6 The City: Localizing Perspectives

The first part of the ethnography explores the general living conditions of Jamaicans in Montreal, settlement structures, and historically grown local circumstances. Vast cities and modern urban spaces are essential hotspots of the globalizing world bringing forth constant innovation. The global city, as Sassen (1991: 154) states, is a strategic site with a broad socio-economic structure. Additionally, a high level of cosmopolitanism characterizes the global charm of the city. Academic research therefore often locates global cities in the northern hemisphere, reflecting a Eurocentric or 'western' view about city development in general. Here, the promotion and representation of cultural diversity provide a positive image; a label that northern global cities like to wear. Cultural diversity and cosmopolitanism are essential features of Montreal. The city's bilingual charm represents internationalization. An article in Montreal's English newspaper *The Gazette* (Barone 2015), in the light of the city's 375th birthday, illustrates study results concerning Montreal's distinct character. The attributes given in the article enhance the positive connotation of diversity and multiculturalism.

My initial assumptions before traveling to Montreal were similar, reading about the city and the endless opportunities to have a great time in a bustling, urban area influenced by its many immigrants and international students, filled with cultural attractions. However, the article also shows that numerous residents define Montreal's charm as conflicted with identity politics and language controversies, contesting the use of diversity as a marketing strategy or mere attraction for tourists and foreigners. In understanding the broader context of this study, it is necessary to look into historical and political changes in Montreal that narrate, according to David Austin, a "myth" of Canadian cities as innocent and welcoming places for all (Austin 2013).

6.1 Controversies

Another view of Montreal is that of a divided city, historically separating its inhabitants into different categories in terms of language and national identity, i.e.,

French-Quebecers, Anglophones, Allophones, immigrant and ethnic categories (Simon 2006). My personal experiences led me to view the city as a place in which local Québécois people are a factual majority, but feel like a somewhat oppressed minority. Living in the city for a while as neither an Anglo- nor Francophone native speaker made me realize how defensive Quebecers are about their language in daily life situations, e.g., at the grocery store or in a restaurant. For example, ordering in English in a French-speaking restaurant in a designated French area of town can cause unforeseen difficulties and misunderstandings with the service staff. The city ranks amongst the largest French-speaking metropoles in the world. As a contrasting example, Paris has no significant Jamaican population (less than a thousand people) as the capital of France. Even though Montreal promotes bilingualism in terms of language usage in public spaces, it is still predominantly French.

In 1977, the province of Quebec implemented a monolingual French language policy (Busque 2015). After the introduction of this Bill 101, a massive exodus of Anglophones to other parts of Canada and the USA followed suit. The longstanding history of language controversies and nationalist tendencies also fuelled by the *Parti Québécois* still prevails in daily life situations, in the media and public discussions as well as in the memories of some of the older interlocutors of this study. In the online accessible Encyclopaedia Canada, Busque informs,

> "Despite the implementation and success of Bill 101 policies related to the francization of immigrants (the majority of whom now learn French before English), according to the 2011 census, one in five immigrants does not understand French in Québec. Further, several hundred francophone and non-anglophone families send their children to anglophone private schools every year with the object of enrolling them in the anglophone public (school) system" (Busque 2015: n.p.).

The ongoing language debates are problematic for many Anglophones, specifically for the interlocutors of this study, who describe the French language regulations as restrictive and divisive conditions on the job market and in daily life activities. Even if Simon suggested as early as 2006 (Simon 2006) that those clear-cut divisions are no longer the case, the challenge of spatial and cultural division prevails. Due to historically and politically grown normative dynamics in Quebec, a postcolonial atmosphere of uncertainty and changeableness exists. All women of this study mentioned incidences of overt and covert acts of racial discrimination in daily encounters, in the streets, in stores or at their work places. The representation and promotion of Montreal as a diverse and tolerant metropolis is a rhetorical modus operandi to cover up many internal problems, especially concerning racialization. Issues of past and present socio-political discourses about heritage, belonging and whiteness as well as historical occurrences in the province of Quebec have shaped the reality of many immigrants today. Negative experiences of interlocutors in Montreal concerning ethnicity and racializing tendencies infused by a

history of language politics, nationalism and othering were omnipresent throughout the study.

6.2 Settlement Practices and (In)visibility

Jamaicans in Montreal live in diverse residential areas largely unnoticed by the local population even though they have strong relational ties with the city. Here, a difference in entering public and private Jamaican spaces exists, specifically from a linguistic and gender perspective. Male and female spaces are differently accessible. At the beginning of the field research phase, male-dominated spaces were accessed first. These are the more public events, e.g., concerts, dances, bars and restaurants. Especially, Afro-Caribbean musical contributions are seen as an 'exotic' and suppositional enriching cultural contribution to the city. Jamaican cultural entrepreneurs, i.e., food sellers or artists or musical performers, represent a positive image of the integration of Jamaican immigrants in the public and the media. For example, several radio stations play Jamaican music daily. Reggae music is commonplace and part of the cultural landscape. Besides, Francophone radio stations, for example, Radio Canada (radio-canada.ca) and Le Monde Bouge (CHYZ FM 94.3) periodically feature reports about Jamaica and Jamaicans in Quebec. The city has quite a number of cultural events, concerts and festivals (especially during summer), with bars, restaurants and nightclubs across town all displaying a positive "multiculturalizing presence" (Davis/James 2012) of Jamaican popular culture in Montreal. In the Canadian integration system, the concepts 'multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism' are relevant to describe immigrant entry. Bouchard and Taylor describe multiculturalism as a concept that "favors bilingualism, the protection of multiple cultural identities, and a 'mosaic' vision of society" (2008: 214). In contrast, interculturalism is a concept that "emphasizes social cohesion and integration through communal values, as well as the respect of differences and diversity" (ibid. 19-20, 118, 120f.). In their report, both authors viewed multiculturalism as being insufficient for describing the situation in Quebec since the term cannot address the wish of the province to conserve its French language and distinct national character. Language, which is a category of belonging for many societies, is also anchored in government documents produced to integrate new immigrants (MICC 2011: 2). The two paradigms were originally created to assist cultural groups in retaining and fostering their identity and in promoting positive encounters between cultural others. Since 1971, both concepts have been part of Canada's, and specifically Quebec's, dealing with immigrants. Cultural pluralism is the backbone of interculturalism, whereby cultural exchange between homogenous groups is postulated. The criticisms of both terms are similar. Walcott (2011: 24) argues, for example, that the only consensus about multiculturalism in Canada is that there is

no consensus on its actual meaning. Above all, both terms are highly ethnocentric and imply that culture is fixed, creating island-like cultural groups that are demarcated. Galabuzi (2011: 64) illustrates that both concepts are essentializing culture, ethnicity, and race, which makes people's agency meaningless. James (2011: 195) comments on multiculturalism as a way of assimilating new immigrants or cultural minorities into the dominant English-speaking culture in Canada, which secures the state's national identity plan. The same can be observed for interculturalism and the French language policy in Quebec. Tremblay (2011: 56f.) sums up the critical debate by making clear that the distinction between both terms is solely political. Hence, multiculturalism and interculturalism can be seen as Canada's and Quebec's ways of defining ethno-cultural diversity and accommodation of culture. There is little consensus amongst scholars and government officials when it comes to either concepts (Chiasson 2012: 13).

For this study, it is necessary to acknowledge the existence of both terms as politically active concepts in the immigration and integration process; however, neither of the terms is useful to describe the existence of cultural diversity in general or to analyse the ways of life and customs of Jamaican people in past and contemporary cultures in Quebec. Aside of Jamaicans, a large number of various Afro-Caribbean immigrant groups reside in Montreal. Especially, Haitian migrants live in mainly ethnically dominated neighbourhoods in French-speaking parts of the city. Immigrant communities, which are transformed into demarcated domains, confirm the local opinion that people of colour mainly reside in marginalized, poorer suburbs. Jamaicans, in contrast, live among other Anglophones across the city; less recognized and in a way unnoticed by the Franco-Quebecer people of Montreal's society.

> "In the Montreal area, Haitians are among the most dispersed of the immigrant groups who tend to live in neighbourhoods dominated by francophones, whereas Jamaicans live in the most segregated concentrations, mainly in the city of Montreal itself" (Preston/ Wong 2002: 33).

This segregation reflects, on the one hand, the differing numbers of residents coming from Haiti (est. 129,010 in 2016) and Jamaica (est. 11,775 in 2016) (NHS 2016); on the other hand, the ability of Jamaicans to blend 'inconspicuously' into the physical landscape of Montreal. However, to argue that Jamaican immigrants are non-existent in the locals' minds because of the significant number of other immigrants is a wrong conclusion. The distinguishing feature of Jamaican immigrants in the city derives from their local settlement practices and space appropriation strategies that make community in a geographical sense less meaningful. In Montreal, their presence goes beyond spatially fixed terrains, and Jamaican spaces are segregated and scattered across town. Hence, there is no significant Jamaican residential concentration as in other cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, or New York City.

As a historically relevant urban contact zone for Jamaicans in Montreal the Little Burgundy neighbourhood needs to be discussed, which was an important entry point for the Afro-Caribbean community and the immigrant generations of the 1960s and 1970s. Little Burgundy became famous for its talented Jazz musicians Oscar Peterson and Oliver Jones (both born of Caribbean immigrants) from the bebop and post-bop era. Nowadays the once important neighbourhood has lost its former significance. The area bordered by Atwater Avenue, Saint-Antoine Street West, Guy Street, and the Lachine Canal was for decades –after the construction of the canal and the railway lines– a mostly Afro-Caribbean populated neighbourhood. Yet, current census data shows that they are no longer the majority population of the district (NHS 2016). Little Burgundy is evolving; the railway lines have lost their relevance, and so have the enterprises close to the Lachine Canal that formerly provided jobs and incomes close to where people resided. The dismantling of the historically relevant Negro Community Centre (NCC) building in 2014 is exemplary of this change. Gentrification in the form of townhouses has contributed as well (see De Verteuil 2004; Rose 2010). While the area still has a distinct, working-class atmosphere, the newer, more expensive housing meant the displacement of many traditional dwellers. However, the echoes of a past inextricably associated with the contributions of African and Caribbean people can still be found in certain areas of Little Burgundy.

Other known residential areas are, for example, Côte-Saint-Paul, Cartierville and LaSalle, Verdun's Crawford Park and the Norgate Project in Saint-Laurent. Côte-des-Neiges is another historically popular neighbourhood. As in Little Burgundy, gentrification changed the face of the neighbourhood over time. Services deteriorated, and proprietor agreements ensured that many buildings were sold or rented only to white people. Even though approximately one-third of Montreal's English-speaking Afro-Caribbean communities still live in the Côte-des-Neiges area, the middle class, and with it many Jamaicans have moved to the English-speaking areas such as Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (NDG), LaSalle, the West Island and the South Shore (Statistics Canada 2017). Without the need for concentration in an 'own' district, Jamaican immigrants maintain several cultural entities scattered across town. The invisibleness that causes Jamaican spaces in Montreal to be hidden or in a way 'particular', shows that a diasporic community can exist without the cliché of being bordered by a physical sector. The settlement practices of the majority of Jamaicans are oriented along the French-English language divide in Montreal. However, inclusion and exclusion to the community are hardly negotiated through the notion of geographic space, as residing in Montreal is much more connected to social networks. Strong social networks among women are the key to understanding important dwellings and places in the city of Montreal. In addition, close friends and family open a gateway to enter the city as an immigrant or newcomer. Since Quebec has a strict immigration policy, family reunification

programs or interprovincial entries are the easiest migratory routes to Montreal, besides the existing, mostly female-centred, (health) care work programs. The dynamic interaction within this 'somewhat-invisible' Jamaican community requires the ability to be flexible and adaptable in accordance with a process of "inconspicuous assimilation". Because of this challenge, communal ties and people's social networks, instead of physical proximity, are fundamental factors to be able to manoeuvre oneself successfully through the city.

6.3 Montreal and Jamaica: Overlaps and Juxtapositions

During fieldwork in Montreal, I realized that my previous research in Jamaica certainly influenced my 'being' in the city as well as my anthropological encounters (Spülbeck 1997). Therefore, my subconscious mind-set, as well as subjectivism and perceptions of the interlocutors, need to be taken into account. During the initial research period, I realized, for example, that my assumption about a Kingston to Montreal, city-to-city connection was short sighted. Jamaican immigrants in Montreal hail from various parishes, mostly from the more rural areas of Jamaica, e.g., Manchester, Saint Elizabeth, Saint James or Clarendon. The reason for this "rural" immigration lies in historically grown economic demands for farm and seasonal workers in the province of Quebec. Here it seems as if fewer people from the 'urban' areas migrated directly to Montreal, especially in the early years of migration. This circumstance explains to an extent the strong 'traditional character' of Jamaican-run institutions in Montreal, especially in terms of their program and events. Leaving Jamaica for Canada certainly includes some organizational processing, e.g., in the capital city Kingston operated via visa services in the Canadian embassy or other administrative institutions, the reason or motive for emigration is, however, not necessarily connected to a previous life in Jamaica's urban centre. It has much more to do with the demands of Quebec's labour market, especially for the past 1960s and 1970s generations with resulting opportunities for a later family reunion. Hence, migration and integration are not unilineal processes. Migratory movements are affected by economic structures, historical developments as well as Jamaican socialization practices that embedded particular memories and layers of identity in the following generations (see chapter nine). Insofar, a noticeable difference in the encounters with first and second generation immigrant women concerning their migratory experiences and the children of immigrant families, third generation females who were born in Montreal, can be detected. For example, many of the children of the second generation chose to leave Montreal to go to English-speaking parts of Canada, the USA or the UK after they finished business training or university, despite having learned French as their first language in school. As research partners' family networks demonstrate, this is not an isolated

case. Many young people leave the city of Montreal. Between 1981 and 2017, Quebec lost 229,700 people below the age of 45 to interprovincial migration, according to a new report published by the Montreal Economic Institute (MEI 2018). The younger Jamaican generation is seemingly more likely to leave Montreal after growing up. Due to labour shortages and, in the Jamaican case, because of discrimination in the labour market and experiences with racism, there is a significant exodus of the younger generation. As per law, people who do not identify themselves as white Francophone or white Anglophone are aggregated or categorized as so-called "visible minorities". For example, the visible minority status in the Canadian census explains whose languages are not recognized. Likewise, "Black" as its own category for ethnic origin raises considerable criticism by both post-colonial and feminist intellectuals (e.g. Ahmed 2007; Bhabha 1994; Gunew 2004). These scholars dispute that, without the need to acknowledge any socio-cultural differences, diversity becomes a bodily categorization that enhances linguistic and racialized divisions.

Moreover, I underestimated the time I would need for grinding into everyday processes, especially regarding field access. Accessing Montreal via the more publicly inclusive male spaces led to some initial hurdles. Overall, it was difficult to approach men without facing compromising situations. It was complicated to meet or, further, talk to men –aside from discussions surrounding their careers– or to build up trustworthy professional relationships in general. Men were willing to talk about work or hobby-related topics, but it was impossible to discuss private aspects of their lives openly. Even though I had some male gatekeepers, sufficient information about their individual lives and migration stories were hard to obtain. Possibly, fieldwork time was too short to gather further gatekeepers or more context knowledge of why it was so difficult to approach men as a female researcher from Europe. In contrast, on previous research stays in Jamaica, I had never faced any such issues that kept the fieldwork from progressing; even after a long reflection period, I am still unable to explain this juxtaposition. However, the Montreal-experience with male willingness to communicate often ended in flirtatious and inconvenient situations, in which I at times felt extremely uneasy or even vulnerable (see Johansson 2015). In the further process, I therefore decided to dismiss male research participants from the study as I was unable to delve deeper into necessary conversations and because sexist talk and macho postures of some men annoyed and limited me to an intolerable extent. However, male spaces supported my general access to the field and helped with, e.g., gaining orientation knowledge and in finding specific places that led to other sources and respondents.

Another aspect that I underestimated prior to the fieldwork was my assumption that Jamaican people in Montreal are more 'up-to-date' about local changes, events and occurrences in Jamaica, e.g., new musical events or infrastructural changes, which I initially used to build up conversations. However, I quickly had to realize that only a few people were informed about current happenings on the island

since they had been disconnected from social life in Jamaica for a good amount of time. Here it is worth mentioning that men were overall better informed than women were. Regarding these preconditions, the analysis of specific, meaningful female Jamaican spaces shows where Montreal is "composed differently", where Jamaican and Québécois life worlds, as well as localities, overlap or juxtapose each other (Lehmkuhl et al. 2015: 14f.). In the following chapter, the term social space is introduced to determine the existence of a distinct Jamaican experience under such a geographical circumstance. Looking into the similarities and differences associated with a relational or spatial approach makes boundaries more visible. As Simon states, in Montreal "travel means translation" (Simon 2006: 4); therefore many interlocutors avoid going into the streets without a specific purpose, e.g., shopping, working or meeting someone. Simply going for a walk in the sense of strolling is inconceivable, especially for women of the older generation. Jamaican female spaces are here of specific relevance and important options of spending recreational and leisure time without outside interferences. Tracing the importance of space, place and homemaking helped me to understand the everyday sphere of Jamaican women's lives. Therefore, fieldwork was established and conducted in different meaningful places. For example, the homes of my research partners were important meeting spots for informal discussions, while other semi-public spaces together completed the mosaic of the women's life worlds in Montreal.