusionary experiences they encounter in Toronto.

Jamaican Immigrant Organizations: Understanding the Roles of Place and Sense of Belonging

Despite their varied identification with the Jamaican immigrant population; the history, culture and place of origin that Jamaican immigrants share continues to be significant for many in Toronto. This is partly the result of how Jamaican immigrants' "experiences with marginalization… and othering… create inward looking tendencies and a need to hold on to cultural, national…and other forms of place based attachments" (Mavroudi 2010: 2). Many Jamaican immigrants do not fit readily into Canadian society (Burman 2011, Henry 1994, Mensah 2002). Exclusionary experiences have significant implications for immigrants' labour market activities and incomes. As a result, organizations that cater to specific immigrant groups have become significant as places that foster a sense of belonging in receiving countries by providing emotional and social support in Toronto. Immigrant organizations mobilize place-based attachments to country of origin to garner support and protect the interests of the immigrant group through collective endeavours.

Several respondents agreed that the activities of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto still play an important role in supporting Jamaican immigrants in Toronto and reinforcing their national identity. For instance, Wendy, a member of the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) who migrated to Canada in 2006 and spent her early years in Toronto

pursuing a Bachelors degree, suggested that participation in the JCA made her feel that there was

a community to which she belonged:

> *"I really love being part of the community. The JCA has a lot of elders… and when they tell us how they set the pace for us, you can't help but be passionate… It is that oneness, knowing that it's my community and making a difference in my community. I wish a lot more young people would get involved…" (Wendy).*

Wendy emphasizes that participating in the activities of the JCA, interacting with older

members in the JCA and discussing the work they have done for Jamaican immigrants in

Toronto increases her commitment to the organization. Wendy is able to continue her work with

the JCA as she feels that she has something in common with other members, namely, pride in her

Jamaican identity. Therefore, Wendy's involvement in the JCA cultivates identification with the

Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto. Imagining oneself as part of a community has a

powerful impact on settlement, as communities can be the basis for the solidarity and unity

needed to combat the sense of isolation that immigrants may experience after relocating to a new

place of settlement (Castells 1997; Hill- Collins 2010; Chavez 2005).

Additionally, Simone, a high-ranking member of the JCA who migrated to Toronto as a

child, suggested that the JCA encouraged unity amongst Jamaican immigrants in Toronto by

providing services that supported the settlement of Jamaican immigrants and creating a space

that allows Jamaican immigrants in Toronto to connect with each other. Simone, said of the JCA

that:

> *"The JCA was a social club when it started in 1962 and then it evolved as the needs of the community evolved. We provided settlement services and assisted persons in navigating a new environment…To date we still have the settlement program and … the idea was to bring a scattered population together as a cohesive group. We were funded [in the] early 90s. Fifty years later there are so many Jamaican associations and the JCA was the genesis of that. But even today we hold our core values in terms of promoting our heritage in Canada and we also [increased] our social service component …" (Simone).*

The early operations of the Jamaican Canadian Association show that building a sense of unity amongst Jamaican immigrants was a priority for the organization particularly in the City of Toronto where there was only a small Jamaican immigrant population and much hostility toward visible minority immigrants (Troper 2003). Having an immigrant organization was critical for building relationships between Jamaican immigrants so that they could support each other in their new place of settlement. The JCA also made visible the presence of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto, by reinforcing values that were unique to their place of birth and their experiences as immigrants. Scholars such as Taylor (1994); Marion Young (1990) and Fraser (1998) emphasize that gaining public recognition is particularly significant for marginalized immigrant groups that desire equal distribution of material resources as well as affirmation and acceptance of their social identities. Recognition is also linked to access to social resources that facilitate settlement. In Toronto, establishing immigrant organizations that cater to the needs of specific ethnic groups has been one way that immigrants have sought to gain recognition (Sardinha 2009; Cheetham 1988). Jamaican immigrant organizations such as the JCA build relationships amongst Jamaican immigrants in Toronto, support the maintenance of Jamaican cultural practices in the new place of settlement, and gain recognition for the immigrant population (Williams 2012).

Additionally, Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto reinforce attachments to Jamaica by supporting transnational projects that assist the families of Jamaican immigrants. For instance, Simone, a member of the Jamaican Canadian Association described how members of Jamaican immigrant organizations have worked together to assist Jamaican immigrants who have experienced tragedy or loss:

> *[There was] a tragic accident in Jamaica, four members, mom, dad, baby and grandparent were killed in the accident and funds were needed to assist in the funeral. We contacted alumni associations, the Jamaican ex-soldiers [association] and we [raised] 6000 bucks. The Jamaican ex-soldiers arranged for a bus to pick up family members and soldiers escorted them into the district* (Simone 20-24).

Simone described how three Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto worked together to finance the funerals of families that had experienced significant loss. These Jamaican immigrant organizations, namely the JCA, the Jamaican Ex-Soldiers Association and the Alliance of Jamaican Alumni Associations, raised $6000 that paid the beneficiaries' funeral expenses including military escorts for the family from their homes to the venues of the funerals (Simone 20-24). Jamaican immigrant organizations can promote unity through collaboration. Their activities may also reinforce the significance of national identity for Jamaican immigrants and demonstrate support for Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. These positive experiences and social relationships engender a sense of belonging to the Jamaican immigrant population and attachment to its collective identity.

As the example described by Simone illustrates, Jamaican immigrant organizations play an important role in building relationships amongst Jamaican immigrants in Toronto by developing partnerships with other Jamaican immigrant organizations. Gabrielle, a Jamaican immigrant who migrated to Canada in the 1950s to escape the democratic socialist regime in Jamaica and was a member of PACE for almost three decades, also reflected on the relationships that are maintained between Jamaican immigrant organizations:

> *"We do have relationships with the JCA, they are loose partnerships and supportive partnerships ... We also keep in touch with a number of other organizations ... such as the AJAA. There are some schools, which are not members of the alliance, [but] we also keep in touch with them…"* (Gabrielle 1-2).

Collaborative activities between Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto reinforce the significance of national identity for Jamaican immigrants as well as demonstrating an on-going commitment to the interests and concerns of Jamaican immigrants residing in Toronto. Gabrielle suggests that collaboration between Jamaican immigrant organizations fosters social interaction within the Jamaican immigrant population. Positive and stable social relations among Jamaican

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immigrants in Toronto activate a sense of belonging and attachments to the Jamaican immigrant group.

Jamaican Immigrant Organizations, Exclusion and Unbelonging

Although Jamaican immigrant organizations reinforce Jamaican national identity and cultural connections in order to facilitate cohesion amongst Jamaican immigrants, these organizations may also limit immigrants' sense of belonging to the Jamaican immigrant population by contributing to divisive relations and negative interactions within the Jamaican immigrant population. The relationships between Jamaican immigrants are shaped by social, class and ethnic divisions that are mutually constructed by local and transnational places of origin. These divisions have thwarted efforts to realize the unified and cohesive community that many Jamaican immigrants think is needed for the population to take effective political action that will improve their lives in Toronto. While many Jamaican immigrants recognize that it is difficult to erase deep-rooted divisions within the Jamaican immigrant population, Jamaican immigrants also suggest that these divisions must be transcended to address issues that restrict social and economic integration in Canadian society. In the eyes of many Jamaican immigrants, a unified Jamaican immigrant population is a strategic resource that can be mobilized to address experiences of marginalization and exclusion that threaten their long-term integration in Toronto.

Several respondents argued that the multiplicity of Jamaican immigrant organizations reinforces divisions within the Jamaican immigrant population. These divisions influence individuals' attachments to the Jamaican immigrant population and how much Jamaican immigrants can collaborate to improve their socio-economic circumstances in Toronto. Anderson, a Jamaican immigrant who has lived in Canada since 1942 and is a member of the Jamaican Diaspora Canada Foundation, agreed that:

"*A lot of people talk about the multiplicity of organizations in Toronto. It speaks to this lack of ability to want to cooperate or work together. Everyone wants to be their own leader, in their own space. People link that to low mobilization amongst Jamaicans in Toronto in terms of politics...*" (Anderson 31-34).

The proliferation of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto exemplifies divisions within the Jamaican immigrant population that are partly due to competition for leadership positions. Jamaican immigrants often experience a decline in social status as their educational and professional credentials are not recognized in Toronto or they are employed in jobs that are not commensurate with their qualifications (Somerville and Walsworth 2009). The competition for leadership positions is rooted in attempts to retain social identities that originate in the country of origin. It complicates relationships among Jamaican immigrants and may limit their ability to work collectively.

Gabe, a member of the Meadowbrook Alumni Association who migrated to Canada in 1991 and is employed in a local banking institution in Toronto, also argued that these organizations perpetuate divisions that limit the cooperation needed to advance the interests of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Gabe emphasized that:

"*We never embrace the concept of unity. We have [so many] little groups all trying to [do] something. We go to these guys and we say why don't we put it all together and make a major contribution to one school at a time instead of minor contributions to many schools. But they don't want to give up their positions as leader. Some people   don't like the way us guys would do this*" (Gabe).

Jamaican immigrant organizations do not build a cohesive and cooperative network in Toronto. Many Jamaican immigrants perceive the resulting competition as reproducing divisions within the Jamaican immigrant population. The desire to maintain high status positions within Jamaican immigrant organizations results in actions, including the unwillingness to work collectively, that create social distance among Jamaican immigrants in Toronto.

The presence of multiple and diverse Jamaican immigrant organizations also makes it difficult to achieve a cooperative network of organizations that could generate additional social capital and promote the political representation of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto (Tillie 2004). Still, the social capital that is required to generate greater political representation and more successful integration can only occur when organizations connect through shared activities and resources. They must work as a cohesive group to address the interests and concerns of Jamaican immigrants particularly concerning settlement and long-term integration in Toronto. Effective collaboration among immigrant organizations is particularly significant for Jamaican immigrants that do not participate much in Jamaican immigrant organizations and experience disadvantage (Mensah 2002). Donna, a female participant who migrated to Toronto in the 1990s, obtained a Masters degree at a major university in the City and is a former member of two Jamaican immigrant organizations, suggests that the multiplicity of Jamaican immigrant organizations is damaging:

> "*I am so over these organizations…they all think they should be the first and the best…. The competitiveness is what fuels the fragmentation. If we pool resources then we could send 200,000 computers [to Jamaica]... Canada [also] has a part to play. [These relations are shaped by] how grants are given and when people discovered they could get certain things. Crab in the barrel didn't come from us hating each other, it comes from us fighting for scarce spoils. When the organizations compete to be the best of the best, then that by design keeps the fragmentation going, this goes back to colonization. They know how to deal with black people long time and until we know how to identify [that] there is a systemic game at play, we are not going to shift it*" (Donna 15-23).

Donna's response links the multiplicity of Jamaican immigrant organizations to the history of colonialism, by which slave masters pursued policies of 'divide and conquer' to maintain control over their labour force. Donna argues that the process of divide and conquer continues to operate in Canada. Immigrants who have settled successfully in Canada are able to mobilize resources and participate in immigrant organizations and civic life in Canada. Immigrants who have experienced settlement challenges may not have the time and resources to devote to

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immigrant organizations. The fragmentation to which Donna refers is also an unanticipated impact of state actions on internal dynamics within immigrant populations in Canada. Donna suggests that the fragmentation of the Jamaican immigrant population is a product of the way that the Canadian state reproduces the disadvantages of marginalized immigrant groups. Competition for resources distances Jamaican immigrant organizations from each other. The impact of this competition on the Jamaican immigrant population itself is unclear but Donna suggests that competition discourages Jamaican immigrants from participating in the organizations founded to serve, represent and unify them.

Many participants also spoke about the adverse effects of the proliferation of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Gabe, a member of a Jamaican Alumni Association who migrated to Canada in 1991 and is currently working at a delivery services company in Toronto, comments on the challenges of attracting more members of the Jamaican immigrant population to the organization's events:

> "*There is community between organizations but it's just that we have the same functions, so [we] are going after the same audience. Meadowbrook [alumni association] is trying to move away from that. We have 23 schools [or alumni groups] here and they may have functions at the same time ... so you find that between Spring and Fall, there are lots of events going on. These schools are going after the same market. So the question is how we can reach outside of our circle. It's difficult because I don't know how we can get people to support things that are geared to a certain audience*" (Gabe 4-5).

Individual organizations' capacities to expand are limited by the large number of Jamaican alumni associations in Toronto. The organizations compete for support from members of the Jamaican immigrant population. Organizational saturation in Toronto increases competition for the resources that are essential for the growth and survival of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Competition for limited resources and for the attention of an audience whose time and income is strained by personal and professional responsibilities reinforces Donna's argument that

competition fuels divisions rather than promoting the cohesion required to mobilize Jamaican immigrants effectively.

There have been various attempts to unite Jamaican immigrant organizations through the establishment of umbrella organizations such as the Alliance of Jamaican Alumni Associations that represents more than 30 Jamaican alumni organizations in Toronto. The now defunct National Council of Jamaicans and Supportive Organizations in Ontario (NCJSO) is another umbrella organization that attempted to unite Jamaican immigrant organizations and lobby on their behalf. The NCJSO[37], however, is no longer in existence due to lack of support from Jamaican immigrants.

Class divisions that originate in Jamaica also continue to shape sense of belonging in Toronto (Smith 1974). In the Caribbean, social class is defined by complex color gradations, behavioral traits, attitudes and practices that separate Jamaican immigrants into various classes. Class cleavages are transferred from Jamaica to the new place of residence and continue to define relationships amongst Jamaican immigrants in a new geographical location. Thomas, a male respondent who was not a member of any Jamaican immigrant organization at the time of the study spoke about the class orientation of organizations in the Greater Toronto Area. Thomas is a former member of the Jamaican Canadian Association in Toronto and migrated to Toronto in 1970 to join his father and stepmother. Thomas said:

> *"PACE is a bourgeois organization. High class Jamaican people- they are the ones running it [but] that don't mean that if they call me to adopt a school that I won't do it. But when I see them having strawberry hats and tea…I know that is not for me- the basic African Jamaican...It is still a good thing if they get people to adopt a school. The JCA and the Jamaica Diaspora, those organizations, they have tunnel vision and they are narrow. Jamaica is not a motherland especially if you deal with diaspora- for ninety percent of Jamaicans, their motherland is Africa…" (Thomas 3-14).*

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[37] Circumstances surrounding the decline of the NCJSO are unclear due to the lack of information on this institution in public records.

Activities such as the wearing of elaborate hats and the consumption of tea were very common amongst the European elite that colonized Jamaica. The fact that Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto continue these activities is a reminder that colonial legacies can still divide the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto. Moreover, Thomas suggests that Africa rather than Jamaica is the motherland for most Jamaican immigrants. His comment raises questions about national identity as a basis for uniting the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto. Thomas's comment also suggests that color, race and class divisions that originate in Jamaican society shape Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. The adoption of British customs is often associated with upper and middle class status in Jamaica. British customs were transferred by white colonists during the colonial era and, as a result, have become synonymous with whiteness, wealth and prosperity (Akbar, Chambers, Sanders-Thompson 2001). These practices may be alienating for Jamaican immigrants who primarily identify with African roots that are devalued and linked historically to lower class status in Jamaican society (Foner 1998).

The ways in which connections between the countries of origin and destination shape social interactions within immigrant populations highlight how identification with the Jamaican immigrant population is shaped by multiple geographic locales (Gupta and Ferguson 1992). Participants agreed that the membership of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto was exclusionary and also limited collective endeavors that can reinforce a sense of belonging to the Jamaican immigrant population. Helen, a female respondent who migrated in 2007 to join family members and pursue a Masters degree, is a former member of a Jamaican immigrant organization in Toronto. She described the JCDF as exclusive and hence alienating to segments of the Jamaican immigrant population. The exclusivity is informed by class divisions and social relations that originated in the country of origin.

"I don't see posters around for JCDF meetings, so you won't see people going to those meetings. Some people feel that only certain people go to those organizations … you have to have a certain status like a professional and it makes them feel excluded. Some of those people feel like they are perpetuating the same problems in Jamaica… [they are] gratuitous and nepotistic. That's one of the problems in the Jamaica Diaspora Canada Foundation, they promote the same things we left behind rather than helping people who truly deserve the help in life…I don't see Jamaican people uniting for a specific issue, it will be a subset of our community, it's not the broader community… When I met with the JDCF, it was a small room, small number of people. With the amount of Jamaicans here, that room should be jam packed… But you won't find yourself at those meetings just like that. You have to have networks … To unite it will take more than that" (Helen 6-7).

Jamaican immigrant organizations further divide the Jamaican immigrant population by perpetuating class divisions that originate in Jamaica and are transformed by the new hierarchies emerging amongst Jamaican immigrants in Toronto as a result of the settlement process. Helen also suggests that membership in organizations such as the Jamaican Diaspora Canada Foundation is only accessible to those with upper-class backgrounds. She sees this organization as operating with a primarily classed orientation. Helen's comment about the exclusivity of Jamaican immigrant organizations directly contradicts the views of Jamaican immigrants such as Frederick, an executive member of the JCDF and retiree who migrated to Toronto in 1969. He stated that:

"We reach out to every Jamaican…The biggest problem we see is people wanting to become rich…Our people don't work well with one another. They do not pool resources" (Frederick).

Frederick suggests that the JCDF is an organization that opens membership to all Jamaican immigrants. Frederick emphasizes that internal dynamics within the Jamaican immigrant population limit Jamaican immigrants' ability to work cooperatively. Internal dynamics that limit cooperation and sustain divisions within the Jamaican immigrant population may influence how organizations such as the JCDF are perceived. Members of the JCDF are predominantly from the middle class (Sives 2012), and the perception of the JCDF as a socially exclusive middle class institution may alienate Jamaican immigrants who do not identify themselves as middle class

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(Holvino 2010). As a result, the unwavering desire for unity within the Jamaican immigrant population, described by Helen, Gabe and Donna, is thwarted by the exclusivity of Jamaican immigrant organizations.

The diverse ethnic origins of the Jamaican immigrant population that includes people from European and the Chinese diaspora also divide the immigrant population. Jamaican immigrants from European and Chinese backgrounds have different relationships to Jamaican national identity than Jamaican immigrants who are African descended. As a result, Jamaican immigrants have varied attachments to the organizations that represent specific sub-groups within the Jamaican immigrant population. Color and class cleavages continue to define relationships among Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto in the same way that the diverse race and class backgrounds of Jamaican immigrants influence relationships among Jamaican immigrants (Olwig 2007). The social divisions among Jamaican immigrants are replicated by Jamaican immigrant organizations. The existence of organizations such as the CCA symbolizes how ethnic divisions are reproduced in Toronto, the destination for many Jamaican immigrants.

Jamaican immigrant organizations also create new divisions between Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. As mentioned in Chapter 5, where I examined the historical development of Jamaican immigrant organizations, Chinese Jamaican immigrants in Toronto created the Caribbean Chinese Association, as they felt excluded from organizations that reflected the identities and interests of Jamaican immigrants of African descent. Jamaican immigrants of Chinese descent formed their own organizations to foster sense of belonging in a way that is specific to Chinese Jamaican immigrant identity. Organizations such as the JCA lobby the government to address discriminatory and exclusionary practices that marginalize Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Some Jamaican immigrants, particularly those of Chinese descent, do not

always identify with advocacy activities that concentrate on the disadvantage experienced by Jamaican immigrants of African descent. They wish to distance themselves from the Jamaican immigrant organizations that engage in activities that may reinforce stereotypes of Jamaican immigrants as a marginalized, black underclass in Toronto. A Chinese Jamaican respondent who emigrated in 1973 to escape democratic socialism in Jamaica and was a member of the Caribbean Chinese Association at the time of the study, Conrad explained that:

> *"We unite in certain instances and in others we are self-absorbed, that is we don't get involved as a group. For some Jamaicans, it is hard to come to the table with normal Jamaicans to work out bigger issues. The Jamaican Chinese [and] the bigger class…don't get [involved] in the JCA because they feel they are a militant group but when you go there it's not so. They have a daycare and after school program. People think [that the JCA has] a 'me against you' mentality [and] they don't want to associate themselves with that. But if it's a feel good issue like sports then they [feel] that they are really Jamaican…" (Conrad 10-11).*

Conrad's response indicates that the activities of the Jamaican Canadian Association may alienate individuals who belong to specific ethno-cultural groups and classes in the Jamaican population in Toronto. Conrad suggests that there are specific circumstances when sense of belonging to the Jamaican national community in Toronto is salient, for example, the celebration of cultural events and the sports achievements of Jamaican immigrants.

Sense of belonging is socially constructed, informed by social, cultural and historical factors. Several respondents suggested that social hierarchies from Jamaica are remodeled and reinterpreted by Jamaican immigrants. Sense of belonging also varies depending on how long Jamaican immigrants have resided in Toronto as well as the period during which they arrived in the city. For example, Kerry, a female respondent who was not involved in any Jamaican immigrant organizations at the time of the study, spoke about social hierarchies within the Jamaican immigrant population that transcended ethnic and class divisions that had originated in Jamaica. Kerry, who migrated to Toronto as a child and travelled to Jamaica frequently, said:

"*Toronto seems to have this hierarchy of the Jamaican community. People who migrated in the 1960s tend to have a different status than those who migrated in the 80s. While there is disparity in types of work and classes, it is more an issue of recency of immigration. Pre 1960, you had an educated class that left the Caribbean ... versus those who they left in the 80s – [there was] more openness to family reunification and [Canada was more] open to different types of workers including domestic workers. Before that, it was a quota system that didn't allow many people to come in.*

When asked how she thinks that plays out in Toronto, Kerry replied:

It plays out in terms of profile of Jamaicans, you have hard working Jamaicans with 3 or 4 jobs, and these are model citizens. [Jamaicans with this] profile are those who came earlier and helped to established things like the JCA and Caribana whereas now you talk about deportees, the influx of gangs that is attached to another set of Jamaicans. I found that there is a divide between those who came earlier versus those who came later.

[JR: The range of organizations is large, do you think that this is an output of the discontinuity or divisions in the group*?]*

I think so, there is a certain sector that gravitates to these organizations and I have personally seen and experienced ways in which Jamaicans can be rather exclusive. So [the] exclusionary practice, is one [that] does the community a disservice, the discontinuity is transferred into these organizations (Kerry 2-4).

Kerry makes reference to different groups of Jamaican immigrants, namely immigrants that arrived between 1960 and 1980 and those that arrived after 1980. The former arrived in a period when immigrants were more likely to be successful in Canada (Houle and Schellenberg 2010). Many Jamaican immigrants that arrived before 1980 are well-established and have professional jobs. Kerry also suggests that Jamaican immigrants that migrated to Toronto between 1960 and 1980 maintained a positive image as they worked hard to shape Toronto as a place where Jamaican immigrants could settle successfully. This early wave of Jamaican immigrants also established immigrant organizations such as the Jamaican Canadian Association. Jamaican immigrants that arrived after 1980 face more complicated settlement challenges particularly labour market exclusion that limits their integration in Canada (Shields 2004; Li 2003). Divisions among Jamaican immigrants are informed by changes in the Jamaican

immigrant population and their settlement experiences in Toronto. Period of arrival and length of residence complicate sense of belonging for the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto.

Post-modern ideas of class that suggest that class relations are the product of social processes and economic factors are also relevant here. Sense of belonging to the Jamaican immigrant population is also shaped by economic factors as well as social experiences that are historically and geographically specific. Immigrants who have been long-time residents in Toronto are more likely than those who arrived recently to have acquired social capital and economic resources regardless of their status in the country of origin prior to migration (Schellenberg and Maheux 2007; Bloom, Grenier and Gunderon 1994; Omidvar and Richmond 2003). A new class hierarchy has been created that is informed by period of arrival, length of residence and the social and economic resources that some Jamaican immigrants in Toronto have gained over time.

Respondents like Connor, a male migrant who was an executive member of a Jamaican immigrant organization in Toronto and whose primary reason for migrating to Toronto in 1953 was to complete a Bachelors degree, also posits that length of residence is emerging as a basis for divisions among Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Connor is a long-standing member of the JCA who was involved in the organization since its inception in 1962. He argues that more recent immigrants are ostracizing earlier immigrants that are often assumed to have limited educational and professional experience. He thinks that these beliefs contribute to divisions in the Jamaican immigrant population:

> "*Even recently I am understanding [that] the new groups of Jamaicans, [who are] now… able to come in due to their qualifications, are looking down their nose on [Jamaican immigrants] that came before as household helpers. New Jamaicans figure they are in a totally different capacity because they are more qualified. The problem is we are different but the people who look at us don't treat us any different, they treat us the same way*" (Connor 11-14).

Connor's response highlights the complicated links between time of arrival, length of residence and class among Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Period of arrival and length of residence are influencing class relationships that perpetuate divisions among Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Connor's statement shows that Jamaican immigrants that are part of early migration streams associated with the West Indian Domestic Scheme and with work in Canadian mines and factories are seen as lower class. Still, it should be noted that many women who entered Canada through the West Indian Domestic Scheme had no intention of remaining in domestic work (England and Stoll 1997). Many domestic workers were well educated with a university education that would allow them to gain employment opportunities that did not involve domestic work (Stasiulis, Bakan and Hsiung 2010). As mentioned in chapter 4, Jamaican migration streams to Canada are feminized, women comprised more than half of all Jamaicans migrating to the Toronto, CMA between 1960 and 2006. The West Indian Domestic Scheme was an important migration route for Jamaican immigrant women prior to 1960 (Henry 1968). The feminized nature of Jamaican migration streams to Toronto coupled with the fact that Jamaican immigrant women were well represented in the West Indian Domestic Scheme (Johnson 2012) could perhaps explain why recently arrived Jamaican immigrants may associate early cohorts of Jamaican immigrants with lower socioeconomic status. Additionally, after Canadian immigration legislation changed in 1967 to place more emphasis on the educational attainments and skills of applicants, more Jamaican immigrants to Canada were well-educated professionals. The 'new group of Jamaicans' to which Connor refers includes individuals who entered Canada with more educational and professional qualifications than earlier waves of Jamaican immigrants. Still, Jamaican immigrants who migrated in later migrations streams may not have the same level of resources as well-established Jamaican immigrants due to the challenges they face in the labor market. Connors' comments highlight complicated social relations within the Jamaican

immigrant population and the significance of period of arrival for shaping divisions and social

relations between Jamaican immigrants.

Changes in the context of reception in Canada, generally, and in Toronto, specifically

have also complicated the social relations in the Jamaican immigrant population. Relationships

between Jamaican immigrants that migrated between 1950 and 1970 were influenced by

Canada's discriminatory immigration policies that limited the number of Jamaican immigrants

admitted to Canada. Cities like Toronto were still adapting to the impacts of immigration and the

presence of visible minority immigrants. There were only a few Jamaican immigrants residing in

Toronto and more emphasis was placed on building relationships with each other (Williams

2012). After 1980, the growing number of Jamaican immigrants in the City of Toronto

influenced social relationships within the immigrant population. The changing composition of

the Jamaican immigrant population has shifted how social status is defined within the Jamaican

immigrant population itself and these changes have eroded cohesion in the Jamaican immigrant

population.

Length of residence and period of arrival have also shaped the sense of belonging

reported by members of Jamaican immigrant organizations. For example, Gary, a Jamaican

immigrant who migrated to Toronto in 1991 at the age of 15 to escape the hardships of life in

rural Jamaica, reflected on how length of residence affected internal dynamics and relationships

between Jamaican immigrants within the JCA.

> *I moved back to Canada and just wanted to get back into volunteering and found out that the JCA was doing a Saturday morning tutorial program ...So I got involved for a while then I joined the youth committee including starting the young professional gala showcasing young professionals and created a couple awards coming out of that .. I think there was a clash between the old guards and the new guards. The majority of the folks who started at the JCA are older, working class individuals who believe a lot in social service and you know and I was trying to come in and start some stuff around business partnership…There was a lot of clash internally… (Gary 4-9).*

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Gary shows that differences between older members of the JCA and younger members who were more recently arrived began to manifest in the everyday functioning of the organization. Older members of the JCA who were also long-time residents in Toronto were primarily interested in the delivery of social services, which included promoting services that provided settlement support and assistance to Jamaican immigrants living in Toronto. Younger members such as Gary felt that the JCA could expand its activities to reflect the changing and diverse interests of its newer members. Lack of consensus on these interests was primarily a function of time period as older residents who arrived between 1950 and 1970 were more interested in advancing the social service and cultural maintenance mandate of the organization. Younger members were less concerned about social services and more interested in expanding business oriented and professional activities as they arrived at a time when Toronto was more welcoming to visible minority immigrant groups and organizations, both ethno-specific and multicultural, were providing settlement support to immigrants. Therefore, it can be argued that length of residence has shaped how Jamaican immigrant organizations operate. This is a migration-related factor that has been neglected in previous research on immigrant organizations in Canada (Owusu 2000, Henry 1994, Mullings 2012; Salaff and Chan 2007). Recent research on civic participation highlights how length of residence may affect participation in civic organizations (Scott, Selbee and Reed 2006). Over time, immigrants may be more integrated and, as a result, they may have more time and resources to devote to organizational activities (Stoll and Wong 2007; Scott, Selbee and Reed 2006). Still, the results of this research suggest that although longer residence does increase the likelihood of involvement in immigrant organizations; the particular periods in which immigrants arrived in Toronto also influence participation. Specifically, Gary's account suggests that Jamaican immigrants who arrived in Canada at different times and have lived in Toronto during specific periods have differing priorities regarding organizational activities.

These experiences are reflective of the ways that generations of immigrants, distinguished by cohort of arrival, have historically specific experiences and interpretations of place that influence constructions of civic participation and belonging, which may be contested by immigrants arriving in other migration cohorts (Berg and Eckstein 2015).

As previously mentioned, the Jamaican Canadian Association was established in 1962 to celebrate Jamaican independence, provide social services to the Jamaican population and lobby the Canadian government on issues of concern. At the time of its establishment, the Black community in Toronto was relatively small and was comprised mainly of Jamaican immigrants who were concerned with facilitating the settlement of Jamaican immigrants, ensuring they were treated fairly in the housing and labor markets and lobbying the Canadian government to address the discrimination they experienced in Toronto (Williams 2012). Existing immigration policies also limited the migration of non-white immigrant groups during this period (Troper 2003). As a result, many Toronto residents could not become accustomed to difference and were still very suspicious of immigrants. Although Canadian migration streams became racially diverse after 1967, Canadians still denounced the increasing migration of non-white immigrants, as they were concerned that their presence would alter the social fabric of Canadian society. Consequently, immigrants' concerns were not represented in social policies (Anisef and Lanphier 2003).

Jamaican immigrants also encountered several exclusionary practices such as police brutality, discrimination by employers as well as limitations on their access to safe and affordable housing (Burman 2011). In response to these marginalizing experiences, Jamaican immigrants sought to solidify place based belonging (Mavroudi 2010). Place based attachments engendered a sense of belonging in Toronto. These place based attachments or sense of feeling *at home* in a place were fostered through building relationships with Jamaican immigrants, creating organizations where Jamaican immigrants could celebrate their heritage and lobbying the

Canadian government to create conditions that allowed Jamaican immigrants to feel included as full citizens of Toronto. New priorities and interests, however, emerged with the arrival of newcomers after 1980. These immigrants had different settlement experiences than earlier arrivals. Their needs had changed; recent immigrants had a more diverse set of needs. These Jamaican immigrants were not only interested in combatting discrimination. They were also motivated to facilitate the economic mobility of the Jamaican immigrant population; build a well-established business community and create effective political representation.

Respondents reflected on differences in the characteristics of long-time residents and newcomers in Toronto and the impact of these differences on the relationships between Jamaican immigrants and their attachment to the Jamaican immigrant population. Thomas, who migrated to Toronto during the 1990s and is a former member of the JCA, agreed that there were differences between members who were more recent migrants and members who had arrived earlier and were now long-time residents of Toronto. In reference to the organizations in which he was involved, he said:

> *"One of the things is that these older black folks don't want to learn anything new … They don't want to hear from young people. They've been there for 30-40 years and it's not working. Their membership has been stagnating but they don't want to learn. At the time [of my membership] I was mentoring youth … we used to have 500 young people. 500 young people would come out to our young professional gala and the 12 or 14 people on the executive were young people but the older people rather than being encouraged by it would put them down. They think they know everything and so they don't listen to young people. Our young chair became president of the JCA… the former president threatened him- if you don't do what you are supposed to do we will get rid of you! And then when he was in leadership, unfortunately, he stopped confiding in people who helped get him there because he started listening to older people. They made him quit… They are doing better now but the damage has been done. They treat the JCA like a little club" (Thomas 9-21).*

Older members of the JCA are alienating younger Jamaican immigrants while promoting their own interests and vision for the organization. Members' social characteristics are important determinants of inclusion and recognition as members of organizations. Divisions based on

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length of residence shape relationships among Jamaican immigrants and their sense of belonging in Toronto. The older members of the organization arrived in Canada between 1950 and 1970, at least fifty years before the interviews. Differences in the perspectives of these two groups are presented as a point of contention. There is conflict about organizational activities between younger and older Jamaican immigrants. These experiences highlight the ways that belonging is reproduced or performed by immigrants (Antonsich 2010). For the earlier wave of Jamaican immigrants, the small visible minority population and their negative experiences in Toronto made the JCA an important space for shared nostalgia through collective practices and the provision of settlement support. Newer immigrants would like to move beyond a focus on reproducing cultural heritage to increasing the entrepreneurial activities and professionalism of Jamaican immigrants.

Respect for differences in opinion and vision is critical for fostering a sense of belonging (Mahar, Cobigo and Stuart 2013; Ralph and Staeheli 2011). This respect for alternative perspectives was lacking in the JCA and, as a result, alienated many of the younger and more recently arrived Jamaican immigrants. Kevin, a retired teacher who migrated in the 1960s and who became a member of the Jamaican Canadian Association to support the integration of Jamaican immigrant children in Toronto's education system, illustrates the reaction of many earlier arrivals and founding members of the JCA to the participation in the organization of younger members that had arrived more recently. His reaction shows how age and length of residence shape relationships between Jamaican immigrants. Explaining why seniors would often disagree with younger members, Kevin said:

> … The Jamaican Canadian Association is a very conservative organization and … [it is] the conservatism that [made it last] for 50 years… We have had a lot of young people [in the organization]. For example, we had a young male president, lot of people love him, [but] he came in and wanted to dismantle the seniors program … As a matter of fact, [the young people] wanted to take over the Jamaican Canadian Association. [They wanted to

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establish a] for profit organization and the seniors step in and said no no if you do that we will lose our United Way Grant... [We also had a] ... group [of] very bright, young people but they came and wanted to change the name of the organization. They wanted to change the name [to a] a Swahili name... [The] young people did not believe [that we wanted] this organization for our children and grandchildren because when we were here in the 60s and 70s we would have to go to the Ukrainian hall…we were like sheep without a shepherd. Sooner or later they will have the full lay of the land…we can't let the young man that was here and the young executive officer sell this place, turn it into a corporation and rent Jamaican Canadian Association space…My name for God sake is on this mortgage…this is worth preserving… (Kevin 49-53).

Kevin's experiences highlight the disagreements between younger and older members of the Jamaican Canadian Association. Compared with younger members, older members have very different views about the priorities and primary functions of the organization. Older members are committed to an organization that focuses on social service and advocacy while the younger members, like Thomas, would like to include more business -related functions in the activities of the organization. They want the organization to earn an income from its facilities. Kevin emphasizes that the JCA is an important legacy that represents Jamaican immigrants' struggle for self-representation in Toronto. As a result, senior members who are often long-time residents are protective of the organization as it symbolizes their struggle to gain respect and recognition in Toronto. Senior members of the JCA would like to maintain the organization's legacy in a way that reflects their values and interests whereas younger members of the organization are interested in cultivating the type of organizational change that resonates with changes within the Jamaican immigrant population and Toronto.

Conditions that inform sense of belonging are fluid and, as a result, they are often contested and negotiated over time in both public and private spaces (Werbner 1997). The complicated relationships between Jamaican immigrants show that belonging is not only a product of inter-group experiences of exclusion. Processes of belonging can also be influenced by intra-group relationships as members of an immigrant group can discursively construct

boundaries for social inclusion or exclusion that limits or promotes feelings of belonging. Length

of residence, period of arrival and age have implications for the future of the JCA. Older

residents are tied to the organization and the original reasons for which it was established even

though the populations that the organization serves and the city where it was established have

changed significantly. As previously mentioned, the Jamaican Canadian Association initially

emerged through social activities, particularly the celebration of Jamaican independence in 1962.

The organization became a space for Jamaican immigrants to socialize with other Jamaican

immigrants and advocate for improvements in the treatment of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto.

Younger and more recent immigrants are more concerned with expanding the profitability of the

organization and their ability to attract younger members. Younger immigrants feel excluded

from the organization as it is dominated and shaped only by the interests of older members and

long-time residents. Steven, a former member of the JCA who migrated to Toronto in 1990 and

initially became involved in the Jamaican Canadian Association to support programs that

facilitated the development of Black youth in Toronto, explains how the JCA operates in

exclusionary ways and resists new ways by which to include a broader cross section of the

Jamaican immigrant population.

> *…We found that the JCA, which started as an organization to celebrate Jamaican independence, is nothing more than that. It is trapped by leaders who are reluctant to pass the baton to the youth. They are stuck as the group that meet and play dominoes. We find that the JCA needs new leadership and a vision that is dynamic (Steven).*

 The differences between older and younger immigrants impact social relationships as well as the

nature and survival of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto.

Steven's opinion of the JCA suggests that the differences between younger and older

members of the JCA are influenced by the changing experiences that well established and more

recently arrived Jamaican immigrants have with Toronto. Jamaican immigrants who were

founding members and strong supporters of the JCA are committed to maintaining an organization that delivers settlement support and provides a space for Jamaican immigrants to establish and maintain social connections and networks of support with each other. This social imperative was informed by the need for an organization to connect the small and scattered population of Jamaican immigrants and provide settlement support to Jamaican immigrants in Toronto prior to 1980. Younger Jamaican immigrants settled in Toronto after the city had undergone significant social, political and demographic changes. These changes included increasing access to a variety of settlement services offered by the City of Toronto and ethno-specific organizations that cater to culturally specific needs.

Policy changes also made Toronto a more welcoming place of residence for Jamaican immigrants who arrived after 1980 and changed the relationship that immigrants like Thomas have with Jamaican immigrant organizations. The passing of the Multiculturalism Act in 1971 that espoused respect for diversity and acceptance of pluralism (Troper 2003: 45) contributed to the increased responsiveness of the City of Toronto to the needs of immigrants (Good 2005). The City implemented various policies including "multilingual interpretation and translation, employment equity and antiracism policies" (Good 2005: 269) to improve race relations and facilitate the integration of non-white immigrants. As part of this policy framework, consultations were also held with ethnoracial groups who were expected to benefit from these policies (Good 2005). An Access and Equity Grants program (1998) was established to support organizations undertaking antiracism initiatives. Such policies address systemic barriers to integration that minority groups face in Toronto. Municipal officials in the City also created an image of inclusivity that attracts migrants from diverse racial groups and creates a sense of comfort in the City (Good 2005: 269).

Younger and more recently arrived Jamaican immigrants may also have felt that the emphasis on social services and recreation in Jamaican organizations was not necessary or responsive to the changing needs of Jamaican immigrants given the broad network of organizations that was already established in Toronto to support the settlement of racialized immigrant groups. Siemiatycki et al (2003) also note that racialized immigrants created groups and established organizations where they could share their experiences in Toronto. As early as 1958, Caribbean immigrant women who arrived in the City through the West Indian Domestic Scheme met weekly to provide support and counseling to each other. Such groups were different from mainstream service organizations where clients and employees were often White Canadians (Siemiatycki et al 2003). Organizations that challenged racist attitudes in Toronto including the Black Action Defense Committee and the Toronto Urban Alliance on Race Relations emerged in the 1970s and contributed to the City's evolution as a welcoming place for immigrants. In addition to publicizing immigrants' experience of racism, they lobbied the government to address the systemic discrimination experienced by immigrants.

After 1980, Jamaican immigrants also benefited from a well-established Jamaican immigrant population, numerous Jamaican immigrant organizations as well as ethnic retailers that provided products and services that fostered their sense of belonging in Toronto (Wang and Lo 2007). These changes influenced negotiations of belonging and the extent to which younger and more recently arrived identified with the organizational mandates of ethno-specific organizations, such as the JCA, that were established while Toronto was still a socially and spatially isolating place for Jamaican immigrants.

Alternative Spaces of Belonging and Sociality: Religious Institutions in Toronto

Religious institutions are now emerging as institutions that foster a sense of belonging amongst Jamaican immigrants by accommodating their diverse interests and changing needs.

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Specifically, churches are emerging as inclusive spaces that are fulfilling important roles related to the settlement and integration of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. These religious institutions are rarely ethno-specific but they act as a refuge from exclusionary experiences in the wider society and address the socio-economic challenges of immigrants through formal programming and informal networks (Mensah 2009, Dwyer and Ley 2013 and Ley 2008).

The changing composition of the Jamaican immigrant population and the inability of Jamaican immigrant organizations to be welcoming and inclusive for all Jamaican immigrants have increased the significance of religious institutions for some Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. William, a leader of an Evangelist church that is known to many Jamaican immigrants in Toronto, agreed that:

> *...The Jamaican organizations that are here were started by Jamaicans who migrated to Toronto with leadership abilities and skills... so when they came with skills and abilities they had to find room to exercise them. So they would establish organizations. The membership in those organizations declined: many of them came, many of them passed on. [There may not be many] young people coming up [that see] the vision that they saw [and as a result they would not become] involved in it. That may be the underlying reason for decline in participation (William 1-4).*

William migrated to Toronto in 1969 to join his fiancé who was residing in Toronto at the time. William was also employed by the government for 30 years before deciding to become a pastor. William's comment draws attention to the ways that exclusion and marginalization encouraged Jamaican immigrants to create immigrant organizations. With limited opportunities in Toronto to exercise their skills and qualifications, Jamaican immigrants in Toronto searched for other areas where their skills and capabilities could be utilized. William's portrayal of the Jamaican immigrant experience is consistent with the argument of scholars such as Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2005) who suggest that participation in immigrant organizations is reactive. Immigrants react to experiences of discrimination by seeking spaces that boost their sense of belonging as well as their self-esteem by providing opportunities to use the skills and experiences they brought upon

migration to Toronto. In immigrant organizations, Jamaican immigrants developed programs and activities that drew on their work experience. They gained social recognition and they maintained connections with their country of origin. These experiences likely compensated for the status decline they experienced as immigrants.

William also suggested that churches provide various types of social support that assist Jamaican immigrants with finding housing and employment. The church acts as a place for escape as Jamaican immigrants receive support that influence immigrants' comfort, sense of inclusion and, ultimately, sense of belonging in Toronto.

> *When it comes to the churches, it is a different story because the churches literally provide a fundamental basic need for the people in the community. It's a place of escape from a lot of problems that they face, whether its immigration problems, housing, education, work, just the fundamentals of life, the church is an escape for them. So they come and they can experience relationships with people that they normally would not have elsewhere. So the church provides a tremendous amount of support for the community* (William 5-8).

The fact that these churches are perceived as neutral spaces helps to bridge the divisions among Jamaican immigrants from different social backgrounds and with various migration histories.

The increasing significance of religious institutions for Jamaican immigrants reflects the changing nature of the Jamaican immigrant population and changes in the City of Toronto where there are increasing settlement challenges for visible minority immigrants (Mensah 2002; Omidvar and Richmond 2003 and Preston, Lo and Wang 2003). The increased migration of Jamaican immigrants to Toronto has resulted in the growing presence of individuals with diverse backgrounds, needs and settlement experiences. Jamaican immigrants who migrated to Toronto during earlier migration streams settled in a city that was unaccustomed to the presence of visible minority immigrant groups. Moreover, the absence of a socio-legal framework that promoted tolerance and acceptance of diversity influenced the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Jamaican immigrant organizations provided an environment where Jamaican

immigrants could voice their concerns and collaborate with other Jamaican immigrants on actions that were needed to promote their sense of belonging and integration in Toronto. Jamaican immigrant organizations emerged as the main source of culturally specific support for Jamaican immigrants.

In contrast, Jamaican immigrants who arrived after 1980 settled in a city that was more diverse and welcoming to visible minority immigrant groups. Later waves of Jamaican immigrants, however, had less success in the labor market than earlier cohorts (Omidvar and Richmond 2003). Therefore, Jamaican immigrants who established Jamaican immigrant organizations are more well-established and have had a different experience of Toronto than Jamaicans immigrants who arrived in later migration streams. Recently arrived Jamaican immigrants have a different relationship with Toronto as a place of settlement and Jamaican immigrant organizations as a place in which they negotiate their sense of belonging. Well-known Jamaican immigrant organizations such as the JCA reflect the experiences of early waves of Jamaican immigrants who were more focused on creating sense of belonging by developing activities that facilitated cultural maintenance and addressed violent and visible forms of discrimination that Jamaican immigrants experienced in Toronto. With the increase in institutions that provide settlement services for the visible minority immigrant population in Toronto, recently arrived Jamaican immigrants now have more opportunities to associate and build relationships in ways that align with their individual experiences, backgrounds and interests. Some Jamaican immigrants may become involved in religious institutions to avoid national identity claims. The increasing ethno-racial diversity of church congregations also makes these churches more welcoming spaces for highly racialized visible minorities. Abner, a Jamaican doctor who migrated to Toronto in 1976 to continue practicing medicine, is a member of the Caribbean Chinese Association, agrees that Jamaican immigrant organizations are

declining by attrition and churches have growing significance for individuals of Jamaican descent:

> *...like most of these [Jamaican] associations, we are dying by attrition. We are losing our relevance in terms of new members, but as the new generation comes up they have more friends and family; they have different interests so we're spreading thin. However, we do have core members who have grown up with us and stayed with us… The church is now playing a very big part in the Jamaican population here … [They are] helping Jamaican immigrants deal with the issues they have been facing here… I would say [that] in the early days the organizations played a greater role in helping Jamaicans, but not now… Now there is a struggle for survival, we have become irrelevant… But luckily we are keeping our nose above water. We are doing well so far (Abner).*

Abner suggests that Jamaican immigrant organizations are no longer a significant source of social support for Jamaican immigrants. Churches, rather than immigrant organizations, are providing support to many Jamaican immigrants. The reliance on churches may be contributing to lower levels of membership in Jamaican immigrant organizations exacerbating their struggles to increase membership and continue their operations in Toronto.

The significance of religious institutions in the lives of younger and more recently arrived Jamaican immigrants was not found in earlier research. In the 1990s, Frances Henry (1994) reported that interest in religious practices had declined among younger and more recently arrived immigrants from the Caribbean compared with earlier and older immigrants. Several participants agreed that churches are an important part of the Jamaican institutional landscape in Toronto particularly due to the significance of Christian values in the lives of many Jamaican immigrants. The churches help individuals understand and counter experiences of racism and discrimination in Toronto (Duncan 2000). The churches in Toronto are predominantly Pentecostal churches that not only enrich the spiritual lives of their members but also provide social connections for newcomers looking for information about employment opportunities and social services (Duncan 2000). Support of this nature is usually informal but many respondents who attend these churches confirmed that the church has helped them deal with many settlement

challenges. Michelle, an immigrant who migrated to Toronto in 1987 with her mother to escape the hardships associated with life in Jamaica and pursue a Bachelors degree, is a member of a Seventh Day Adventist church in Toronto. Michelle emphasized the significance of the church in her everyday life:

> *The church is central to my lifestyle. My voice could be heard. I did not get swallowed in a large group as I got to know many people, many Jamaicans, and the church has many social events, which allowed for networking… We also do all the things we do back home at the social events. The food is all Caribbean and [the church hosts] competitions to learn about all the islands and where they are from. It is hard to go to organizations because it may be that some of their practices do not align with what I believe in. For example, I do not eat pork and I won't go to Caribana because they are not Christian…I don't feel I have to worry about my educational background or my income [in the church]… [If I do] not have a job or a place to stay...the church helps so many people [in those circumstances]. (Michelle 5-8).*

It is clear that, for Michelle, the church plays a number of roles and provides a variety of integrative social activities. The social activities in which Michelle engages facilitate feelings of being at home in Toronto. She also distinguishes her experiences in the church from Jamaican immigrant organizations where she may feel excluded due to her Christian beliefs as well as her social background. Further, Michelle's membership in the church is an extension of her life in Jamaica where attending church was an integral part of everyday life. The church allows Michelle to engage in practices that reinforce connections to Jamaica particularly through social events that provide opportunities to engage in practices that are culturally informed. She also suggests that the emphasis on religiosity in the church is balanced by the provision of various types of social and economic support during difficult times. Michelle argues that an emphasis on religiosity also means that factors such as socio-economic differences and educational background are not significant in the orientation and activities of the church thereby making it a more inclusive space of support for congregants. In contrast to Jamaican immigrant organizations that are perceived to be exclusive spaces where immigrants of a higher social

status shape the activities, churches appear to be inclusive institutions. Additionally, Michele has

the opportunity to build relationships with other church members that enhance her well-being.

Religious institutions are promoting a broader and more universal sense of belonging in Toronto

by encouraging both intra- group and inter-group interactions.

Sense of belonging is predicated on the positive and supportive relationships that group

members develop with each other. Several participants emphasized that churches provide social

and spiritual support that engenders a sense of belonging amongst members (Tsuji, Ho and

Stepick 2009). For instance, Daniel, a Jamaican immigrant who migrated to Toronto with his

father in 1996 and was motivated to join the church after witnessing several tragedies, explained

the role of the church in the life of fellow congregants:

> *There is not a particular department for [*social services*] but individuals at the church help you settle when you have immigration problems. No, I didn't access any kind of help* [from the church]. [But] *I find people do that and there are always individuals that need help. It seems the church is not only a refuge for spiritual but also physical stuff ... Folks who don't have enough [or are] having problems with their children, there is always someone to talk to. That kind of help and support draws a lot of people. My wife [recognized that] the church becomes your family. [There are] those who migrate and don't have their family, so your church becomes your family"* (Daniel 2).

For Daniel and his wife, church members are akin to a family. Jamaican immigrants can build

relationships with other church members and receive various supports that may reduce the

loneliness and social isolation they feel as immigrants in Toronto.

Ruth, a Jamaican immigrant who migrated to Toronto in 1990 in order to escape a corrupt

government, also suggests that churches provide formal and informal networks that assist with

settlement and, in turn, foster a sense of belonging:

> *…Half of the congregation is Jamaican and the other half is from other Caribbean islands. Well, actually a couple tried to help me when I was working at the law firm. It was through one of them that I got the job. And the one at the insurance company, she was also one trying to get me a job* (Ruth 1).

For Jamaican immigrants, churches are significant institutions that provide social and economic support to immigrants that facilitate integration and ultimately feelings of comfort and security in Toronto (Mensah 2009, Ley 2008, Hirschman 2004). Religious institutions have an important role to play in immigrant integration. Even though the Jamaican immigrants featured in this study gravitate to churches that serve a multicultural population, religious institutions are an important source of cultural continuity for these immigrants. For immigrants such as Ruth, Daniel and Michelle, the church engenders a sense of belonging through religiosity, religious practice, relationships that members develop through social interaction and the social capital and resources they garner from church members. The various types of support that churches provide facilitate a sense of belonging in Toronto.

Conclusion

Immigrant organizations mobilize discourses about sense of belonging that appeal to a shared Jamaican identity to lobby for social and political changes that will benefit the immigrants they serve. They also play an important role in facilitating settlement in the country of origin. It is often assumed that sense of belonging is engendered by immigrant organizations as they operate on ideals rooted in shared national identities and a common place of origin. Still, immigrant organizations may reproduce inequities and power differentials that promote exclusion and unbelonging (Hill-Collins 2014).

Interactions between visible minorities including Jamaican immigrants and the dominant group in the country of destination are not the only factors shaping sense of belonging. Place plays an important role in shaping the circumstances that induce feelings of unbelonging and exclusion amongst Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Places are dynamic and shifting and therefore attempts to mobilize immigrant groups based on bounded notions of place and identity may result in social distancing and feelings of alienation.

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The plurality of Jamaican immigrant identities further complicates how belonging is negotiated and the extent to which an immigrant group can be mobilized based on group identity. Experiences of belonging or unbelonging that Jamaican immigrants experience as a result of their interactions and knowledge of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto are produced through interstices of diverse relationships to place and plural migrant identities. Sense of belonging to the Jamaican immigrant population is disrupted by class divisions that Jamaican immigrant organizations reproduce as well as the inability of organizational members to adapt their mandates and activities to reflect the changing needs of Jamaican immigrants in the City of Toronto. Experiences of exclusion within the Jamaican immigrant population disrupt the consensus and fellowship that may be needed to take collective actions that might improve the socio-economic and political status of Jamaican immigrants. While the Jamaican immigrants who participated in this study suggest that a unified community may be difficult to achieve, they believe that improving relationships among members of the Jamaican immigrant population will play a key role in their prospects for successful integration in Canadian society. A unified Jamaican immigrant population may, therefore, be viewed as a strategic position, which can be adopted and mobilized in Jamaican immigrants' struggle for belonging and greater social inclusion in Canada.

New institutional sites, which do not have the trappings of national identity, are emerging in Toronto. Increasingly, churches are recognized as important institutions for fostering a sense of belonging and inclusion amongst Jamaican immigrants. Religious institutions allow the ethno-cultural identities of congregants to be recognized and celebrated without the in-group differences and prejudices evident in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Like Jamaican immigrant organizations, churches also provide various social services that facilitate the integration of Jamaican immigrants into Canadian society. The emergence of churches, which

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are not ethno-specific, reflects an evolving Toronto where the foreign-born population is increasing and more than 50% of the residents are visible minorities.

Chapter 8: Understanding Participation in Jamaican Immigrant Organizations in Toronto

Introduction

Jamaican immigrants have established a wide variety of organizations to preserve Jamaican cultural heritage and serve the settlement needs and interests of Jamaican immigrants residing in Toronto. The factors influencing participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations resonate with previous research indicating that involvement in these organizations is often related to immigrants' need to maintain connections with their country of origin, their experiences with exclusion, and the desire to support the development of their communities of origin (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002; Owusu 2000; Goldring 2002; Portes, Escobar, Radford 2007). Jamaican immigrants provided additional explanations for involvement and lack of participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto.

In the sections that follow, I use information from semi-structured interviews with Jamaican immigrants to examine their reasons for participation or non-involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 29 Jamaican immigrants who were members of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto at the time of the study. Nineteen Jamaican immigrants who were former members or not involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations were also interviewed. While the research sample is not representative of all Jamaican immigrant organizations or the views of all Jamaican immigrants in Toronto, the interview findings provide information about the circumstances shaping constructions of belonging among Jamaican immigrants. Information from these interviews will supplement existing knowledge about immigrant organizations established in Toronto particularly how the identities and diverse settlement experiences of individuals within specific immigrant groups influence their participation in immigrant organizations.

This chapter begins with a descriptive analysis of Jamaican immigrants who were members of Jamaican immigrant organizations at the time of the study. The second section includes a discussion of factors that explain Jamaican immigrants' involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations. I then turn to a discussion of the characteristics of Jamaican immigrants who were not members of Jamaican immigrant organizations as well as explanations for their lack of involvement in these organizations. The explanations provided by participant and non-participant Jamaican immigrants show how the increasing social diversity of Jamaican immigrants and the changing economic, social and political context of settlement influence the roles of Jamaican immigrant organizations. The research draws attention to how civic participation promotes belonging for some but not all Jamaican immigrants. It shows how interactions between the changing social character of the Jamaican immigrant population and the evolving Toronto context of settlement influences the extent to which Jamaican immigrant organizations are viewed as legitimate avenues for civic participation. Reasons that Jamaican immigrants provided to explain their participation or non-involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations offer insight into how settlement experiences and expressions of identity vary within the immigrant group. As such, Jamaican immigrants' reasons for participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations have implications for the extent to which these organizations are viewed as venues for expressing belonging; this issue was explored in Chapter 7. Participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations reflects the desire to maintain ties with individuals with a common ethnicity and culture in the new place of residence, the importance of transnational identities for some Jamaican immigrants; and variations in the lived experiences of Jamaican immigrants related to period of arrival in Toronto. Factors influencing non-involvement highlight differences in settlement experiences that limit the abilities of Jamaican immigrants to realize intra-group cooperation. The final section reflects on how group

solidarities and patterns of association are continuously contested by complex group dynamics and shifting social terrains.

Characteristics of Organizational Members

Semi-structured interviews with Jamaican immigrants revealed that the composition of the general membership and leadership of an immigrant organization varies depending on the type of organization being considered. The interviews also indicate that periods of arrival and occupational status are important determinants of membership in Jamaican immigrant organizations. The characteristics of organizational members also demonstrate how membership is affected by the identities and experiences of the individual members.

The interviews show trends in participation similar to those reported by Scott, Selbee and Reed (2006) who suggest that retirees and individuals who are employed part-time are more likely to be engaged in the activities of immigrant organizations since they have more time for these activities. Interviews with 29 members of five different Jamaican immigrant organizations revealed that the members of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto are more likely to be retirees with professional backgrounds. This is particularly noticeable for two of the five Jamaican immigrant organizations; the Project for the Advancement of Early Childhood Education (PACE) and the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA). Retirees made up more than half of the participants from PACE and the JCA that were interviewed. Participants from recently established organizations such as the Meadowbrook Alumni Association that agreed to interviews did not include any retirees.

The findings confirm previous research that suggests that members of immigrant organizations tend to be highly educated (Owusu 2000). More than 50% of respondents, who were members of Jamaican immigrant organizations at the time of the study, had post-secondary degrees including bachelor, professional and post-graduate degrees. Respondents who were

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members of Jamaican immigrant organizations but not retirees were employed as teachers, lecturers, doctors, consultants and managers at the time of the study. These results are consistent with findings by Scott, Selbee and Reed 2006 and Waldinger et al 2007 who argue that immigrants who participate in voluntary organizations tend to have professional backgrounds and higher levels of education than the immigrant population as a whole. The high educational attainments of participants in immigrant organizations contrast with the low rates of university completion for all Jamaican immigrants in Toronto (Statistics Canada 2006). Jamaican immigrant organizations may attract participants who are better educated, suggesting they are also likely to be more established and have a higher social status than the average Jamaican immigrant in Toronto.

Well-established immigrants are more likely to have the time and resources required to become members of immigrant organizations. More than 80% of the participants from all five organizations are long-time residents of Toronto and migrated to Canada between 1941 and 1978. Interview participants who were members of the JCA, PACE, the Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA) and the Jamaica Canada Diaspora Foundation (JCDF) arrived in Canada between 1941and 1950. Participants in the Meadowbrook High School Alumni Organization (established in 2005) migrated later, settling in Canada between 1990 and 2008. The members of the Meadowbrook Alumni Association are more recent immigrants to Canada than members of JCA, PACE, JCDF and the CCA.

The predominance of men in the leadership of these organizations is consistent with research by scholars including Goldring (2001), Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2005) and Owusu (2000) who suggest that gender is an important factor in determining the positions that immigrants hold in an immigrant organization. Every effort was made to ensure that men and women were equally represented in the interviews. As a result, there were no large imbalances in

the numbers of women and men that participated. Still, gender emerged as an important factor

determining who was elected to leadership positions in Jamaican immigrant organizations. For

instance, individuals that hold leadership positions in PACE are predominantly female, perhaps

because PACE was initially established as a women-only organization. The feminized character

of the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto may have created more opportunities for

Jamaican immigrant women to organize around their identities. As mentioned in Chapter 4,

women comprised more than 50% of Jamaican immigrants who migrated to Toronto between

2001 and 2006. The percentage of women (61%) in migration streams to Toronto was also

highest between 1981 and 1990, the time period during which PACE was established. It is likely

that the concentration of Jamaican immigrant women in Toronto created more opportunities for

them to establish organizations that represented their interests and settlement experiences.

Although men are now allowed to become members of PACE, the organization is still dominated

by women who have been with the organization since it was established. In other organizations

such as the JCA, JCDF and CCA, leadership positions were occupied mainly by men; women

participate on committees or occupy lower level executive positions such as secretary or

treasurer in these organizations.

Identity and Ways of Belonging: Immigrant Organizations as Spaces of Familiarity

Immigrant organizations engender a sense of belonging amongst immigrants by hosting

activities and reproducing practices that project these organizations as spaces of comfort and

familiarity (Tuan 1974). Participating in organizational activities that foster a sense of comfort in

the new place of residence is particularly important for immigrants whose identities and cultural

backgrounds are different from dominant groups. In Canada, despite the existence of an official

policy of multiculturalism and programs intended to recognize the country's social diversity,

cultural and behavioral norms are defined by whiteness. Whiteness is associated with power and

privilege and may create feelings of isolation for visible minorities. The responses of Jamaican immigrants to questions of why they became involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations is consistent with research that highlights the significance of relationship building for immigrants within racialized immigrant groups (Salaf and Chan 2007; Owusu 2000; Sardinha 2009; Portes, Escobar and Walton-Radford 2007). Building relationships with other Jamaican immigrants were particularly significant for immigrants who migrated to Toronto when the visible minority and Jamaican immigrant population was relatively small. Many participants stated that they became involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations to connect with individuals from similar backgrounds and continue their cultural practices. Jamaican immigrant organizations allow some Jamaican immigrants to maintain ties with individuals with whom they share a culture and ethnicity.

The period of time during which Jamaican immigrants arrived in Toronto is significant for understanding how involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations is influenced by a shifting local context. Each period during which Jamaican immigrants arrived was characterized by specific local conditions that influenced the extent to which Jamaican immigrant organizations were constructed as spaces of belonging. Prior to changes in Canadian immigration legislation in 1967, the Jamaican immigrant population was relatively small with 1,500 and 11,000 Jamaican immigrants residing in Toronto by1960 and by 1970, respectively (Statistics Canada 2006). Jamaican immigrants who arrived in Toronto during the 1950s and 1960s would encounter a very small and scattered Jamaican immigrant population (Williams 2012). Jamaican immigrants were often isolated and many wanted opportunities to socialize with co-ethnics with whom they shared a cultural background and settlement experience. Although immigration policies restricted the migration of non-white immigrants, the discrimination that Jamaican immigrants encountered created the desire to collectively mobilize Jamaican immigrants to

address these experiences and provide support that was otherwise not available. Organizations such as the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) and the Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA) emerged out of a collective desire to have "a vehicle to enable the occurrence of functions that would provide a bonding mechanism for Jamaican immigrants" (Williams 2012: 19). The fact that Toronto was still adapting to the presence of visible minority immigrants bolstered the importance of building institutions that reinforced the identities of Jamaican immigrants and allowed them to build supportive relationships with each other.

Building relationships with other Jamaican immigrants was a very important aspect of organizational involvement for individuals that became members of Jamaican immigrant organizations that were established between 1960 and 1980 (for example, the Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA) and the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA)). Providing a space where individuals from the same national or cultural background could socialize emerged as a critical part of the mandate of these organizations in Toronto. For example, the CCA's mandate states that the role of the organization is "to keep [the] community in touch and connected, sustain our culture and heritage, and to build a healthier community" (caribbeanchinese.ca). This objective has stayed with the organizations to some extent. Abner, a member of the Caribbean Chinese Association, was a general practitioner in Jamaica prior to his arrival in Canada. Abner is currently employed as a medical doctor in Toronto. He explained that his involvement in the CCA was socially motivated. He became involved in the CCA in order to establish connections with other Jamaican immigrants in Toronto particularly because he moved to a small town upon his arrival in Canada. It was also a way to settle in and become more familiar with the city of Toronto as a place of residence. More specifically, Abner explained that:

> "*When I came back from up north Toronto, I liked the idea of the CCA in that they provided an opportunity for people from the same country to meet ...We met old friends, family and so on... We reconnected and then we met people we knew... When I came in*

76, I was in the bush up north and I had no direct connection [with anyone]. But I felt that the reason for the formation of the association [was] because at that time [there was] a whole a bunch of frightened upset people in a strange country. When they formed [the association], [it was] a common meeting ground to cry on one another's shoulder. It was very, very important..." (Abner 1-2).

The CCA initially functioned as a space of familiarity and comfort where Jamaican immigrants of Chinese origin could receive emotional support during the initial stages of settlement in Toronto. Members of the CCA received emotional support by building relationships with other individuals of Caribbean Chinese descent who had similar experiences of migration. Membership in the CCA also engendered a sense of belonging as involvement provided Jamaican Chinese immigrants with opportunities to reconnect with family members with whom they had lost touch during the exodus from Jamaica to North America in the 1960s and 1970s. This was a period during which many Chinese Jamaican immigrants were forced to emigrate due to inter-ethnic tensions with Black Jamaicans and opposition to Michael Manley's democratic socialist regime (Shibata 2005).

Members of other Jamaican immigrant organizations also shared stories that demonstrate the significance of relationship building for Jamaican immigrants in the new place of residence. Aaron, a member of the Jamaican Canadian Association who migrated to Toronto in the 1970s as he felt that Canada would offer him a better life and future, explains that meeting with other Jamaican immigrants was his reason for becoming involved in the JCA:

"It helps to go there and see your fellow Jamaicans, We understand each other and we can talk about back home- any issue come up we can always relate to each other..." (Aaron 2).

Connor, who migrated to Toronto in 1953 and is a longstanding member of the JCA, also agrees that the relationships between Jamaican immigrants made membership in the Jamaican Canadian Association very significant. The JCA emerged as a hub for social activities that fostered relationship building and collaboration between Jamaican immigrants. Connor explains:

"Following that function, the people were so enthused about how that came off, so they wanted to continue it...I suggested that we form an organization to do that, maintain relationships with Jamaica, maintain the contacts we made amongst ourselves in Toronto and so forth... So a committee was formed to draft a constitution that was then presented to a meeting, which was held on September 23, 1962. At that organizational meeting, the constitution was accepted and an executive was elected and the Jamaican Canadian Association was founded..." (Connor 1).

The experiences of immigrants involved in the JCA highlight relationship building as the reason for involvement in the Jamaican Canadian Association during the 1960s. Connor demonstrates the salience of Jamaican identity for Jamaican immigrants but, more importantly, how activities that encourage social interaction among individuals in the same immigrant population are important particularly during periods when the immigrant population in Toronto was not diverse and cultural and racial distinctions from the dominant groups were more pronounced.

Approximately 17 of the 29 respondents who participated in immigrant organizations argued that their involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations facilitated cultural maintenance and allowed them to stay in touch with other Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Immigrant organizations are important venues for cultural maintenance particularly for immigrants whose cultures are different from the dominant culture. Conrad, a participant and life member of the Caribbean Chinese Association who migrated to Toronto in 1973 and was employed at a major financial institution prior to his retirement, explained how the Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA) was established and how he became involved in the organization:

"[In order] to have a community to keep [the] culture and traditions of Caribbean Chinese [people] because there was a big influx of us in 1977. A group of people I know very well, sat down and the first event was a New Year's Eve dance, so that's been a tradition. I've been to every one [of these dances] except two in the thirty-five years. But I got actively involved in a committee in the 80s and I became president and I was part of the executive for a number of years..." (Conrad 1).

Conrad's history with the Caribbean Chinese Association indicates that cultural traditions were central to organizational activities particularly at the organization's establishment. Although Conrad was very proud of his achievements and the connections he made through the Caribbean Chinese organization (CCA), he views his participation in the organization as more significant for continuing Jamaican Chinese traditions. Additionally, the creation of a space that was specifically for Caribbean Chinese immigrants suggests that the way in which Jamaican immigrants identify with Jamaica and 'Jamaican' identity has implications for civic participation. Some Chinese Jamaican immigrants identify with both a Chinese and Jamaican heritage. As a result, they become affiliated with organizations that allow them to celebrate plural identification with their country of origin. Besides connecting with Jamaican-Chinese family and friends, Conrad obtained other benefits from involvement in the organization. He gained promotions to senior administrative positions within the organization. Scholars discuss the organizational activities of immigrant men as important for redressing status loss and displacement in the new receiving country (Itzigsohn and Gorgiuli-Saucedo 2005; Hondagneu and Sotelo 1992).

Jamaican immigrant organizations provided a setting where Jamaican immigrants could participate in cultural and relationship building activities that foster a sense of inclusion and comfort in an unfriendly environment. Some respondents suggested that exclusionary experiences influenced their involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Connor, an executive member of the JCA since its establishment in 1962, explained how experiences with racism provided important motivation for establishing an organization that allowed Jamaican immigrants in Toronto to cultivate relationships with people with whom they shared an identity and experiences. As such, motivations to become involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations can be viewed as defensive, as organizations may be a means of promoting a collective response to experiences of exclusion (Schrover and Vermeulen 2005). Connor stated that:

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> *"…Canada had not been very favorable to bringing non-white people into the country. Canada's immigration laws were [also] outrightly racist and not many black people were in the country. So in 1962 …we only had about 3818 West Indians in Canada so it was a very small number. We did not all know each other so when we assembled we began to have a better association with each other. Then the … whole issue of racism, housing, employment, which I talked about earlier, was also important as we had to work around those things" (Connor)*

Connor's explanation highlights how, in the 1960s, core activities of the JCA centered around addressing exclusionary and discriminatory practices that Jamaican immigrants in Toronto experienced. The JCA provided a space for the celebration of cultural heritage that fostered a sense of security and support during a time when Canada was still adapting to the increasing presence of visible minority immigrants in Canadian cities. Institutionalized forms of discrimination as well as urban politicians' unwillingness to reflect the concerns of racialized immigrant groups in local policies persisted during this period (Siemiatycki et al 2003). There was also no legislation guaranteeing respect for the diverse cultural backgrounds of immigrants. Still, Jamaican immigrants had a long history of migration to Toronto and the Black population (of which Jamaican immigrants are part) had created a legacy of institutionalization in Toronto-they established organizations such the Toronto Anti-Slavery Society and the National Black Coalition that paved the way for the formation of ethno-specific organizations such as the JCA in 1962.

Participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations also allowed Jamaican immigrants to continue Jamaican practices and activities to which they were accustomed. Francis, a member of the Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA), migrated to Toronto with his family in order to escape increasing crime and a corrupt government in Jamaica. He explains that he enjoyed the cultural activities hosted by the CCA because it kept him in touch with friends, family and Jamaican culture:

*"I am in there for social reasons. They have Jamaican dances, picnics - you get to see
friends and families get together. I believe the CCA started in the 70s to assist Jamaicans
coming to Canada in settling in. But you know the nostalgia with the old Byron Lee
dances. They used to have annual New Year's Eve parties, which Jamaicans and
Jamaican Chinese still enjoy. In the Chinese Jamaican community …, [these events are]
pretty well known, people migrate to it, word gets around and it's not hard to find"*
(Francis 2).

The celebration of Jamaican culture is a practice shared by both the JCA and the CCA, as they

are social organizations that developed specific activities for this purpose. Francis indicates that

social events such as Byron Lee dances and New Year's Eve parties were events that allowed

members to continue Jamaican cultural expressions in Toronto. Participating in these cultural

events helped Jamaican Chinese immigrants to maintain their cultural heritage in Toronto.

Transnational Activities and Participation in Jamaican Immigrant Organizations

Participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations demonstrates the significance of a

transnational frame of reference for the everyday practices and modes of adaptation for Jamaican

immigrants (Satzewich and Wong 2011). For many Jamaican immigrants, involvement in

Jamaican immigrant organizations allows them to be engaged in transnational practices that

facilitate connections with their country of origin (Simmons 2010; Levitt and Glick Schiller

2001; Portes et al 1999 and Satzewich and Wong 2011). Transnational practices refer to

activities that link countries of origin and reception. Transnational practices include involvement

in overseas political parties and campaigns, participation in development activities in

communities of origin, returning to the home country to vote and having a business that spans

both the sending and receiving countries (Schiller, Basch and Blanc 1992). Some of the

respondents who were involved in one of the five Jamaican immigrant organizations considered

in this study explained that they joined the organizations because they wanted to make a

difference in their country of origin. Active participation in immigrant organizations also became

a vehicle for visibility, more specifically, a way of heightening the visibility of issues of concern

to Jamaican immigrants to governments in both the home country and in Canada. These issues of concern are often related to the integration of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto as well as the welfare of Jamaicans in Jamaica. The following quotes show that some Jamaican immigrants became involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations to become active in transnational initiatives in Jamaica.

Gabe, a member of the Meadowbrook High School Alumni Association, who migrated to Toronto in 1991 to reunite with his wife, explained that joining the association allowed him to maintain connections with his former high school. The Meadowbrook Alumni Association enabled Gabe to become involved in activities that offered the types of financial support needed to deliver educational services to Meadowbrook High school students:

> "[*It] is a great opportunity as… we are focusing on something fundamental to the success of [the Jamaican] economy. I don't think it gets the respect it deserves as we are focusing on education and developing students. If you take away the past students association from Wolmers [high school] you wouldn't have what Wolmers [high school] is today. Same thing for KC and St. Georges [high schools] - [our financial support] is critical [for the schools]*" (Gabe).

Collective remittances that are sent from organizations like the Meadowbrook High School Alumni Association help to improve the facilities and quality of education in Jamaica. There are more than 30 Jamaican immigrant alumni organizations in Toronto alone and many schools in Jamaica depend on financial support from these alumni groups for their survival. The remittances transferred by alumni organizations augment inadequate public funding. A wealth of literature shows that many sending country governments rely on the support of transnationals (Wong 2006; Portes, Escobar, Radford 2007; Sives 2012; Itzigsohn 2000; Levitt 1997; Thomas-Hope 1999). Many sending countries are poorer than the countries where migrants settle, so the sending countries often rely on various types of international aid, including financial and collective remittances, to facilitate economic growth and development (Skeldon 1997).

Jamaican immigrant organizations provide Jamaican immigrants with opportunities to be involved in charitable transnational activities that benefit individuals and communities in Jamaica. Mary, a member of the Caribbean Chinese association explained that she joined the CCA due to its philanthropic activities, Mary migrated from Kingston, Jamaica to Toronto, Canada in 1970 due to increasingly unsafe conditions for Chinese Jamaicans that resulted from tensions with Afro-descended Jamaicans during this period.

> *"[they do* a] *bit of charity work… They help schools and ting [sic] up in Trinidad and Jamaica and I appreciate that. So it's nice being involved in a committee where the bottom line isn't money and... making a profit because this is a non-profit organization. So whatever they do and whatever money they make they put back into helping others who are less fortunate… We are West Indians and you are giving back to your own kind in certain ways, you are giving back to the community and I appreciate that..."* (Mary 3).

Mary appreciates the philanthropic work in the Caribbean particularly because it allows her to give back and assist individuals who are in the Caribbean. Engaging in these activities is also an opportunity to maintain connections with communities and individuals in the country of origin. Despite the idiosyncratic factors that encourage Jamaican immigrants to participate in specific immigrant organizations, many Jamaican immigrants become involved in special interest groups and ethnic associations to maintain ties and provide assistance to people in need in their country of origin.

Participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations was also influenced by the desire to participate in activities that addressed special needs in Jamaica. For instance, some Jamaican immigrants indicated that they became members of PACE because it gave them an opportunity to support the advancement of educational institutions in Jamaica. For instance, Gina, a founding member of PACE who initially moved to Canada on a temporary employment contract, explained her continued participation in PACE:

"I was aware of the fact that women in Jamaica had always tried to help the little children to learn. They had schools in their backyard, on the veranda, under the tree. I myself went to a one-room school in Old Harbor when I was little before I went to high school, so I knew the role of women in early childhood education in Jamaica. It seemed to me that we could help and we could respond and these early people who had retired were the nucleus... We decided to call it Women for Pace because we thought that we were helping women with what they were doing. The women were the ones having school under a tree and they kept [the students] fed... It seemed to me, at the time when I came to Canada, that women were downtrodden and that any help you could give would be good..." (Gina 1-2).]

Gina's motivation for participating in PACE was her recognition that early childhood education in Jamaica was underfunded and that women played a critical role in educating children in Jamaica. Jamaican immigrants like Gina became involved in philanthropic activities initiated to support women who play crucial roles in Jamaica's education system. Gina's commitment to advancing early childhood education demonstrates how pre-migration experiences also influence the types of organizational activities in which Jamaican immigrants become engaged.

Various studies have pointed to the significant role that women play in the maintenance of not only households but also social institutions in the Caribbean (Henry 1994). Women in the Caribbean tend to be more educated and they dominate many professions including white-collar occupations (Figueroa 2004). In his research on roles of women in Caribbean society, Powell (1984) noted that as early as 1970, 81% of primary school teachers in Jamaica were women. The feminization of the teaching profession has resulted in this type of work being labeled a 'woman's activity' (Figueroa 2004: 152). In her past research on Caribbean women in Toronto, Henry (1995) emphasized that these women have taken on much of the social and economic responsibility for their communities in the Caribbean. As a result, many Caribbean women adopt dual work roles that involve household and extra-household responsibilities (Anderson 1986).

Additionally, middle class Jamaican women have also had a history of collective mobilization in the Caribbean that may have informed the gender orientation and sector specific

activities of organizations like PACE. Middle class Jamaican women have played a crucial role in the establishment of organizations that promoted Black activism in Jamaica (Ford-Smith 2004). These women often had educational and professional backgrounds that helped them give voice and visibility to the struggles of Black women in Jamaica. They established organizations, which acted as sites through which dominant "constructions of Black women as exploited workers or as mothers forced to 'father'" were challenged (Ford-Smith 2004: 28). As an example, women such as Amy Bailey, in association with a group of schoolteachers, founded a Black feminist organization called the Women's Liberal Club in 1937 (Ford-Smith 2004: 30). Bailey also led a political campaign for gender reform in Jamaica which contributed to the election of Mary Morris Knibb as the first female member of the Kingston and St. Andrew Parish Council (Ford-Smith 2004: 30). The gendered history of activism in Jamaica may have influenced the participation of Jamaican immigrant women in PACE, an organization that was established as a women's only institution and continues to be dominated by women. The activism of feminists and educators like Amy Bailey played a crucial role in promoting the value of women's work in organizational activities as well as increasing their representation in the political arena and various professions in Jamaica.

Immigrant Organizations, Advocacy and Participation in the Delivery of Social Services

Jamaican immigrant organizations are avenues for participating in the delivery of social services that address the settlement challenges that many Jamaican immigrants in Toronto experience. Many immigrant organizations offer training that facilitates labor market integration, referrals to health and social services and activities that facilitate immigrants' broader participation in the economic, social and political life of Canada (Williams 2012; Omidvar and Richmond 2003; Itzigsohn 2000 and Owusu 2000). Jamaican immigrant organizations offer tutorial programs that assist students with their educational challenges as well as workshops that

provide information on how to find suitable accommodations and employment in Toronto. *S*everal respondents stated that they became involved in organizations to contribute their skills and time to facilitating programs and services that assisted Jamaican immigrants in their attempts to achieve social, educational and professional advancement in Toronto.

Steven, a former member of the Jamaican Canadian Association who migrated from a rural community in Jamaica to join his uncle in Toronto, explained that the activities and programs provided by the JCA are critical for addressing settlement challenges that Jamaican immigrants may encounter in Toronto. His desire to contribute time and skills to the JCA tutorial program was his main motivation for becoming involved in the JCA:

> *"I wanted to volunteer and help my community because a lot of people just sit on the side and do nothing [to] alleviate the problem. I joined the Saturday morning tutorial program. Over the next three years, I joined the youth committee and became Associate Chair. The highlight of my career with the Jamaican Canadian Association [was when] we raised over 5000 dollars at the gala, which raised funds to do more services for youth [in Toronto]..."* (Steven 1).

The stories of Jamaican immigrants like Steven show that immigrants become members of immigrant organizations in order to become involved in civic activities that facilitate the social and economic progress of fellow community members. Members of Jamaican immigrant organizations help establish and run social programs that recognize and address needs within the Jamaican immigrant population. One such issue concerns children of Jamaican parentage who sometimes perceive greater levels of discrimination than other ethnic groups and their foreign-born parents (Reitz and Banerjee 2005, Ethnic Diversity Survey 2002). Ogbu (1991) and Abada, Hou and Ram (2009) indicate that these experiences may foster a defeatist attitude that reduces academic motivation amongst the children of Jamaican immigrants. Tutorial programs, as well as after-school and weekend programs delivered by the JCA address these obstacles to Jamaican immigrants' social and economic progress. Steven emphasizes that he gained personal benefits

from becoming involved in the organization including advancing through the ranks of the association. Specifically, Steven explained that the highlight of his voluntary work with the JCA was when he became an Associate Chair of the organization and succeeded in raising funds for youth programs delivered by the JCA in Toronto.

Research by Scott, Selbee and Reed (2006) suggests that individuals may become involved in immigrant organizations to maintain their involvement in voluntary activities. Gary, a former member of the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) who migrated to Canada in 1991 to escape economic hardships in Jamaica and reunite with an older brother, explained that he initially became involved in the Jamaican Canadian Association to continue his voluntary activities in Canada and support the delivery of educational programs:

> *"I have always volunteered. I volunteered with the city and did some work with Caribana festival and I moved to the States for a couple of years during the dot-com bust in 2001. I moved back to Canada and I just wanted to get back into volunteering and found out that the JCA was doing a Saturday morning tutorial program - tutoring mathematics and sciences. I [also] joined their education committee scholarship fund. They do a bunch of things to promote a higher level of education [among] youths in the community in terms of looking at after-hours education ... So I got involved for a while then I joined the youth committee and became youth committee chair and did pretty good things ... including starting ... [a] gala showcasing young professionals..."* (Gary 1&2).

Gary's involvement in the Jamaican Canadian Association is related to his personal history with volunteering in the City of Toronto. Gary participated in the organization to assist with the delivery of programs, including scholarship funds for students, job fairs and open houses that would benefit youth. These activities capture some of the services that immigrant organizations, like the JCA, deliver to meet the immediate settlement needs of immigrants. Gary was proud of the 'good things' he did while a member of the Jamaican Canadian Association. Specifically, he helped establish an annual gala showcasing young professionals in Toronto. In addition to continuing his voluntary and civic activities, Gary gained important professional experience through his involvement in the JCA.

Jamaican immigrant organizations also provide venues for engaging in community activism to defend the rights and interests of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Many Jamaican immigrants experience exclusion and systemic discrimination that limit their ability to participate fully in Canadian society (Veronis 2010). This is particularly noticeable when the integration for Jamaican immigrants is compared to that of other immigrant groups in Canada. Specifically, Jamaican immigrants and their children earn substantially less than their visible minority counterparts and have lower levels of educational attainment than other ethnic groups (Statistics Canada 2006). Compared with other visible minority groups, Jamaican immigrants have less social and economic mobility (Walters, Phythian and Anisef 2006). Many Jamaican immigrant organizations lobby municipal, provincial, and federal governments to develop policies and programs that advance the interests of Jamaican immigrants (Williams 2012). Anderson, a member of the Jamaican Diaspora Canada Foundation who migrated to Canada in 1967 due to his dissatisfaction with the political regime in Jamaica, emphasized the importance of immigrant organizations for advocating on behalf of Jamaican immigrants:

> *"[If] anything happens, my organization can speak on my behalf and it has a stronger strength than individuals doing it [by themselves]… When my organization represents me, it takes me out of the limelight and out of the problem area because if it's the Jamaica Canada Diaspora Foundation complaining about something then it's different than an individual complaining about something... So for many reasons, many Jamaicans would be part of that organization for that protective view- protecting country and protecting self" (Anderson 3).*

Anderson suggests that Jamaican immigrant organizations advocate regarding concerns that are relevant to Jamaican immigrants in Toronto, such as creating equal opportunities for participation in economic activities and the reduction of social exclusion (Williams 2012).

Interviews with Jamaican immigrants who were involved in organizations reveal how the history and timing of immigration to Toronto affects participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Most Jamaican immigrants who were members of immigrant organizations were

more likely to have arrived in Toronto between 1950 and 1970. These Jamaican immigrants often cited that cultural maintenance; relationship building and their desire to engage in activities that facilitated the long-term integration of Jamaican immigrants influenced their involvement in immigrant organizations. In contrast, immigrants who were involved in organizations such as the Meadowbrook alumni association stated that they became members of the organization due to the association's focus on facilitating activities that support improvements in Jamaica. Notably, Jamaican immigrants, who were members of the Meadowbrook Alumni Association, also had a history of volunteering prior to migration. The diversity of the Jamaican immigrant population contributes to differences in motivations for involvement in particular organizations.

The reasons that Jamaican immigrants were involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations highlight the impact of social and historical changes on participation in immigrant organizations. Many of the respondents who were members of Jamaican immigrant organizations arrived between 1950 and 1970. The Jamaican immigrant population was small and very few organizations provided emotional support to immigrants. Many immigrants gravitated to organizations, such as the JCA and the CCA, that were established to build social networks within the Jamaican immigrant population and provide support during the initial phases of settlement in Toronto.

The absence of an official policy of multiculturalism also encouraged Jamaican immigrant organizations to play important roles in the lives of Jamaican immigrants who arrived in earlier cohorts. These organizations provided Jamaican immigrants with help to address the social and cultural challenges they faced in Canada (Owusu 2000). Jamaican immigrant organizations were welcome spaces of familiarity and comfort in a city where non-white immigrants were still unusual and, in some instances, unwelcome.

The establishment of a social safety net encouraged the development of diverse types of associations that created more possibilities for Jamaican immigrants to meet their specific social and cultural needs in Toronto. The increasing presence of visible minority immigrant groups and the Canadian government's commitment to multiculturalism led to the establishment of a well-developed infrastructure of multicultural and ethno-specific organizations that provided both settlement services and culturally specific types of assistance to Jamaican immigrants in Toronto (Preston, Kobayashi and Siemiatycki 2011).

The implementation of an anti-racist immigration policy in 1967 changed the composition of migration streams from Jamaica. Jamaican immigrants with more education and professional backgrounds arrived in Toronto. The presence of Jamaican immigrants with diverse social characteristics had implications for Jamaican immigrant organizations. Alumni associations were established to represent Jamaican immigrants who had a desire to maintain connections with high schools from which they had graduated. Special interest groups such as PACE were also established to mobilize Jamaican immigrant women who were interested in supporting improvements in early childhood education in Jamaica. Jamaican immigrants of Chinese descent became members of the CCA, rather than the JCA, as the CCA represented a context where the identities, experiences and cultural traditions of Chinese Jamaicans in Toronto were recognized and respected.

These findings underscore the fluidity of immigrant populations and sites of reception. Intra-group diversity produces varying patterns of participation within immigrant groups.

Factors Limiting the Participation of Jamaican Immigrants in Jamaican Immigrant Organizations

Scholars who have written about immigrant organizations rarely examine why immigrants are not involved in immigrant organizations (Goldring 2002; Gooden 2008; Henry

1994; Itzigsohn, and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005; Owusu 2000; Salaff, and Chan 2007). The omission is surprising in the face of recent studies that show that voluntary work and organizational participation by immigrants is relatively low (Ray and Preston 2009; Moya 2005; Owusu 2000 and Scott, Selbee and Reed 2006). This section explores the factors contributing to Jamaican immigrants' lack of participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations. The literature shows that lack of involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations is shaped by gender, lack of resources and settlement challenges (Itzigsohn and Gorgiuli-Saucedo 2005; Sundeen and Raskoff 2009). In this section, the social characteristics and migration histories of Jamaican immigrants who do not participate in Jamaican immigrant organizations are discussed. Interview transcripts are also analyzed to determine how the factors identified in the literature influence lack of participation in Toronto.

Characteristics of Non-Participating Jamaican Immigrants

The migration histories and social characteristics of Jamaican immigrants who were not involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations differed from those of people who were members of these organizations. Former members of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto as well as individuals who have had no experience with these organizations participated in interviews. Jamaican immigrants who were not members of Jamaican immigrant organizations were more recently arrived, younger and more likely to be university educated than participating counterparts. Unlike research participants who were members of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto at the time of the study, 16 of 19 people who were not involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations arrived after 1976. More than 60% of these respondents had at least a Bachelors or College degree. Most Jamaican immigrants in this group were also employed and lived in the City of Toronto.

History, Neo-colonialism and the Limits of Collective Organizing Amongst Jamaican Immigrants in Toronto

Some Jamaican immigrants argued that lack of participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto is not an individual issue. Participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations is informed by historical factors that are reproduced in Toronto and affect cooperation among Jamaican immigrants. Collective organizing and cooperative activity are influenced by post-colonial identities. During the colonial era, the enslaved were discouraged from pursuing many forms of organizing and various cooperative activities (Gilroy 1993; Taylor 1989). Slave masters used divide and conquer tactics as a means of control. The lack of cooperation that was prevalent in Jamaica's colonial history is reflected in Jamaican immigrants' experiences as post-colonial subjects. These identities are reproduced in organizations established by Jamaican immigrants. The specific ways that the impacts of colonialism play out amongst Jamaican immigrants, however, is defined by the locale where they reside (Bayette 2010). Specifically, the impact of locale on the reproduction of colonialism is evident in the ways that multiple immigrant organizations represent and reproduce historically created social divisions within the Jamaican immigrant population. Immigrant organizations are important sites for civic engagement particularly for racialized immigrant groups that are prevented from gaining equal access to resources in receiving countries. However, these organizations may become arenas where immigrants struggle for resources that facilitate integration and a sense of belonging due to the way in which Jamaican immigrant identities unfold in immigration contexts.

Some Jamaican immigrants suggested that they are less likely to be involved in immigrant organizations and work cooperatively with other Jamaican immigrants because of competition for social capital. In Toronto, Jamaican immigrants compete for the social capital

created through immigrant organizations. Recall that social capital involves the resources and social connections that allow groups and individuals to acquire tangible benefits including financial resources and higher social status (Bourdieu 1984). Social capital can potentially be converted into economic capital. The ability to acquire or convert social capital may be challenged so that Jamaican immigrants who do not display behaviors or characteristics of individuals with higher status in immigrant organizations may not be able to gain social capital through involvement in these organizations. Conversely, if immigrant organizations are not perceived as having the types of capital that can potentially facilitate social integration in Toronto then this may reduce motivations for organizational involvement. The Jamaica Canada Diaspora Foundation is an example of a Jamaican immigrant organization that is distinctive due to members' direct involvement and connections with the Jamaican government and Canadians of influence. The Jamaican Canada Diaspora Foundation has significant social capital due to its connections with influential individuals and members who bring substantial economic capital as a result of their long residence in Canada. Frederick, a member of the Jamaica Canada Diaspora Foundation, migrated to Canada in 1969 to pursue employment and educational opportunities that were not available in Jamaica. Frederick, a retiree, explains the challenges associated with collectively mobilizing Jamaican immigrants and articulates reasons for their lack of involvement:

> "*We have a fundamental problem with Jamaica and Jamaicans. Jamaicans in Toronto lead organizations and create them, a plethora, but not a lot of Jamaicans are willing to participate in things if they are not leading. You cannot participate effectively if you do not serve... There are some Jamaicans that would only go to the JCA when a government official is coming. Otherwise, they say they not going to rub shoulders with the gardeners, what they call the 'cobba cobba niggas' [lower-class Jamaicans], that they don't want to rub shoulders with. They complain to the Consul General that they are excluded but that is not the case. It is open to all if they wish to participate. When someone is coming they want to be invited... When the Jamaican Prime Minister is visiting... people wanting to know who is on the list. When we were in the crisis, there*

were people [of a] certain high profile that wanted to come [to the] rescue, but they didn't want to labor in the trenches..." (Frederick 1).

Frederick's commentary on the reasons that Jamaican immigrants do not participate in immigrant organizations reinforces how ingrained experiences of colonialism continue to impose limitations, albeit psychologically, on collective organizing. In plantation society, slave masters created divisions amongst slaves by developing a hierarchy in which slaves were differentiated based on various social characteristics including occupation. Slave masters would promote some slaves to higher positions in order to engender loyalty to slave masters thereby reducing the potential for slave revolts. Internal divisions and lack of cooperation that originate in the conditions of slavery (Bayette 2010) still affect Jamaican immigrants' involvement in organizations in Toronto long after they migrated from Jamaica. The inability of Jamaican immigrants to organize and mobilize effectively as an immigrant group in Toronto demonstrates the impact of colonialism on the identities of Jamaican immigrants.

Frederick also suggests that class differences limit some immigrants' involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Some organizations attract Jamaican immigrants of a lower social standing. Other Jamaican immigrants may not want to affiliate with these organizations due to their membership. Jamaican immigrants strive to become involved in activities that can facilitate their social mobility. Jamaican immigrant organizations, like the JCDF, may attract individuals attempting to enhance their social integration in a context where they experience racialization and marginalization. Consequently, some Jamaican immigrants may choose to avoid immigrant organizations that do not foster the expansion of their social networks and social capital.

Donna, a Jamaican immigrant who migrated to Toronto in 1977 and has attended the functions of various Jamaican immigrant organizations, has refused to become a member of any

Jamaican immigrant organization. She explains that she is discouraged from participating due to the competition amongst Jamaican immigrants. Specifically, Donna states that:

> "… *Jamaicans can only boast about one-offs [that is, events that happen only once]… because you know Jamaicans, [anywhere we go, we take over]. In Brampton, the South East Asian community has shown how you build and keep communities together. We are known for the crab in the barrel mentality here... JCA is an organization that has stayed on for 50 years. I can imagine the in-fighting over the years…*" (Donna).

Donna suggests that a crab in the barrel mentality[38] is hindering the progress of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. The lack of cooperative thinking amongst Jamaican immigrants limits their ability to mobilize, act collectively, and achieve social and political advancement. The crab in the barrel mentality is replicated in immigrant organizations such as the JCA where it becomes evident when Jamaican immigrants fight for resources that might enhance social integration in Canada. Like Donna, Jamaican immigrants refuse to become members of Jamaican immigrant organizations to avoid dealing with the conflicts and divisions among Jamaican immigrants. Again, one wonders whether the debilitating impact of tactics intended to discourage cooperative activity amongst colonial subjects in the plantation era is being reproduced in the institutional culture of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Demonstrating the circumstances that limit cooperative activity among immigrants, Berry (2001) argues that immigrants who settle in societies that marginalize immigrants with racialized identities often create situations of competition within immigrant groups. Competition for favor and status in the receiving country promotes divisions and limits cooperative activity within immigrant groups.

Prejudices that originate in the home country and organizational affiliations that develop in Toronto influence relationships among Jamaican immigrants in the receiving country. Anderson, a member of the Jamaican Diaspora Canada Foundation, was employed in Jamaica's

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[38] A crab in the barrel mentality refers to competitive behavior, within a group, that results in their collective demise.

health sector prior to his arrival in Canada but decided to migrate in order to pursue more advanced educational opportunities. Anderson agrees that Jamaican immigrants are difficult to organize. He argues that many Jamaican immigrants in Toronto have misconceptions about Jamaican immigrant organizations. Some Jamaican immigrants are suspicious of the intentions of Jamaican immigrants who have established Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Anderson explained that:

> "... as you know Jamaicans are difficult to organize as a group. Jamaicans think that if they become a member of the Diaspora Foundation, they would have to give up their organization ... Some of them think ... that the JCDF is a link to the Jamaican government and many of them would not join for that [reason]. So it takes a marketing and advertising process... [to let] people know that ...we are affiliated with the government through an advisory role and that we actually meet at least once a year with the Jamaican government ..." (Anderson 1).

Anderson suggests that some Jamaican immigrants may feel that the organization to which they belong may be undermined by other organizations. Some Jamaican immigrants are concerned about the operation of some organizations; they suspect that immigrants starting new organizations are affiliated with the Jamaican government.

Pre-migration prejudices foster feelings of suspicion and distrust that limit participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations. This suspicion is another manifestation of divisions that reduce the ability of Jamaican immigrants to mobilize effectively. For example, the Jamaica Canada Diaspora Foundation was established by the Jamaican government to foster relationships between the Jamaican immigrant population and the Jamaican state. Jamaican immigrants like Anderson suggest that some individuals are uncomfortable with being affiliated with the Jamaican government. Other research indicates that some immigrants may have political experiences in the country of origin that shape the civic and political activities in which they engage at their destinations (Desipio 2006; Glick Schiller and Fouron 1998). Pre-migration experiences influence the identities of some Jamaican immigrants in Toronto and influence their

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motivations for participation or lack of involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations.

Operational Deficiencies: Transparency and the Credibility of Jamaican Immigrant Organizations in Toronto

The limited literature on participation in immigrant organizations highlights how period of arrival, the diverse social backgrounds of immigrants and differences between the priorities of immigrant organizations and the interests of immigrants themselves may deter immigrants from participating in immigrant organizations (Staeheli 2008; Veronis 2010; Odmalm 2009).

Jamaican immigrants emphasized that models of collective organizing adopted by Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto alienate some of them. When asked about their reasons for not becoming involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations, Jamaican immigrants emphasized concerns about accountability and transparency of decision-making that disrupted the collective image promoted by these organizations. Jamaican immigrant organizations are seen to operate in ways that exclude the voices of their members in decision-making processes. As a result, some Jamaican immigrants discontinued membership or limited their involvement with Jamaican immigrant organizations. Additionally, some individuals felt that Jamaican immigrant organizations did not operate in ways that aligned with their interests and, kept their distance from these organizations. For example, Donna, a former member of two Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto, expressed dissatisfaction with the activities of the Jamaican Canada Diaspora Foundation and the Jamaican Canadian Association.

> "*There are other [organizations] I have been part of but I have never stuck with them, I've advised groups on campus, CUJAM, the Black Students Association, courted by Jamaica Diaspora [Foundation], and their future leaders. Courting meaning anyone who had been part of those [organizations] has invited me to join... I am so over these organizations so I never follow up. I am over them because I feel like, in everything, structure is important. Whenever I have sat in these organizations, I have not felt structure and I think it's part of my religious background too [in that] I have always felt this sense of structure where there is a clear purpose and there are things in place for people to voice their opinions and do the work to help others. If I feel there is a dictatorship then I am going to move. If they are gathering everyday but don't know what*

they are doing then I am going to move. I was courted to go to the JCDF conference and I said no [to them for this reason]... I have been around them and I refuse to join them" (Donna 1).

Donna has had relationships with several Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto but she maintains casual relationships with individuals in these organizations rather than establishing full membership. She thinks that Jamaican immigrant organizations such as the JCDF lack structure and clear direction in their internal operations, activities and functioning. In later conversations, Donna explained that the absence of structure meant the organizations lacked a clear mandate as well as a well-articulated division of tasks and responsibilities that would allow an organization to operate efficiently and effectively. If Donna feels there is a dictatorship, she will stop participating in the organization. For her, organizations in which leaders monopolize decision-making are dictatorships that prevent people from making meaningful contributions. Participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations is also limited by the extent to which the leadership allows the membership to participate in decision-making. Additionally, Donna's concern about the ways in which Jamaican immigrant organizations operate is a legitimate concern that has implications for the survival of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Ospina, Diaz and O'Sullivan (2002) also emphasize the importance of consensus for the survival of immigrant organizations. They argue that the collective framing of problems, solutions and strategies is critical for the success of identity- based organizations. Donna's concerns demonstrate that collective participation and on-going relationships with Jamaican immigrants are critical for the success of Jamaican immigrant organizations.

Jamaican immigrant organizations are viewed as sites where self-interested, rather than collective, motives of Jamaican immigrants are facilitated. Self-interested actions may discourage immigrants from becoming involved in immigrant organizations despite the possibilities for attaining higher social status through participation in these organizations (Kelly

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2007). The recognition that some Jamaican immigrant organizations have received from the Canadian government may have contributed to tension within organizations (Taylor 1994). Zhou and Lee (2011) found that immigrants engaged in organizational activities for self-interested reasons. Many immigrants use their organizational membership to access networks and resources that will improve their social status. Some Jamaican immigrants realized that self-interested motivations sometimes outweigh their desire for solidarity. The impact of self-interest on participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations was an issue raised by Gary, a former member of the Jamaican Canadian Association who initially joined the organization to support the delivery of educational programs and services. He explained that the Jamaican Canadian Association has had many internal conflicts that discouraged some individuals from joining the organization and, others from, maintaining their membership:

> "... there was just a lot of clash internally in the organization, and it has always been struggling. I think one of the things I see with most Jamaican organizations is that there is an internal struggle. I think that while Jamaicans are very proud, they are also very, I don't want to say selfish, I think overall it's a proud community but everybody seems to have self-interest. They are ...self-interested and I think that in the process of pushing forward their own agendas it leads to clashes… I don't think it's just Jamaican organizations but also black organizations in Canada because there are [a] number of them right" (Gary 1).

According to Gary, members of Jamaican immigrant organization are pushing individual agendas that are often in conflict with collective interests. Gary does not think that self-interest is unique to Jamaican immigrant organizations; rather he sees it as a common challenge for Black organizations in Toronto. Gary's experiences demonstrate that, in order to increase participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations, members must agree on mandates and improve relationships between Jamaican immigrants in the organization by allowing them a voice in organizational agendas and planning.

Lack of organizational transparency also influences participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Scholars such as Fry (1995) emphasize that accountability is crucial for nonprofit organizations to sustain relationships with the communities that they serve. Carol, a Jamaican immigrant who migrated to Toronto with immediate family members at the age of 15, has been involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto and she gives her support to initiatives that assist Caribbean and Jamaican children.

> "*I was affiliated with the JCA in the day of Eda Smith. I think it was the early 80s to mid 80s...That was the place as a Jamaican I knew...I was a member. I attended events and used services*" (Carol).

Carol, however, refused to continue contributing her time and money to Jamaican immigrant organizations because their lack of accountability and transparency makes them untrustworthy:

> "…I *am taking a surgical approach...I like to know exactly what's happening with my money. So when I give [money]... to Humber [College], it goes to a woman of Jamaican parentage or by birth. Accountability is important because we [Jamaicans] seem to have some issues in managing our money. I know it's only one example but there seems to be some issues*" (Carol 1).

Accountability ensures that potential participants feel their investments of time and resources are used appropriately by Jamaican immigrant organizations. For Carol, accountability seems to relate to feedback, and clear lines of financial responsibility. She criticizes Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto that lack these attributes. Implementing internal controls that ensure the accountability and transparency of their financial operations and decision-making will indicate that immigrant organizations are accountable to Jamaican immigrants.

Other Jamaican immigrants feel that Jamaican immigrant organizations are exclusive spaces where individuals from specific social backgrounds and status are not welcome. For example, Helen, who migrated to Toronto to 2005 to reunite with family members and pursue a graduate degree, explained that these organizations maintain their exclusivity, welcoming well-

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established Jamaican immigrants. Exclusivity limits organizations' abilities to attract new

members when they do not share information about how to get involved in these organizations.

> "*JCDF and CUJAM I was involved in. Was involved 3 years ago and it was short-lived... I attended a few meetings and that was the JCDF ... I am not involved in any Jamaican organizations now. I haven't gone out searching for any. I don't know that many people involved. Usually with these organizations you have to know someone already to say oh come join us for a meeting or something. I don't have those links or networks anymore. But these organizations talk about what they like to do but the end result it is so piddly. I know I could go and make a difference [but] I don't want to have the same experience again. I think they try to make a difference but it's not visible to me*" (Helen 1 and 2).

Helen suggests that participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations is limited by lack of

information and the way that these organizations are circumscribed by specific networks of

individuals. Helen no longer participates in Jamaican immigrant organizations as they exclude

Jamaican immigrants who do not have networks linked to active members of the organizations.

Information about Jamaican immigrant organizations is not easily accessed by the public and, as

a result, many Jamaican immigrants may not know about these organizations, their events or

their services. The dominance of well-established Jamaican immigrants in organizational

networks limits the involvement of immigrants who may not be as well connected in Toronto.

Lack of transparency and information also limit involvement in these Jamaican immigrant

organizations.

Helen is also unhappy that organizations such as the JCDF offer little to Jamaican

immigrants. She is disappointed with the impacts of the organizations, describing the results as

"piddly." In Helen's opinion, Jamaican immigrant organizations also fail to mobilize immigrants

to enrich the lives of Jamaican families. The leadership often discourages other members from

providing input on initiatives and programs that are intended to enhance social and economic

progress in Jamaica. Helen recounts an experience where executive members of the JCDF

monopolized the organization of the future leaders' conference, reducing opportunities for

members to share their views on programs and activities that might benefit the Jamaican

economy.

> *"Well, we were working on ICT in Jamaican schools for the future leaders' conference…*
> *and we thought that each person had their own role to play. But we found out that*
> *someone else, one person, would be taking that on regardless of what they knew about*
> *the topic and that became an issue. It was just wrong, what they were doing. One person*
> *taking leadership is fine, but one person trying to monopolize every facet is not right. You*
> *want to continue for the betterment of the Jamaican society but … every person has their*
> *own role in that as well" (Helen).*

Helen feels that organizations like the JCDF cannot truly mobilize Jamaican immigrants to

facilitate the development of the Jamaican society if they operate in exclusionary ways.

Executives of the JCDF recruit individuals to become members of the organization but they do

not involve them in decision-making.

Diversity in Settlement Experiences, Membership in Jamaican Immigrant Organizations and
Churches in Toronto

Place and the social identities of Jamaican immigrants work to influence how Jamaican

immigrants organize, express belonging and access settlement support in Toronto. The literature

rarely considers how participation in immigrant organizations demonstrates how the internal

complexity of immigrant groups may result in different intra-group settlement strategies

(Veronis 2010; Mavroudi 2010; Hopkins 2006). The diversity of the Jamaican immigrant

population is made more complex by diverse settlement experiences that produce variations in

expressions of belonging.

Approximately seven of 20 respondents argued that they did not have time to participate

in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Some of these individuals are recent

immigrants who are busy with work, establishing themselves in Toronto and have

responsibilities related to their families or church activities that limit the time they have available

to dedicate to Jamaican immigrant organizations. For instance, Sharon, a Jamaican immigrant

who was sponsored by her family and migrated as a teenager with her brother to Canada in 1976, explained that she was aware of the existence of Jamaican immigrant organizations but issues of time and opportunity limited her participation in these organizations:

> "*Of course, I know about the Jamaican Canadian Association. I'm sure there are things going on but just never ... really [sought] out the opportunity... Yeah, there is definitely the lack of time and money you know*" (Sharon 1 and 2).

Additionally, Mark, a former police inspector who migrated to Toronto in 2007 so that his children would have more employment and educational opportunities, stated that that he is not a member of any Jamaican immigrant organization due to his career as a teacher in Toronto and his family obligations:

> "*I am not a regular member [of a Jamaican immigrant organization] because I want to focus on teaching. I have lots to learn... I am marking a lot and preparing for class. I want to take it easy for the first few years, confirm my job and then I can know how to move into the 2nd year of teaching. But I read the Jamaica Gleaner and Star every day, I watch television Jamaica online, I listen to the station with Jamaican music...it gives me the Jamaica feeling when I drive and listen*" (Mark 2-3.)

Sharon and Mark emphasize that they are focused on work and family responsibilities. They don't have the time to participate in immigrant organizations. Many Jamaican immigrants have low incomes so they do not have the disposable income necessary for membership fees. The financial limitations that restrict Jamaican immigrants' participation in immigrant organizations are consistent with findings in chapter 4 that indicate that, in 2006, more than 50% of Jamaican immigrants earned incomes that were below average for the Toronto, CMA.

The cultural events and services offered by Jamaican immigrant organizations to maintain cultural connections with Jamaica may not be necessary for recent Jamaican immigrants who have easy access to goods and services that allow for the preservation of Jamaican identity in Toronto. Respondents like Mark only occasionally attend cultural events hosted by Jamaican immigrant organizations. Instead, they maintain connections with Jamaica

by reading Jamaican newspapers and listening to Jamaican music, on-line.

For many Jamaican immigrants, obligations to family as well as the perception of churches as inclusive spaces also influence civic engagement. Michelle, an immigrant who migrated to Toronto in 1987 with her mother, is a respondent who did not participate in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto because she is heavily involved in family, work and church-related activities. When asked if she knew of any Jamaican immigrant organizations or had been involved in any, Michelle explained that:

> "*I know of [some organizations] such as the Jamaican Canadian Center, I haven't really been involved. The closest I came to becoming involved in any organizations was at University through research...I think I may not have found or become involved because my focus was on working and helping my mom ...I went to school so time was a factor for about 4 years. And then, to complicate it, I got married before I finished University and I had the first child before I graduated. I think my life just got entangled. So I never had the ...freedom to explore these organizations. I got tied down... but the church was my identity...I found a Caribbean church with people who originated from the West Indies...mostly Black people...they had a huge network...So I found out about all the Jamaican spots...Eglinton and Marlee...it is a social centre...In the church, I don't have to worry about my educational background, my income, how I am going to be seen. You come into the church and that is not there at all...We also do not go out to seek these organizations because we get it here [at church] and it is harder to go and participate freely...because you may feel that some of the things [the organizations do] will not align with what I believe. So Adventists do not eat pork or seafood ... A Seventh Day Adventist...may think it is not the place for me...because it would be hard and they drink [alcohol]... (Michelle 1).*

Michelle's explanation highlights how her personal life and family responsibilities limited her participation in organizational activities. Many Jamaican immigrant women are preoccupied with taking care of their families and finding appropriate employment. As found in 2006 census data, Jamaican immigrant women were better educated than Jamaican immigrant men. Still, the increased propensity for organizational participation that is typically associated with high levels of education (Scott, Selbee and Reed 2006) is nullified by the family responsibilities that women fulfill in their daily lives. Jamaican immigrant women are less likely to participate in Jamaican immigrant organizations due to lack of time for organizational activities, they are upgrading their

educational qualifications and invested in their family responsibilities (Hondagnu-Sotelo 1997).

Additionally, some Jamaican immigrants may only occasionally attend events that celebrate their

culture as they receive sufficient spiritual and social support from the churches they attend.

Ultimately, church activities gave her many of the benefits that immigrant organizations aim to

provide. The church was also a more secure and safer space for participating in activities

relevant to her culture. Michelle's church also hosted activities that allowed her to engage with

other immigrants from the Caribbean. Michelle also explained that her church is a more

welcoming space for individuals from different backgrounds as participation is not shaped or

limited by social status. Michelle's story suggests that Jamaican immigrant organizations are

perceived as spaces that valorize the experiences, status and interests of well-established

Jamaican immigrants in Toronto.

Scholars such as Mensah (2009), Duncan (2000), Breton (1964) and Henry (1994)

emphasize the importance of religious institutions for addressing the challenges that immigrants

encounter as they attempt to settle in receiving countries. Mark, an immigrant who migrated to

Toronto with family members in 2007, is a respondent who is not involved in any Jamaican

immigrant organizations in Toronto but is an avid member of his local church, which he

considers as his family. When Mark was asked if he knew of any Jamaican immigrant

organizations, Mark indicated the following:

> *"I know of the Jamaican Canadian Centre, when they have special events...we go there
> [but] I am not a regular member because most of the time is spent at church...I heard the
> JCA help people... [but] they have so many organizations in the church- they have
> community service- the Adventist Relief Agency (ADRA)...I go around to help people in
> disaster all over the world" (Mark).*

William, an immigrant who migrated from a rural community in Jamaica to join his wife and

pursue a Bachelors degree, is a pastor at an evangelist church in Toronto with a large Jamaican

immigrant congregation, also explained that the church provides support that is similar to the services provided by Jamaican immigrant organizations.

> "*The church plays a distinct role, which is spiritual, but at the same time we talk about the needs of the community, the relational needs, family issues - all of those things are addressed in the church so the church becomes a meeting place for our community. So we act in a position of helping where organizations are helping as well...we meet a multiplicity of needs and the church is ideally positioned to do that... we have also involved ourselves in community housing*" (William 6).

William's statement indicates that churches are part of the organizational landscape that serves the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto. As he mentions, churches provide services and support that are similar to those offered by many Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. The church plays an important role in the lives of some Jamaican immigrants by providing spiritual solace along with settlement supports (Mensah 2008). These supports are not ethno-specific as the churches do not cater exclusively to Jamaican immigrants. Churches may not have formal programs and services established specifically for new immigrants, but they provide important forms of informal support to immigrants (Ley 2008). Many churches connect immigrants with members of the congregation who can potentially provide information on job opportunities. Some churches also offer counseling services to support immigrants who develop psychological difficulties in response to settlement challenges (Mensah 2009). Church members may also provide information on multicultural organizations that provide settlement support to immigrants.

The church is also an important source of spiritual support particularly for immigrants who experience challenges in Toronto's labor market. Some individuals described how they used church networks to find jobs. For instance, Alek, a Jamaican immigrant who grew up in a highly religious farming community and emigrated to Canada in 2009, agreed that churches are an

important source of spiritual and social supports for many Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Alek also explained that he is a member of an evangelist church in Toronto. He said that:

"I have a strong church family and that helps for support [and[challenges in terms of getting employment...[as]someone in the church may know someone who works in a particular sector ...The church provides a family away from a family (Alek 1,3).

Daniel, a Jamaican immigrant who migrated from St. Catherine, Jamaica in 1996 in order to reunite with his immediate family and complete a Bachelors degree, explained that he is a member of a local evangelist church where individuals get various types of support from the congregation:

"There is not a particular department [for settlement services] ... but individuals at the church ...help you settle [when] ... you have immigration problems... There are always individuals that need help. It seems that the church is not only a refuge for spiritual but also physical stuff...Folks who don't have enough, [or are] having problems with their children, there is always someone to talk to [and] that kind of help and support draws a lot of people...The church became our family - [People] migrate and don't have their family so the church family becomes your family (Daniel 2).

The role of religious institutions as sources of settlement support is emphasized in Frances Henry's research. Henry (1994:240) states that "the solace of religion is maintained by people accustomed to defining their lives through religiosity." Churches also provide networking and other types of non-religious support that also attract individuals who do not have strong religious identities (Min 1992). Churches have emerged as " hubs in which relations of trust…generate bonding and social capital [from which] a wide range of personal and social services are provided [to facilitate immigrant] adaptation to new conditions" (Ley 2008: 2057).

The Impact of Age and Length of Residence on the Sustainability of Jamaican Immigrant Organizations in Toronto

In Toronto, the increase in the immigrant population, the establishment of immigrant serving organizations and public funding for these services as well as the increasing diversity of the Jamaican immigrant population influenced the impacts of length of residence on participation

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in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Participants in organizations and respondents who were not regularly involved in the activities of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto noted that the memberships of many of these organizations are mainly older individuals who arrived prior to 1976. These organizations have difficulty encouraging and attracting more recently arrived and younger Jamaican immigrants.

Changes in the social fabric and governance of Toronto have affected the extent to which recently arrived and younger Jamaican immigrants identify with the values, mandate and objectives of current Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Specifically, significant changes in the ethno-racial composition of Toronto, the institution of an official policy of multiculturalism (1971) that promoted ideals of diversity and integration as well as the desire of the Canadian government to become more involved in the welfare of Canadian citizens contributed to the growth of a non-profit sector that provided settlement services to immigrants. The growth of the non-profit sector has increased the availability of services to support settlement of immigrants and fostered immigrant serving organizations (Fraser 1998; Fincher and Iveson 2008).

The policy of multiculturalism and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms also contributed to the emergence of a welcoming social environment that afforded opportunities for immigrant populations to make their cultural identities and claims for citizenship visible. Urban officials in Toronto responded to the policy of multiculturalism and the growth of the visible minority population by introducing policies and programs that made the City more equitable and accessible for all ethno-racial groups. For instance, a Committee on Community, Race and Ethnic Relations was created in 1979. The City also promoted an image that emphasized its tolerance and respect for diversity through the sponsorship of events including Black History Month and the International Day for the Elimination of all Forms of Racism (Siemiatycki et al

2003). The Metropolitan Toronto Council also created a committee called the Anti-Racism, Access and Equity Committee to combat racism. The Committee reported to municipal council on issues related to diversity between 1994 and 1997 (Siemiatycki et al 2003). Additionally, the City's response to diversity did not only address aspects of identity such as race and ethnicity but also gender, age, sexual orientation, language. This approach highlights their recognition of differences within immigrant groups particularly aspects of identity that shape individual settlement experiences. Jamaican immigrants who arrived after the change in Canadian immigration policies and the passing of the Multiculturalism Act could receive assistance and social supports that took account of social characteristics and experiences that may or may not be addressed by ethno-specific organizations.

With the growth of the visible minority immigrant population, the Canadian federal government became more involved in facilitating immigrant settlement by funding settlement services and settlement related programs including the Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC) program and the Immigration, Settlement and Adaptation program. The emergence of government funded programs and organizations alongside ethno-specific immigrant organizations and other charitable organizations including churches provided a much broader network of supports to facilitate settlement in Toronto. The presence of a wide variety of immigrant serving organizations in Toronto coupled with the presence of other businesses that provide ethnic products and services has also created new opportunities for bonding with other immigrants

The experiences of the respondents who were not involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations show how age differences amongst Jamaican immigrants influence membership in Jamaican immigrant organizations. The quotes suggest that commonalities in terms of cultural and national background are not enough to generate solidarity and participation in Jamaican

immigrant organizations. The migration of Jamaican immigrants to Toronto increased after 1967

and, as a result, Jamaican immigrants of diverse social, economic and ethnic backgrounds settled

in Toronto. Jamaican immigrants with diverse social identities entered a more welcoming

immigration context than the previous cohort, as they were surrounded by a much larger visible

minority population in Toronto and had access to numerous government funded settlement

programs. The changing conditions in Toronto produced complicated social relationships

amongst Jamaican immigrants.

Thomas, an immigrant who migrated to Toronto in 1970 to reunite with family members,

is a previous member of the Jamaican Canadian Association as well as other Jamaican immigrant

organizations in Toronto, agrees that there is a growing distance between older and younger or

more recently arrived Jamaican immigrants that discourage new membership.

> *"They don't want to hear from young people. They've been there for 30 -40 years and it's not working. Their membership has been stagnant but they don't want to learn. At the time I was mentoring young youth, I was working with them and I was working with the chairperson, we used to have 500 young people, 500 people would come out to our young professional gala and the 12 or 14 people on the executive were young people. But the older people, rather than being encouraged by it, would put them down because old, and I say old and not elders, old people … think they know everything and so they don't listen to young people"* (Thomas 2).

Jamaican immigrant organizations are primarily led by an older group of leaders who do not

respond to the changing interests of Jamaican immigrants in their mandate and organizational

activities. Thomas suggests that these interests include creating activities that facilitate the

socio-economic integration of Jamaican immigrants by encouraging entrepreneurship and

professionalism in the Jamaican immigrant population. Thomas also suggests that younger

members also need a greater voice in decision-making. This voice will enable them to formulate

social activities that represent their experiences in Toronto and not only the interests of an older

and well established cohort of individuals in these organizations. By ignoring the voices and

interests of Jamaican immigrants, these organizations alienate younger Jamaican immigrants who are critical for the survival and long-term existence of Jamaican immigrant organizations.

Lamont, a member of PACE who migrated from Kingston to Toronto in 1967 to take advantage of teaching opportunities in the City, expressed similar views about the participation of younger Jamaican immigrants in the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA):

> "*What is happening is that a lot of Jamaicans that would benefit from the JCA … are declining in age, whereas the younger ones don't feel themselves fitting into the JCA. But the church seems to find themselves welcomed through music. They find they fit better in that organization. I know, for example, the JCA is having a hard time getting younger ones … [as] they don't see themselves fitting with older folks; whereas in the church, they are welcome and the role they play there are more pronounced especially in bands, choirs and so on*" (Lamont 1).

Lamont points out that the JCA may still be providing social programs that do not address the interests of younger Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Moreover, the church is a space that is more successful in attracting Jamaican immigrants because they host a diverse range of social events and activities that attract Jamaican immigrants from different age groups, diverse migration experiences and different social backgrounds. Lamont also suggests that churches allow for different forms of participation in organizational activities, which is not possible in Jamaican immigrant organizations that are dominated by older and well-established Jamaican immigrants with fixed ideas about how the organization should operate.

William, a pastor at a local evangelist church in Toronto, which attracts many Jamaicans in Toronto, also agreed that:

> "*Jamaican organizations that are here were started by Jamaicans who migrated to Toronto with leadership abilities, with skills… So when they came with all the skills and abilities they had to find room to exercise them so they would establish organizations… Membership in those organizations have declined [sic], many of them came... have passed on. Young people coming up [may not see] the vision that they saw to become involved in it [and] that may be the underlying reason for decline in participation. When it comes to the churches that is a different story. The churches literally provide a fundamental basic need for the people in the community. It is a place of escape from a lot*

of problems that they face, whether it is an immigration problem, housing, education...” (William).

William's statement highlights that Jamaican immigrant organizations are more relevant for older Jamaican immigrants as they have a stronger level of identification with the mandates, history and development of these organizations. Older immigrants are, therefore, more likely to become members or participate in the activities of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Jamaican immigrant organizations provided a space for older and well-established Jamaican immigrants to utilize skills and qualifications that they may not have had a chance to use in Canadian employment contexts. William also suggests that Jamaican immigrant organizations are geared to serve the interests of older Jamaican immigrants. Younger and more recently arrived Jamaican immigrants will gravitate to churches where they can find support for personal challenges and receive information to assist them during the settlement process. All three respondents, Thomas, Lamont and William, highlight how the values and vision of older and more-established Jamaican immigrants who are members of Jamaican immigrant organizations are different from those of younger and more recently arrived Jamaican immigrants. They think that differences between the two generations have created cleavages among Jamaican immigrants that contribute to the declining participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Religious institutions have become important spaces of support for Jamaican immigrants who feel a stronger sense of belonging and have a greater level of identification with the religious values and activities of the church than with Jamaican immigrant organizations. Furthermore, the mandate of Jamaican immigrant organizations has not evolved despite changes in the Jamaican immigrant population and the Toronto urban environment. In contrast, churches in Toronto have adjusted their operations to meet the changing needs and life circumstances of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto.

Churches are viewed as spaces where individuals are less likely to encounter the social divisions that have characterized the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto. However, scholars such as Min (1992) explain that ethno-specific churches may offer positions that can be used as vehicles for acquiring social status. As such, there is a possibility for churches to become arenas where struggles for power may emerge between congregants who experience downward social mobility in the receiving country (Min 1992). The extent to which this power struggle will occur in churches that are not ethno-specific, particularly churches frequented by Jamaican immigrants considered in this study, is unclear. Still, the possibility for power struggles in ethno-specific organizations also begs the question of whether or not in-group prejudices will be enabled in churches that are not necessarily ethno-specific but serve a large number of individuals who belong to particular immigrant groups.

Churches are one of the alternative institutions that are an important part of the organizational network that engenders a sense of belonging and comfort amongst Jamaican immigrants. The churches are valorized as neutral spaces of belonging where everyone is welcome regardless of age, social class, and income and where collective activity promotes a sense of belonging. As new organizations, the churches offer spaces where different Jamaican immigrants construct alternative social formations that foster belonging.

The changing composition of the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto is evident in church participation. Jamaican immigrants who arrived between 1950 and 1970 focused on creating organizations that celebrated cultural connections whereas Jamaican immigrants who arrived after 1989 settled in a city that was more welcoming to visible minority groups. These socio-temporal changes shaped the factors informing distinctions in patterns of association and belonging between members of Jamaican immigrant organizations and non-participants.

Conclusion

Membership in Jamaican immigrant organizations is continuously being contested by individual circumstances, religious identities, shifting social environments in Toronto and changing dynamics within the Jamaican immigrant population. Jamaican immigrant organizations are important avenues for reinforcing identification with Jamaica as the home country, supporting Jamaican immigrants during their integration into Canadian society as well as promoting development in Jamaica. Nevertheless, complex social, spatial and historical factors limit involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Comparisons between Jamaican immigrants that participate in immigrant organizations and those that are not members of Jamaican immigrant organizations reveal that solidarities based on cultural commonalities are insufficient to mobilize Jamaican immigrants. The factors discouraging and alienating Jamaican immigrants from Jamaican immigrant organizations speak to the diversity of this immigrant group. The Jamaican immigrant population comprises individuals with diverse social backgrounds, ethnic origins and migration histories. This diversity has resulted in struggles for representation that manifest in the multiplicity of Jamaican immigrant organizations as well as social distancing from these organizations on the part of some Jamaican immigrants.

Immigrants' relationships with Jamaican immigrant organizations are complicated by external factors. The struggle and conflict associated with representing the identities of an increasingly diverse immigrant group has resulted in shifts toward groups and institutions that better represent the needs and interests of a broader cross section of the Jamaican immigrant population. The church is increasingly viewed as a space for collective organizing. Churches function as a neutral space where individuals from different social backgrounds, settlement experiences and migration histories feel welcome. Jamaican immigrants are also drawn to religious institutions that integrate the concerns of their congregation into their daily operations

and activities.

The social and historical contexts in which Jamaican immigrants settled also resulted in different ways of negotiating belonging as well as important differences in the way they related to Jamaican immigrant organizations. Specifically, the increasing diversity of the Toronto population, the presence of programs, organizations and services that facilitate the settlement and integration of immigrants as well as the existence of businesses that provide culturally appropriate goods and services that enhance sense of belonging in Toronto have contributed to differences in the way belonging is negotiated by Jamaican immigrants in Toronto.

Like place, the ways in which Jamaican immigrants express belonging are dynamic. Therefore, expressions of belonging are likely to change and take different forms over time. Immigrant organizations are not as significant for recent immigrants as they were for Jamaican immigrants that arrived in Toronto between 1950 and 1970. Further, organizations still reflect the interests of older and well-established Jamaican immigrants, who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s, rather than appealing to recent arrivals who are younger. The rigidity of many organizations is a source of division within immigrant organizations and alienation from the organizations on the part of younger and more recently arrived Jamaican immigrants. Transparency and accountability are also significant issues for Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Jamaican immigrant organizations that hope to reach all segments of the Jamaican immigrant population and ensure their survival in the long term must address this issue.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Introduction

This dissertation explored relationships between various axes of Jamaican immigrant identities and the organizations they establish in Toronto. The research shows that the identities of Jamaican immigrants are reflected in varied relationships with Jamaican immigrant organizations particularly the extent to which these organizations are valued as legitimate avenues of civic participation. As such, I have argued that some Jamaican immigrant organizations become sites of conflict due to the way that the identities and place specific experiences of particular individuals become valorized in Jamaican immigrant organizations thereby alienating Jamaican immigrants with oppositional identities and experiences. This research challenges the assumption that immigrant organizations are important avenues for civic participation by arguing that the value attached to involvement in these organizations is historically defined and associated with individuals who have specific class, gender and ethnic identities.

The study contributes to growing research (Bosma and Alferink 2012, Veronis 2010 and Hopkins 2006) on the implications of intra-group diversity for understanding immigrant belonging. The research findings show that the Jamaican immigrant population is diverse with identities differentiated by ethnicity, class and generation. Specifically, period of arrival is an important characteristic differentiating expressions of belonging among Jamaican immigrants. The Jamaican immigrants considered in this research arrived in two main periods namely 1953-1975 and post 1989. Jamaican immigrants who arrived during these periods had different experiences of Toronto as a place of settlement and, consequently, different involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Ethnicity is also a significant dimension of intra-group diversity among Jamaican immigrants that influenced their involvement in Jamaican immigrant

organizations. For instance, Jamaican immigrants of Chinese descent established their own organizations in Toronto as they felt that they were excluded from Jamaican immigrant organizations that organized around Afro-Jamaican identities and experiences.

By comparing Jamaican immigrants' reason for participation and non-involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations, this study extends research on factors that deter and motivate immigrants to become involved in immigrant organizations. The research findings demonstrate that Jamaican immigrants who were involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations belonged to an older and better established group of immigrants; whereas non-participants were younger and more recently arrived. Jamaican immigrants who arrived prior to 1989 experienced the City of Toronto as a place, which had not yet acknowledged and adapted to the presence of substantial visible minority populations. In contrast, recently arrived Jamaican immigrants encountered a much larger visible minority population and the City of Toronto had evolved into a socially and politically inclusive municipality that was committed to engendering a sense of comfort among immigrants. Recently arrived Jamaican immigrants were less likely to privilege Jamaican immigrant organizations as an avenue for expressing belonging due in part to the policies and programs implemented to accommodate diversity in Toronto. Differences in the extent to which Jamaican immigrants organizations are valued as sites for expressing belonging and identity demonstrate that modes of integration (Sardinha 2009) and expressions of belonging change over time and place and, therefore, vary within immigrant populations. Differences in expressions of belonging in the Jamaican immigrant population also emphasize the diverse characteristics and interpretations of Toronto. Attempts to reproduce organizations and social relations that reflect a single experience of place may result in conflict or cleavages within immigrant populations as evidenced by diverse expressions of belonging and the formation of oppositional identities among Jamaican immigrants in Toronto.

In this concluding chapter, I summarize research findings that demonstrate how Jamaican immigrant identities and their expressions of belonging can only be understood within historically and geographically specific contexts. These contexts will inform the type of civic activities Jamaican immigrants pursue in their attempts to negotiate their identities and belonging in Toronto.

Summary of Findings

Premised on the tenets of the critical human geography approach that emphasizes the use of multiple theories and concepts to elucidate the dynamic character of various social phenomena (Berg 2010), Chapter 2 locates the discussion of the relationships between Jamaican immigrants and Jamaican immigrant organizations within the literature on place, sense of belonging, identity and immigrant organizations. The chapter begins with an analysis of place that emphasizes its flexible and dynamic character as well as how it informs the construction of immigrant identities and the diverse ways they relate to collective activities particularly organizations established by immigrants. Emphasized in this discussion of place is the importance of both place flexibility and stability in shaping Jamaican immigrant identities, their expressions of belonging and involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Highlighted in this analysis is the way that places are relational, they are constituted by social relations and interactions that change overtime. This literature suggests that identities are formed in places defined by historically specific experiences; processes and social geographies that will inevitably produce differences in narratives of belonging. Recent research (Antonsich 2010) explores how belonging is influenced by individual experiences in particular places. Immigrants' sense of security in their place of residence and their relationships with co-ethnics and dominant groups are particularly relevant for this analysis. These circumstances influence the way that belonging is expressed. Specifically, relationships between Jamaican immigrants in Toronto and majority groups as well

as the extent to which the social and legal environment in Toronto recognizes the diverse

identities and equal rights of immigrants can foster a sense of security that affects how belonging

is expressed. As such, the Chapter examines how diversity within immigrant groups defined by

period of arrival, ethnicity and class informs belonging and the way that immigrant organizations

impact immigrant identities. The relationships between concepts such as place, sense of

belonging, identity and immigrant organizations complicate normative assumptions about

immigrant organizations as legitimate venues for expressions of belonging and recognition in

Canadian society.

Chapter 3 operationalizes a critical human geography approach that emphasizes the

usefulness of multiple critical philosophies for highlighting how axes of power inform immigrant

identities, expressions of belonging and the way in which identities and belonging can be

investigated. I described the research design and the way in which my paradigmatic location

informed the methodological design for this research. Specifically, this study involved a

qualitative research approach that utilized a suite of data collection methods to facilitate an

examination of how settlement experiences are structured by historically specific social and

economic circumstances. Semi-structured interviews and archival research were used to

investigate the settlement experiences of Jamaican immigrants particularly their reasons for

participating in Jamaican immigrant organizations. In using a multi-method approach, I highlight

that the triangulation of information obtained from different methods will provide varied types of

information, which can enrich explanations of various patterns and processes relevant for

understanding the construction of Jamaican immigrant identities and implications of these

constructions for understanding the development of Jamaican immigrant organizations. For

instance, I utilized archival research to elucidate the historical circumstances influencing the

establishment of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto as well as the orientations of

these organizations. Additionally, the use of quantitative information from the 2006 Census and the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002) allowed me to situate the settlement experiences of Jamaican immigrants within broader patterns of settlement for all visible minorities in Toronto and Canada. This chapter also highlighted the challenges of insider research specifically how my positionality as a Jamaican immigrant and academic researcher shaped the challenges I experienced during the recruitment process but also provided research advantages including access to highly ranked individuals in Jamaican immigrant organizations who assisted with the recruitment process.

In Chapter 4, data from the 2006 census was used to create an updated demographic profile of Jamaican immigrants in the Toronto CMA and provide a descriptive analysis of the way that the identities of Jamaican immigrants impacted indicators of social and economic integration including income, housing and occupation. This analysis extends research by Hum and Simpson (1999) and Hou and Coloumbe (2010) who explore the ways that disadvantage varies across the visible minority population in Canada. The research shows that ethnicity, race and gender are important factors defining disadvantage among Jamaican immigrants. The census data also confirms past findings (Henry 1997) that emphasize how migration from Jamaica to Toronto is feminized. This gender imbalance may be a factor that is driving disadvantage among Jamaican immigrants. Jamaican immigrant women in the Toronto CMA have lower incomes and levels of occupational status despite having higher levels of education. Jamaican immigrant women are also more likely to lead single parent households and, as a result, are more likely to experience disadvantage in their income. This experience has implications for participation in immigrant organizations as their family obligation and settlement experiences may limit the time and resources available to participate in these activities. The research findings also suggest that Jamaican immigrants in the Toronto CMA continue to face settlement challenges that may

influence their involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations that were established to foster a sense of belonging among Jamaican immigrants in Toronto.

Using archival research, I created a typology of Jamaican immigrant organizations and examined the circumstances influencing their activities and establishment in Chapter 5. The chapter identified five types of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto namely sociocultural, political and ethnic organizations as well as alumni associations and special interest groups. The research findings show that changes in the demographic composition of the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto as well as the expansion of the social services infrastructure and the transnational identities of Jamaican immigrants influenced the establishment of immigrant organizations. For instance, sociocultural organizations such as the JCA were established due to the small size of the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto during the time of its establishment and the absence of organizations that fostered a sense of belonging among Jamaican immigrants and defended their interests in Toronto. As such, the JCA was established to provide a venue in which Jamaican immigrants could network with each other and celebrate Jamaican immigrant culture and national identity. As the Jamaican immigrant population expanded and became more diverse, Jamaican immigrants began to establish a wider range of organizations that represented their own social interests and the specificity of their identities and experiences in Toronto.

Chapter 6 included an analysis of data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002) to evaluate Jamaican immigrants' sense of belonging in Toronto. Jamaican immigrants' sense of belonging was evaluated by comparing them with foreign-born visible minorities along various measures of belonging including participation in ethnic associations, sense of trust in others and sense of belonging to ethnic group. The data shows that Jamaican immigrants report a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group and Canada. Still, Jamaican immigrants' level of

knowledge about immigrant organizations and their participation in these organizations are very

low. The findings also suggest that sense of belonging to ethnic group and Canada is not

necessarily an important predictor of civic participation among Jamaican immigrants.

Significantly, this finding motivates further investigation into the circumstances limiting

involvement in immigrant organizations that are intended to foster sense of belonging in the

receiving country and mitigate challenges that immigrants experience during settlement.

Chapters 7 and 8 examine the findings of semi-structured interviews with Jamaican

immigrants in Toronto. Chapter 7 demonstrates that immigrant organizations, which are often

viewed as sites where national identity is mobilized to foster sense of belonging, are now

perceived as spaces of unbelonging by some Jamaican immigrants. The chapter demonstrates

how the places in which Jamaican immigrant identities are formed result in differing expressions

of belonging. For some Jamaican immigrants in Toronto, the sense of belonging that can

potentially be engendered by Jamaican immigrant organizations is disrupted by the way that

some Jamaican immigrant organizations reproduce class and ethnic divisions that originate in

Jamaica. These organizations operationalize mandates and activities that do not reflect the

interests and experiences of these Jamaican immigrants. The Jamaican immigrant organizations

considered in this research reproduce and valorize the identities of a well-established cohort of

Jamaican immigrants. As a result, some Jamaican immigrants are increasingly affiliating with

churches, as they are perceived as institutions, which are more welcoming to a wider cross-

section of immigrants who have diverse settlement experiences and class backgrounds. While

Jamaican immigrants may become involved in other types of collective activities including

churches, they recognize that immigrant organizations still have an important role to play in

mobilizing the Jamaican immigrant population to respond to the challenges they face in

Canadian society.

Responding to the dearth of literature that examines reasons for low levels of participation in immigrant organizations and the characteristics that differentiate individuals who are not involved in immigrant organizations from those who are members of these organizations, Chapter 8 explores reasons for participation and non-involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations. Their experiences in Toronto, an evolving place of residence, distinguished Jamaican immigrants who participated in Jamaican immigrant organizations from those who were not involved. Jamaican immigrants who were involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations included an older cohort that arrived mainly between 1953 and 1975. During this period, the visible minority and the Jamaican immigrant population were small because of continued racial biases in Canadian immigration policies. Programs and services that could potentially facilitate adaptation and promote inclusivity were limited or absent. Jamaican immigrants' settlement experiences were also defined by violent and exclusionary practices. Members of Jamaican immigrant organizations also indicated that organizational involvement allowed them to maintain transnational identities and contribute to philanthropic projects that supported development projects in their communities of origin.

In contrast, Jamaican immigrants who were not involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations often arrived after 1989 when multiculturalism policies had been instituted and the City of Toronto had embraced diversity. Urban officials implemented legislation, services and programs that would make the city a more welcoming and inclusive place of residence. Legislative measures included a multicultural funding policy (1988) that was established to provide financial assistance to ethno-specific and mainstream organizations to deliver settlement services to immigrants. Policies regarding hate activities and employment equity policy were instituted to address systemic discrimination that immigrants faced in Toronto. As such, former members of some Jamaican immigrant organizations indicated that they discontinued

involvement in organizations as the activities of Jamaican immigrant organizations reflect the views and experiences of an older cohort of Jamaican immigrants who had a different experience of Toronto as a place of residence.

Jamaican immigrants who were not involved in Jamaican immigrant organizations also stated that they were discouraged from participating in these organizations as they reproduced class divisions that originated in Jamaican society. Some argued that limited participation was also a reflection of challenges associated with settlement. Some Jamaican immigrants had limited opportunities to participate in these organizations due to family obligations and their involvement in various occupations and labor market activities. Explanations for participation and non-involvement reflect the fluidity of immigrant identities and the changing character of the places where these identities are formed.

Recommendations and Considerations for Future Research

This research utilized manifest and latent content analysis to assess themes that emerged from the interview transcripts. I recognize, however, that a discourse analysis that involves an analysis of gestures and patterns of speech might have allowed for a more nuanced interpretation of responses offered by Jamaican immigrants about their settlement experiences and their involvement in Jamaican immigrant organizations. As such, the use of discourse analysis in future research on identity and sense of belonging among Jamaican immigrants would provide greater insight into their experiences and motivations. During the research process, I realized that some Jamaican immigrants are less likely to comment on settlement experiences and identities that may be looked down upon by some Jamaican immigrants or other individuals who may be privy to this information. Therefore, topics, including non-heteronormative sexual identities and involvement in domestic work, which are less likely to be discussed openly by Jamaican

immigrants due to cultural taboos and expectations could be interpreted through a discourse analysis that pays attention to silences and non-verbal cues.

Empirical investigations of immigrant organizations that develop in contexts with an increasing foreign-born visible minority population that experiences settlement challenges opens up possibilities for further research on the "potentials and limits of collective organizing" (Veronis 2010: 189). Strategies to increase communication and transparency may positively impact participation in immigrant organizations. Interviews with Jamaican immigrants who were members of Jamaican immigrant organizations revealed that many of these organizations are declining due to their inability to maintain and develop their membership base. Explanations provided for non-involvement showed that this decline may be the result of lack information about how to get involved in organizational activities. Furthermore, some Jamaican immigrants felt that some Jamaican immigrant organizations could only be accessed through particular networks, which are dominated by Jamaican immigrants who are well established in Toronto. Leaders of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto must develop new strategies to reach Jamaican immigrants in Toronto and build the membership base of their organizations. Strategies may involve the development of research or surveys intended to assess the needs of Jamaican immigrants and identify ways of facilitating greater visibility and transparency within the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto.

The research findings have demonstrated that immigrant identities are fluid and, consequently, their modes of civic participation are constantly changing (Sardinha 2009). Immigrant organizations that hope to retain and build their memberships must respond to the needs of a changing population. Jamaican immigrant organizations might respond to these changes by adjusting their mandates and activities to accommodate the realities of an evolving client base that has a vastly different experience of Toronto. Interestingly, socio-cultural

organizations like the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) attribute their success and survival

to the maintenance of a constitution that has remained intact since its inception in 1962

(Williams 2012). Some Jamaican immigrants considered in this research felt alienated from

Jamaican immigrant organizations, as their mandates and activities were developed in a much

earlier phase of Jamaican immigrant settlement and no longer represent the interests and

settlement experiences of more recently arrived Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. There is a gap

between the values and mandates of some immigrant organizations and the interests of

individuals these organizations were established to serve.

Of particular concern to leaders of Jamaican immigrant organizations is the involvement

of second-generation Canadians of Jamaican ethnicity in these organizations. Descendants of

Jamaican immigrants are seen as significant for the survival of Jamaican immigrant

organizations in Toronto. Scholars such as Roy Williams (2012) suggest that Jamaican

immigrant organizations' efforts to build a sustainable membership base must be directed toward

youth or young people. The extent to which their sense of belonging to Jamaican ethnicity

positively impacts participation in Jamaican immigrant organizations is unclear and requires

further research. The EDS (2002) may provide important information on the civic activities of

second generation Canadians of Jamaican ethnicity particularly their involvement in immigrant

organizations. Still, information that can be provided by the EDS is limited by a research sample

that only captures the experiences of visible minorities at a particular moment in time. As a

result, it is not possible to see how the identities and practices of Canadian born individuals of

Jamaican ethnicity may change to influence participation in immigrant organizations. Analyses

of civic participation and belonging at smaller geographical scales are also restricted due to the

sample size of the EDS (2002). An expanded survey on ethnic identities and sense of belonging

among second generation individuals of Jamaican ethnicity will expose broader patterns of civic

participation at various geographical scales and allow for the data to be disaggregated in ways that facilitate an analysis of the relationships between variables such as participation in immigrant organizations, discrimination and sense of belonging to Jamaican ethnicity.

I also found that churches, which are not ethno-specific, are emerging as alternative spaces of belonging. These churches are perceived as neutral spaces where prejudices and divisions, which characterize the Jamaican immigrant population, are not prevalent. Churches have also emerged as spaces where immigrants can negotiate belonging to both ethno-national identities and Canadian society. Therefore, churches, unlike immigrant organizations act as an in-between place, a site where neither belonging to Jamaican national identity nor belonging to Canadian identity is privileged. More research is needed on the nature of such places and the extent to which they are meaningful sites for claiming belonging. Research on whether immigrants are more likely to become involved in these in-between places as difference becomes embedded in the social fabric of cities like Toronto would make a useful contribution to the academic literature on migration and identity. Unlike the literature on immigrant churches that examine ethnically homogenous congregations (Mensah 2009 and Ley 2008), the churches considered in this research ministered to a diverse congregation. Therefore, research that explores how ethnically heterogeneous churches facilitate sense of belonging among racialized immigrant populations would make a useful contribution to the existing literature. More research is required on reasons for immigrants' affiliation with heterogeneous religious institutions as well as how these institutions structure their activities to facilitate settlement and reproduce ethnic identities of visible minority immigrant populations.

The findings of this research also have policy implications. In chapter 6, it was demonstrated that Jamaican immigrants reported low levels of participation in immigrant organizations. These findings are surprising given that immigrant organizations provide

settlement support and politically mobilize members of their population to advance their interests

in the place of settlement (Gleeson 2012). These organizations have been normalized as avenues

for civic participation particularly in the Canadian context where it is an important avenue for

"minority groups to [gain recognition and access resources] under the policy of multiculturalism"

(Veronis 2010: 188). Still, in Chapters 7 and 8, I demonstrated that these organizations are not

viewed as representing the interests of members of their population. These findings suggest that

discourse about civic participation and integration does not necessarily reflect the current reality

of settlement for some immigrant populations. Immigrant organizations may not be viewed as

preferred sites through which struggles for equal rights and recognition can be addressed.

Therefore, there may be a much broader network of institutions and activities that would benefit

from government and private sector resources that traditionally fund organizations in the

voluntary sector to address the needs of immigrant populations in Toronto.

Conclusion

Concepts such as place, identity, and sense of belonging have contributed to an

understanding of the circumstances that construct immigrant identity and their expressions of

belonging. The study highlighted how Jamaican immigrants' involvement with Jamaican

immigrant organizations is influenced by their experiences in the countries of origin and

destination. For instance, some Jamaican immigrant organizations foster unbelonging by

reproducing class and ethnic divisions originating in Jamaica, suggesting that organizations may

become spatial expressions of particular identities. Divisions informed by the diverse settlement

experiences of Jamaican immigrants who arrived in Toronto during different periods also affect

membership in Jamaican immigrant organizations and influence the extent to which Jamaican

immigrant organizations are viewed as legitimate avenues for civic participation. Jamaican

immigrants' narratives about belonging and settlement in Toronto demonstrate that the places

which influence the identities of Jamaican immigrants are simultaneously dynamic and stable. While immigrants' lives are embedded in processes of mobility, immigrants may hold on to memories and experiences of place from which they derive a sense of security and belonging (Ley 2004). Diverse experiences in places of origin and settlement have shaped the identities of Jamaican immigrants and, their negotiations of belonging and participation in immigrant organizations.

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Appendix A

Interview questions
Identity and Community: Jamaicans and Jamaican Organizations in the GTA

Interview with non-participants
The objective of this interview is to find out more about you, what your life has been like as an immigrant in Toronto and your relationships with immigrant organizations.

Migration History
1) I want to begin by talking about your life in Jamaica and some of the factors influencing your decision to migrate to Canada.

Prompt: What was life like in Jamaica? Where did you live? What did you do in Jamaica before migrating to Toronto? Where did you go to school? And then you can move on to the reasons influencing you to move to Toronto from Jamaica.

Expectations about life in Canada
2) Describe what your expectations about Canada were before deciding to migrate. How well have they been met?

Probe: So I'm interested in finding out how you thought your life would be when you moved to Toronto. And then I want you to describe which of your expectations have been met and which have not been fulfilled.

Immigration Experience in Toronto, Canada
3) Now, I'd like to talk about your experiences as an immigrant here in Canada.

Probe: We can start with a description of what life in Canada has been like so far. Did you experience any difficulties when you first arrived (for example, with housing or employment)? Has life in Canada been positive or negative? Have you experienced any problems associated with settlement (e.g. with finding housing, employment, job insecurity, racism, prejudice)? If you experienced problems related to settlement in Toronto, what are the reasons why you experienced difficulties? How do you cope with these experiences?

4) Now, thinking about your homeland, how do you think your experiences here as an immigrant in Canada influences how you feel about Jamaica?

Probes: How do you feel about Jamaica? Do you think of it fondly, with regret or neutrally? Describe what you do and/or don't miss about life in Jamaica and then we can talk about why you have these feelings. How have your experiences in Canada affected your feelings?

5) Describe the connections (if any) you have with Jamaica?

Prompts: What types of connections (the connections can include sending financial remittances to family or friends, purchasing return visits to Jamaica, reading Jamaican newspapers,

participating in development projects through immigrant organizations)? How often do you make these connections? What inspires or motivates you to maintain links with Jamaica?

<u>Understanding Immigrants who do not participate in Jamaican Immigrant Organizations</u>
Now, I'd like to talk about Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. This will help me understand your involvement in the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto.
6) How do you show your affinity or connection with Jamaican culture and community?

Probe: How, when and where do you express your attachment to a Jamaican identity? (e.g. church, food, clothing, reading local newspapers, visiting Jamaica, going to occasional cultural events, return visits).

7) Which Jamaican immigrant organizations have you heard of?

8) Have you ever been involved with any of these organizations?

Probe: When? Describe the nature of previous affiliation with Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto.

9) If no, why don't you participate in these organizations? Who do you think participates in organizations? (Time constraints, can't afford to participate, don't agree with Jamaican immigrant organization activities, activities are not of interest to me, I am not like the people in those organizations).

10) Many Jamaicans in Toronto often send financial remittances, pay for airline tickets, send packages to family and friends etc. In which of these activities do you participate?

Probe: Do you make these connections through Jamaican immigrant organizations? If yes, why and how? If no, why not?

11) Do you favour the establishment of more Jamaican immigrant organizations? Please explain why

12) Do you attend church? What types of relationships does your church have with Jamaican organizations?

13) Some participants have suggested that the membership of Jamaican organizations is declining by attrition and that Jamaicans are increasingly going to churches for support and socialization. What are your views on this?

14) Is the congregation largely of Jamaican or Caribbean descent?

15) Does the church provide settlement services to newcomers?

<u>Perspectives on the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto</u>

16) I'm interested in hearing your views about the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto.

Probe: How would you describe the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto? Who is part of it? How united is this population? What issues are dividing Jamaican immigrants or the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto? What are the biggest issues facing Jamaican immigrants in Toronto? How are they being addressed?

17) What are some of the needs of the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto? How do you think they would be best addressed? Do you see Jamaican immigrant organizations playing a role in addressing these needs?

18) Do you think that the church has a role to play in addressing these issues particularly where organizations have no effectively made efforts to combat these problems?

<u>Sense of Belonging to the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto</u>
19) How close do you feel to other Jamaican immigrants?

Probe: Do you identify with the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto? Please explain why. How do you express your connections with other Jamaican immigrants in Toronto?

20) Immigrants often feel an affinity with their own ethnic group. How much do you feel part of a Jamaican immigrant community in Toronto? Describe how you express your Jamaican identity here in Toronto.

 Probe: How is your identity expressed (including the home, the church, special events and the ways in which it is expressed including eating Jamaican food, speaking patois etc.)? How do you think these practices help you maintain a sense of belonging to the Jamaican immigrant community? How does participation in an immigrant organization affect your sense of belonging to the Jamaican immigrant community? Why is this important for you?

<u>Perspectives on Jamaican identity</u>
21) Thinking back to when you first arrived in Canada, how would you have described your identity?

Probe: How important was a Jamaican identity to you then? How important is a Jamaican identity to you now? Have your feelings about being a Jamaican strengthened or weakened in Toronto? How important is Canadian identity to you? What makes you say that? How have your interactions with Canadian society influenced how much you identify yourself as Jamaican?

22) Are you proud of being a Jamaican in Toronto? Why do you feel that way?

Appendix B

Interview questions
Identity and Community: Jamaicans and Jamaican Organizations in the GTA

Interview with organizational participants

The objective of this interview is to find out more about you, what your life has been like as an immigrant in Toronto and your relationship with immigrant organizations.

Migration History
1) I want to begin by talking about your life in Jamaica and some of the factors influencing your decision to migrate to Canada.

Prompt: What was life like in Jamaica? Where did you live? What did you do in Jamaica before migrating to Toronto? Where did you go to school? And then you can move on to the reasons influencing you to move to Toronto from Jamaica.

Expectations about life in Canada
2) Describe what your expectations about Canada were before deciding to migrate. How well have they been met?

Probe: So I'm interested in finding out how you thought your life would be when you moved to Toronto. And then I want you to describe which of your expectations have been met and which have not been fulfilled.

Immigration Experience in Toronto, Canada
3) Now, I'd like to talk about your experiences as an immigrant here in Canada.

Probe: We can start with a description of what life in Canada has been like. Did you experience any difficulties when you first arrived (for example, with housing or employment)? Has life in Canada been positive or negative? Have you experienced any problems associated with settlement (e.g. with finding housing, employment, job insecurity, racism, prejudice)? If you experienced problems related to settlement in Toronto, what are the reasons why you think you experienced difficulties? And if so, how do you cope with these experiences?

4) Now, thinking about your homeland, how do you think your experiences here as an immigrant in Canada influences how you feel about Jamaica or your experiences there?

Probes: How do you feel about Jamaica? Do you think of it fondly, with regret or neutrally? Describe what you do and/or don't miss about life in Jamaica and then we can talk about why you have these feelings. How have your experiences in Canada affected your feelings?

5) Describe the connections (if any) you have with Jamaica?

Prompts: What types of connections (the connections can include sending financial remittances to family or friends, purchasing return visits to Jamaica, reading Jamaican newspapers, participating in development projects through immigrant organizations)?, How often do you make these connections?, What inspires or motivates you to maintain links with Jamaica?

Organizational Participation

6) Now, I'd like you to tell me about your participation in immigrant organizations particularly how and why you became involved and how participation has influenced your life?

6a) You can start by talking about when (specify the year if you can) and why you became involved in immigrant organizations.

Probe: How do you think your participation is related to your experiences? How did you find about the organization? How did you become involved?

6b) Describe the types of activities in which you are involved in the organization
Probe: Here, you can provide a description of the previous and current activities or projects in which you are involved. Are you involved in any other organizations in Toronto? If yes, please state the name of the organization/s and identify the organization to which you have the strongest relationship with.

6c) Now, tell me how you think participation in this organization has affected your life as an immigrant? Has it affected your connections with Jamaica? If so, please explain how?
Probe: What benefits do you get from being a member of this organization?

6d) Describe the types of people who make up the membership of the organization.

Probe: Do you think the organization represents people with differing levels of education, incomes, gender, sexual orientations etc.? If not, which groups of people are better represented in the organization? And in your opinion, why do you think there are others who may not be represented in the organization? What do you think they could do to encourage more participation from other groups?

Perspectives on the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto

7) I'm interested in hearing your views about the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto.

Probe: How would you describe the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto? In your opinion, what types of people make up the Jamaican community in Toronto? Who is part of it? How united is this population? What issues are dividing Jamaican immigrants or the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto? What are the biggest issues facing Jamaican immigrants in Toronto? How are they being addressed?

8) What are some of the needs of the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto? How do you think they would be best addressed? Do you see Jamaican immigrant organizations playing a role in addressing these needs?

Sense of Belonging to the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto
9) How close do you feel to other Jamaican immigrants?

Probe: Do you identify with the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto? Please explain why. Do you feel a need to express your connections with Jamaican immigrants?

 10) Immigrants often feel an affinity with their own ethnic group. How much do you feel part of a Jamaican immigrant community in Toronto? Describe how you express your identity here in Toronto.

 Probe: How and where is your identity expressed (including in the home, the church, special events, eating Jamaican food, speaking patois etc.)? Do these practices help you maintain a sense of belonging to the Jamaican immigrant community? Please explain how. How does participation in an immigrant organization affect your sense of belonging to the Jamaican immigrant community? Why is this important for you?

Perspectives on Jamaican identity
11) Thinking back to when you first arrived in Canada, how would you have described your identity?
Probe: How important was a Jamaican identity to you then? How important is a Jamaican identity to you now? Have your feelings about being a Jamaican strengthened or weakened in Toronto? How important is Canadian identity to you? How have your interactions with Canadian society influenced how you identify yourself?

12) Are you proud of being a Jamaican in Toronto? Why do you feel that way?

Interview questions
Identity and Community: Jamaicans and Jamaican Organizations in the GTA

Expert Consultation with Consul General of Jamaica, Toronto

The objective of this interview is to find out more about you, what your life has been like in Toronto and your relationship with Jamaican immigrant organizations.

<u>Migration History</u>

1) **I want to begin by talking about your life in Jamaica.**
Prompt: What was life like in Jamaica?, where did you live?, what did you do in Jamaica before migrating to Toronto?, where did you go to school?

2) **Tell me a little about how you came to be Consul general. Do you have to be a Canadian resident? What were you expectations of Canada and the Jamaican community in Toronto?**

<u>Experience in Toronto, Canada</u>

3) **Describe the connections (if any) you have with Jamaica while residing in Canada?**
Prompts: What types of connections (the connections can include sending financial remittances to family or friends, purchasing return visits to Jamaica, reading Jamaican newspapers, participating in development projects through immigrant organizations)?, How often do you make these connections?

<u>Organizational Participation</u>

4) **Now, I'd like you to tell me about the different ways in which you engage with Jamaicans in Toronto.**

5) **Have you been interacting with Jamaican organizations as way to engage with Jamaican communities in Toronto?**

Probe: How did you find about these organizations? What were your impressions of the membership? Are they representative of Jamaican communities and their issues in Toronto?

 6) Describe the types of activities in which you are involved in these organizations

Probe: Here, you can provide a description of your previous and current activities or projects in which you are involved. If yes, please state the name of the organization/s and identify the nature of your relationship and roles with the organizations.

6a) As Consul General, what is your relationship with the Jamaica Diaspora Foundation? People often talk about this organization as being different from other organizations in Toronto?

Probe: Do you think the membership of the JCDF is representative of the Jamaican population in Toronto?

6b) Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto provide services and recruit members from the Jamaican immigrant population as a whole. Describe the types of people who makes up the membership of Jamaican organizations (in your opinion).

Probe: Do you think the organization represents people with differing levels of education, incomes, gender, sexual orientations etc? If not, which groups of Jamaican immigrants are better represented in the organization? And in your opinion, why do you think there are others who may not be represented in the organization? What do you think they could do to encourage more participation from Jamaican immigrants?

Perspectives on the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto

7) **I'm interested in hearing your views about the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto.**

Probe: How would you describe the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto? Who is part of it? How united is this population? What issues are dividing Jamaican immigrants or the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto? What are the biggest issues facing Jamaican immigrants in Toronto? How are they being addressed?

8) **What are some of the needs of the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto? How do you think they would be best addressed? Do you see Jamaican immigrant organizations playing a role in addressing these needs?**

Identity and Community: Jamaicans and Jamaican Organizations in the GTA

The purpose of this study is to gather information on the background of Jamaican immigrants involved in this study.

Basic Information: background, socio-economic, educational profile

1) Gender

      a) Male

      b) Female

2) Postal code

3) What year were you born?

4) What is your marital status?

      a) Single
      b) Married
      c) Common-law spouse
      d) Divorced
      e) Widowed
      f) No response

5) If married, are your spouse and children living with you in Toronto?
      a) Yes   b) No

6) What was your immigration status when you entered Canada?
      a) Permanent resident- sponsored by principal applicant (family sponsorship)
      b) Permanent resident (Independent immigrant)
      c) Canadian Citizen
      d) Refugee claimant
      e) Domestic worker
      f) International student
      g) Other temporary visa (please specify) _____
      h) Other (Please specify) _____

7) Current Immigration status

      a) Permanent resident-

      d) Canadian Citizen

      e) Temporary resident (visitor, student, temporary foreign worker etc.)(Please specify)

      e) Other (Please identify your immigration status)

8) What year did you arrive in Canada?

9) Who did you come with when you came to Canada?

10) How many years of formal education did you complete before coming to Canada? Include all postsecondary and postgraduate education.

a) No formal education

b) Primary

c) High School

d) Post high school program

e) Some University

f) Bachelors

g) Some grad studies

h) Masters

i) Doctorate

j) Other

k) No answer

11) Please identify the highest level of education you have attained in Canada

a) No formal education

b) Primary

c) High School

d) Post high school program

e) Some University

f) Bachelors

g) Some grad studies

h) Masters

i) Doctorate

j) Other

k) No answer

12) In Canada, do you think of yourself as:

a) Black
b) Afro-Caribbean
c) White
d) Chinese
e) Mixed
f) Jamaican
g) Jamaican Canadian
h) Black Jamaican
i) White Jamaican
j) Chinese Jamaican
I) Jamaican with mixed heritage
k) Other: Please specify

Thank you for your assistance with this research.

Appendix E

**List of Organizations Provided by Office of the Consular General
of Jamaica, Toronto**

Name of Organization	Location	Classification
African Culture Restoration Association	1702 Eglinton Avenue West, Suite #10 Toronto, Ontario M6E 2H5	African Diasporic Organization/Non-Ethnospecific
Afro-Canadian Caribbean Assoc. of Hamilton	PO. Box 4578, Station D Hamilton, Ontario L8V 4S7	African Diasporic Organization/Non-Ethnospecific
Afro-Caribbean Association of Manitoba Inc.	P.O. Box 1617 259 Watt Street Winnipeg, Manitoba R3C 2Z6	African Diasporic Organization/Non-Ethnospecific
Alliance of Jamaican Alumni Association	3000 Don Mills Road Toronto, Ontario M2J 3B6	Jamaican Alumni Organization
Arts & Culture Jamaica Inc.	303 Eglinton Avenue East Toronto, Ontario M4P 1L3	Jamaican Special Interest Group
Black Action Defense Committee	944-A St. Clair Avenue West Toronto, Ontario M6C 1C8	African Diasporic Organization/Non-Ethnospecific
Black Business and Professional Association	675 King Street West, Suite 210 Toronto, Ontario M5V 1M9	African Diasporic Organization/Non-Ethnospecific

Black Inmates & Friends Assembly	2518 Eglinton Avenue West Toronto, Ontario M6M 1T1	African Diasporic Organization/Non-Ethnospecific
Canadian and Caribbean XLCR Fraternal Association	334B Silverthorn Avenue Toronto, Ontario M6M 3G6	Jamaican Special Interest Group
Canadian Caribbean Association of Halton	1200 Speers Road, Unit 40 Oakville, Ontario L4L 2X4	Sociocultural Organization
Canadian Friends of St. Thomas Health Care Organization	25 Benorama Crescent Toronto, Ontario M1H 1K6	Jamaican Special Interest Group
Canadian Jamaican Club of Oshawa	c/o 326 Thornton Road North Oshawa, Ontario L1J 6T7	Sociocultural Organization
Canadian Jamaica Mission	43 Peirone Crescent Chatham, Ontario N7L 4B7	Sociocultural Organization
Canadian Jamaican Medical Assistance Society	151-10090 152nd Street, Suite 271t Surrey, British Columbia V3R 8X8	Jamaican Special Interest Group
Caribbean Association of Peel	145 Traders Boulevard East, Unit #15 Mississauga, Ontario L4Z 3L3	Sociocultural Organization

Caribbean Chinese Association	7305 Woodbine Avenue, Unit 480 Markham, Ontario L3R 3V7	Ethnic Organization
Charitable Organization of Jamaican Ex-Police and Associates	500 Murray Ross Parkway, Suite 1919 North York, Ontario M3J 2Z3	Jamaican Special Interest Group
Citizens for the Advancement of Community Development	4651 Full Moon Circle Mississauga, Ontario L4Z 2N7	Special Interest Group
Clarendon Canadian Community Association	1597 Wilson Avenue P.O. Box 60713 Toronto, Ontario M3L 2N5	Sociocultural Organization
Community of United Jamaicans (CUJAM)	York University 4700 Keele Street Toronto, Ontario M3J 1P3	Sociocultural Organization
Congress of Black Women of Canada (Regina Chapter)	/o 2340 Angus Street Regina, Saskatchewan S4T 2A Sask Rep – Norma Berryman	African Diasporic Organization/Non-Ethnospecific
Dr. Daphne Dacosta Memorial Foundation	563 Cummer Avenue Willowdale, Ontario M2K 2M3	Unknown
Friends of JOY (London)	39 Ford Crescent London, Ontario N6G 1H8	Unknown
Heritage Singers	49 Inlet Bay Drive Whitby, Ontario L1N 9P4	African-Diasporic Special Interest Group//Non-Ethnospecific

Independent United Order of Solomon	2420 Coppersmith Court Mississauga, Ontario L5L 3B5 President – Lloyd Seivright	Special Interest Group
Jamaica Association of Manitoba	1098 Winnipeg Avenue Winnipeg, Manitoba R3E 0S2	Sociocultural Organization
Jamaica Association of Montreal	4065 Jean Talon West Montreal, Quebec H4P 1W6	Sociocultural Organization
Jamaica Association of Northern Alberta	Marcus Garvey Centre for Unity 12526 – 126 Avenue Edmonton, Alberta T5L 3C7	Sociocultural Organization
Jamaica College Old Boys' Association of Canada	145 King Street West, suite 1920 Toronto, Ontario M5H 1J8	Alumni Association
Jamaica Ex-Soldiers Association	40-1110 Finch Avenue West, Suite 1198 Toronto, Ontario M3J 3M2	Special Interest Group
Jamaica Foundation (Hamilton)	38 Elora Drive, Unit 28 Hamilton, Ontario L9C 7L4	Sociocultural Organization
Jamaica International Cancer Foundation (Canada)	534-6th Street, Suite 604 New Westminster, British Columbia V3L 5K7	Special Interest Group

Jamaica (Ottawa) Community Association	P.O. Box 1069, Station B Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5R1	Sociocultural Organization
Jamaica Visionaries Association Inc.	33 Jay Street Brampton, Ontario L6Z 3V5	Special Interest Group
Jamaican Canadian Association	995 Arrow Road North York, Ontario M9M 2Z5	Sociocultural Organization
Jamaican Canadian Association Alberta	6207 Louise Road South Calgary, Alberta T3E 5V3	Sociocultural Organization
Jamaican Canadian Cultural Association of British Columbia	1840 Commercial Drive, Unit C Vancouver, British Columbia V5M 4A5	Sociocultural Organization
Jamaican Diaspora Canada Foundation	c/o Jamaican Consulate General 303 Eglinton Avenue East Toronto, Ontario M4P 1L3	Political Organization
Jamaican Self-Help Organization	129 ½ Hunter Street West P.O. Box 1992 Peterborough, Ontario K9J 7X7	Special Interest Group
Jane Finch Concerned Citizens Association	P.O. Box 2448, Station C Downsview, Ontario M3N 2S9	African-Diasporic Special Interest Group//Non-Ethnospecific

John Brooks Foundation & Scholarship Fund	21 Vaughan Road, Suite 111 Toronto, Ontario M6G 2N2 President – Neville Prowde	John Brooks Foundation & Scholarship Fund
Lluidas Vale Rehabilitation & Development Foundation	146 Bob-o-link Avenue Concord, ON L4K 1A9	Special Interest Group
Marcus Garvey Centre for Leadership and Enterprise	160 Rivalda Road North York, Ontario	African-Diasporic Special Interest Group//Non-Ethnospecific
Mico Alumni Association (Canada)	18 Knightsbridge Road, Unit 1709 Brampton, Ontario L6T 3X5	Jamaican Alumni Association
Mississauga Caribbean Social & Cultural Association	698 Greycedar Crescent Mississauga, Ontario L4W 3J4	Unknown
Mount Industry Health Association	2605 Woodchester Drive, Unit 34 Mississauga, Ontario L5K 2E3	Unknown
Mount Waddy's Past Students Association	512 Chieftain Circle Mississauga, Ontario L4Z 3A3	Alumni Association
Mount Ward School Past Students Association	3210 Weston Road P.O. Box 95065 Weston, Ontario M9M 2H0	Jamaican Alumni Association

National Council of Jamaicans & Supportive Organizations in Canada	1376 Bank Street, Suite 401 Ottawa, Ontario K1H 7Y3	Unknown
PACE (Canada)	33 Hazelton Avenue, Lower Level, Suite 14 Toronto, Ontario M5R 2E3	Special Interest Group
Pickering Caribbean Canadian Cultural Association	Box 106 Pickering, Ontario L1V 2R2	Unknown
PROJAM	3395 Wild Cherry Lane Mississauga, Ontario L5N 7N5	Sociocultural Organization
Saskatchewan Caribbean Canadian Association	103 Matheson Crescent Regina, Saskatchewan S4R 5C3	Sociocultural Organization
Saskatchewan Jamaican Association	6803 1st Avenue North Regina, Saskatchewan S4X 1C7	Sociocultural Organization
Shiloh Assembly	4660 Pasqua Street Regina, Saskatchewan S4S 6L4	Religious
St. Thomas Primary Schools Association	18 – 410 Arcot Boulevard Etobicoke, Ontario M9W 2N7	Jamaican Alumni Association
South Shore Black Community Association	P.O. Box 30507 5635 Grande Allée Brossard, Quebec J4Z 3R6	African-Diasporic Special Interest Group//Non-Ethnospecific

Tilly Johnson Scholarship Foundation	c/o Norma Rookwood 19 Cranberry Court Hamilton, Ontario L8E 4R5	Unknown
Tsung Tsin Association of Ontario	3880 Midland Avenue Scarborough, Ontario M1V 4S8 Tel. 416-321-0886	Ethnic Association
United Achievers Club of Brampton	45 Parkside Drive Brampton, Ontario L6Y 2H1	African-Diasporic Special Interest Group//Non-Ethnospecific
United People of Colour Foundation	1541A Eglinton Avenue West Toronto, Ontario M6E 2G7	Special Interest Group
West Indian Social and Cultural Society	62 Ladner Drive Toronto, Ontario M2J 3Z7	Unknown
West Indies Baseball Development Group	2 Greenarrow Court Brampton, Ontario L6S 2K1	Special Interest Group

Appendix F

Additional Organizations[39]

Name of Organization	Location	Classification
Association of Jamaican Alumni Associations	291 Braymore Blvd Scarborough, Toronto ON M1B 2H3	Jamaican Alumni Association
Kingston College Old Boys Association	Box 55278, Scarborough, Town Center. P.O. Toronto, Ontario. M1P 1Z7	Jamaican Alumni Association
Meadowbrook Alumni Association	Toronto, Ontario	Jamaican Alumni Association
Wolmers Alumni Association		Jamaican Alumni Association
Calabar Old Boys association	43 Halfmoon Square Scarborough,ON M1C 3V4 Canada	Jamaican Alumni Association
St Jago Alumni Toronto	Mississauga, ON L4Z 2W9	Jamaican Alumni Association
Glenmuir High School Past Students, Alumni Association	Toronto, Ontario	Jamaican Alumni Association
Vere Technical Alumni Association (Toronto, Chapter)	14 Lent Cr. Brampton, ON L6Y 5E5	Jamaican Alumni Association
Cornwall College Old Boys Association	P.O Box 94557,2900 Steeles Ave E, Thornhill On, L6T 7R5	Jamaican Alumni Association
Helping Hands Jamaica Foundation	303 Eglinton Avenue East. Toronto, ON. M4P 1L3	Jamaican Alumni Association
Morant Bay High School Alumni Associatio	1 Wexford Road Unit 9, P. O. Box 44043 Brampton, ON	Jamaican Alumni Association

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[39] Note that these organizations were not included in list provided by Office of the Consular General of Jamaica, Toronto (Appendix E)

	L6Z2W1	
St. Andrew High School For Girls	Toronto, Canada. sahstoronto@sahs.edu.jm	Jamaican Alumni Association
Alpha Academy Alumnae Association (Toronto Chapter)	Toronto, Canada.	Jamaican Alumni Association
Spring Village Association	Toronto, Canada	Jamaican Special Interest Group
Knox College Alumni Association (Toronto Chapter)	Toronto, Canada	Jamaican Alumni Association
Merl Grove High School Alumni Association	40 Hearst Circle Toronto, Ontario	Jamaican Alumni Association
Mount Ward Alumni Association	4141 Dixie Road P.O. Box 41014 Mississauga Ontario	Jamaican Alumni Association
Immaculate Conception High School Alumnae Association (Toronto Chapter)	Toronto, Ontario.	Jamaican Alumni Association
The Excelsior School Alumni Association (Toronto, Chapter)	Toronto, Ontario.	Jamaican Alumni Association
St. Georges College Old Boys' Association (Ontario Chapter)		Jamaican Alumni Association
Calabar Old boy's Association (Canada Chapter)	Toronto, Ontario	Jamaican Alumni Association