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Abstract- This article proposes a typology of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto, Canada and examines the circumstances shaping the establishment of immigrant organizations with diverse orientations within this immigrant group. This analysis is informed by archival research that involved the examination of Caribbean newspapers including *The Share, Contrast* and *The Islander* that published articles about events and concerns particular to Caribbean communities in Toronto, Canada between 1960 and 2005. Information about the number and types of organizations established by Jamaican immigrants was obtained through a combination of internet research and information from the Consulate Generals Office of Jamaican in Toronto, Canada. The research shows that Jamaican immigrants have established more than 80 organizations of various types namely sociocultural, political, ethnic, alumni and special interest organizations. Additionally, the research asserts that there are ethno-specific and social spatial factors that contributed to the establishment of these organizations. Specifically, the desire to encourage sense of belonging in the place of residence through the celebration of events particular to their identity, increasing ethnic diversity within the group and changes in the availability of settlement assistance for immigrants in Toronto are factors that contributed to the establishment of diverse Jamaican immigrant organizations.

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I. Introduction

Immigrant organizations have been constructed as institutions that speak on behalf of specific immigrant groups and lauded for the key role they play in facilitating integration (Deverteuil, 2011 and Veronis, 2010) and civic engagement in places of settlement (Gleeson and Bloemraad, 2013; Snel and Engbersen, 2006; Nagel and Staeheli, 2008). Central to the concerns of these organizations and research that considers them is how to enable sense of belonging and ease insecurity among immigrant groups in places of settlement through the provision of services connected to immigrants' identities and their settlement challenges (Creese, 2011). These concerns assume added importance in the face of a growing and increasingly diverse immigrant populations that arrive in countries of immigration without strong social networks and community connections. While many studies (Portes, Escobar and Radford, 2007; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad, 2008; Holder, 1998 and Portes and Zhou, 2012) describe the mandates and primary activities of immigrant organizations, much of the research does not provide a comprehensive examination of the different types of immigrant organizations established by immigrants from the same country of origin (Veronis, 2010, Brettel, 2011 and Gooden, 2008, Owusu, 2000). Additionally, much of the existing literature does not examine the circumstances that shaped the development of each organizational type within the immigrant group. Addressing these limitations will highlight that immigrant identities, strategies for civic engagement and the organizations formed are highly specific to immigrant groups and take on different meanings across time and place. The present study addresses this gap in the literature by exploring the types of immigrant organizations established by a single ethnic group, Jamaican immigrants in Toronto, Canada, as well as ethnospecific and placed based factors that contribute to their establishment.

The focus on Jamaican immigrant organizations is complex and assumes added importance given the challenges and disadvantages that Jamaican immigrants face within the labor market as well as various institutions such as the educational and criminal justice systems (Burman, 2011) in Canada. Jamaican immigrants are also a useful case to examine the diverse organizations established by immigrants of a single immigrant group. Jamaican immigrants have a long history of migration to Canada as well as an established network of more than 80 Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto alone (Consulate General of Jamaica, 2013). Additionally, Toronto is a particularly appropriate place for studying the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations because it is a gateway to more than half of Jamaican immigrants in Canada and many of these Jamaican immigrants in Ontario reside in Toronto, Canada. This paper presents a typology of organizations that suggest that immigrant organizations are not only shaped by a need to foster a sense of belonging and solidarity amongst members of an immigrant group but also developed as a result of changes in Toronto. These changes occurred in tandem with shifts in the composition of the Jamaican immigrant population that had diverse attachments to Jamaican national identity.

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II. Place of Birth, Ethnicity and Immigrant Organizations

The shift from perspectives that emphasize assimilationist tendencies among immigrants to more diverse and integrative of settlement patterns has paved the way for more emphasis on the ways that immigrants express belonging to countries of settlement. Such studies identify the existence of immigrant organizations, services provided by these organizations to engender civic participation among immigrants and the fact that there are variations in organizing across immigrant groups. However, there is much less consideration of how the ethnic backgrounds and context specific experiences of these immigrant groups shape the orientation of these organizations. Therefore, the subsequent sections highlight trends in past research on immigrant organizations that have guided my inquiry into Jamaican immigrant organizations.

Several studies have demonstrated that place of origin contributes to a high level of participation in organizational life and varied forms of organizing. Scholars have noted this pattern among Latin American immigrants, particularly Mexicans (Goldring, 2001), Salvadorans (Landolt, 2007), Dominicans and Colombians (Portes, Escobar, and Walton Radford, 2007) in the United States. The authors also provide reasons for the proliferation in hometown associations among Mexican immigrants. For instance, Portes, Escobar, and Walton Radford (2007) note that the rural nature of the Mexican immigrant population translates into traditional loyalties to local birthplaces and so results in the proliferation of hometown civic associations as continuations of traditional obligations. However, little is known about if and why there are organizational differences in organizations within each of the aforementioned groups.

The study of immigrant organizations in Canada demonstrates that there are socio-spatial factors, which must be taken into consideration when examining the orientation of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Noting the significance of context for influencing organizational variation in a single immigrant group, Patricia Landolt's (2007) comparative analysis of Salvadoran refugees found that Salvadorans in both Toronto and Los Angeles (LA) developed a variety of organizations. The formation of these organizations is influenced by transnational, social and political factors in both Toronto and LA. The orientation of prominent organizational types, however, were shaped by settlement experiences in Toronto and LA. Political organizations in Los Angeles such as the Salvadoran Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberacion Nacional (FMLN) organization, for instance, are the product of transnational ties between El Salvador and Los Angeles. The FMLN branch in LA had strong political ties to FMLN opposition guerilla movements in El Salvador which meant that organizations of this nature were politicized and involved in grassroot activist activities associated with the agenda of the FMLN in El Salvador.

Geographical studies of immigrant organizations such as those of Thomas Owusu (2000), Bosma and Alferink (2012) highlight that diverse identities within single immigrant groups have an impact on the type of immigrant organizations formed within these communities. In contrast to the aforementioned studies that portray the way in which intra-regional diversity affects the formation of immigrant organizations, studies that consider organizations established by immigrants from the same national group, for instance, have demonstrated how organizational patterns are reflective of various forms of diversity within an immigrant group. Authors such as Salaff and Chan (2007), for instance, have shown how the experiences of these Chinese immigrant organizations in Toronto, Canada illustrates the tensions that can exist within and across immigrant organizations belonging to the same national group. Salaff and Chan (2007) suggest that the Chinese immigrant population presents "differing interests, political issues and power hierarchies," which, in turn, influence Chinese immigrant associations and the services they tend to offer. These differences were evident in the variety of organizations that were established according to surnames as well as places of origin. Umbrella associations attempted to establish some order in the representation of Chinese immigrant groups, primarily for lobbying purposes, but cultural and linguistic differences as well as political disagreements persisted and limited immigrants' ability to act as a united group. This study aims to extend this existing research by examining how diversity within immigrant groups influences their patterns of organizing in their countries of settlement.

There is also a body of literature that engages with questions of diversity and temporality within immigrant groups from a particular region and the ways in which essentializing regional groupings of immigrants obscure differences that impact the formation of immigrant organizations. Studies of Caribbean immigrant organizations in Toronto demonstrate that the establishment of organizations reflects intra-group demographics and the nature of reception in the place of settlement. Gooden (2008) and Premdas (2004), for instance, examined the proliferation of island associations in Canada and their significance for immigrants from the Caribbean. Island associations were limited prior to the 1960s, as the numbers of immigrants from different Caribbean islands were small, leading to the existence of few "formal or informal institutions based on place of birth" (Gooden, 2008: 418). Organizations formed based on racial and regional identifiers were much more prominent. As the number of immigrants from various Caribbean islands increased, so did the imperative for organizing based on country of

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birth. Thus, place of birth began to play a more prominent role in immigrant organizations. However, the way in which these temporal factors impact organizational diversity within a single ethnic group is unclear.

Examining the role of the Ontario Society for Services to the Indo-Caribbean community (OSSIC), Premdas (2004) also notes the way that ethnic diversity within regional groups influence organization formation. Premdas (2004) noted that some "Indo-Caribbean persons [often] found themselves in a twilight zone of being neither a meaningful part of a wider Caribbean community to which they were publicly assigned nor part of the South Asian community to which they were phenotypically associated" (Premdas, 2004: 552). Moreover, they were often overshadowed by the Afro-centric images of Caribbean organizations. Organizing gave them a separate space for mobilization and rescued them from being excluded by the claims of Caribbean communities dominated by individuals of African descent. The authors note that the ethnic and class diversity within each Caribbean island has meant that organizations can exclude those who do not completely identify with each organization's definition of the nation. While Premdas' (2004) study sheds light on the intersection of ethno-racial diversity among Caribbean immigrants and organizational formation, an updated analysis of immigrant organizations established by Caribbean immigrants is needed. Specifically, a wide variety of Caribbean organizations have emerged to represent the diverse interests and backgrounds of Caribbean immigrants since the early 1990s when Premdas (2004) conducted the research. A comprehensive analysis of the various backgrounds and settlement experiences of Caribbean immigrants as well as the roles of these factors in shaping immigrant organizations is needed.

Aggregating immigrant groups based on region or predominant racial categories silences important differences and conceals tensions within immigrant groups (Premdas, 2004; Hopkins, 2006 and Veronis, 2010) that may be important for understanding their organizational network. Further, Jamaican immigrants are often lumped into the broader Caribbean and Black populations in Toronto. Jamaican immigrants form a diverse group due to the history of their migration and settlement in Toronto. In addition to general differences in their group, the population also includes multiple ethnic groups, including individuals of Chinese descent who have established their own organizations in Toronto distinct from those that emphasize the identities and experiences of Jamaican immigrants of African descent. Taking into account the diverse ethnic backgrounds, pre-migration histories, and social characteristics of Jamaican immigrants will add to our understanding of their diverse experiences with organizing.

III. Data Collection

The typology of Jamaican immigrant organizations described in the subsequent section was created through a synthesis of information acquired from the Consulate General of Jamaica in Toronto about Jamaican immigrant organizations, research examining the functions of organizations established by Jamaican immigrants as well as information acquired from Caribbean newspapers that served Caribbean communities, including the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto, specifically *the Islander*, *Share* and *Contrast* newspapers. Newspaper articles published between the 1960s and the year 2007[1] were reviewed. This timeline covered all the issues available in the York University micro-text library. The newspaper articles revealed the various types of immigrant organizations established by and for Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. The Jamaican Consular General's office in Toronto also provided a list of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Though outdated, the list provided information for organizations that were not otherwise found on the Internet or in newspapers.[2] With the inventory of approximately 83 organizations derived from newspapers and the consulate general's office, I began a process of classification that occurred in three stages. First, I searched for contact information and details about the orientation and mandates of each of the organizations identified in the inventory.[3] Secondly, immigrant organizations were classified based on the following characteristics: their location in or outside Toronto, whether they were founded by Jamaican immigrants, and whether they offered services or hosted events that targeted Jamaican immigrants and their families. More specifically, given that the overall study was focused on Jamaican immigrants' expression of belonging in Toronto, organizations that were located in Toronto were included in the inventory. The inventory showed that some organizations were identified as a Caribbean rather than a Jamaican organization, for instance the Caribbean Chinese Association. However, these organizations comprised a membership that was predominantly of Jamaican heritage or origin and they reflected the ethnic diversity within the Jamaican immigrant population. Thirdly, I used my knowledge of the literature on a variety of immigrations (Premdas, 2004; Moe, 2011; Brettel and Reed-Danahay, 2008; Saxenian, Motoyama and Quan,

[1] The archive of Caribbean newspapers available in the York University micro-text library spanned this period (1960-2007).

[2] It is important to note that the list of organizations provided by the Consulate included organizations that were located in provinces outside Ontario as well as organizations that were primarily established to address experiences related to Pan-African identities in Toronto.

[3] Organizations without an internet presence were excluded from the final inventory.

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2002; Mael and Asforth, 1992; Portes, Escobar and Arana, 2008; Portes, Escobar and Radford, 2007) to classify or name the Jamaican immigrant organizations that were listed in the inventory by orientation. It is important to note that the author recognizes the limits of this inventory as this list is by no means exhaustive. However, the aim of this research is not to generalize the research findings but to understand the diversity of immigrant organizations within the Jamaican immigrant community in Toronto, Canada and the reasons for their establishment.

IV. A Typology of Jamaican Immigrant Organizations in Toronto

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

a) Sociocultural Organizations

Sociocultural organizations are concerned with fostering sense of belonging in the place of settlement by helping immigrants retain cultural practices and traditions that originate in the country of origin. Scholars (Henry, 1994; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo, 2002; Owusu, 2000; Brettel, 2005; Brettel, 2009) agree that immigrant organizations with a sociocultural orientation engender a sense of belonging by promoting and celebrating events that are specific to the place of origin and familiar to immigrant members of the organization. Members of sociocultural organizations host activities that bring together individuals from the same immigrant group to participate in activities of common interest. These organizations also assist in the integration and settlement of newcomers by providing support and assistance with finding housing and employment as well as providing advice about human rights through services or social networks. The Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) is the most prominent and well-known sociocultural Jamaican immigrant organization in Toronto (Gidengil and Stolle, 2009). Founded in 1962, the JCA was the first organization that was established to serve and support Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. The JCA is also well known outside the Jamaican immigrant community as a result of the organization's ability to access both ethno-specific and cross-cultural networks and social capital (Brettel, 2005). When Jamaican Canadian participants interviewed as part of the larger study, they were asked about their knowledge of Jamaican immigrant organizations and they often made reference to the JCA.

Residential geographies influenced the establishment of the JCA. The fact that the JCA is centrally located in the Toronto metropolitan area may be a function of the residential concentration of Jamaican immigrants. Data from the 2006 Canadian census indicate that more than 50% of Jamaican immigrants chose Toronto as their municipality and region of residence. Residential concentration may have provided the JCA with organizational advantages such as facilitating more opportunities for Jamaican immigrants to work cooperatively and providing them with a numbers advantage when presenting their concerns to political representatives (Foner 1998).

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

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

Violent forms of exclusion and the absence of social services to assist newcomers in 1960s Toronto created an even greater need for sociocultural organizations like the JCA. While the JCA was established to celebrate Jamaica's independence, the

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

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

With the support of grants from the Canadian government, the JCA grew in size and influence even as other sociocultural organizations appeared. Organizations such as the Progressive Jamaicans Association (PROJAM), the West Indian Social and Cultural Society, and the Mississauga Social and Cultural Organization also provided important services to newcomers and a culturally friendly environment for Jamaican immigrants. These organizations were established after 1970 and did not engage in political activism on behalf of Black and Caribbean communities like the JCA. Changes in advocacy occurred as Toronto's landscape began to shift due to immigration legislation that permitted the entry of racial minorities into Canada (Simmons, 2010). The encounters between racialized immigrants and the conservative and exclusionary cultural norms of Canada challenged social structures that were resistant to change. A more welcoming socio-legal environment for immigrants meant that sociocultural organizations could provide services that went beyond advocacy.

With its settlement programs and advocacy, the JCA paved the way for immigrant organizations that offered programs and services that went beyond the promotion of national culture and activism (Williams, 2012). Special interest groups, alumni, ethnic and political organizations emerged after the establishment of the JCA. Many of these organizations also host events that promote Jamaican culture and allow Jamaican immigrants to build relationships with each other. Hosting socio-cultural activities, however, is often not the primary focus of these organizations.

b) Ethnic Organizations

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

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

Many members of the Caribbean Chinese Association were also members of the Tsung Tsin Association of Ontario. The Tsung Tsin Association is a non-profit institution that supports charitable events that

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

c) Special Interest Groups

Special interest groups are organizations that address social issues of interest to their members. The establishment of special interest groups shows how the growth of the Jamaican immigrant population and the increasing number of Jamaican immigrant organizations has created opportunities for Jamaican immigrants to affiliate or organize based on one aspect of their social identity. Several factors have allowed special interest groups to focus on particular initiatives. For example, Toronto became more welcoming to immigrants due to the adoption of an official multiculturalism policy in 1971 and the growth of visible minority immigrant groups. Several ethno-specific and multicultural organizations that catered to settlement needs and issues created avenues for organizations to focus on other issues of interest to their membership.

The Project for the Advancement of Early Childhood Education (formerly called Women for PACE), established in 1987, is a prominent Jamaican Canadian special interest group in Toronto. PACE is "a voluntary organization established by a group of charitable Canadian women to provide support to early childhood institutions, that educate children between the ages of 3 and 5 years, by providing them with educational toys, playground equipment and teaching materials" (Maylor, 1987). Women for PACE is dedicated to supporting the improvement of early childhood education in Jamaica. Women for PACE was later renamed as PACE to include and recognize the increasing number of men who were joining the organization. The organization was founded by Dr. Mavis Burke, who at the time was a well-known educator in Toronto and Jamaica. She recognized the need to support Jamaican basic and elementary schools that were understaffed or had limited resources.

External influences were also important for understanding the establishment of PACE. During a visit to Toronto in 1987, former Prime Minister Edward Seaga appealed for "economic and educational assistance from Canada particularly in light of an island wide community-based pre-school initiative" promoted by the government of Jamaica (Burke, n.d). As a result, PACE was established to support and complement the government of Jamaica's educational initiatives. Over time, PACE became a registered charitable institution and required that "anyone seeking membership in [the organization would] have to apply and be formally accepted" by the organization (Depradine, 1989).

PACE has supported the improvement of early childhood education in various ways. In the 1970s, PACE created a professional development program in which early childhood education departments in Canada and Jamaica exchanged information and personnel to assist "Canadian educators in becoming culturally sensitive to pre-school children with Caribbean backgrounds" (Maylor, 1988). Over the years, PACE has helped other organizations in Ontario with the provision of educational services to underserviced communities in Toronto. For example, they supported the Jane and Finch Concerned Citizen Organization (JFCCO) by "distributing toys to underprivileged children in the Jane and Finch community."

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

d) Political Organizations

Political organizations are organizations that are established by immigrants who may have had a history of affiliation with political parties in their country of origin and wish to continue these connections in their new places of residence. Jamaican political organizations are in some ways special interest groups but they are interested in mobilizing Jamaican immigrants to support political initiatives, activities and parties in their home countries. The Jamaica Nationals League (JNL) was the first political organization established by Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. The JNL began when a group of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto wrote a letter to the editors of *The Islander* newspaper expressing their "interest in an organization affiliated to the PNP (or the Peoples National Party), which is one of the two major political parties in Jamaica" ("Letters" 1974). In a letter to the editor, one Jamaican immigrant indicated that there was "no room for political participation by inference or otherwise implicit in the constitution of any existing [Jamaican] organization …in Toronto" (Hugh 1974). As a result, the JNL was established in 1974 and operated as an overseas division of the PNP. They would have regular visits from members of the PNP to discuss issues such as voting in Jamaican elections and violent confrontations between members and supporters

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of the two ruling parties in Jamaica. Additionally, a 1976 article entitled '*Fracas Interrupts JNL Meet*' explained how events happening in Jamaica affected the JNL. The 'fracas' refers to the confrontation between the left and right wing factions of the Jamaica Nationals League "closely resembling the split within the ranks of the Peoples National Party in Jamaica" ("Fracas disrupts JNL meet," 1975). Political organizations such as the JNL are deeply embedded in transnational social fields that cross geographical and political borders (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004 and Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995). Although members of the JNL were well established in Toronto, the members remained heavily invested in Jamaica's political future. The Jamaica Nationals League does not exist today but political affiliations are still evident in organizations such as the Jamaican Canada Diaspora Foundation - a state body that was established by the Jamaican government to mobilize Jamaican immigrants to support the economic development and growth of Jamaica. Members of the executive meet directly with the Jamaican government to discuss how Jamaicans residing overseas can assist the Jamaican government in advancing various initiatives.

e) Alumni Associations

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

Jamaican immigrant organizations play myriad roles in building a sense of belonging in the new place of residence. They provide a space for organizing based on national identities and the desire to maintain connections with the country of origin particularly in a context where there are experiences with exclusion, status loss and displacement.

V. Factors Influencing the Development of Jamaican Immigrant Organizations

The typology of immigrant organizations described in the preceding section suggests that the changing immigration context and the diverse identities of individuals within the Jamaican immigrant population influenced the characteristics of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. The subsequent section discusses these contextual factors in detail.

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

The fact that sociocultural organizations such as the Jamaican Canadian Association were initially established to reinforce Jamaican identities and create networks amongst Jamaican immigrants in Toronto shows how sense of belonging was for its emergence. Many Jamaican immigrants participate in immigrant organizations to maintain ties with their home country, the "place where [they] feel they truly belong psychologically, socially and culturally" (Santos 1983 cited in Wolf 2006: 264). Establishing an immigrant organization that fostered sense of belonging by creating a space to represent national and cultural forms of expression that were specific to Jamaican immigrants was particularly important when Toronto had a small Jamaican immigrant population. Recall Roy Williams' (2012) claim that Jamaican immigrants often found themselves isolated in Toronto because the Jamaican immigrant population was not well established and the majority was predominantly white. The significance of cultural activity is highlighted by Frances Henry (1994) who explained that the "Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) emerged [out of attempts to] redefine [and specify national] cultural activity in their new home by

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sponsoring, dances, sports, clubs, alumni associations and celebrating [Jamaican] independence day." The cultural activities included events such as dinners and dances that celebrate Jamaican independence, the Jamaica Flag raising at City Hall in Toronto and an annual picnic where Jamaican cuisine is sold to support the philanthropic activities. Positive interactions with other Jamaican immigrants within the context of the JCA created a feeling of being at home in Toronto that fuelled their continued development and support from the Jamaican immigrant community.

Establishing immigrant organizations was not only important for reinforcing transnational connections and increasing comfort in the new place of settlement, it was also important to combat the racism that visible minority populations experienced in Toronto. At the time of the JCA's establishment, Toronto was still unfriendly to the growing population of visible minority immigrant groups who challenged their sense of who and what was Canadian (Troper, 2003: p 68). As a result, the executive of the JCA diversified their services and functions to include activities that involved defending the rights of Jamaican immigrants and lobbying the government for changes that enhanced their sense of belonging and long-term integration in Toronto. For instance, a 2002 article in *The Share* describes how the "JCA received $30,000 in provincial funding to alleviate violence that caused the death of more than 100 Blacks between 1998 and 2000" (Grant, 2002). The JCA also had meetings with Metro Toronto Police to address the criminalization of young Black men in Toronto and the violently racialized actions taken by the police against these individuals (Donkoh, 1997). Although, Canada is now a country "that recognizes human rights, maintains a broad social safety net and promotes an open door policy toward immigrants... discriminatory and exclusionary practices still endure" (Wong, 2006: 366). Discriminatory practices not only inhibited incorporation in Canadian society (Henry, 1994; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005) but also shaped the orientation of many Jamaican immigrant organizations like the JCA.

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

The role of immigrant organizations in representing the claims of Jamaican immigrants and making their cultural identities visible was established by earlier organizations such as the United Negro Improvement Association and Black Coalition of Canada (Gooden, 2008). These organizations were established to defend the rights of Blacks who were marginalized and build networks that would facilitate social and economic mobility for Blacks in Canada. Many immigrant groups within the Black population, however, began to establish their own organizations based on their specific national identities and interests. Jamaican immigrant organizations, in particular, began to emerge in greater numbers as the Jamaican immigrant population increased. The growing size of the Jamaican immigrant population in conjunction with the increasing density of organizations that supported the integration of visible minorities created opportunities to share information, financial resources and establish contacts that were instrumental for the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations.

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

While the literature on immigrant organizations often argues that the reinforcement of solidarity and maintenance of cultural commonalities are significant factors encouraging the establishment of immigrant organizations (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Camozzi, 2011; Premdas, 2004; Williams 2012); the history of Jamaican immigrant organizations shows that the diverse identities of individuals within the Jamaican immigrant population have also contributed to the proliferation of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Studies by Hopkins (2006), Salaff and Chan (2007), Premdas (1994) and Akcapar and Yurdakul (2009) highlight the ways in which tensions within immigrant populations can influence the establishment and activities undertaken by immigrant organizations. Perceptions of the Jamaican immigrant population and the ways it is seen by out-group members are influenced by the largest ethnicities that make up this immigrant population in Canada, particularly Jamaican immigrants of African descent who are highly racialized. Defining the Jamaican immigrant population as black is problematic as it homogenizes Jamaican immigrants and essentializes differences within the Jamaican immigrant population. Consequently, tensions among immigrants may be silenced and different ways of relating to Jamaican identity undermined. Ethnic diversity within the Jamaican immigrant population has meant that organizations that are defined by Afro-Jamaican identity can potentially exclude those who do not completely identify with this way of imagining Jamaican identity.

The Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA) in Toronto illustrates how Jamaican immigrants have organized based on ethnic identity. The CCA was established in 1977 to contribute to the advancement of the Caribbean Chinese immigrant population and

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improve the quality of community life amongst Caribbean Chinese immigrants in Toronto (Caribbean Chinese Association.com). While the CCA was established to support the Caribbean Chinese immigrant population in Toronto, it continues to be dominated by Jamaican immigrants. This organization is significant for Chinese Jamaican immigrants in Toronto as they " [often] found themselves in a twilight zone of being neither a meaningful part of a wider Jamaican immigrant population to which they were publicly assigned nor a part of the South East Asian community to which they were phenotypically associated" (Premdas, 2004: 552). Chinese Jamaican immigrants felt that they had a specific cultural heritage that needed to be recognized and therefore had a desire to create a space in which they could make identity and community claims that were specific to their identities as non-Black Jamaican immigrants. This was reinforced in a 1981 article in the *Share* where a former president of the CCA stated that "we're really not Chinese in a cultural sense, but we are not truly West Indian either...I find that I'm not really accepted in Chinatown as Chinese because I can't speak the language, and we're not fully accepted by other West Indian organizations here" ("Caribbean Chinese Face Cultural Dilemma," 1981). Although "the CCA was serious about developing a better relationship between all West Indians and individuals from other ethnic groups," establishing their own organization gave them a separate space for mobilization and saved them from being silenced, marginalized and excluded by the claims of the larger Jamaican immigrant population that was dominated by individuals of African descent ("Caribbean Chinese face Cultural Dilemma," 1981). By associating Jamaican identity with blackness, the identities and interests of Chinese Jamaican immigrants were silenced or excluded. These examples show how the increase in the number of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto stems partly from varying degrees of identification and disaffection with dominant definitions of Jamaican identity associated with African descent and the disadvantage associated with blackness.

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

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

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

Organizations such as the Jamaica Nationals League also demonstrate how Jamaican immigrants who were heavily involved in the activities of the Peoples National Party (PNP) in Jamaica continued to support party leaders by sending remittances to fund political campaigns and mobilizing Jamaican immigrants to support the political parties in Jamaica. The 1970s was a particularly turbulent for the Manley era of the PNP (Koslofsky, 1981). Rising crime and political tribalism encouraged the increasing migration of skilled and highly educated Jamaican nationals. These events also spurred the development of the JNL in Toronto. Many of the aforementioned issues were taken up by the JNL during their meetings in Toronto. Although the Jamaica Nationals League is no longer in existence, organizations such as the Jamaica Canada Diaspora Foundation still operate as state led organizations that are intended to mobilize Jamaican immigrants to support state interests.

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

The activities of PACE and the JNL demonstrate how some Jamaican immigrant organizations emerge out of connections maintained between Jamaica and Toronto. The transnational connections separate these

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organizations from Jamaican immigrant organizations that are localized in their operations and, therefore, focus on supporting Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Differences in the extent to which members of Jamaican immigrant organizations are involved in activities occurring in the country of origin reinforces Hiebert and Ley's (2006:77) assertion that "there is much variation in the extent and intensity of transnational activity" in which immigrants in Canada are involved. Some Jamaican immigrant organizations focus primarily on institutionalized activities that continuously embed organizational members in a web of relations that connect Toronto with Jamaica while others do not.

d) State Relations and the Establishment of Immigrant Organizations

State involvement has been crucial to the establishment of many immigrant organizations (Goldring, 2002, Salaff and Chan, 2007). The Jamaican government has facilitated the establishment of immigrant organizations by calling on members of Jamaican immigrant populations overseas to mobilize support for political parties as well as specific socio-economic initiatives in Jamaica. Organizations such as the Jamaica Nationals League exemplify how transnational affiliations between Jamaican immigrants and the Jamaican government led to the establishment of a political organization that was the base for the Peoples National Party in Toronto.

The Canadian government has also facilitated the establishment of Jamaican immigrant organizations. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act created a socio-political environment that allowed Jamaican immigrants in Canada to create a social and physical space where they could celebrate their individual identities and cultures. Although some scholars may argue that the policy of multiculturalism is divisive (Bisoondath, 1994), reproduces marginalization (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010) and has done little to address the social exclusion that immigrants continue to experience (Ley, 2008), the Multiculturalism Act was designed to foster sense of belonging to the nation while allowing minorities to preserve their cultural heritage. Ethnic minority groups were to be treated as integral members of society. The Act also provides for freedom from discrimination based on religion, race, color and gender and emphasizes the importance of providing both capacity and opportunity for immigrant groups to be active citizens in Canadian society while maintaining their cultural heritage. Government grants have also allowed some immigrant organizations to expand their services and facilities. For instance, a 1989 article in the *Share* highlighted how a grant of more than $46,000 from the provincial government to the Jamaican Canadian Association allowed it to expand the services for Jamaican and Caribbean immigrants in Toronto (Depradine, 1989). The grant was part of a Multicultural Service Program that was established to subsidize the operating expenses of immigrant-serving organizations (Depradine, 1989). The Jamaican Canadian Association has received many government grants to support various settlement services provided to Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Funding that supports institutions that organize around cultural identity symbolizes that "differences have equal worth and value" and reinforces the tenets of recognition and equality that a truly multicultural society should espouse (Fleras, 2009: 16).

The fact that the JCA is the only Jamaican immigrant organization with a permanent meeting place that is owned by members of the organization is noteworthy as it signifies the prominence and visibility of the JCA as an ethno-specific organization. This organizational space symbolizes the recognition that the JCA has achieved over time due to the organization's success.

VI. Conclusion

This study of Jamaican immigrant organizations addresses ongoing calls by migration scholars to examine how intra-group dynamics contribute to differences in the types of organizations established by immigrant populations (Veronis, 2010; Owusu, 2000 and Portes et al, 2007). Jamaican immigrant organizations reflect the social diversity of the Jamaican immigrant population, varying degrees of identification with Jamaican national identity and individual differences in the significance of transnational identities for these immigrants. The provision of settlement supports by a wide variety of multicultural and ethno-specific organizations and other changes at the destination have created a social safety net that has allowed many immigrant organizations to extend their mandates beyond the provision of culturally sensitive settlement services. Therefore, the development of Jamaican immigrant organizations also reflects changes in Toronto as a city of residence and, consequently, the changing needs of Jamaican immigrants.

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

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that began to arrive in Toronto after 1970. Through the Jamaican immigrant organizations that had a sociocultural orientation and multicultural organizations with government funding, Jamaican immigrants could establish organizations that addressed their diverse social interests and social backgrounds.

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