5 Theoretical Concepts

Before the ethnographic chapters begin, this section introduces theoretical key concepts that are relevant for the study. For example, the mobility and migration of the female respondents in this study calls for an analytical framework, which considers being 'on the move' as a mental and physical practice. Being mobile after initial migration requires taking the notion of transnationalism further than its classical sense. Additionally, concepts of gender and identity will be relevant aspects in exploring female ways of belonging to Montreal and their mobility strategies. The analysis of return migration (real or aspired return) requires the discussion of the terms diaspora and homeland in the canon of migration research. Local space appropriation strategies of Jamaican women in Montreal will reveal not only the 'exclusivity' of female spaces against interferences and frictions from outside, but also the upkeep and preservation of Jamaican traditions and values.

In an anthropological sense, we examine culture as the diversity of human ways of life. Therefore, this study aims to provide rich insights into Jamaican women's views and actions and make their diverse understandings of mobility and migration comprehensible. In doing so, it is necessary to act in a culturally relativistic way, i.e., to analyse culture from within, from an "emic" point of view. Hammersley describes the goal of the documentation of certain cultural perspectives and practices as "[…] to 'get inside' the way each group of people sees the world" (Hammersley 1992). Consequently, there is no privileged position from which culture can be defined. Culture is, hence, not homogeneous, but heterogeneous and changeable. The hermeneutic approach of this study understands culture as a collective "fabric of meaning" spun by human beings, which is repeatedly subject to productions and transformations and new interpretations (Geertz 2003: 5). The analytical concept of culture is intended to "decipher the way in which social individuals […] manage and implement the raw material of their social […] existence in a specific historical context" (Kannakulam 2008: 17). Together with the historical context, globalizing factors such as, for example, dispersal, digitalized communication, and advanced interconnectedness need to be acknowledged when analysing individual life worlds. Therefore, social actions of the respondents cannot be understood from a fixed or permanent location. In a continually changing, digitally ever-

more-informed world, anthropologists need to move with the same speed as their research partners. Hence, it is necessary to discard binary approaches in thinking about migratory agency and belonging, especially considering migration as an ongoing process of being mobile and of belonging beyond national borders. As Carter states,

> "It becomes ever more urgent to develop a framework of thinking that makes the migrant central, not ancillary, to historical process. We need to disarm the genealogical rhetoric of blood, property and frontiers and substitute it for a lateral account of social relations […]. An authentically migrant perspective could rather root from an intuition that the opposition between here and there is itself a cultural construction, a consequence of thinking in terms of fixed entities and defining them oppositional. It might begin by regarding movement, not as an awkward interval between fixed points of departure and arrival, but as a mode of being in the world" (Carter 1992: 7f., 101).

Since the postmodernist declaration that all knowledge is in flux, the reconsideration of the term 'culture', especially concerning traveling (Clifford 1997: 101), has changed anthropology as a discipline. Nowadays, an acceptance for both ethnographic knowledge and writing evolving from journeying exists (Coleman/Hellermann 2013). The travels undertaken by the interlocutors are now coordinated and combined with the mobility, travel experiences, modes of thought, and actions of the ethnographer as anthropologists are 'on the move'. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that the interpretations of events, observations, travels and conversations relate intrinsically to my own experiences and perspectives (cf. Clifford 1986). Further, they relate to my own positionality in the field as a researcher foreign to the Montreal/ Québécois urban cultural context. However, my familiarity with the Jamaican context opened many doors for my active participation (cf. Becker et al. 2005). As Louch already stated in the 1960s, "relations, therefore, cannot be thought anymore as totalized, fixed or absolute sites. Relations need to be considered in flux and movement, and our research becomes a study of travelers as well as by travelers" (Louch 1966: 160). Movement activities of people do not take linear ways, but rather relational paths of 'entanglement' and 'translation' between transnational locations, nations, and human beings developed out of historical encounters and displacement (Clifford 1997: 7f.). The demonstration of how dynamic, affective and communicative ties and social networks to friends and family motivate the interlocutors to be mobile and to stay connected is central in this study. Social networks hereby continually exist based on 'socially shared images or imaginaries' (Salazar 2011: 576f.) that women keep and nurture through their own and second-hand memories of the Jamaican homeland as well as opinions about and experiences in their actual place of residence.

Another objective of this study is to explain that the physical process of changing locations, circulating or relocating, is greatly influenced by different forms of knowledge, beliefs, and hopes of the people who undertake these movements. Moving around or moving abroad starts with an idea about the destination, aspirations and economic planning of turning intentions into reality. An important aspect of the mobility of the interlocutors is the fact that they all have dual citizenship. Therefore, they can travel freely between the Caribbean and North America. This freedom to travel "visa-free" removes the threat or the fear of international immigration control. With this privileged position, these women inherit a different 'mind-set' regarding the ability to travel and to live in different destinations through current and prospective mobility. Their distinct 'state of mind' places this study at the heart of debating transnationalism beyond nation-states and national borders (Basch et al. 1994). Seasonal trips to Jamaica are an example of their migratory mobility and a transnational mode of 'being and belonging' for many Jamaicans today. While current scholarly debates usually analyse second home or residential tourism as permanent or temporal spatial movements of rather wealthy persons, more and more qualitative research shows evidence that this formerly privileged, lifestyle-oriented migration is now accessible and is spreading to more significant parts of the worldwide population (see King/Lulle 2016).

5.1 Beyond Transnationalism

This ethnography highlights the agency of Jamaican women to engage in recurring trips to their home country, fusing migration with a newer, privileged mobile lifestyle that also includes tourism. I understand migratory agency with De Haas as "a function of aspiration and capabilities to migrate within the given set of opportunity structures" (2014: 4). Here, De Haas draws on Sen's notion of 'capability' as "freedom" of people "to lead the kind of lives they value" (Sen 1999: 3). He develops his argument further and states,

> "Because people have agency, their mobility is also a potential force for structural change, because it can play an important part in altering the social and economic conditions in both sending and receiving countries. […]. However, it is important to emphasize that all migrants face structural constraints and that the degree to which they can exercise agency is fundamentally limited. This also limits the extent to which migrants can bring about structural change" (De Haas 2009: 2).

Utilising his theoretical approach, agency in this study recognizes that Jamaican women's opportunities for participation and action are affected by political, socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions, but not predetermined by them. This perspective considers structural conditions, but these conditions do not cage individ-

uals in their particular cultural background. For example, in the case of Jamaican women's agency, economic reasons for partial relocation are less relevant. Even though they do not belong to the upper social class in Montreal, they often live far above the means and possibilities of the socio-economic standard in Jamaica and because of that, they are at times excluded or isolated from their society of origin (see chapter 11). Hence, moving between places also creates social mobility. Furthermore, it is relevant to keep in mind that this rather new form of voluntary mobility does not only include people but also knowledge about migration and places, material objects, capital and information flows (Janoschka 2009; McIntyre 2009). While this research mainly focuses on the individual experiences and strategies of female migrants as well as their aspirations and choices, it will also look at the socio-economic effects on the interlocutors' local and often immobile family relatives. In Jamaica, returnees or second homeowners are often perceived as beneficial to the local economy by government officials, while other parts of the local population may see them as outsiders or sometimes invaders who cause local resentment (Hall/Müller 2004; McWatters 2008). In addition, many potential returnees are not old, i.e., they do not move for retirement reasons. Many young and working-age individuals are in search of a better life in Jamaica or others are merely seasonal movers who are not migrants or re-migrants per se (Janoschka 2009; 2014). Additionally, all of the study's interlocutors live in different yet 'mutually entangled' life worlds that produce significant cultural narratives (O'Reilly/Benson 2009). Their perspectives address both structural as well as intercultural frictions that can occur when people's aspirations or symbolic appropriations are confronted with actual local realities. Moreover, the study also acknowledges the simultaneous 'entanglement' of different female life worlds, i.e., Jamaican, Caribbean, Québécois, and Canadian and the links and relations that are constructed, maintained or reconstituted in the context of returning to the Jamaican homeland. Therefore, the approach lies on the micro-level, individual experiences stand opposite macro structures, e.g., differing historical, political, and communal viewpoints, and need to be analysed considering numerous individual and familial factors. Cultural practices are the key to understanding markers of identity, representation, and aspects of socio-cultural memory and images. These closely linked factors explain aspects of 'being and belonging' (Basch et al. 1994), whereby belonging through interconnection and socio-cultural relationships is not necessarily place-based.

Contemporary theoretical considerations in migration research incorporate the idea that migration and mobility are combined, relational, and fluid social processes that reveal much about the instability of migratory trajectories. Processes of mobility interconnect with immobility (King 2012; Wieczoreck 2018) and return migration becomes a tenacious 'transnational' movement (Carling/Erdal 2014). Individuals who are mobile after initial migration have to modify their actions and ways of thinking about problems that occur along their migratory trajectories. How

people make sense of their movements, about staying, going away and returning, will be illuminated in this study. Migration, mobility, and immobility are aspects of Jamaican female life trajectories that explore relational and structural frictions across time and space (see chapters 11 and 12). As Hillman and Van Naerssen state,

> "People on the move look for immediate solutions to their problems and needs, […], the way people think about their situation also frames their migratory agency. Their agenda is itself a reaction to the answers that people have already given to the situation of crisis and uncertainty they find themselves in" (Hillman et al. 2018: 5).

Hence, it appears to be crucial to identify migratory movement and agency in a broader framework of not only local, but also global interconnectedness and social relations as well as the individual mind-set of a person. Accordingly, accounts of the emotional ability to deal with unforeseen challenges and changes as well as an individual's socio-cultural and gender-based experiences and demands will be covered in this study. To develop this argument empirically, I will address aspects of memory, imaginary, identity constructions, geographic movement, and mobility as essential components. Besides, structural conditions or societal macrostructures of course play a relevant role in framing and understanding the experiences and narratives of the interlocutors in Montreal and in Jamaica.

Traditionally, scientific studies about migration assumed an assimilation thesis, immigrants breaking ties with their homeland and integrating into new host societies. Specifically concerning the Caribbean islands, the focus on the notion of an actual "brain drain" (Hunger 2002) viewed migration as a linear, singular life event caused by the socio-economic crisis after the islands gained independence from the British colonial regime in the 1960s. Early literature about migration addressed neither ethnic nor kinship connections nor the return to a respective home country. Even though a large number of, e.g., European settlers on the North American continent returned to their home countries in the early 20th century, migration scholars had little interest in the immigrants who left their destination countries in that time period (Cohen 1995). Migration literature started to acknowledge that relocating permanently was not a once in a lifetime event, but rather a frequent movement of people, ideas, knowledge, skills, and practices, keeping connections alive in a globalized world and, hence, establishing so-called transnational lifestyles. The 1990s approaches on transnational migration (e.g. Appadurai 1996; Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Grasmuck/Pessar 1991; Gupta/Ferguson 1992, 1997; Hannerz 1996) evolved as alternative drafts to the theory of assimilation. The idea of uprooting was abandoned since migrants were retaining their homeland ties and continued to move between different localities, social systems, and spaces. Anthropological discourse about transnational migration was at first concerned with identity constructions, the cultural effects of migration and also return

migration in the home and host society. Further, deterritorialized flows, mobile life pathways, and urban to rural migratory movements were of scholarly interest (e.g. Said 1982; Appadurai 1996; Gupta/Ferguson 1997; Olwig/Hastrup 1997; Paerregaard 1997; Abu-Lughod 1991; Sassen 2003; Sheller/Urry 2006). The term "deterritorialization" coined by Appadurai refers to people, ideas, and goods of the modern age (Appadurai 2000: 37). Through technical advancements more and more people are seen to be experiencing a "global interconnectedness" (Inda/Rosaldo 2002: 3). The result is an increased global exchange and fluid borders. Appadurai further illustrates the "global flow" by which culture moves across national frontiers (Appadurai 2000: 45f.). This global flow comes about through the penetration of various porous so-called "scapes". Culture now is not only based on, for example, national entities, but rather stems from a global stream, exchange and transfer of ethnoscapes, mediascapes, financescapes, ideoscapes, and technoscapes (ibid.). Anthropology has had to take into account a global development in which more and more people were able to participate in the (imagined) realities of others (ibid. 48, 53).

The pioneering research of the sociologists and anthropologists Nina Glick Schiller, Cristina Szanton Blanc and Linda Basch (Bach et al. 1994) built the foundation of the term transnationalism. Increasingly, questions of territorial and social spaces have become relevant, and the nation-state as a fixed category of reference was criticized (Beck 1998; Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Wimmer 2002). Because of these debates, transnationalism in this study is understood as a form of cultural and social belonging beyond national borders. Moreover, the idea of the deterritorialization of nation-states and ethnic groups loosened their formerly fixed character and insularity (Appadurai 1996; Glick Schiller et al. 1992). As a result, new representations of identities and new cultural self-images emerged, which enhanced external self-confidence (Hall 2000). Additionally, new concepts such as "transnationale soziale Räume"[1] (Pries 2001: 32) were coined to describe recently emerging cultural spaces. To understand Jamaican migration patterns, a transnational orientation is necessary to identify how migrants straddle life between the host country and the homeland. Furthermore, they are at the same time influenced by both places in different ways. Migratory narratives, practices and interactions, hence, structure the negotiation and mediation of difference in transcultural spaces (Lehmkuhl 2019: 11). Globalization and its possibilities have changed the relationships and the social structure of migratory people over time and have shifted cultural values regarding mobility, space, place, and belonging. Globalization has not only affected transnational ties but also the level of individual and group-based migratory consciousness regarding the immigrants' own identity constructions and representations. Here, cultural artefacts play a significant role in maintaining identity and in creating or re-creating an image

1 Translation: Transnational social spaces.

of oneself, of shared values, and of the so-called 'others' (Spivak 1985). Already in 1985, Spivak described 'othering' as a multi-layered process that contains several different variants of social differentiation, therefore, can be examined together with intersectional parameters of an individual (see the next sub-chapter).

The mobility framework introduced a less static point of view of the movement of people as being influenced by systematic purposes and forces and less by deterritorialization or inactiveness. Noting the significance "of the systematic movements of people for work and family life, for leisure and pleasure" (Sheller/Urry 2006: 208), migration as an integral part of Jamaican culture is a constant socio-economic practice. The desire to move or circulate in 'foreign' countries or to return to one's place of origin because of economic welfare or old age are important aspects. Migration literature examining patterns of emigration and return show the emergence of a transnational return migration culture in the English-speaking Caribbean (cf. Chamberlain 1998; Thomas-Hope 2002; Olwig 2007). These studies highlight how deeply migratory movement and agency have been rooted in Jamaican culture and the 'mind-set' of its people since the early 19th century. Vital connections to relatives who reside in the USA, the UK or Canada and a deep interest in American media is commonplace; a keen orientation to a culture of immediate gratification and consumerism supported by popular Jamaican Dancehall music and the related 'bling-bling'[2] lifestyle are shaping Jamaicans' widespread foreign-mindedness on a daily level. Potter views "international migration […] contributing substantially to the population diversity that characterizes the small insular societies of this oceanic region" (Potter et al. 2004: 48). Marshall claims that the present movement of Caribbean people strongly results from a historical construction of the Caribbean populations as main migration hubs (Marshall 1987: 16f.). This claim mirrors the actual historical course and points out that transnational migration is not a new phenomenon. The first migration waves originated in colonial times, amid violence and political conflicts. Jamaican immigrants from different generations carry with them various world understandings and generational traumas.

In the context of globalization theories, the development of migratory movement and mobility after migration are most clearly illustrated by the interplay between universalism and particularism, or more precisely, between the 'global' and the 'local'. According to Robertson, globalization has channelled the restoration and the production of categories such as "homeland", "community", and "locality" (Robertson 1998: 200). As a result, considerations of the local as the antagonist of the global no longer hold. Moreover, global cultural connections remain relevant via literature, art, and the media, or music, e.g., Reggae (Jung 2012), factors,

2 Note: 'bling-bling': used to describe shiny (expensive looking) jewellery and bright fashionable clothes worn in order to attract attention to yourself, e.g., women with big hair and bling-bling jewellery (Oxford Dictionary 2015).

which are incredibly insightful when analysing the Jamaican local to global context. These bridging categories offer possibilities for continually strengthened cultural exchange between people and various localities.

The 'mobility turn' further connected anthropology's approach to migration with dynamism and fluidity (Brettell 2017). However, returning to Glick Schiller and Schmidt (2016), place and space remain important concepts through which national boundaries and the dynamic flow of migrants become visible. Transnational movement activities of people have changed our view of border crossings to a view beyond particular localities and points of identification that uproot individuals from certain values that associated them with certain cultures. Recently, however, place-making strategies and the analyses of locality (e.g. De Genova 2016) established the place as a meaningful category back onto the agenda of scholarly debates (e.g. Hinkson 2017). Places are produced through ongoing practices of everyday life related to migratory belonging and identity. Migratory movements back to the homeland –whether mental or physical ones– are processes that construct and re-inscribe 'place' as a significant aspect into migrants' lives. Therefore, place-making strategies can also hint at a critique of national discourses of immigration and integration.

5.2 Gender, Identity and Migration

Since the 1990s, the number of scholarly studies concerned with the female experience of migration has increased. Feminist scholars have discussed how women and men sense migratory movement and change in settlement differently (Oishi 2005; Pessar 1999; Pessar/Mahler 2003). While early feminist literature concentrated on gender hierarchies as shaping migration, post-colonial and anti-racist researchers nowadays focus on multi-layered approaches that combine individual categories such as gender, race, ethnicity, class, and citizenship (Brand 1984; Cohen 2000; Ong 1993; Stevenson 2007). Differences in age and social status also affect mobility opportunities and experiences in, e.g., the work field or socio-cultural institutions. While simultaneously being embedded in socio-cultural as well as economic and political contexts, women mediate between different local and transnational processes, networks, and ideologies.

A look at Foner's case study (1985) on Jamaican women in New York and London highlights how crucial it is to consider gender when examining migratory experiences. She has found that Jamaican women are often victims of sexism as well as of low social class and racial inequality and that their position is one exemplary of subordination and oppression. As people of colour, Jamaican women in Montreal also face racial discrimination in housing, employment, and education and as a result, are eager to distinguish themselves from other Black Canadians. As

my study will show, hierarchical gender role ideals in Jamaican society regarding motherhood, childrearing, and caretaking often prevail and are relevant for the deconstruction and analysis of migratory trajectories.

In Jamaica, gender separation exists in socializing practices in public and private spaces. In general, there are differences between female and male-dominated spaces, e.g., when one spends one's leisure time. About 2.9 million people live in Jamaica, half of them women. The crime rate is in the upper third of the world comparison. The willingness to use violence is one of the highest in the Caribbean region. Economic stagnation, political divisions, high unemployment, and a climate of unrest often lead to riots. The gap between rich and poor is immense. Although violence in Jamaica is a known variable, gender violence against women is a rather silent topic. Sexism is part of everyday life in the macho-dominated culture of the island. In Jamaica's post-colonial setting, many men believe they have to prove or act out their masculinity according to traditional gender roles (Hope 2010). Statistics show that men are the main culprits of intimate partner violence (Williams 2018). In general, they exercise the most oppression against both women and men. Still, the source of gender violence and sexism cannot solely rest on the shoulders of men. The latest UN study on violence against women in Jamaica confirms that many women misinterpret partner violence as a declaration of love (Williams 2018). Financial obligations, childcare, and a need for social security are further reasons that abuse is often overlooked. Shame and fear of talk or further attacks inhibit women from demanding their rights or seeking help. Nevertheless, economic or family reasons alone are only part of a cultural standardization of violence. Root cause analysis inevitably points to Jamaica's colonial history (Lafont 2000). The adverse effects of colonialism and slavery led to certain mentalities that belittle abuse and violence in society. Indeed, absolute control and, above all, sexual exploitation of Afro-Caribbean women were cruel elements of maintaining the colonial power that led to the emergence of a brown middle class. In this context, colourism established in Jamaica which still exists until today: a class-skin-colour-relationship that attributes more privileges, social status, wealth, and opportunities to fair-skinned people. This colourism still prevails in, e.g., female beauty ideals today. Looking at Jamaica's economic structure and employment rates, the significant role of women in society, albeit their vulnerable social status, is striking. Often women are the ones who undertake the lion's share of financial tasks in everyday life. The "housewives" policy of the post-emancipation era created a gender-specific division of labour that nurtured the untenable construct that women are the weaker gender (Lafont 2000). The patriarchal nuclear family, which had nothing to do with the kinship reality of the chiefly West African slaves, represented the ideal in the British colonies. To this day, this ideal, introduced by capitalist colonial society, has led to immense pressure to fulfil specific gender roles (not only in Jamaica) for women and men alike. However, household forms such as mother-father-child units liv-

ing together under one roof are not the norm in Jamaica. Parents do not have to live together, nor be married, and not all people living in a household are necessarily relatives. A Jamaican household is instead an accommodation shared for economic as well as socio-cultural reasons. Female income is an essential component of maintaining the home, and, commonly, women lead the family. Although Jamaican women outdo their men in education and economic power and occupy many high positions, legal gender equality is, however, not a norm in everyday life. Therefore, women's life trajectories are often more constrained and concealed by gender related expectations of marriage, reproduction, domestic responsibilities, kinship obligations, and so forth.

In contrast, through migration, women can gain a higher level of personal autonomy in their receiving countries despite the prevailing gender inequalities on the job market (Foner 1985). Contemporary studies also highlight that migration can be empowering for women and transform them into breadwinners (see Platonova/Gény 2017; Gaye/Jha 2011). Olwig (2012), in her research on transnational Caribbean families, also uses a gendered analytical lens. She describes how Caribbean women find new and socially higher positions in their home countries upon return. By narrating successful returns and taking ownership of their biographies, women can counteract conventional gender norms in their respective cultures (Olwig 2012: 833). According to the *United Nations* (UN) *Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women*,

> "Gender is not only about women. It is important to emphasize that the concept of gender is not interchangeable with women. Gender refers to women, men [and other gender groups], and the often unequal relations between them. […]" (UN Women Training Centre Glossary 2017, n.p.).

Gender is crucial to any debate on the causes and consequences of migration; it influences reasons for migrating, who migrates, and why and where, how people migrate, what networks they use to secure their movement intentions, and the opportunities that are available for them at the destination country in relation to their country of origin. Gender also shapes risks, vulnerabilities, and needs. The tasks, expectations, connections, and power dynamics associated with being a woman play a significant role throughout the migratory process and in turn can be affected by migration in numerous ways. Accordingly, it is relevant to understand how gender interacts with migration and to find answers that explain these interactions.

The term intersectionality coined by Crenshaw (1994) refers to a theoretical construct that outlines how individuals can face discrimination and marginalization depending on overlapping and dynamic identity categories such as gender, race, and class. In the multidimensional process of 'othering' (Spivak 1985), these different forms of social differentiation are again relevant. Addressing processes of

'othering', hence, is not an alternative to acknowledging intersectional parameters, but it is rather examining the consequences of their combination in experiences of degradation and reduction (Jensen 2011: 65). Addressing this threshold of a person's experiences in society, the sociological attempt to intersect individual attributes may lead to valuable answers regarding societal positionality. This metaphoric umbrella prevents the analysis of individual experiences from being unidirectional. The original idea of intersectionality, however, needs an extension, as other aspects are relevant in an individual's experience as well. For Jamaican women in Montreal not only the geographic location, but also language regulations, the acquisition of Canadian citizenship as well as retirement and age are essential components of shaping personal forms of identity constructions. Especially since many returnees are ageing individuals and people of colour with dual Jamaican-Canadian citizenship and Canadian pensions. Hence, multiple social identity markers at a micro-level intersect with numerous social power structures and inequalities on a macro level. With this approach, micro and macro analytical perspectives work together in a distinctly empirical way on spatial zones as multi-layered (concrete as well as symbolic) configurations in an intertwined temporality. The acknowledgement of an expanded intersectionality approach in combination with processes of 'othering' works well with differing forms of methodological as well as theoretical concepts and thus, enhances the analytical perspective of this study.

In addition, intersectionality enables a different view on cultural identity, which juxtaposes attempts to create homogenous cultural containers of one shared monolithic Jamaican or Afro-Caribbean culture. For example, women may face sexism in the workplace, which for women of colour can also be associated with institutionalized racism. If a woman faces this double discrimination and is, e.g., over 50 years old, she is potentially more vulnerable than others are when it comes to her job security due to ageism. Although intersectionality traditionally applies to women, the phenomenon of an overlapping minority status affects persons of any gender. Originally, Crenshaw coined the term to express how institutions and governments ignore discrimination of immigrant women of colour; and to criticize both the feminist and anti-racist movements of her time. While intersectionality might not be flawless, e.g., viewing its uses in the contemporary social sciences and current civil rights movements such as "Black Lives Matter", the core idea of the concept helps to ensure that the overlapping challenges faced by women of colour who might belong to diverse and multiply marginalized groups are not being overlooked. Importantly, reviews of Spivak's theorization of 'othering' (e.g. Gingrich 2004) in which 'others' seemingly become objects of colonial processes of 'interpellation' need to be taken into consideration for Crenshaw's intersectional theory. Here, (migratory) agency as the capacity to act within and against social structures (De Haas 2009: 2) is again important. Insofar 'intersectionality' in combination with 'othering' can help to understand

to what extent these multidimensional experiences would influence individual processes of cultural identity formations in everyday life (Jensen 2011: 66). However, the intersections suggested above are not the only vectors that are of critical importance in forming and reforming a person's identity and subjectivity.

The term identity is defined at the social level as a continuous individual process of "Sich-selbst-als-gleich-erleben"[3] (Schönhuth 2005). Accordingly, this means taking on various social roles as well as group memberships or recognizing those roles. In the process of forming one's identity from within, the development of one's own interests and needs through either appropriation or delimitation is implemented. The demarcation of oneself against, e.g., peers, parents or the socio-cultural appropriation of certain patterns of behaviour altogether constitutes the creation of a sense of self and others. Importantly, the identity formation process is constant and ongoing with differing external socio-cultural situations influencing and highlighting different parts of an individual's identity (ibid.). Insofar, non-essentializing collective identification processes can vary at the transnational level (diasporic consciousness) or at the national level when thinking about one's affiliation to specific localities (dislocation; migration; homeland) (ibid.). Essentializing processes can cause the fixation of exclusionary categories ('we' and 'them') resulting in differences within a group context. Ethnicity or ethnic identity (as a form of collective identity) can play a crucial role here as individuals carry feelings of belonging to an ethnic group with shared traditions, language, or religion, e.g., many Jamaicans in Canada keep their culinary traditions, Christian values or their Jamaican language Patois through which social belonging can be mediated. While culture points to socially produced and constructed categories of meaning, ethnicity deals with socio-cultural inclusion or exclusion. Further, identity constructions can be "hybrid" and reveal historical experiences (post-colonial, migratory experiences). Throughout their life courses, female identities form alongside these and other aspects such as the (maternal) family, cultural values, work commitments, religion, education, and migratory experiences. Here, Stuart Hall's writings on cultural identity contrasts with Crenshaw's intersectional viewpoint. He deconstructs identity as victimhood and the make-up of the Black subject as an identity 'in difference',

> "[…], as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute 'what we really are'; or rather –since history has intervened– 'what we have become' […] We cannot speak for very long, with any exactness, about 'one experience, one identity', without acknowledging its other side –the ruptures and discontinuities which constitute, precisely, the

3 Translation: To experience oneself as similar (Schönhuth 2005: Kulturglossar, http://www.kulturglossar.de/index.html [10.02.20]).

> Caribbean's 'uniqueness'. Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'" (Hall/DuGay 1996: 225).

Hall utilizes the works of and draws relations between, e.g., Said, Gandhi, Garvey, Rastafarianism, China, and Jamaica, intending to contribute to existing identity discourses the notion of an identity 'in difference'. In his reference to cinematic representations, Hall defines his viewpoint by seeing strength in uncovering traits of difference and diversity for the analysis of Caribbean cultures as "more superficial differences, [is the truth,] the essence, of 'Caribbeanness', of the black experience. It is this identity which a Caribbean or black diaspora must discover, excavate, bring to light and express [...]" (Hall 1996: 223). In terms of identity constructions, it is hence crucial to remember that heterogeneity and contradictions are components of individual identity constructions within a particular socio-cultural setting. Feelings and emotions often accompany the construction of a distinct identity in contrast to 'others'. These affective traits can be either negative, e.g., regarding antipathy or positive as, e.g., the feeling of being at home ("Heimatgefühl"). Hence, cultural identity is about producing differences or coherence between others. Here, construction is a process in which diverse individual realities develop under the cognitive, social, situational and cultural conditions of an individual (Reckwitz 2001). The prerequisite for this construction is communication because the exchange of information creates reality. What follows from this is no real objectivity, but at best an inter-subjectivity of perception and action. As reality is subjective, individuals depend on the constant confirmation of their designs of reality. The notion of cultural identity has frequently been negatively connoted and used in conflictive situations, e.g., in the defence against foreign influences or the suppression of other cultures. Huntington's famous "Clash of Civilizations" scenario (Huntington 1993: 1) points to these negative characteristics of emphasizing and 'essentializing' cultural identities. In the context of globalization debates, people's resistance to foreign influences is also described (Breidenbach/Zukrigl 1998: 49f.). However, through increasing opportunities for intercultural contacts, globalization can offer an opportunity to broaden one's horizon and thus, cultural identity. No longer is a firm reference to the demarcated attitude or distinction of 'others' alone relevant, but each individual's condition for cultural identity taken into consideration (ibid.).

According to Sen, every person is "different in different ways" (Sen 2007: 33f.). Through analysing migration experiences and the adaptations of foreign goods and ideas, the phenomenon of the extension of one's own cultural identity becomes visible. The existence of a single identity is, according to Sen, an illusion (ibid. 17f.). According to Sahlins, people use foreign material to "become more like themselves" (Sahlins 1988 qtd. in Breidenbach/Zukrigl 1998: 57). Thereby, many indicators show how the global can be transformed and integrated into the everyday life of the lo-

cal (Breidenbach/Zukrigl 1998: 61), i.e., individuals and societies find new ways to transform and domesticate the influences they are theoretically threatened by to impose them on their identity (ibid. 57). This is a thesis that once again contradicts the homogenization approach. The worldwide expansion of mass consumption, media, and institutions, therefore, cannot cause a cultural melting, but the replacement of an "old" with a "new" cultural diversity (ibid. 77). For cultural identity, this means that it is not in an enclosed frame of reference, but it is frequently hybrid and permeated by the diverse cultural interdependencies of the global world (ibid.). Migrants are in a continual process of identity development since they are forced to cope with the culture(s) they live in without being assimilated (Hall 1999: 435). However, the nation-state as an identification point often remains a valuable tool in the process of self- differentiation or of experiencing differences in the migratory process, whereby Jamaican migrants often stay connected to their countries of origin through, e.g., remittance sending practices, landownership or homeland travels.

5.3 Diaspora and Homeland

Closely linked to cultural identity is the term diaspora, which illustrates the usually involuntary dispersal of a people from a centre (or homeland) to multiple areas. Further, diaspora signals the creation of communities and identities due to histories and consequences of dispersal. The term derives from an ancient Greek expression that dates back to the biblical story of the dispersal of the Israelites. In the past, classical diasporic studies were often concerned with, e.g., the Jewish dispersion. However, over time diaspora research became both a conceptual and analytical framework to explain diverse practices of global mobility and community formation. Since the second half of the 20th century, anthropology has grappled with the definition, constantly shifting the interpretation and critiques. The notion of diaspora continues to be characterized by classical theoretical concerns of dialectics between homeland and host country, the relationship of nation-state and diaspora as well as contemporary politics of control over global population movements. Mainly, considerations about exile, refugees, and immigrants, form important pillars of diaspora research. Several related essays and books are worth mentioning.

As early as 1994, Clifford examined the concept of diaspora as a "traveling" term that withstands any exclusivist paradigm used to denote the complexities of transnational identity formation, by tracing and reviewing the currency of diaspora theory and discourse through the popular invocations of the diaspora in Black British and anti-Zionist Jewish scholarship (Clifford 1994: 302-338). His exposition and analysis of the term are probably the most cited across all scientific disciplines

and relevant for this study. The term diaspora is widely used to describe the Jamaican cultural experience of being highly mobile and globally dispersed. In his essay on Jamaican diasporic culture, Zips (2003) identifies the Eurocentric usage of the term and aims for a more emic and Afrocentric perspective in looking at individual and collective Jamaican diasporic experiences. Viewing the dynamism of the term diaspora, he recognizes its creative, unfinished, and manifold potential (Zips 2003: 22f.). The Jamaican diasporic experience is, therefore, not only a unilineal process informed by past encounters of domination, dispersion, and exile, but also a process-oriented tool that exposes Black diasporic endeavours as an invariably evolving global network with ever new angles and network formations (Zips 2003: 32f.). As examples, he uses Jamaican socio-cultural export hits such as Reggae music, the Civil Rights activist Marcus Garvey, and the transatlantic dispersal of the Maroon rebels in the 18th century. In his book, "The Black Atlantic" (1993) Gilroy also observed that diasporic movement is not a singular lifetime event out of Africa or out of Southern peripheries, but rather a relational web of entangled regions of Black diaspora. Okphewo contextualizes in the book "The African Diaspora" the particularity of this continuously evolving network:

> "Given the fluid movement of persons and of ideas from both sides of the Atlantic, […], it becomes clear that diaspora represents a global space, a worldwide web, that accounts as much for the mother continent as for wherever in the world her offspring may have been driven by the unkind forces of history" (Okphewo et al. 2001: xiv).

With quickened global connections and fluid diasporic formations, more and more individuals recognize that their living conditions are changing. Especially in the urban centres of the world, a "thrown togetherness" (Massey 2005: 149ff.) of encounters and conflicts reflects a post-colonial perspective of migration that exists between the socio-economic and political demands of the global North and global South. Therefore, scholarly research about migration, integration, and diaspora always has to take into account the inherent colonial presences (Keown et al. 2009). One methodological solution to discern this inherent presence is the research 'with' migrants, instead of the research 'about' migration. With this study, I attempt to engage in a research with migrants as research partners and a situational approach that understands and addresses the local as a product and place of the global (see Bojadžijev/Römhild 2014). As the World Migration Report (IOM 2015) shows, migrants play a significant role in local social spaces as well as in the development of urban centres since their various support networks and international exchange of resources provide support in their residential communities. The role of returnees as sources of knowledge about migration and as intermediaries is again relevant here. In general, it is crucial to keep in mind that the majority of people are stationary since their attachment to a specific place is stronger than the opportunities that

migration offers. However, in order to understand the dynamics behind certain moves, the analysis of this study focuses on practices, imaginaries, and narratives that inspire individuals to move elsewhere. With this, each individual's migratory story connects with structural aspects that go beyond the commonalities of socio-economic 'push and pull factors'. Homeland as an important category of diaspora research is primarily representative of a place or locality where one feels at home, feels connected to or where one wants to live; opposite to the concept of homeland is, for example, the term foreign land. Home is hard to explain and thus is more an affective affiliation and emotional connection than anything tangible. To feel at home in a specific place or country, one does not have to have been born there. Homeland, therefore, is not necessarily 'bordered' or defined by nationality. In contemporary anthropology, the homeland is understood as an often-loose concept of self-representation that individuals use to symbolize their intact social and emotional relationship to a socio-cultural space (Greverus 1979 qtd. in Schönhuth 2005). As the ethnography will highlight, homeland can also be perceived as a metaphor for romanticized longing as well as a yearning space for connection and nostalgia.

By combining aspects of gender, identity and diaspora, it is necessary to be aware of the fact that throughout colonialism, the independence-era and the contemporary post-colonial period, European and North American countries have always had a socio-cultural impact on Jamaica. Simultaneously, Jamaican immigration and globalization enhanced processes of what Carolyn Cooper identifies as a "colonization in reverse" (Cooper 1995: 175), which highlights Jamaica's transformational power by influencing the 'centres' of the global North with its migratory people, their stories, language, music, and culture. These influences are especially important in a transatlantic context, where diasporic Jamaican people immigrate to a cosmopolitan and diverse city such as Montreal that in itself is already a culturally hybrid, urban space in which various 'world understandings' meet each other. Concerning Jamaican women, it is especially interesting to look at Euro- and Afrocentric assumptions when confronted with spatial and bodily practices. Throughout the writing process for this study, which examines various forms of experiences of blackness, it was always critical and vital to ask "from whose perspective" (Oyěwùmí 1997: 544) is the story told.