12 Roots, Pathways and Trajectories: Processes of Oscillation

> "A lot of people will say, 'mi hear say yuh live a foreign'. Unno can gwaan! Any which part mi live: Toronto, London, Florida […] a Jamaica mi deh. Jamaica mi deh all the time!" –Miss Lou[1]

In times of increased migration and mobility research, it seems as if people, images, objects and culture are in constant flux. Attempts to describe these flows and fluctuations are manifold, with people being dispersed, displaced, deterritorialized (Glick Schiller et al. 1992; 1995; Appadurai 1990), reterritorialized, in '-scapes' (Appadurai 1991; 1996), 'hyper-mobile' (Gössling et al. 2012), cosmopolitan (Vertovec 2009), fluid, altogether nomads 'on the move' (Cresswell 2006; Gupta/Ferguson 1997). As a result, various studies about movement are closely linked to globalization processes, which challenge the idea of the interconnection of culture, people, and places. However, quite contrary to contemporary assumptions, movement and mobility are not new phenomena of the globalized world. Historical events give rise to the assumption that border crossing migration and mobility have long been a norm and survival strategy (see Jónsson 2008) to many people, including Jamaicans. Jamaica has a longstanding and ongoing "culture of migration" (see Thomas-Hope 2002; Cohen 2004; Hahn/Klute 2007), which makes studying mobility central to analysing its cultural meaning and measuring socio-cultural changes over time.

Even though neoliberalism and capitalism both enhanced mobility in terms of socio-economics, governments worldwide often recognize mobility as a threat that needs to be ordered, regulated, and restricted (Scott 1998). In the Jamaican case, these regulatory policies are felt due to, e.g., new immigration laws by the United Kingdom in 2003, by the United States after 9/11 and constant changes in

1 Translation: Many people will say, 'I hear you live abroad'. You can continue to gossip! No matter in which place I live: Toronto, London, Florida […] I am in Jamaica. I am in Jamaica all the time! Transcribed quote from a stage performance of Jamaican comedian, poet and writer Dr. Louise Simone Bennett-Coverley (1919-2006) who is lovingly called 'Miss Lou' (Caribbean Insight TV 2018).

Canada, e.g., the recent implementation of Bill 9 and Bill 21 (2019) by Quebec's government. Therefore, mobility not only brings about constant movement and innovation, but is also distributed unevenly and excludes certain people (Salazar/Smart 2011). Hence, mobility is not only a necessity (e.g. in the case of refugees), a strategy to better one's livelihood (e.g. in the case of labour migrants) or a tool of global markets, but ultimately a privilege, which is still not an all-encompassing standard. The same processes that enhance mobility and global interconnection also produce immobility and exclusion (Tsing 2011). The aim here is to express that neither the mobility paradigm nor the fixation with the nation-state and territorial borders help in understanding the contemporary context of mobility and migration within and across conventional borders (Ong 2006). Therefore, this study considers movement not to be unravelled or in constant flux, but instead informed, regulated and distributed across different generations and shaped by various actors, places as well as political and socio-economic structures. Again, the women followed in this ethnography are privileged by holding dual citizenship. However, in the event of Jamaican migration to Canada and other countries, there is also a large number of undocumented and trapped immigrants, over-stayers, and deportees. These facts are mentioned here to acknowledge that the world is far away from being borderless. Socio-cultural and spatial differentiation is a complex process of historical and current political construction that has gained a lot of strength quite recently (e.g., refugee crisis in the EU-Schengen area or the building of the US-Mexican border wall, to name a few) and is, above all, a normative charged instrument. Certain groups, e.g., migrants with an illegal residence or deportees were purposely neglected in this study because their individual life pathways would have opened up different analytical as well as methodological criteria. Moreover, other trajectories that I am unable to discuss more in-depth in this study were, e.g., stay behind family or people who recently emigrated from Jamaica to Montreal.

Throughout the fieldwork, it was essential to pay attention to how the mobility of the interlocutors is structured through their imaginaries, intergenerational narratives, socio-cultural practices as well as the frictions and interdependencies that occur from these dynamics, especially if the place one has left years ago has changed. For anthropological research, it is accordingly not so relevant to only replicate patterns of mobility and migration that fit the paradigms of transnationalism or mobility studies (cf. Hannam et al. 2006; Larsen et al. 2007), but much more to understand and to describe how mobility is imagined and experienced as well as why movement is meaningful. From an anthropological perspective, it is therefore necessary to keep in mind the continual significance of locality as a mode of knowledge and practice that continuously recreates culture and society. As Salazar and Smart state, "Mobility creates tensions and the distinct trajectories of movement that individuals adopt shape their life, but also the places where they

live" (2011: 6). Hence, a renewed focus on both mobility and the places that shape these movements is presented.

This part of the ethnography is dedicated to the various forms of movement that can be seen through my interlocutors' migratory life pathways. Their mobility and crossings of borders are permeated with cultural meanings and imaginaries. Moving between different places and the necessity to adjust to varying socio-cultural, multi-layered contexts produces alterations, ruptures and, at times, silences. Studying migratory mobility between homeland, host society, and diaspora does not only give insights into existing socio-cultural networks, but also into the production of new knowledge (Treiber 2013) and connections in order to navigate shifting conditions; instead of focussing on bipolar local-to-local relations. Movements and personal decisions, therefore, do not form linearly but have shown to be an ongoing process of mediation and negotiation that structures interactions in spaces of diversity (Lehmkuhl 2019). To describe this dynamic process the term oscillation seems to be a fitting notion.

Oscillation as a term is generally used to describe repetitive variations, usually in time, of measures about a central value, often a point of equilibrium or balance between two or more different states. Oscillations commonly occur in mechanical systems, but also in dynamic systems in almost every area of scientific research, e.g., business cycles in economics, geothermal geysers in geology or the beating of the human heart in biology. Typical examples of oscillation include the swinging pendulum or the alternating of current. This chapter highlights how oscillation processes occur that mediate cultural belonging beyond national borders. In scholarly research and theory, the term oscillation has been undervalued as a tool to describe migratory mobility and cross-border phenomena. Commonly used in studies about animal ecology, geophysical or medical research, oscillation, as a term has not yet been sufficiently used to describe migratory trajectories, whether these trajectories take shape in actual physical or mental or virtual mobility. Moreover, some scholars have used the term to describe that people's migration can oscillate, however, the literature hereby rather engages with seasonal labour migrants', temporary commuters, who are literally sitting on their packed suitcases and never settle in the 'receiving' countries (see Hawkins 1999; Rees et al. 2010).

However, I understand migratory oscillation processes not only in terms of physical movement, but also in terms of a mental, virtual and socio-cultural practice of constantly swinging (albeit in different degrees of strength) around an equilibrium point similar to the motion of a pendulum or random as the movement of a tire on a rocky road. For this study, I argue, that this equilibrium point is "Jamaica". With that I mean, Jamaica not as a physical object that one can hold, but rather an imaginary or an affective notion that has individual characteristics for each person. The picture that I want to evoke here is that of a sand pendulum suspended and moving in various directions from a point of reference. The traces the pen-

dulum leaves in the sand symbolize the tracks that the interlocutors of this study leave behind on their pathways, in varying places and with other people. Whether roots traveling or returning semi-permanently or permanently, Jamaica as a romantic 'homeland' image plays a crucial role in the lives of all interlocutors. For example, in the case of Elisha, who was not born there, Jamaica serves as a point of identification and reference, as an idealized space of belonging. Belonging to a country because of this identification is less bounded by a national terrain as it rather entails an ethno-cultural affiliation. Although there is (notably when absent from Jamaica for a longer time) a "conditionality of belonging" (Laoire 2009: 42), meaning that belonging in Jamaica has to be approved by the local society, their own conviction of ethno-cultural affiliation and identity of being Jamaican remains unbroken. Feelings and frictions of being excluded, not knowing certain local customs and attempts to counteract local perceptions, therefore, are part of a process of mediating and negotiating modes of belonging to Jamaican culture and society. This process is dynamic and can last throughout one's entire life course, which is shaped by historical and contextual dimensions produced via individual, temporal and spatial (im)mobility that constructed certain meanings concerning places, people and socio-cultural particularities. These assumptions or expectations often cause frictions, silences, ruptures, and traumas that ultimately bring the interlocutors back or closer to their central value or self-defined place of 'heart'. This closeness can be physical, but it is finally rather an affective intimacy as in times of physical immobility, a simultaneous mental static is not given. Instead, in times of standstill, the mind, thoughts and mental preparations for the next journey and possibilities of future movement to Jamaica are the priority.

In addition, not a bipolar oscillation between two places alone should be considered, but also the possibility to swing back and forth between different options and third spaces as was shown for example through Ms. Brown's trip to Miami. While these options might reduce direct travels to the island for a while, they never remove Jamaica from its central position of the 'mental maps' of the interlocutors. Therefore, various modes of oscillation, which are not unilineal nor completely fluid, best illustrate Jamaican women's migratory trajectories that swing about a central point of value (Jamaica). Related to the idea of oscillation is, for example, the concept of seasonality, the presence of variations that occur at specific regular intervals (e.g. annually, quarterly, monthly), which are caused by various factors of which the most common ones are weather or vacation time. Seasonality consists of repetitive, periodic and generally predictable patterns of a series in time, e.g., a seasonal oscillation process, which comes in the form of ongoing homeland travels and vacations to Jamaica while generally living in Canada.

12.1 The Roots Traveller

Regular seasonal movements maintain not only a smooth socio-cultural re-adaptation in Jamaica, but also simplify daily life in Canada. Jamaica serves as a source of energy, recreation, and a familial place where Carol, for example, recharges her 'empty batteries' and gets to know the latest local happenings. The holiday home, an upscale apartment in one of Kingston's upper-class areas, was an investment and her attempt to stay connected to her Jamaican family, local friends, and the island overall. The flat that one of her cousins takes care of is rented out for the rest of the year, to tourists or business people who come to visit the capital city. The rental fees create a local income for her family members who take care of the place, e.g., paying maintenance bills for the air-conditioning, gardening, electricity and water as well as doing other tasks that are involved in times when the apartment is empty. As Clifford (1997) suggests in tracing the "routes to the roots", through uncovering the mobile life pathways of women such as Carol culture is re-produced through both "dwelling and traveling". Furthermore, Carol made sure that her family in Canada (also her children) would have a place to stay any time they want to visit Jamaica. Her involvement in local matters through her holiday home ensures she stays up-to-date with local, socio-cultural changes, occurrences, and shifts.

Therefore, Carol was the only research partner with a relatively small amount of frictions or ruptures. Even though she faces situations in which she is perceived as a foreigner, Carol can reflect on why local Jamaicans treat her that way, as she knows of the influence of external media such as American TV that enables locals to imagine 'greener pastures' in foreign lands. Carol understands that her status as a returning foreign national, who can swing back and forth between North America and Jamaica, is not only high due to her dual citizenship and mobility, but also that this status is an immense privilege. This privilege gives her a moral impetus to help locals and donate money to local charity organizations. Her desire to revisit the country of her birth at regular intervals is her way of tracing roots and "re-grounding" with her homeland (cf. Olwig/Sørensen 2002; Ahmed et al. 2003; Stefansson 2004). Her specific type of mobility problematizes not only spatial and cultural essentialisms, but also advances the understanding of 'transcultural' exchanges (Welsch 1999) of knowledge and identity constructions, which are related to a seasonal temporality. Here, a too-long absence from the homeland is equated with a loss of local context knowledge, hence, an increase in frictions and social alienation.

Carol's seasonal attempts to stay connected shows furthermore that "place matters" (Foner 2005: 174) as the highly desired reconnection with the homeland cannot be met alone through, e.g., the usage of the internet or remittance sending practices. The ethnography thus shows that Carol's personal migratory experiences are tied to an ongoing discursive and cross-border cultural web of Jamaican social

networks, which mediate ethno-cultural alienation or belonging. Moreover, Carol recently chose to relocate her family to Toronto, which exemplifies how internal border-crossings, inside of the broader nation of Canada, already make a massive difference in terms of quality of life for people like her. Her personal considerations guiding this movement were powerfully intertwined with the wish for and knowledge about better living conditions in an Anglophone metropole such as Toronto that already hosts a considerable number of Jamaican immigrants and has less segregation on a communal level. The value of a more prominent and more condensed Jamaican community, with restaurants, grocery stores, market places, leisure activities created by churches, associations and local groups, was the significant key for moving to Toronto. Additionally, Carol said, "You know, the flights from Toronto to Kingston are more regular, and I have more choices when it comes to traveling, it's just more convenient and cheaper too. […] After all, the children were also fond of us moving to Toronto; you know since they come to visit us from the States".

After Carol's migration to Montreal, she engaged in several border-crossing movements, travels and post-migratory mobility practices over the years that expanded beyond Jamaica, Canada, or North America. She was never a classical migrant who came, assimilated, and stayed grounded. All her mobility across internal and external boundaries were infused with cultural meanings and knowledge about people and places. As a result, all these elements are relevant in her current mobility and important for her self-understanding and realization of 'being and belonging' to a contemporary, diverse world that offers her the possibility to navigate and negotiate life in different places. Hence, in her seasonal mobility practices Canada and Jamaica are simultaneously intertwined. As countries of migration, Canada and Jamaica are products of a wide variety of processes of exchange and border-crossings that trigger ongoing processes of internal discourses about differences and otherness. Roots travellers such as Carol strengthen these cross-cultural exchanges of images, narratives, and practices through their migratory agency. However, Quebec as a 'distinct' province inside of Canada seems to have many difficulties with the inclusion of cultural 'others'. Difficulties that cannot only be seen in the life courses of the interlocutors of this study, but also in ongoing, historically grown, language controversies, exclusionary tendencies, pressing issues with racism as well as many political exclusionary decisions with regard to immigration (Bill 9) and cultural (religious) differentiation (Bill 21).

12.2 The Aspiring Returnee

After Ms. Brown returned from Jamaica and was back in her apartment in Montreal, she was very depressed. Weeks went by without me hearing from her. Silence. Then at the end of June, she gave me a call. "I was a little bit out of the loop, to be

honest with you, but now I found back my balance", she explains on the phone. The quarrel with her sister and the situation at the house had left her in shock. Her initial thought was that she was unable to go back and live in a situation like that: A rundown house with broken tiles and water leakage as well as electricity outages now and then. This was not the retirement life Ms. Brown had imagined. Therefore, she made some phone calls and sent out some text messages to relatives as well to her children in the hope of finding an alternative solution.

"So I went down to Miami, you know to visit Norma [one of her cousins] and she lives pretty nice there", Ms. Brown, explains. South Florida in the United States is home to the second-largest Jamaican population outside of Jamaica. Political unrest in Jamaica in the 1970s resulted in a mass exodus of Jamaicans to Miami. What makes South Florida especially attractive to pensioners is the year-around warm climate, which is similar to Jamaica, as well as its geographical proximity to the island. Most airlines fly daily between the USA and Jamaica with a flight time shorter than 60 minutes. "I tell you Jamaican food is everywhere, Norma said there are over five hundred restaurants, even in the supermarket there was an aisle with Jamaican products, laawd god[2], I tell you, it's like a dream come true", Ms. Brown continues. Additionally, the cultural hybridity through the existence of other Caribbean and Latin American immigrants, as well as the affordable cost of living, seem like attractive prospects. Lauderhill, where cousin Norma lives, is fondly called 'Jamaica Hill' due to its distinct Jamaican community in the area, where, amongst other recreational possibilities, many churches with Jamaican pastors are located; also, an Anglican service that cousin Norma attends regularly. Further, several Jamaican-born representatives run the city commission, and Jamaican professionals are well represented in the health sector. "The beaches are wonderful too, long, white sand, […] and I loved South Beach and Ft. Lauderdale", Ms. Brown emphasizes wholeheartedly. "I considered it, you know, it's really nice, and you know I love Norma, but after all, it's not Jamaica", she sighs from the other end of the line. While I was already starting to believe that Ms. Brown had changed her mind and was introducing her next retirement idea to me, her last comment left me confused. After her field trip to Miami and her local research about retirement homes, Ms. Brown decided to speak again to her sister: about "what had happened" and the condition of the house.

"You know, blood ticka dan wata"[3], she justifies her intention. Together, they finally had found a suitable solution for how to ease the situation and realize a plan that ensures Ms. Brown's return as well as socio-economic benefits for the family of her cousin. First, Ms. Brown called one of her oldest local friends to buy a cheap car in good condition, which her cousin will use as a route taxi in the countryside. In an

2 Translation: Lord God (Jesus).

3 Translation: Blood is thicker than water.

attempt to get her cousin off the couch and into a job, she gave him a functioning vehicle. The income he now generates is used for the urgent fixing of the house, maintenance of the car, incoming bills, and the support of his family. When the construction is finished, he will then pay a share to Ms. Brown upon her return. The wife of her cousin was sent immediately to get her paperwork sorted out since she needs a passport to follow Ms. Brown's invitation to Montreal. In Montreal, Ms. Brown organized a domestic job for her with an older woman who needed help in the household. "Over time, she will get by and can save much money to send for the family. I will help her sort out the paperwork and introduce her to some people, so she can stay for a while and realize a living, maybe she can even send for them [referring to her family] when she got settled". The young woman who will leave behind two teenage children is eager to follow Ms. Brown's offer and leave behind the troubled situation in the countryside as well as prospectively increase the standard of living for her entire family, especially her children before they turn 18 years old[4]. The children themselves will be left in the care of Ms. Brown's sister Jodi and their father for the time being. As the children are used to go to a secondary educational institution, which is farther away from the countryside village, they often stay with different relatives (in the next bigger city).

Finally, Ms. Brown and her sister agreed on a different monetary support system. Jodi sends Ms. Brown all the receipts for the bills via photo messages and will then be reimbursed for the expenses. Ms. Brown, who wants to stay more connected to local tasks concerning the house, set up new control mechanisms, saying, "I need to supervise this whole process now; otherwise they slack off too much, you will see with my help things soon run back the way it should". Not giving up on her dream of returning, Ms. Brown already planned her next trip to Jamaica, which she will use to check on the renovation of the house and the transfer of her new kitchen appliances, which are still sitting at the harbour. The next two years, will be used to thoroughly plan and structure her return. Now that she knows what had been going on locally, she will be more cautious and take things into her own hands. "Believe me, I had to do some straight talking with my sister, I told her I'm going to come and live in my house, and no one can stop me from doing so" Ms. Brown related.

Her physical stasis over the years and her sparse travels, due to her economic situation in Montreal, caused her to face significant problems upon her return to Jamaica. Even though Ms. Brown's memory of Jamaica was highly present in her daily life, her mental mobility and connection to the island was solely focused on another time (past) and only on a singular, romanticized place that sharply clashed with the actual situation. Her mental and emotional fixation infused by

4 Note: It is substantially harder for children to join their parents via family reunification programs after they are considered adults by law.

glorified and mythologized memories presupposed knowledge about Jamaica that was densely filtered by her ultimate aspiration of reconnecting to the homeland. Therefore, these imaginaries of 'fixity' influenced her mobility experience tremendously (see Easthope 2009). Similar to first-time migrants who anticipate their new and better life in modern cities of the global North; Ms. Brown's anticipations were extremely optimistic and expected to be a compensation for all her hardships and frustrations in Montreal. Hence, imaginaries build a strong foundation for the cultural meaning of migration and mobility. After fantasy and facts clashed, her inner world was shattered. She realized that the state of marginalization and exclusion, that she so urgently wishes to escape in Montreal, could be repeated in Jamaica.

However, her resilience and also the new socio-cultural context knowledge that she had gained supported her in seeking and finding alternative solutions. Even though her initial understanding of the local situation had dramatically changed, she transformed and renegotiated her new local life through active involvement and agency. Throughout her lifetime, she learned how to cope with roadblocks concerning various people and different structures. Moreover, her social networks allowed Ms. Brown to look into other directions and options before making her final decision, which additionally helped aid her initial traumatic experience after coming back from Jamaica. Her familial "network-mediated" migration (Wilson 1998: 395) further facilitates the migration of one of her extended family members, which also significantly benefits the local household in Jamaica. After Ms. Brown presented the solutions to her sister, Jodi assured Ms. Brown to be supportive of her homecoming. Therefore, while one migrant might leave the 'host country', a new one emerges from the same social structures supported by familial networks of reciprocity. Hence, returnees like Ms. Brown hold a lot of social capital that allow newcomers to be successful in Canada and Jamaican conditions to better.

Currently, Ms. Brown is only a few months away from receiving her pension. She has already sold and given away several miscellaneous items from her apartment in Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. Her preparation process of leaving Montreal is in full effect. New tiles have been added to the front patio of the house, the utility bills have been paid for, and the electricity and water supplies have been reactivated. The taxi she bought for her cousin is running well and contributing relevant funds to the house. The only point Ms. Brown is still unsure about is selling her apartment; maybe behind her resolute personality and certainty there is still a small doubt or fear of permanently returning to her grandmother's house. Maybe she just wants to be smarter this time, or maybe she wants to generate income from keeping the apartment and renting it out to tourists in Montreal. Over the three years' time of accompanying Ms. Brown, her formerly 'unidirectional' thinking about a permanent resettlement in Jamaica has changed. In today's WhatsApp video call, I can see her face lighting up while she imagines possible new routes for her future life: "You know, most importantly mi ago go back home, no matter what […]. But why

not visit Norma from time to time or go to Montreal for a couple of weeks, you know, Betsy is still here. […] And the children, mi waan go see dem too. As long as Jesus provides me with good health and time anything is possible, don't it?[5]"

12.3 The Glocal

Even though Debby, as an important interlocutor, was excluded from the last two chapters, she is still relevant for the understanding of various processes that accompany the migratory experience. Debby does not intend to return to Jamaica although she engaged in familial holiday trips to Jamaica like her sister Elisha. It is also not her primary goal to repeat these vacations in a consistent form. However, Debby is still intensely involved with Jamaican culture and people in her daily life. Through her salon, Debby became an important local, socio-cultural institution in Montreal. Through her agency, the love for her customers and her job, she created a sanctuary space through which many socio-economic networks of the city flow. Her work supports not only community ties, but also connects different generations of Afro-Caribbean immigrant women that find a safe space in Debby's salon. Here, one can stay informed about the newest trends and latest gossip and talk about Montreal and Jamaica. Debby eagerly and regularly informs herself about fashion, hair and styling trends in Jamaica via online and social media channels, but also via friends, she has on the island. Through her regular trips to Brooklyn (NYC), she is further connected to another part of the Jamaican diaspora in the United States that she uses for styling updates, to purchase her products (especially products, which are not available in Quebec, e.g., specific make-up shades) and as an exchange with other hairdressers and fashionistas. Therefore, Debby works hard to satisfy her customers with exclusive products, up-to-date styling, competitive prices and a 'reproduction' of a Jamaican beauty salon in Montreal that has no peer. As Debby says, "This is where I live; my mother and grandmother earned all of what I do so that we can be fully engaged in life here in Montreal. There's a lot of Jamaican people who are successful in what they do on the ground level, you know. I believe we can make this place our own and find some happiness in that". The local demand in Montreal for places like Debby's strengthen her belonging to the city which is, however, closely interconnected to a continuation of Jamaican socio-cultural practices that are at times distinctively overemphasized as 'Jamaican'.

The concept of "glocalization" put forth by Robertson (1998) is used to analyse how social actors construct meanings, identities, and institutional forms within the socio-cultural context of globalization, conceived in multi-dimensional terms.

5 Translation: The most important thing is that I will be going back home. […] and the children, of course, I want to visit them as well. […].

Through her own and familial migrant experience, she inherited and further constructed her 'original' Jamaican culture to a new context, in which intracultural and intercultural identities and practices intermingle; she so consistently reinvents her own "glocal" self-understanding. Debby's employees and business partners are strictly Jamaican. Even though she has clients from different parts of the world, her business is family-owned. Her salon is a location that embodies cultural meaning, in its composition of furniture, decoration elements, music played and hairstyles created, altogether offering a specific ethno-cultural Jamaican 'aesthetic experience' that bases in familial memories, intergenerational work ethics and diasporic imaginaries of Jamaica. This aesthetic can also be found on Debby's own body, on which she cultivates practices and bodily features that resemble the aesthetic of an 'authentic' Jamaican Dancehall queen.

Through Debby, this study was informed about beauty, hair, and the body being a racialized subject in Montreal. It was shown that questions of who fits into society in terms of certain 'white' standards of appearance are a pressing issue, especially when it comes to work-related racialization. Hereby, Debby also caters to Afro-Caribbean 'natural' hairstyles, which makes her beauty salon an exception compared to similar salons in Jamaica. Even though styles like afros or dreadlocks are often seen as "too ethnic", Debby wants to make sure she includes everyone, no matter which hairstyle they wear, in her surrounding community. In general, Debby's job is not only collective work, but also a genuine service, a "pink-collar job" (De Mello 2013: 160f.) performed primarily for women. She offers women of all ages an emotional support structure, through her hair-, make-up- and nail-styling practices as well as the respect she has for her clients. Debby ultimately gives people a feeling of companionship and makes them "feel better" (more beautiful, sexy, proper, to name a few terms that came up during the study) as she puts it. By attending to her own body and the bodies of her customers and their feelings, she performs high-quality body and emotional labour (ibid.). Debby's life experience is not only articulated through her salon, but also her engagement with a wider Jamaican diaspora, the city of Montreal, and her body: Many dimensions that communicate, inform, and fortify each other into a holistic picture of Debby's life world as a child of Jamaican immigrants.

Because of this, the relationship with her mother from whom she took over the salon is crucial when talking about her work in the local Afro-Caribbean community in Montreal. Her salon mirrors this intergenerational relationship and history through pictures, décor, and the clients who come to get their hair done. For example, a photograph of her mother braiding hair in their old apartment in Little Burgundy has a prominent spot at the salon, which not only shows Debby's story, but also her feelings and the way she inhabits space in Montreal. The interconnection between the space and her familial migration history that she considers a success story. Therefore, the salon can be understood as a "glocal space", not

a binary site between Montreal and Jamaica, but rather a communal space that serves as an intermediary in which Debby is the 'cultural broker'. Insofar, the salon becomes a relevant Jamaican diasporic hotspot on Montreal's city map in which women practice, narrate, embody and negotiate socio-cultural values, traditions, narratives, obligations, inclusion and exclusion, experiences with marginalization and racialization as well as various forms of knowledge about migration. Hence, they influence the local setting in Montreal inconspicuously through their ongoing agency and existence.

12.4 The Wanderer

After Elisha returned to Montreal, she plunged into work. In less than five weeks, she reactivated her pop-up shop network and found a new place to sell the Jamaican-inspired jewellery that she created right after coming back. Whenever I spoke to her about Jamaica, Elisha seemed too busy with her new project to delve into any negative experiences or simply did not want to talk about them. Probably a part of it was shame, especially in front of her local friends and her sister; she did not want to lose face. While she admitted that she was naïve to think she could go to Jamaica without 'real' preparations and stay there forever, she says, "I think it's good to take a little distance, for now, you know, but I will try it again for sure. I just have to have a better plan". Obviously, this plan did not only involve money for her, but also becoming more accustomed to local circumstances. Therefore, her new plan for the future was to travel to Jamaica regularly to get to know local customs better and to stay personally more in touch with her new friends on the island.

The newly found inspiration that she immediately put into her art and jewellery gave her a feeling of success since her collection was displayed at several Afro-Caribbean fashion shows together with works from local fashion designers. Her mobility to Jamaica mediated artistic impulses that inspired her work tremendously. "I must say, I also missed my community here, the sisters and the art network, I feel like I got a fresh start here after coming back and people were really interested in my travel and the whole experience!" explains Elisha. Specifically, Elisha's social network in Montreal and Jamaica supported and facilitated her mobility processes by providing her with local support structures and context knowledge in both places. In Montreal, her art network provides a safe, collectivistic space within her Afrocentric cultural orientation against racism and negative experiences. Her art network showered her with great respect for her trip 'back to her roots' and supported this reunification with the ethnic homeland. This space of an informal ethno-cultural community creates solidarity amongst young Afro-Caribbean art entrepreneurs such as Elisha and entails a shared diasporic consciousness of oppression. Staging the historically grown presence of this oppres-

sion through her art reveals how her identity and existence in Montreal is informed by the past and present simultaneously. Here, this network of third and fourth generation immigrant children developed a communal self-understanding by emphasizing and staging their cultural distinctiveness, which heightens their wish to preserve certain socio-cultural customs and affiliations. Mainly concerned with keeping their cultural symbolism alive, they create a positive and at times, politicized image of their identity. The active involvement of using art against racism and for the acceptance and visibility of Black diversity in Montreal's society are here worth mentioning. Though externally often ascribed a minority status, this network claims their cultural and ethnic presence in terms of a "we" consciousness and as "Canadian-born" Black people. The construction of their otherness creates "sameness" within the group context. As Hall states, group cohesion and Pan African or Afrocentric identity constructions support to align "subjective feelings with the objective places" (Hall/Du Gay 1996: 597f.) that they occupy in the city of Montreal.

The positive outcome from her travel experiences in Jamaica also explain why Elisha is already planning her next trip, this time to Ghana. "Africa is always on my mind, so I guess this is the right time to see it". Since she has Ghanaians in her paternal family, "local support would be no problem", as she said. While Jamaica remains to be the main constant in her daily life and aspired future destination, at the moment Ghana serves as a new locality of getting to know her 'roots' and herself. Elisha's life continuously crosses national boundaries and actively puts together Jamaica, Canada, and now Ghana into one social field (Glick Schiller et al. 1992). While Jamaica and Ghana serve –although weighted differently– as destinations of psychological comfort, sites of ancestry and ethno-cultural belonging, the positive connection to Montreal is solely based in her familial as well as her art network, which she both identifies as "emotional homes". As Louch states, "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). Elisha's mobility does not take linear paths, but shows rather "relational ways of entanglement and translation between transnational locations, nations, and human beings developed out of historical encounters and displacement" (Clifford 1997: 7f.). Whether or not Elisha returns to Jamaica or if she finds her happiness in Ghana or if she stays in Montreal, her life course cannot be pre-determined and has an open ending at this point and for this ethnography. Despite this limitation, this study illustrates the continuous mediation and reinvention of social realities and identity constructions that play a role when researching present-day mobility and migratory trajectories.

Therefore, it is crucial to take into consideration the multiple layers of identification and connection through practices and intergenerational narratives that inform diasporic individual (and group) consciousness. The demonstration of how

vital dynamic, affective, and communicative ties and networks to friends and family motivate Elisha to be mobile and stay connected to, e.g., Jamaica was central in this study. Networks are mainly maintained through images or imaginaries (Salazar 2011: 576f.) that Elisha keeps and nurtures through her own and second-hand memories of the Jamaican homeland and opinions about and experiences in their present place of living. Her daily life in Montreal is infused with a yearning for connection and belonging in which Jamaica plays a crucial role as a glorified or romanticized "point of suture" (Hall/DuGay 1996) or equilibrium point. Migration, mobility, and immobility are all aspects of Elisha's trajectory that explore relational and structural frictions across time and space. 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" (2018: 5).

Accordingly, the emotional ability to deal with unforeseen challenges and changes as well as an individual's socio-cultural and gender-based experiences or demands were of specific relevance. I end this section about Elisha with a quote from Judith Butler that sums up the limitation of the prediction of individual migratory mobility and the connected identity formations:

> "In this sense, identifications belong to the imaginary; they are phantasmatic efforts of alignment, loyalty, ambiguous and cross-corporeal cohabitations, […]. Identifications are never fully and finally made; they are incessantly reconstituted, and, as such, are subject to the volatile logic of iterability. They are that which is constantly marshalled, consolidated, retrenched, contested and, on occasion, compelled to give way" (Butler 1993: 105).

12.5 The Commuter

Even though Josephine has developed a rather pragmatic approach of becoming used to new local conditions in Jamaica, she is at the same time frustrated about loneliness and alienation from local, social life and has difficulties understanding locals' implicit principles of behaviour. Similar to Ms. Brown, Josephine is also bothered by the long waiting times and poor customer services, for example, at banks or restaurants. Together with frequent light shortages at her house and the overall different pace of life, living permanently in Jamaica seems more challenging than she had initially thought. After five years in Jamaica, she realized that she had romanticized living there and that solely being on the island is not her idea of an entirely satisfying returnee lifestyle.

In addition, local Jamaicans requests for money, accompanied by media portrayals of crime, further produce feelings of anxiety. These feelings result in a heightened use of security, e.g., security services such as alarm systems to protect her house. Since her Smartphone connects her with friends and family abroad daily, she only has a small number of local friends and acquaintances that she occasionally meets in church, at funerals or at specific events. Besides these local circumstances, a recent event catalysed her new idea of moving between Jamaica and Canada into reality.

"Shelly is pregnant, can you believe it, they told me last week", Josephine tells me with a big smile and water filling up her eyes. "I already booked my flight to go see her, no what a blessing, finally", she laughs while continuing to talk about her daughter's pregnancy. Never used to wasting her time, Josephine has already called her old contractor who she asked to plan and realize the reconstruction of her Jamaican mansion into two or three large apartments. "After all, I don't need so much space when I travel back and forth, so I get my private space and then I can rent out the rest of the rooms", she explains, excited about her new project. In Toronto, where Josephine's daughter lives, she already called and texted some of her local contacts to inquire about renting a flat. "Of course, I can stay at Shelly's house, but no, the children need their privacy, you know, it's a new adventure, and they need mi now, […] without help you can't raise children […] and I can always be there for the summertime for sure", Josephine declares while imagining her new life. "Plus I can go and visit my friends in Montreal, and you know, Delroy's grave is there, so finally I can go and revisit him more often. It did not let me go the last years that he is there and I am here", she explains with a sad tone in her voice. To learn that Josephine's husband was buried in Montreal (and not in Jamaica) changed my understanding of why she was not fully content with her life on the island. The person with whom she planned and realized her retirement home and return aspirations with, was no longer there and beyond that, not even buried somewhere close, so she could be able to visit his resting place. Together with the news of welcoming an additional family member soon and through the support of her family and friends network, Josephine decided to adjust her life accordingly.

As this study has shown, mothers and grandmothers play a crucial role in the imagining and construction of the family. One significant phenomenon to emerge from this household construction is reflected in mobile, cross-border care taking activities of grandmothers. Plaza (2000) describes the existence of "transnational grannies" moving between the US, Canada, and the Caribbean, offering their children child rearing support, gifts, and help with household duties. As Josephine's case demonstrates, return put her into a conflictive state. On the one hand, her love for Jamaica, Jamaican food, the climate, her beautiful and comfortable retirement house as well as the overall relaxed lifestyle were there, but on the other hand, she frequently felt overwhelmed by local problems and guilt about leaving behind

her adult children in Canada and the USA. The return to Jamaica that was initially prompted by her deceased husband was much harder without him than she had anticipated; in particular, because she felt as if she could not fulfil her role as a mother (and now a grandmother) other than via phone calls or text messages. The restructuring of her previously held gender roles (e.g. wife, mother) and the difficulties that occurred through being absent from her children is also reflected in other studies about Caribbean female returnees (see Bauer/Thompson 2006; Olwig 2007; Horst 2007). As Horst states,

> "The availability and ownership of mobile phones has in many ways collapsed the distance between Jamaicans at home and abroad due to their ability to create a sense of involvement in each other's everyday lives. It has also enabled Jamaicans at 'home' to communicate their care and concern for their friends and family 'in foreign'" (2006: 159).

However, the mobile phone and virtual communications alone are not enough to fulfil Josephine's need of genuine connections. It helped her bridge emotional and physical gaps between Jamaica and her family and friends only for a while. Josephine landed in Toronto at the beginning of July 2019. By that time, her daughter's pregnancy had reached the final stage. She stayed until the baby was born and is the "happiest grandmother alive" as she told me in a text message. She also found a pleasant, small apartment not too far from her daughter's house. Additionally, she was able to visit Montreal, her friends, and her husband's grave, which made her feel extremely relieved. While she was gone, her contractor in Jamaica started to put in new doors into her house and took care of the refurbishing of the bathrooms, which are necessary preconditions for the rental. Before leaving Toronto, she called me to update me on her newly found life pathway between Jamaica and Canada. She said, "This is exactly what I needed, I feel brand new; finally I have a new task to attend to, […] this is the life I always wanted to live, being with my family and being in Jamaica".