

**Mobility and Transnationalism: Travel Patterns and Identity
among Palestinian Canadians**

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners. I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public

ABSTRACT

Increased urban diversity in the metropolises of North America urges us to examine the different forms of mobility of transnational communities in cosmopolitan societies. Recent technological advancements, including developments in transport and communication networks, have significantly influenced participation in transnational activities and belonging to transnational social spaces. This study examines the relationships between long-term mobility (migration) and short-term mobility (tourism) by investigating the “visiting friends and family” travel of immigrants that best exemplifies the nexus between the two contemporary phenomena. As increasing levels of globalization and international migration are likely to be accompanied by increased transnationalism, the research uses transnationalism as a conceptual framework to study immigrants’ overseas travel. Research into the relationship between tourism and migration requires engaging with issues of citizenship as different categories of migrants have different rights in the country of settlement. This has implications for travel as revealed in the movements that occur between the places of origin of immigrants (which become destinations) and the new places of residence (which become new origins). These movements are likely to be influenced by the rights and duties of immigrants as citizens living within and moving around different states. This study examines the relationship between the overseas travel patterns of immigrants and their citizenship status. It also examines the role of ethnic and family reunion in shaping these travel patterns. The study also provides a deeper theoretical and empirical analysis of the role of ethnic reunion in shaping the travel patterns of immigrants and of the social and cultural meanings associated with the travel to the ancestral homeland. All of these issues are tackled by examining Palestinian immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and by employing a mixed methods approach engaging both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. Major research methods that are employed in the research include key informant interviews, questionnaire surveys, in-depth interviews, observation and field notes, and the use of secondary data.

The study explored the politics of mobility for Palestinian-Canadians, an understudied population in terms of transnational practices and issues of identity and hybridity. It also explored issues of citizenship and belonging using extensive interview data with Palestinian-Canadians in the GTA. Throughout the thesis the highly politicized aspect of mobility/immobility, national identity, and national autonomy in the Palestinian case was present. The research highlighted the continuing role of state actors in determining mobility and rights, despite the increasing rhetoric of borderless mobility. The study reveals that the majority of the Palestinian Canadians travel overseas regularly and their outbound travel patterns demonstrate a significant ethnic component. Palestinian Canadians travel to their country of birth as their dominant outbound travel destination for the purposes of visiting friends and relatives and maintaining social and cultural ties, indicating strong ties with homeland that have ethnic links. However, Palestinians holding Canadian citizenship have a higher propensity to travel overseas than permanent resident. The return visits have social and cultural significance to the first and second generations. However, these return visits do not facilitate return migration.

Key Words: Mobility, transnationalism, tourism, migration, travel patterns, identity, diaspora, citizenship, intergenerational differences, Palestinian Canadians, Greater Toronto Area.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 An Overview

This research stems from an interest in understanding the temporary mobility of immigrants. It links migration and tourism. The purpose of the research is to address the relationship between tourism and migration through an investigation of travel to visit friends and relatives (VFR). The first significant theme of the investigation is the overseas travel patterns of immigrants, particularly their travel back to their countries of origin for VFR. The significance of VFR travel is conceptually linked to the relationship between tourism and migration. From a transnational perspective, such travel is perceived as a transnational activity to solidify ties with a home country and to rejuvenate transnational identities that span existing geo-political borders. The second concern is the relationship between the travel patterns of immigrants and their citizenship status, duration of residence in the country of settlement, and the generation to which immigrants belong. Temporary mobility in the form of travel to the country of origin by migrants is determined by and reflective of the extent to which they participate in and belong to social spaces that extend beyond the borders of the country they are living in. Thus, the third theme of investigation is the significance and the meanings associated with the return visits to the country of origin to the first and second generations. The research tackles these issues by examining Palestinian immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). This group has a Canadian immigration history that goes back to the early twentieth century.

Although, migration and tourism are processes that greatly influence each other, limited studies exist that investigate how migration influences tourism flows, revealing the greater interest and attention given to the tourism–migration relationships by migration, as opposed to

tourism, researchers (Williams *et al.*, 2000). VFR travel is a form of tourism that best exemplifies the circular links between tourism and migration (Williams and Hall, 2002a, p. 40). However, to investigate such tourism–migration relationships, a researcher should first set the analyses within the contemporary global and transnational perspectives.

Transnationalism is an evolving and promising construct for identifying and understanding immigrant experiences. Transnationalism refers to the phenomenon of immigrants and diasporas operating across the boundaries of one or more countries and maintaining connections and social relations to their country of origin (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999). Transnationalism enables scholars to use a dual frame of reference to evaluate immigrant experiences and outcomes in the country in which they have settled. Thus, the multiplicity of migrants’ engagements in both original and receiving societies is a vital element of transnationalism (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). As increasing levels of globalization and migration are likely to be accompanied by increased transnationalism, transnationalism is used as a conceptual framework to study immigrants’ overseas travel, in particular, their travel for the purposes of visiting families and friends, as well as solidifying social networks they have developed in their place of origin. I also build on the literature in transnationalism to demonstrate that Palestinian Canadians in the Toronto area form a “transnational community”.

1.2 Research objectives and Questions

The main goal of the research is to provide empirical research on the nature of the relationship between tourism and migration through an investigation of VFR travel. The research examines one specific ethnic group within Canada, Palestinian immigrants, and explores their outbound

travel patterns and the relationships between these travel patterns and the citizenship status of immigrants, and their generation and duration of residence in Canada, with special focus on inter-generational differences in terms of the significance of the VFR travel. The following objectives may be achieved:

1. Establishing the travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians.
2. Identifying the role of family and ethnic reunion on their travel patterns.
3. Identifying the significance of VFR travel for the first and second generations.
4. Examining the relationship between the international travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians, particularly in VFR travel, with their citizenship status, generation (as reflected in country of birth), and the duration of residence in Canada.

Research questions

To achieve the research objectives mentioned above, the following research questions were developed:

1. How often do Palestinian Canadians travel overseas? Is Palestine the dominant destination in their overseas travelling?
2. What are the factors influence their travel to the home country?
3. What are the purposes for travel to the country of origin? Is the dominance of visits to Palestine for VFR (to visit family and relatives) purposes? What is the role of family ties and ethnic reunion in the overseas travel of Palestinian Canadians?
4. What is the social significance of travel to Palestine to the first and second generation? How do these visits affect the ties that first and second generations have with their country of origin? To what extent do they belong and participate in a transnational social

place? How do Palestinian Canadians negotiate notions of “home”, “belonging” and “identity”?

5. What is the relationship between the citizenship status of Palestinian immigrants and their travel patterns, particularly their travel to the home country? (See Figure 1.1). Do Palestinians holding Canadian citizenship have a higher propensity to travel to Palestine than permanent residents (denizens) and aliens? Why? How do Palestinian Canadians perceive their Citizenship status?
6. What is the relationship between generations of immigration and travel patterns? (See Figure 1.1). What are the differences across generations in terms of travel to the country of origin for VFR purposes? How often do immigrants of the second generations travel to their country of origin? How do they maintain ties with the homeland?
7. What is the relationship between the length of residence in the immigration country with immigrant outbound travel patterns? (See Figure 1.1). Do recent Palestinian immigrants have a higher propensity than established immigrants to travel back to their country of origin for VFR purposes as their ethnic ties still remain close to their home country?

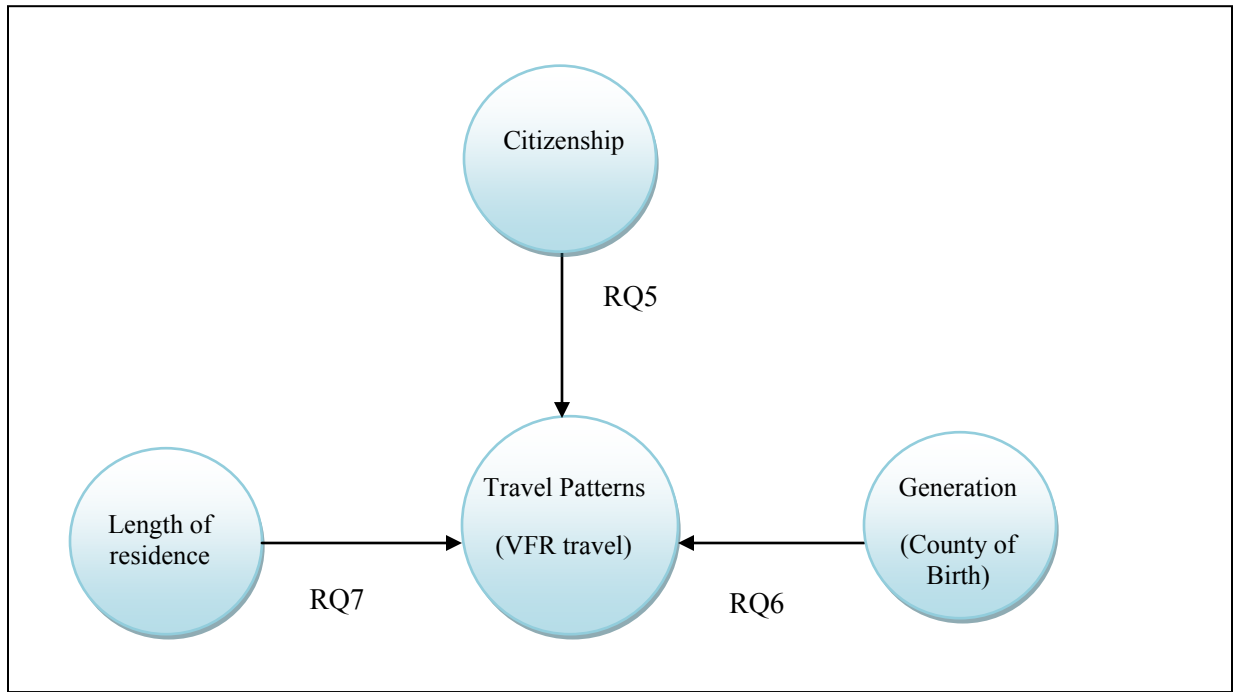


Figure 1.1: Research Questions

1.3 Study Site

There is no single definition of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). It is the 8th largest metropolitan in North America. This region (see Figure 1.2) can be defined by political boundaries which consist of the City of Toronto and the four surrounding regional municipalities: Durham, Halton, Peel and York. The City of Toronto is the largest city in Canada and the capital of the province of Ontario; furthermore, it is at the heart of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) that had a population of 5,555,912 in the 2006 Statistics Canada Census (City of Toronto website, 2010).



Figure 1.2: Research site-Greater Toronto Area (GTA) (Source: www.toronto.ca)

1.3.1 Introduction to the study site

The Greater Toronto Area (GTA) is one of the most rapidly growing metropolitan areas in North America. This fast growth has significant impact on all areas of life in the region, such as the economy, education, and housing. The social character of the region is affected simultaneously by many changes, such as patterns of immigration and ethnic and cultural diversity. The Toronto region is growing rapidly. For example, the area experienced an increase of 120% between 1961 and 1996, when the population grew from 2.1 million to more than 4.6 million. Moreover, every

year about 100,000 immigrants are added to the population of the GTA area. This rate of growth is among the highest for metropolitan areas in North America. It reflects Toronto's status as the economic and cultural centre of Ontario, and the financial and service centre for most of Canada. Given these facts, it is not surprising that the GTA is the destination for more than half of the immigrants who come to Canada every year. However, absorbing this fast growth and maintaining a good quality of life is one of the most significant challenges that face the GTA area (Bourne, 2000).

Accordingly, immigration is the main source of population growth in the GTA area and it has transformed the area from a fairly homogeneous place dominated by Anglo-Saxon and European origin population to a heterogeneous area where people of many different ethnic origins are represented. This has enhanced the region's "human capital" by diversifying the range of skills (including language skills), education, culture, and work experience in the population of the GTA and this, in turn, benefits the labour market and the quality of life. However, increasing diversity may create social tensions and conflicts and also increase the demand for a range of services that are required to meet the needs of different substantial groups with their own backgrounds and cultures. Not surprisingly, increased strain on the limited resources of schools, social services and other institutions is generated. In addition to this, the diversity has impacts on the settlement patterns of the area, since people from the same culture are more likely to cluster in specific areas of the GTA. This may not be the case for all ethnic groups in the area, but there are some neighbourhoods that are dominated by a particular ethnic group. These neighbourhoods are characterized by a clustering of shops, services, institutions, and religious centres serving a specific group (Bourne, 2000). Accordingly, the increased immigration is making the social landscape of the GTA area into a mosaic.

1.3.2 Justification for the study site

The Greater Toronto Area (GTA) is one of the most culturally and ethnically diverse metropolises in North America at present (Statistics Canada, 2003; Toronto City, 2003), with 51% of its population born outside of Canada. Its diversity grows every year as the city attracts about 50% of the new immigrants to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003). With such growing and increasingly diverse flows of immigrants to the Toronto area leading to increased urban diversity, this area is, thus, an ideal site for the study of the evolution of transnational communities in modern societies, as well as the mobility of immigrants that links tourism and migration. Another reason for using the Toronto area as the research site is that information provided by Multicultural Canada (2008) shows that Palestinian Canadians are concentrated in three Ontario cities: Toronto, Mississauga, and Windsor. Two of these cities are included in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA).

1.4 Justification for the research

Given the lack of studies that investigate the relationship between tourism and migration, the research attempts to fill some gaps that have been identified in the literature. For example, although technological advancements that have facilitated contacts between the receiving and sending migration countries have been recognized in the literature, there is still a research gap in examining actual physical movement of migrants between multiple states, particularly the travel that links countries of origin and countries of settlement (Duval, 2004). This gap may be filled through greater academic emphasis on the subject of mobility and migration in general, and on immigrants' back and forth movements, particularly to their country of origin. Mobility, in an age of increasing mobility, is becoming as one form of human rights.

At the same time, the relationship between tourism and migration has been relatively neglected, and particularly the vague zone of mobility which lies between permanent migration and tourism. This academic gap has not been adequately filled by either tourism or migration research (Williams and Hall, 2002a; Bell and Ward, 2000). According to Williams and Hall (2002a), analyzing relationships between tourism and migration provides an opportunity to contribute to the wider social science debate. A number of significant inter-disciplinary themes can be identified for research, one of which is the role of family and friendship networks in VFR tourism.

It is important to recognize that research into the relationship between tourism and migration is likely to require engaging with issues of citizenship. Different categories of migrants have different rights in the country of settlement. This fact has implications for travel as revealed in the movements that occur between the places of origin of immigrants (which become destinations) and the new places of residence (which become new origins). These movements are likely to be influenced by the rights and duties of immigrants as citizens living within and moving around different states. This is certainly an area that deserves more academic attention, particularly as there is a dearth of research that explores the relationship between travel patterns of immigrants and their citizenship status.

While a few scholars within tourism (e.g., Williams & Hall, 2000, 2002) have shown recent interest in the topic of mobility and migration, concepts of transnationalism and transnational identities and their links to tourism have not been entirely explored (Duval, 2003). Portes *et al.* (1999, p. 217) stated that: “While back-and-forth movements by immigrants have always existed, they have not acquired until recently the critical mass and complexity necessary to speak of an emergent social field. This field is composed of a growing number of persons who

live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders.” This statement emphasizes the need for transnationalism as a conceptual framework to explain many transnational activities that immigrants are practicing to maintain ties with their country of origin.

The socio-cultural consequences of the globalization of travel and mobility, and the rapid growth of diasporic communities, have resulted in increased interest by scholars to research the emergent ethnicities, transnational identities and ethnic relationships formed in cosmopolitan societies. Research is needed that highlights the ongoing decisive role of states and governments in determining mobility and rights, in spite of increasing rhetoric of borderless mobility. Moreover, further research is required that examines how ethnicity and identity are becoming more hybridized in character and form (Stephenson, 2002). Hall (1990, p. 235) provides an explanation of what is meant by a hybrid identity: “The diaspora experience . . . is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of ‘identity’ which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by *hybridity*”.

Although VFR travel has been termed “ethnic reunion” by King (1994), a type of tourism that can influence the different generations of migrants, the relationship between ethnicity and tourism is relatively unexplored except for a small number of UK-based studies that has focused on diasporic communities (see for example; Klemm, 2002; Ali & Holden, 2006; Mason, 2004, Stephenson, 2002; Stephenson & Hughes, 2005; Hughes & Allen, 2010). These studies have been based on small-scale investigations utilising *one* of the following: questionnaire surveys for no more than 80 people, interviews with 15-20 informants, focus groups, and long-term ethnographies that include interviews. In the Canadian Context, Duval (2003) examined the Commonwealth Eastern Caribbean community in Toronto in a tourism-related study that was

based on a long-term ethnographic approach that included interviews (number of interviews is not specified). The present study employs a mixed method approach that involves a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods to examine the relationship between tourism and ethnicity by investigating the role of ethnic reunion in shaping the travel patterns of immigrants as one of the research objectives.

Another significant research gap may be identified in the context of diasporic communities. Limited research has focused on inter-generational differences in terms of maintaining ties across borders through such transnational activism as travelling to the country of origin. Whereas first-generation immigrants have been explicitly addressed, Duval (2003) stressed that more thorough investigations are needed in order to determine the significance of travelling to the family country of origin for second-generation migrants, particularly their meaning for notions such as home and identity.

1.5 Organization of the dissertation

The dissertation is composed of nine separate but integrated thematic chapters. Chapter One briefly states the main themes of the research, the research goals and objectives, the research questions to be answered, and the research justification. Chapter Two critically reviews the literature on the relationship between tourism and migration, transnationalism, and citizenship. Gaps in the literature are then identified. Chapter Three provides a description of the Palestinian Canadians in the Greater Toronto Area. Chapter Four provides an outline of the research methodology employed in this research. Chapter Five addresses the travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians, particularly their VFR travel and its relationship with place of birth, duration of residence in the host country, and citizenship status. The chapter then discusses the

sense of belonging and participation in a transnational social space. Chapter Six discusses the significance of the VFR travel to Palestinian Canadians and explores their meanings of “home”, “belonging”, and “identity” within the origin and the host countries. Then the chapter discusses the social and cultural meanings associated with the VFR travel of the Palestinian Canadians. Chapter Seven explores the role of VFR travel in reinforcing the social and cultural relationship of second generation Palestinian immigrants with their country of origin. Chapter Eight presents the main discussion and findings particularly regarding the inter-generational differences in VFR travel and its significance. Chapter Nine evaluates the research goals and objectives and summarizes the major findings of the study. Then the chapter discusses the academic and practical contributions of the study and proposes future research opportunities.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Context

This chapter starts with a discussion of the definitions of migration and tourism, and the relationships between these two phenomena. Transnationalism is then defined and a brief introduction is provided into the use of transnationalism as a conceptual framework for understanding contemporary international migration. Lastly, the chapter addresses citizenship issues and the debate about multi-cultural citizenship forms in modern societies, particularly dual citizenship.

2.1 Definitions of Migration and Tourism

Globalization entails the rapidly increasing mobility of people across national borders, which leads to large-scale movements of all kinds: temporary and permanent. Mobility takes two forms, long-term migration and short-term tourism (Castles and Miller, 1998; Bell and Ward, 2000; Williams and Hall, 2000a). It is one of the key preoccupations of contemporary geography, especially in a setting of the interrelationships between tourism and migration (Williams and Hall, 2000a). Temporary mobility is simply defined as “the complement of permanent migration: that is, as any form of territorial movement which does not represent a permanent, or lasting, change of usual residence” (Bell and Ward, 2000, p. 88). . Temporary population movements as tourism and permanent movements as migration form part of “the same continuum of population mobility in time and space” (Bell and Ward, 2000, p. 88).

2.1.1 Definition of Migration

Migration entails the movement of people between two places for a specific period of time. However, it is difficult to determine a precise description for migration. The problem is in defining the distance a person needs to move and the time a person needs to stay away from the

original destination. Migration must be differentiated from spatial mobility, which embraces all types of geographical movement, from flows of people across international borders to local trips. According to Boyle *et al.* (1998), it is helpful to identify some central components when defining migration. The key components engage movement over time and over space.

In terms of time, migration is defined temporally as follows: “there will be some permanence to a move described as a migration” (Boyle *et al.* 1998, p.35). However, according to Williams and Hall (2000b), this criterion is problematic, as no theoretically grounded definition of “permanence” exists. Therefore, the migration literature includes such terms as temporary migrants, seasonal workers, and travelers for specific forms of non-permanent migration, whereas some of the early academic literature in tourism equated tourism to migration.

Spatially, migration is defined as “movement across the boundary of an areal unit” (Boyle *et al.*, 1998, p.34). This criterion is also problematic because, within all sets of areal units, the range of the individual areas will vary significantly. Accordingly, fairly long-distance movement of people will *not* be included as a form of migration because the people do not engage in crossing boundaries, whereas shorter movement *will* be considered a form of migration because it involves a border crossing. Furthermore, the definition of the areal unit to be used in a study is often crucial, as population movement and distribution between these units usually have policy consequences (Boyle *et al.*, 1998).

Different types of migration that have been identified by the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM,2005) include daily human commuting; seasonal human migration, which is mainly associated with agriculture; permanent human migration for long-term stays; local; regional; rural to urban migration, generally occurring in developing countries

as industrialization takes effect (urbanization); urban to rural, more frequent in developed countries and caused by higher cost of urban living; and international migration. According to Boyle *et al.* (1998), international migration is described as flows across national borders. The movers into a country are called immigrants, while people moving out are emigrants. Internal migration, in contrast, takes place when a boundary within a country is crossed. People moving into a particular area are described as in-migrants, while people moving out are out-migrants. Movement over shorter distances and which involves a change of residence but does not engage in crossing of a definite boundary is, in the main, described as residential mobility. Within urban studies, discussions of such movement differentiate between intra-urban residential mobility and inter-urban migration.

None of the above spatial definitions are ultimately related to the distance an immigrant moves. People may move only a few kilometers to cross a border, while an internal migration within one country may involve hundreds of kilometers (Boyle *et al.*, 1998). Boyle and his colleagues further argued that migration, as distinct from mobility, involves a social or cultural change in the migrant's life. Bogue (1959, p. 49) described migration as movements that entail an entire change and readjustment of the affiliations of individuals to the community. This situation, according to Bottomley (1992), is chiefly significant when scholars are addressing issues related to ethnic minority migration. A difference can also be highlighted between forced and voluntary migration. Forced immigrants, such as refugees, "are migrants who have little choice but to leave their homes because of persecution, war or famine" (Boyle *et al.*, 1998, p.37). Voluntary migrants, in contrast, are those who chose to move. This differentiation may be viewed as indicating "relative levels of freedom set in the context of personal characteristics and of the society in which the migrants live" (Boyle *et al.*, 1998, p. 37-38). In summary, a variety

of criteria need to be considered when defining migration; once defined, it is essential to distinguish between the various categories of migrants. No matter how international migration, in particular, is defined, it will always be associated with borders, policies, and claims for citizenship rights.

2.1.2 Definition of Tourism

The definition of tourism is no less problematic than that of migration. Generally speaking, there are two major approaches to defining tourism as follows:

2.1.2.1 Technical definitions

A technical approach is usually used by statutory bodies such as tourist boards and national and international organizations (e.g., World Tourism Organization) that measure and record special features of tourism (tourist arrivals, departures, and length of stay). The technical definitions practically focus on defining tourism for the purposes of measuring trips and collecting tourism data (Boyne, 2002, p. 244). Examples of technical definitions are provided in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Technical definitions of tourism

	Definition
World Tourism Organization (1991)	All travel away from home that involves a stay at the destination for more than one night but less than one year.
United Nations (1994)	Temporary travelling and visiting for at least 24 hours for the purpose of leisure (recreation, holidays, health, study, religion and sport), business, family, mission, and meeting.
UK	Same definitions as WTO but with no certain time on stay but with certain activities excluded, such as boarding education, or semi-permanent employment (Boyne, 2002).
US Travel Data Center	Travel of at least 160 km in one direction away from home (Boyne, 2002).
Australian Bureau of Tourism Research (BTR)	Travel of at least 40 km in one direction away from home (Boyne, 2002).
Mathieson and Wall (1982, p.1)	“temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in their destinations and the facilities created to cater to their needs”

It is clear that the distance covered in a tourism trip is not an issue for the following reasons: it has different meanings in different societies and time periods, it is based on transport technology, it depends on the transport capacity/congestion, and cultural norms in defining “place of residence” (Boyne, 2002). For example, Williams and Hall (2002a, p. 5) argued that it is difficult to determine the “normal place of residence” for those who lead traveling lifestyles, such as the retired migrant who moves back and forth seasonally between homes in different regions with “contrasting climatic regimes”. Although distance in tourism definitions is highly conditional, the debate emphasizes its importance (Boyne, 2002).

2.1.2.2 Conceptual definitions

Scholars usually approach defining tourism from a conceptual perspective to avoid all the difficulties associated with the technical definitions as discussed earlier. The conceptual definitions aim at providing a comprehensive framework that highlights differences between tourism and other similar activities. For example, scholars focus on motivations such as searching for authenticity, leisure or business, recreation, or even search for the “other” (Boyne, 2002).

Tourism, by definition, also entails travel to surmount the friction of distance between origin and destination areas. Thus, tourism is an “inherently spatial concept with many overlapping scales” (Wall, 2003, p.6). One comprehensive definition of tourism that distinguishes it from migration, from an economic perspective, was provided by Cohen (1974), who identified six main criteria for tourism: permanency, voluntariness, direction, distance, recurrency and purpose. He defined tourism as “the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round trip”. Accordingly, a tourist is, economically speaking, a

consumer and not a producer. Furthermore, the length of stay is also an important criterion considered in the definition.

The United Nations (1994) identified three types of tourism in its recommendations on tourism statistics: domestic tourism, which comprises residents of a given country traveling only in their country; inbound tourism which comprises non-residents traveling in the given country; and outbound tourism which comprises residents of a given country traveling in another country. The UN also derived three categories of tourism by combining the three basic forms discussed above: internal tourism, which includes domestic tourism and inbound tourism; national tourism, which includes domestic tourism and outbound tourism; and international tourism, which includes inbound tourism and outbound tourism.

Another definition of tourism was suggested by Przeclawski (1993, p. 10) who stated that tourism is “the sum of the phenomena pertaining to spatial mobility, connected with a voluntary, temporary change of place, the rhythm of life and its environment and involving personal contact with the visited environment (natural, cultural or social)”. He also pointed out that tourism is an economic, psychological, social, and cultural phenomenon.

All the above definitions emphasize the intent of returning home and not considering permanent residence or employment, in addition to stressing two main characteristics of tourism. First, tourism takes place outside the usual place of residence and, second, it is temporary. However, according to Williams and Hall (2000a, p.6), this debate still highlights problems of “arbitrary time limits, as well as of defining ‘permanence’: this can be set out in terms of motivation, legalistic residential requirements, or ad hoc time limits, all of which provide different data sets and analyses of tourism”.

2.2 Tourism-Migration Relationships

There have been limited studies on how migration influences tourism flows, revealing the greater interest and attention given to the tourism–migration relationships by migration, as opposed to tourism, researchers (William *et al.*, 2000). Migration and tourism are processes that greatly influence each other. For example, the two concepts converge in multi-purpose trips where individuals undertake holiday travel for the purpose of learning about the prospect for migration in the future. Likewise, migration can be a lifestyle choice and used to expand leisure opportunities (Williams and Hall, 2000a).

Williams (1999 qtd. in Kang and Page, 2000) noted that the globalization of tourism markets and tourism capital, as well as the changes in the reorganization of the labour process, have led to a growth in migration flows. Kang and Page (2000, p. 51) added that “other factors which are influential include: the aging of populations and social changes in work and non-work”. They further added that “the outcome is tourism-related migration and a wide range of social, cultural, economic and political issues for individual migrants, host communities and governments”. This dynamics was identified by Hitchcox (1994 qtd. in Kang and Page, 2000, p. 51), who stated that “migration is a social process that is historically situated in a political–economic context”.

Williams and Hall (2002a, 2002b) further argued that changes in production and consumption in recent decades have resulted in changes in tourism and migration, and in the relationships between these activities. They highlighted the manner in which linkages between migration and tourism systems need to be set within the context of both shifts in capital accumulation and the cultural construction of leisure time and spaces. They identified that the

rapid expansion of tourism has two significant implications for immigration. First, the high-rapid growth in destination areas has implications for the requirement for labour migration. Secondly, it has expanded the search spaces of mass tourists of different of generations as they go through several phases of their life path (Williams and Hall, 2002a, 2002b).

Furthermore, tourism may generate migration flows. According to Williams and Hall (2000a), tourism itself represents a type of migration of different duration. Williams and Hall (2002a) developed an idealized four-phase model as shown in Figure (2.1) for conceptualizing how tourism and migration are related through a series of economic and cultural mechanisms, which impact search spaces, demand and investment. These four phases are summarized from Williams and Hall (2002a) as follows:

Phase 1: Tourist flowing into an area which creates a tourism industry that initially recruits local labour. Areas with limited tourism attractions may not develop and, thus, does not go beyond this stage while areas with substantial tourism attractions develop and progress and then the relationship moves to phase 2.

Phase 2: This phase applies particularly to destinations that attract mass tourism. The growth of tourist flows will increase the demand for labour, especially the skilled ones to provide the services required by tourists. This labour demand cannot be met locally and, therefore, stimulates labour migration from national and international sources. Labour mobility may be differentiated by nationality, gender, ethnicity, and skills. At this stage, the labour migration is more likely to be seasonal depending on the season of high demand, in addition to the ways immigrants view the uncertainty associated with the possibility of permanent migration in a destination that is, to this point, not familiar.

Phase 3: At this phase, the interplay between tourism and migration becomes more complicated. Tourism flows to the destination area continue; however, flows may approach the mature stages.

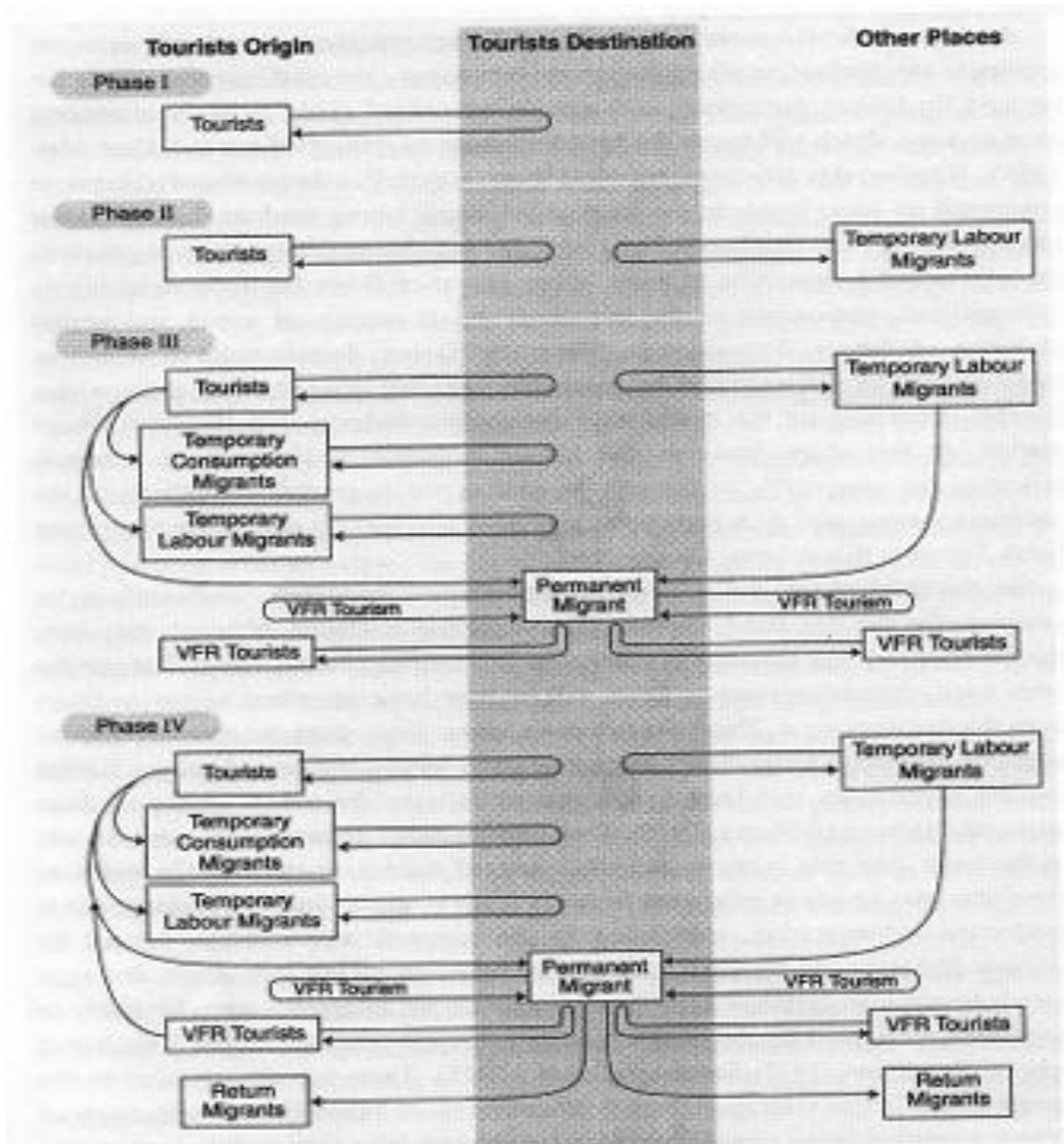


Figure 2.1: Tourism migration relationships: an idealized evolutionary aggregate model (Source: Williams & Hall, 2002).

The earlier tourists have generated migration flows from the tourism origin. Two main forms take place in this case. First, the consumption-led migrants included retirement migration. This type of migration takes place mainly because the tourism experience has expanded the search places for retired people. These migrants are either permanent or seasonal (temporary mobility). Second, labour migration from tourism origins to tourism destinations may also take place (production-led migration). There are also changes in the nature of labour migration from third countries and, in this case, the seasonal labour migration will be complemented with permanent labour migration. As a consequence, this growth in permanent migrant communities will generate VFR tourism; this is equally applied to consumption- led migrants from the tourists' origins or from other places. Migrants may return to visit their relatives and friends in the country of origin or they may also invite friends and relatives to visit them. Thus, migration is generating flows of tourists in two directions. But it is expected that in the case of consumption-led migrants, the visits will be more frequent because they have more free time and higher incomes.

Phase 4: The main characteristic of the fourth phase is the two additional forms of mobility. The first is the permanent migrants (consumption- or production-led) who may decide to return to their countries of origin or immigrate to other places. The labour migrants, who are motivated by failure, homesickness, or even by meeting their economic goals, may return to retire among their relatives and friends in the country of origin. The reasons for return migration could be the “push” factors from the tourist destinations where economic conditions may deteriorate, thus causing them to leave and return to the support provided by their families in their country of origin.

The second type of flow is where the earlier VFR tourists who visited the immigrants in tourism destinations decide to become migrants. These new migrants have expanded their search spaces by visiting early immigrants and also they are attracted to move to an area where they already have ready-made social networks which may replace those left behind.

Williams and Hall (2002) further argued that this 4-phase model illustrates a basic point, namely that not only does tourism lead to migration, but migration also generates tourism flows, particularly by the geographic extension of kinship, ethnic, and friendship networks. Immigrants themselves can become poles of attraction for VFR tourist flows, while they become tourists when they return to visit their friends and relatives in the country of origin. On the other hand, there is little relevance of the Hall-Williams framework to the VFR situation of Palestinians' travel to their homeland, as Palestine is not usually considered to be a tourism destination. Therefore, a need and an opportunity may be identified here to develop a new framework and to undertake further research.

Williams *et al.* (2000) have also studied retirement migrants as a focus of VFR tourism. Consumption-led migration systems may develop symbiotic relationships to tourism flows with spatial outcomes, such as property ownership, second-home development, seasonal migration, lifestyle migration, and retirement settlements. These forms of migration depend on the duration of the migration, motivations, and property relationships. Given that the internationalization of retirement migration is a fast growing demographic characteristic of modern societies, these scholars have investigated retirement migration in Europe, where migrants are attracted by quality of life. Their study highlights the significance of such tourism even to mass tourist resorts. For example, they estimated that British migrants to Costa del Sol receive in excess of

300,000 VFR tourist visits each year. These tourists may also become future migrants to this area.

Within the context of tourism-migration relationships, many researchers have examined the significance of different ethnic groups in generating tourism markets when their relations to migration and their country of origin are considered (see, for example, Rossiter and Chan 1998; Ostrowski 1991; King and Gamage 1994). It is essential to consider the motivation for travelling as well as the travel experiences of specific minority ethnic groups because the Western (tourist-generating) societies are becoming more cosmopolitan in nature and form. Furthermore, it is important to understand that "ethnic tourism" indicates other conceptual meanings (Stephenson, 2002). The use of the term ethnic reunion involves visiting friends and relatives (VFR travel) (King, 1994). Such travel has been described as a frequent activity for many ethnic communities living in Western societies (Stephenson, 2002).

Accordingly, ethnic ties have been increasingly recognized as an influential motivation of back-and forth-visits to family and friends in the country of origin. Earlier studies have investigated VFR travel as one form of ethnic tourism. Examples of these studies are: Khan (1997) who investigated the Pakistani community in Britain, Western (1992) who investigated Barbadians, Thanopoulos and Walle (1988) who investigated the Greek community, Liu *et al.* (1984) who investigated the Turkish community, Stephenson (2002) who examined the UK Caribbean Community, and Hughes and Allen (2010) who examined the Irish diaspora in Manchester. Some of these studies focused on the economic impact of the VFR market on the destination. For example, Liu *et al.* (1984) concluded that ethnic reunion travelers do have a constructive benefit on the destination even if they are not utilizing commercial accommodation. Thanopoulos and Walle (1988) concluded that incomes are important in determining the

frequency of visits to country of origin. Such studies have decisively disputed the commonly held view that VFR travelers are not a valuable market to care for. In the same domain, Jackson (1990) investigated the Australian market and was one of the first to identify the configuration and size of the VFR market. He suggests that VFR visits are underestimated by many National Tourism Organizations (NTOs) because such travelers do not use official tourist facilities, including commercial accommodation; therefore, the majority of the formally constituted tourism industry show slight interest in them and view them as less valuable to the destination. As Jackson (p. 16–17) noted, many visitors to Australia who reside or spend most of their time with their friends and relatives are VFR travelers, although they do not classify themselves as such. Jackson was also one of the first to establish an obvious link between ethnic reunion travelers and VFRs by affirming that: “the total flow of VFRs as a proportion of the size of country of birth migrant groups is significantly and directly related to the proportion of recent migrants (1990, p. 175). King (1994) pointed out that, despite the fact that the term “ethnic tourism” is frequently used in the tourism literature, not very much attention is given to travel motivated by ethnic reunions as most academic literature focuses on the “exotic” aspects.

However, neither tourism nor migration studies have adequately explored how migration and tourism interrelate (Figure 2.2), particularly among ethnic groups with new overseas travel patterns. One survey conducted by Kang and Page (2000, p. 61) signified that the links between immigration and ethnic reunion have been subject to time–space convergence in immigrants’ travel patterns. That is, low levels of ethnic reunion characterized the post-war patterns of immigration due to relatively higher costs of international travel. Nevertheless, with cheaper and faster travel in the post-1990s, time-space convergence in tourist travel is occurring and new

migration–tourism relationships are evolving. This fact highlights that establishing the new overseas travel patterns of immigrants is certainly an area that deserves more academic attention.

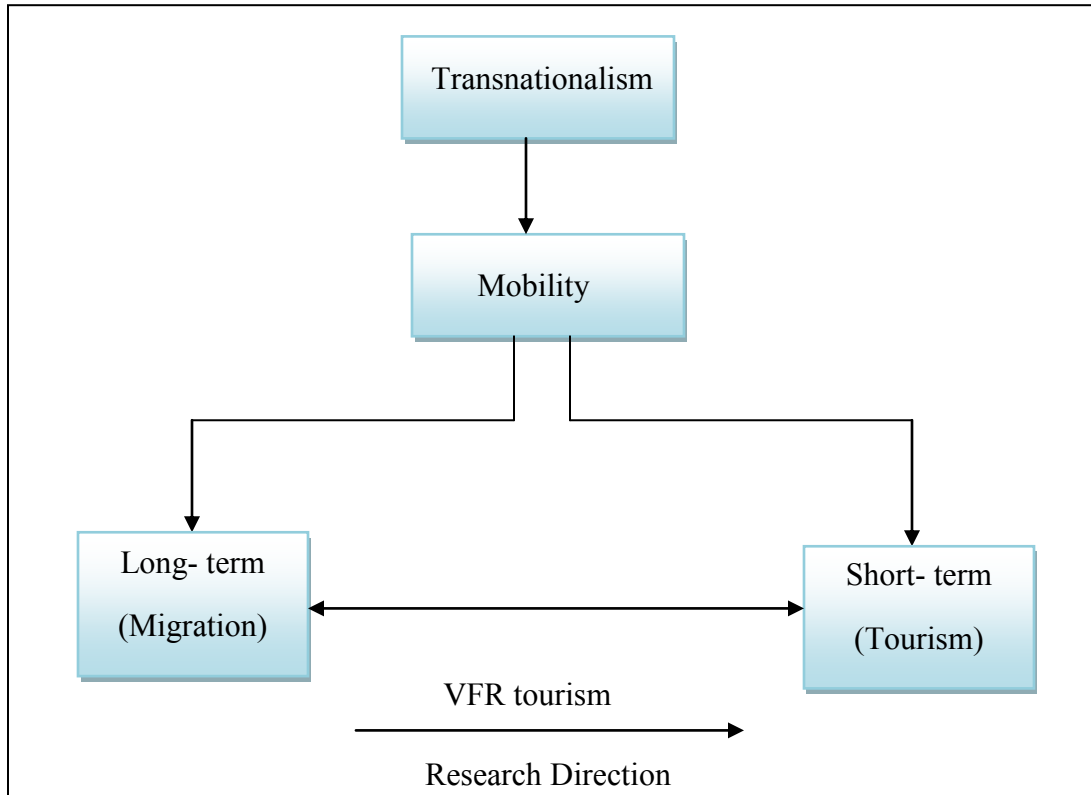


Figure 2.2: Migration generates tourism flows

To investigate tourism–migration relationships, a researcher should first set the analyses within the contemporary global and transnational perspectives. Notably, modern technological advances in transport and communication have provided more opportunities for ethnic groups in cosmopolitan societies to travel to the places of ethnic importance, thus, enabling diasporic minority groups to reinforce their ties with their countries of origin (Stephenson, 2002).

If ethnicity is interpreted as a process by which members of a particular ethnic group allude to a sense of belonging to this groups as a result of the similar socio-cultural character and normative behaviour (Stephenson, 2002), then ethnicity may influence the way members of an

ethnic group construct their travel objectives and experiences. Thus, one of the main objectives of this study is to identify the socio-cultural meanings associated with travelling to the homeland. In this context, the close relationship that tourism has to migration is partially due to those immigrants who remain emotionally attached to their country of origin (King and Gamage, 1994). Many immigrants make return visits to their home country, often visiting or staying with friends and relatives. VFR travel is one type of ethnic tourism that could be motivated by a desire to enhance family relations and explore family histories through travel to the home country (King, 1994). In the globalized era, families and friends tend to disperse spatially, so that friendship and family relationships are increasingly stretched out geographically (Kang and Page, 2000). According to many scholars (Jackson 1990; King 1994; Paci, 1994; King and Gamage 1995; Morrison and O’Leary 1995; Seaton 1994; Seaton and Tagg 1995; Williams and Hall, 2000b), immigrants may become sources of tourist flows, as they themselves become tourists in travelling to visit friends and relatives in their countries of origin. VFR tourism provides the prospect for family and ethnic reunion (Crompton, 1979) leading many scholars to conclude that international immigration has generated a growing international VFR market. These ebbs and flows of tourism are controlled by the life course of the immigrants, with each temporary or permanent process of migration generating “a new spatial arrangement of friendship and kinship networks, which potentially represent visiting friends’ and relations’ tourism flows” (Feng and Page, 2000, p. 246).

On the other hand, many scholars (for example, Coles and Timothy, 2004) have investigated “diaspora tourism” in their work. Coles and Timothy (2004) defined this term as tourism types consumed by members of diasporic communities. Diaspora populations exist as a result of migration and, from a tourism perspective, the existence of diasporic communities with

the social network that they maintain across boundaries increases the propensity for travel and connecting places. According to Duval (2006, p.3), this propensity functions in two ways: “for the tourists travelling to witness social and cultural elements established as a result of diasporic processes (e.g. Caribana in Toronto) or the extent to which members of the diaspora are themselves mobile and effectively consume other social and cultural environments as a result, some of which may be closely related or hold special significance.” Furthermore, Vertovec and Cohen (1999) introduced significant readings on migration, diaspora and transnationalism, which may represent a paradigm of much recent research on migration. However, according to Williams and Hall (2002b), they fail to recognize the considerable role of tourism in contemporary migration processes. They also fail in acknowledging the key elements that influence the relationship between migration, diaspora, and transnationalism which are crucial to the flow of tourists as they are to the flow of immigrants. Some of these key elements are: the growth of diasporic communities attached socially, culturally or physically to their places of origin and to their places of settlement. In addition, there is the transnationalism of diasporic communities with their world-spanning networks.

There is no doubt that academic interest in VFR travel is increasing (King, 1996; Moscardo *et al.*, 2000). In recognizing this, Seaton and Palmer (1997) made the first attempt to assess the structure of VFR travel, based on a major national, longitudinal data set, in relation to four main issues: VFR expenditure patterns, VFR destination choices, the timing and duration of VFR trips, and VFR demographic travel propensity by social class, age and life cycle. However, the academic studies of VFR tourism (e.g. Jackson, 1990; Morrison *et al.*, 1995, 2000; Seaton, 1994; Seaton & Palmer, 1997; Seaton & Tagg, 1995; King, 1994, 1996) have approached VFR tourism with the aim of correcting broad misunderstandings about VFR tourists. In recent years,

Duval has added a distinguished contribution (for example, Duval, 2003, 2004, and 2006) to the existing literature about immigrant mobility and VFR tourism. He explored migrant mobilities, particularly return visits, through fieldwork among members of the broader Commonwealth Eastern Caribbean community in Toronto (Duval, 2003, 2004). He suggested, for example, that the return visit may eventually be classified as a form of travel within the larger category of VFR tourism, but can also be recognized as a vehicle to maintain transnational identity structures between immigrants and their home country (Duval, 2003, p.275). The importance of his finding is that it highlights the social significance of VFR travel. He explored the ways that return visits may facilitate return migration. What distinguishes Duval's work from all former studies in VFR travel is that he explores further this segment of travel in terms of broader social associations. That is, former studies provide insight into the significance (in terms of size) and overall importance of the VFR tourism market, but neglect the inherent social and cultural meanings associated with such trips. He also argued that studies of VFR tourism should take into consideration how the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora may play a significant role in the motivation of this form of travel.

In summary, the significance of tourism as a part of the migrant experience has attracted relatively little attention from scholars writing for mainstream migration literature. According to Hall and Williams (2002b), the World Tourism Organization has estimated that, by the year 2020, more than one and a half billion international visits will take place in a single year. These visits will be associated with significant socio-cultural and economic implications when related to labour and retirement migration, and return visitation and VFR travel. That is, tourism and migration, in combination with other globalizing phenomena such as advances in communication technology, are participating in the formation of new identities for many people. New types of

mobility are the norm for the majority of the population at the present time. The challenge for the communities is how to connect and harness these migration and tourism channels that represent principal globalization processes. Williams and Hall (2002a, p.40) identified key interdisciplinary themes for research within the relationship between tourism and migrations including the relationship between the life course and migration pathways of individuals, and their travel careers; the role of family in generating VFR tourism; the effect of government and governance on tourism and migration, and the ways some migrants can take advantage of gaps in the regulations concerning tourism; and the role of tourism and migration in creating and reshaping identities, and personal and place images.

However, the focus on tourism–migration relationships highlights “the need to set our analyses in the context of contemporary global economic and political processes, and the circulation of capital and labour” (Williams and Hall, 2000, p. 20). The complex relationships between tourism and migration are likely to become even more obscure in the future as new and modern forms of dwelling, leisure, work, and extended social networks take place: “New trends in tourism and migration similarly make it difficult to determine ‘where is home’, ‘what is our identity’ and ‘why are we here’”(Williams and Hall, 2000, p. 21).

Defining VFR Tourism: When a VFR visit becomes a VFR tourism trip

The discussion about the conceptual integration of VFR tourism within the relationship between tourism and migration conceptualized by Williams and Hall (2003) departs from the distinctive nexus between tourism and migration in terms of migration being tourism-generated or tourism-generating. Some forms of tourism (VFR tourism) take place only under conditions created by a prerequisite migration.

After the brief review of the existing definitions of tourism and migration, the next step is to draw from these definitions a technical definition of VFR tourism. Boyne *et al.* (2003, p. 246) argued that a VFR tourism trip is a trip to stay temporarily with a friend or a relative away from the guest's normal place of residence. For a VFR visit to become VFR tourism then, at least one party should be a migrant. However, this largely avoids rather than confronts many of the significant conceptual issues.

As identified in Boyne *et al.* (2003, p. 247), "defining tourism in terms of the motivations or other characteristics of travelers would be like trying to define the health-care professions by describing a sick-person". Thus, there are limitations for defining the VFR category in terms of motivations. For example, the United Kingdom Travel Agency (UKTS) study employed the criterion question, "What was the main purpose of your trip?" to define a VFR traveler. The respondent who indicated that the main purpose of the trip was to visit a friend or a relative was defined as a VFR tourist (motivational VFRs). Inherently, the study excluded all those who stayed with friends and relatives without essentially doing so as the main purpose of the trip. Within this context, Seaton and Palmer (1997, p. 353) argued that the VFR trips defined by form of accommodation (accommodational VFRs) were more than twice as numerous as those defined by motive.

On the other hand, Boyne *et al.* (2003, p. 247) argued that even though there are noticeable limitations on the motivational definition of a VFR tourist; the inclusion of the motivation further sharpens the outline of the VFR category for empirical analysis and offers further insights into the elements that create VFR tourism and possible implications for hosts, host communities and guests. Although MacCannell (1973, 1976) introduced the conventional framework concerning "the search for authenticity", Wang (1999) argued that many tourism

travel types, including VFR travel, cannot be explained within such a framework. Yet, VFR travelers are considered by King (1994) as ethnic tourists mainly because they are making return trips to their ancestral homeland and, thus, these trips are roots-related where travelers are seeking ethnic reunion and search for roots. Boyne *et al.* (2003, p. 247) further argued that even ethnic tourists may be searching for “staged authenticity” when they visit their friends and relatives as when, for example, they participate in traditional social events and other activities which the ‘hosts’ do not consider to be part of their everyday lives. Thus, Seaton and Palmer’s (1997) call for a more thorough investigation into the behavioral differences and the definition of VFR tourists (motivational/not motivational or motivational/accommodational) is supported by the previous discussion.

2.3 Transnationalism and International Migration

The growth of immigration and diaspora communities in modern societies emphasizes the need to investigate more thoroughly their members’ experiences of identity negotiations and the ways these immigrants maintain ties with the original country. This investigation is particularly important in the era of globalization as it dissolves the barriers of distance. Transnationalism is an evolving and promising construct for identifying and understanding these experiences. Transnationalism, according to Glick Schiller *et al.* (1992) and Portes *et al.* (1999) refers to the phenomenon of immigrants maintaining connections and social relations to their country of origin. Thus, the multiplicity of migrants’ engagements in both original and receiving societies is a vital element of transnationalism (Glick Schiller *et al.*, 1992). This definition requires using a dual frame of reference to evaluate their experiences and outcomes in the country in which they have settled (for example, Louie, 2006).

Transnationalism is, then, a sustained activity that links a group of people in one country with their counterparts in another (Metropolies, 2007). Glick Schiller *et al.* (1992, p. 8), in their description of the nation-state in the era of globalization stated that, “in contrast to the past, when nation-states were defined in terms of people sharing a common culture within a bounded territory, this new conception of nation-state includes as citizens those who live physically dispersed within the boundaries of many other states, but who remain socially, politically, culturally and often economically part of the nation-state of their ancestors”. Rather, according to Levitt (2004), in the 21st century there will be an increasing number of people in the migration-receiving countries who belong to more than a single society. This is what many researchers in the diaspora and migration literature refer to as “transnational migration” or “transmigrants”. Transmigrants are identified by Glick Schiller *et al.* (1992, p. 1-2) as immigrants who “take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns within a field of social relations that link together their country of origin and their country or countries of settlement”. Thus, transnational migrants perform different aspects of life in more than one context. Portes (1999, p. 464) viewed transnational activities as “those that take place on a recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants”. Moreover, they suggested three types of transnationalism: economic, politic, and social. Levitt (2004) noted that some immigrants will establish roots in the country of settlement, sustain strong ties with the homeland, and even belong to religious and political movements that extend across borders. These allegiances are not opposing or hostile to one another (Levitt, 2004).

Unarguably, the concept of border-crossing social ties helps to improve the understanding and perception of immigrant integration in the new environment. Faist (2000) argues that transnationalization has far-reaching consequences in the way scholars consider immigrants’

adaptation, global civil society, ethnic communities, identities, culture, and citizenship. With the growing emphasis on globalization, permeable borders, boundaries, “home” and “host” societies are progressively being viewed as overlapping. In fact, it is increasingly becoming possible to live within more than one spatial system on almost equal terms (Schulz & Hammer, 2003).

Thus, the concept of transnationalism challenges the old theories (Park, 1931, 1938; Gordon, 1964, for instance) that argue that assimilation of immigrants is a certain and unavoidable outcome of incessant interaction with the dominant cultural group in the host society. Other scholars (for example, Faist, 2000), have gone further and have argued that transnational ties may not only act against melting into the dominant core – as predicted by classical assimilationists – but also result in more “cultural autonomy” and “cultural hybrid identities”. When migrants’ sense of belonging is mainly described through their rooted links to their homelands, it is essential then to address the mechanism, i.e., the transnational activity that immigrants practice to maintain these ties. Return visits for the purposes of visiting friends and relatives are critical in preserving identities of immigrants in the host societies. However, this issue has not been adequately addressed in either the tourism or the migration literatures.

2.3.1 Transnationalism as a Conceptual Framework

More academic literature has recently started to emphasize the transnational nature of contemporary migration. The canonical theories of immigrant assimilation and ethnic pluralism have overstated the container aspects of culture and politics (Faist, 2000). Thus, older research in immigration has been characterized by specific analyses concerning majority-minority relationships, local communities, and host societies. In the more global perspectives of diasporic and migration studies, migration is no longer viewed as a “one-way movement” from a sender to

a receiving nation, with consequential efforts and struggles of integration and settlement into the host society (Mar, 2005). Nowadays, a new type of migrating population is emerging. Vetovec and Cohen (1999 qtd. In Salih, 2002, p. 52) identified four main features to the emergence of a new type of migrants: “the possibility of having multiple identities and multiple localities thanks to new technologies of travel and information, the globalization of kinship and network ties, the extraordinary growth of remittances and finally, and as a result, the disintegration of boundaries between host and home societies.”

The technological innovations in long-distance communication and travel have increased the speed of the emergence of transnational social spaces. Advanced methods of communication and travel set the necessary stage for the development of transnational ties. The continuing communication and transport revolution has significantly decreased the cost of bridging long geographical distances (Faist, 2000) allowing immigrants, to a great extent, to maintain close contacts with their homeland and travel frequently between country of origin and country of settlement. Thus, migration is no longer framed within the perspective of receiving nations only through the classical theories of assimilation and acculturation, or ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism (see for these theories, Driedger, 1989; Glazer & Moynihan, 1963; Gordon, 1964; Park, 1931, 1938) that typically characterized older studies. Recently, research on migration has taken on a new scope and scale, moving beyond the assumption that immigrants will live their lives in one place, conforming to one set of cultural norms, within solid national borders of the receiving countries. This assumption no longer holds in the era of globalization, with its multiple identities, diasporic communities, growing international mobility, and ease of transportation and communication.

Four broad frameworks can be identified for the contemporary study of migration, settlement, and adaptation, including associated issues such as identities and citizenship. First, Anderson (1991) established the notion of “imagined communities” to conceptualize the emergence of nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries. This concept is also employed to determine how new shapes of nationalism and new collective identities are taking place today (Veronis, 2006). The second approach emphasizes the development of global networks (Castles and Davidson, 2000; Castles and Miller, 1998). These perspectives focus on political economy and highlight both the role global processes are playing in international emigration and the impacts of socio-economic policies of certain nation-states on the flow of immigration. They also overlook questions of two significant dimensions of immigrants’ experiences: human agency and the cultural realm (Veronis, 2006). However, the third framework and approach examines issues of identity formation and cultural expression within the perspectives of diaspora and hybridity (Hall, 1990, 1996; Gilroy, 1987, 1993). Criticisms of this approach (see Anthias, 2001, p. 619) note the fact that the concept of hybridity, although signifying vital developments and challenges to static and core notions of ethnicity and identity, represents both theoretical and substantive complexities. As well, hybridity as a framework for immigration studies, may inadvertently “provide a gloss” over the current “cultural hierarchies and hegemonic practices”. The fourth approach, transnationalism, emphasizes multiple (social, cultural, economic, and political) ties that connect international movers and stayers over time and across borders to patterns of networks on multiple scales in two or more nations – mainly between the homeland and country of residence. Theoretically, transnationalism improves the understanding of immigration, particularly integration, and challenges traditional theories of immigration and immigrant assimilation, and allows for conceptual and practical shifts in the study of identity

formation and issues related to citizenship and the role of nations. However, these four approaches to international immigration are not incompatible; to a large extent, each approach tends to function as a complement to the others as they focus on different dimensions of the migration process (Veronis, 2006). The following paragraphs explain why transnationalism is the best conceptual framework for understanding contemporary migration.

First, despite the criticisms regarding the fragmented nature of transnationalism as a field of study (see for example, Portes *et al.*, 1999), this construct offers both the conceptual and empirical ingenuity required to explore the formation of new and heterogeneous immigrant identities and communities. Transnationalism opens up an expanded purview of migrant practice, which enables scholars to engage with the multiplicity of migration networks and multiple forms of incorporation of individuals and groups at various spatial and governmental levels (Mar, 2005) while studying the dynamic nature of migrant groups as they change and evolve over time. It also provides a theoretical and empirical framework for a better understanding of the complex processes involved in the emergence of new immigrants in increasingly diverse global cities and modern societies.

Second, in order to completely understand immigrants' practices and identities, it is essential to investigate migration from a standpoint that is holistic (Al-Ali, Black and Koser, 2001; Koser, 2002; Al-Ali and Koser, 2002). The emergence of transnational activities will be affected by conditions both within the host and the sending country, and can vary over time and space (Al-Ali, Black and Koser, 2001). Third, transnationalism provides a wider perspective on the construction of new immigrant communities as it enables the investigation of all the processes, both in the countries of origin and countries of destination, forming migrants' experiences and practices. Fourth, transnationalism permits the investigation of migration from

the viewpoint of the state (from above) and also from that of immigrants (from below). Furthermore, transnationalism is helpful for bringing to light the complex interactions and relationships between processes “from above” and “from below” (Veronis, 2006). In addition, transnationalism, as a conceptual framework, provides the foundation for understanding new patterns of migrating in a global context (Schiller *et al.*, 1992; McAuliffe, 2008).

Fifth, transnationalism, with its notion of border-crossing expansion of social ties, also enhances the understanding of immigrant integration, particularly in the political and cultural domains. Nevertheless, the implications of transnationalization for citizenship and culture have not been thoroughly investigated. Although much of the transnational literature emphasizes either economic activities of transnationalism such as remittances (Portes, 1999; Vetrovec, 2001), or political activities (Basch *et al.*, 1994), few researchers have focused on social and cultural relations. As identified in Duval (2004), transnationalism is a response to the “objective categories of analysis” formulated in previous studies of international migration. Thus, travel of immigrants and its significance are in this research viewed through a transnational lens.

2.3.2 Transnationalism “from above” and “from below”

Nation-states have a significant role in hindering or encouraging transnational activities. Factors “from above” are decisive in determining whether transnationalism “from below” takes place. Relationships that connect two or more nation-states, where people are the principle agents, are significantly influenced by policies in immigration-receiving and sending countries. For example, in the formal political domain, dual membership is an important aspect of the multiple identities spanning across borders. However, investigation of the contemporary phenomenon of dual citizenship may consider the distinction between immigration countries, whose main anxiety is the integration of immigrants, and emigration countries, whose main anxiety is the connection with the

diasporas. For instance, the number of immigrant-receiving states that allow dual citizenship has increased recently to facilitate the integration of immigrants who may oppose naturalization because of their fear of losing major rights or properties in their countries of origin if required to give up their original nationality. On the other hand, immigrant-sending countries, for instance, Turkey, Mexico and the Philippines, that did not allow dual citizenship in the past, are now are permitting their diaspora members to maintain their nationality despite naturalization elsewhere. The main reason for this is that such countries prefer to reinforce membership ties with their diaspora members who are significant sources of foreign exchange, investment, markets and capitalist schemes, as well as overseas political representation (Spiro, 2004).

According to Bhattacharya (2008), the main argument and major source of disagreement in the policy of dual citizenship in emigrating countries has been the extent of restrictions, mainly political, based on the non-resident status of the diaspora. However, there is growing number of countries of emigration, particularly those that have become dependent on diasporas' economic remittances and political control, that are allowing their citizens to maintain nationality in spite of naturalization elsewhere (Fornes, 2007). Around half of the world's countries currently recognize dual citizenship or dual nationality (Faist, 2000). These countries even have implemented policies to preserve and reinforce loyalties and participation of diasporas. Among these policies is dual nationality or citizenship (Fornes, 2007). Faist (2000) suggests that understanding the emigration nations governments' interests, attitudes and policies towards their diasporas enables us to recognize better the features of dual state membership. From the immigrants' point of view, dual state membership constitutes a deliberate strategy to protect various rights in multiple states.

Furthermore, dual citizenship is offered within conditions to be established that differ between countries of immigration and emigration. Specific citizenship rights accompanying

transnational lives also differ between sending and receiving states. Accordingly, as identified in Faist (2000), states which are both receiving countries and advanced welfare states differ significantly in opportunities for immigrants to contribute and participate in social rights. It is possible that more highly institutionalized welfare states, such as Germany, create a centre of attention for people who transmigrate to partake in social rights than in more limited welfare states such as the United States. Dual citizenship, which may increase the short-term mobility of immigrants, may also provide increased options for immigrants to take care of themselves in places most suitable to their living conditions.

The position of the immigration countries towards dual citizenship is decisive since, usually, if it allows dual citizenship, the emigration country typically allows it as well. Another effect of country policies on transnationalism is represented when the countries of immigration are liberal democracies so immigrants may have a greater chance to maintain cultural distinctiveness and ties to the countries of origin. Multi-cultural policies of the countries of settlement are contributing to the maintenance of immigrants' transnational ties. However repressive policies and discrimination may also advance immigrant transnationalization for different reasons, since immigrants may not feel secure in the countries of settlement and may not want to lose their ties with the country of their homeland.

2.4 Transnationalism and Citizenship in Nation-States

Citizenship has been historically intimately linked with the evolution of nation-states. Modern states are defined by a congruity of geographic region that is determined by borders, acknowledged by neighbouring states and other members of the international states. A key feature of modern nation-state is sovereignty, which refers to the "priority over all other political institutions ensconced within the demarcated territory" (Faist, 2000, p. 201). Within this description, residents have citizenship

status once they are accepted with all rights and duties. Turner (1993, p. 2) stated that citizenship is more appropriately understood as a “set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society and which, as a consequence, shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups”. Bosniak (2000 qtd in Brodie, 2002, p. 379) has identified four dominant perspectives in the study of modern citizenship which are: citizenship as legal status, as rights, as participation, and as identity and solidarity. Citizenship as identity-solidarity is the “quality of belonging”. In fact, the historical consensus between citizenship and nation has been so close in many countries that “citizenship identities and solidarities are routinely treated as tantamount to national identities and solidarities, if not, patriotism”. According to Raco (2003, p. 91), immigrants are keenly engaged in the construction and reconstruction of notions of citizenship in the modern societies of nation-states.

In the expanding literature on citizenship, a helpful and a practical distinction is made between two types of citizenship. The first is formal citizenship which refers to a legal status linking residence to a nation-state and the granting of certain rights. The second is substantive citizenship which refers to “a more complex and expressive sense of citizenship defined by standing within a political community” (Staeheli, 2003, p.97). From a theoretical perspective, the former necessitates the latter; however, in practice, substantive rights represent a point for argument for minority groups when negotiating membership in a society. For instance, immigrants usually achieve formal citizenship in the country of settlement, but then put out great effort to gain equal rights and to be recognized for full participation in the realms of the host society (Veronis, 2006).

Citizenship implies an enduring series of mutual contacts between the citizens and the nation-state. States and citizens can assert a set of reciprocally enforceable rights and duties. Citizenship also entails the public representation of ties between individuals and corresponding states. It is based on the view of common affiliation to a nation-state and it confers the identity

“citizen” (Faist, 2000). Emergent studies on citizenship go further by supporting a state-centered standpoint to investigate the claims of immigrants to citizenship and their performance of it (Veronis, 2006). According to Ehrkamp and Leitner (2003), the active interactions between state and civil society create citizenship. Winlnad and Wayland (2001) defined a concept of “desirable citizenship” which refers to the extent and quality of individual’s participation in a community. Rocco (1997) defined the concept of “cultural citizenship” to refer to the importance of cultural practices for the issue of citizenship, particularly the cultural differences between immigrants and host societies. Scholars have begun studying immigrants’ practices of citizenship in a variety of contexts. Staeheli (2003) examined the link between citizenship and identity, and possible changes in this relationship in the light of globalization and transnationalism. He concluded that these relationships have been thoroughly transformed by complicated characteristics involved in the development of the political identities of immigrants.

Faist (2000) also distinguished between two types of citizenship: national and transnational. While national citizenship predicts or suggests an assimilation of immigrants to a “unitary political culture”, transnational citizenship envisages the compatibility of loyalties of citizens to multiple states. Multi-cultural citizenship operates, like national citizenship, in the realm of a unitary state. However, it demands the recognition of culture for national, ethnic, religious and other groups living in this state. These three forms of formal citizenship relate somewhat differently to the nation-states’ congruity assumption of one people to one territory and one cultural space. In addition, forms of political membership in and between nation-states are to be observed, such as participation in homeland- oriented associations, or truly transnational organizations that connect countries of origin with several host countries.

Joppke (2007) argued that there are three dimensions of citizenship: status, rights and identity. The development of citizenship in the three dimensions is as follows:

Citizenship as status: the most important development that had taken place in the last five decades is the liberalization of access to citizenship, as well as eliminating sexual and racial obstacles to naturalization and, lastly, the raising of territory over descent in the birth provenance of citizenship. These changes have resulted in the opening of citizenship and, therefore, ethnic, racial and religious diversity is now a characteristic of most modern societies.

Citizenship as rights: The ethnic, racial and religious diversity of populations in national welfare states, has in turn, significant implications for the rights dimension of citizenship. Social rights are vital citizen rights in this era. The external closure that prevailed in the past appeared to be a primary precondition for establishing sturdy welfare states; as such closure maintained the ethnic homogeneity and unity that are essential for the redistribution of wealth. With the ethnic, racial and religious diversity of modern societies in welfare states, the foundation for social rights has become weaker whereas new types of rights have moved to the forefront: rights of anti-discrimination and multicultural acknowledgment.

Citizenship as identity: The rise of anti-discrimination and multicultural rights has, in turn implications for the identity dimension. Citizenship is increasingly becoming obtainable without ethnic, racial or cultural conditions. Primal group affiliations are confined or even promoted by anti-discrimination and multicultural rights. State membership does not imply, any more, a particular identity; thus, membership and identity part ways.

In the age of globalization, states have recognized the fact of losing control on many fronts and they are becoming closer to being “people containers”. However, states have responded to worries about the solidarity and unity of increasingly ethnic diverse societies with

campaigns to representatively upgrade citizenship, by even considering a re-tightening of access. On the other hand, re-nationalization of citizenship is constrained by equality and non-discrimination rules and, thus, only universalistic answers to identity questions are permitted. The ethnic nation-states of Europe which are described as “machines for national reproduction” are moving backward i.e. against the trend, as suggested by changes in status, rights, and identity of citizenship. On the other hand, the “immigrant societies” of North America and Australia, where the state is not, or less, biased towards any of the group that form it, are moving forward (Joppke, 2007).

2.4.1 Crisis of Citizenship

Interest among scholars in concepts of globalization, post-modernity, the politics of identity, and emerging nationalism has regenerated the debate about citizenship and made scholars re-think some of the assumptions that had been previously taken for granted (O’Byrne, 2005). Globalization and increasing international migration in recent years has resulted in a “crisis of citizenship” (Castles and Davidson 2000; Joppke 1998a, 1998b). International migration, according to a number of scholars, challenges the sovereignty of the nation-state and the link between it and citizenship (Joppke 1998b; Sassen 1996, 1998; Soysal 1994). One of the most important debates in the study of migration and immigrant integration has taken place between “post-nationalists” and “nationalists”, a detachment represented in the opposition between Soysal and Jacobson, on the one hand, and Joppke, on the other (Soysal 1994; Jacobson 1997; Joppke 1998a). The declinist theory constructed by Jacobson (1998) and Soysal (1994) states that mass migration and the emergence of transnational and international foundations for human rights have diluted the sovereignty of the nation-state and have resulted in the decline of citizenship. This theory is presented in Jacobson (1997) where he noted that, “Transnational migration is steadily eroding the traditional basis of nation-state membership,

namely citizenship. As rights have come to be predicated on residency, not citizen status, the distinction between ‘citizen’ and ‘alien’ has eroded. The devaluation of citizenship has contributed to the increasing importance of international human rights codes, with the premise of universal ‘personhood’ Social, civil, economic, and even political rights have come to be predicated on residency, not citizenship (with some national variations). Citizenship, consequently, has been devalued in the host countries: aliens resident in the United states and in Western European countries have not felt any compelling need to naturalize even when it is possible” (p. 9).

Jacobson’s argument about states that are experiencing a decline in citizenship and a transition of the resources of state power and influence to the transnational arena fits exactly within a recent school of post-nationalism, which holds that the role of the state has been limited after the post-war period because of the international agreements that protect immigrants’ rights. Furthermore, Soysal (1994) argued that nation-states are not the source of civil and social rights because of the international human rights discourse or “universal personhood”. She further argued that permanent residents benefit from wide-ranging rights and can participate in political and societal activities without citizenship, such that there is a little difference between the lives of permanent residents and citizens and, consequently, identity and rights have been decoupled. Several years later, such arguments of Soysal were re-stated strongly by Jacobson in 1997.

Joppke (1999), in his study *Immigration and the Nation-State*, took a middle position between defenders and critics of nation-states. He argued that that nation-state has not been re-confirmed by the increasing challenges of migration but, at the same time, it has not been deeply transformed. States insist on their sovereignty and their control over their boundaries; on the other hand, constraints from human-rights on traditional sovereignty of nation-states are increasing. Such constraints include demands to reform such categories of membership as unitary citizenship, a perseverance of distinctive national models of handling ethnic diversity and multi-cultural demands

on mono-cultural nations (Joppke, 1999, p.4). As identified in Joppke (1999), Soysal studied citizenship as one aspect of the nation-state that is challenged by immigration and she totally ignored a second main dimension which is sovereignty. Joppke argued further that sovereignty represents the “stateness of modern nation-state: final control over a bounded territory and populace” (p. 5). This implies that nations make a distinction between “nationals” who have the right to enter the state and stay in it, and “aliens” whose entry or stay could be denied by the state. However, nation-states are exposed to pressures from international human rights foundations to accept unwanted immigration. Within this context, Joppke (1999) questioned where these human rights and constraints on nation-states to exclude aliens are positioned: “at the domestic level of nation-states or in a global human-rights regime” (p. 5). He suggested that these limitations on sovereignty of the nation-state have predominantly domestic roots. For example, the new states receiving immigrants in the Middle East or South-East Asia would respect the rights of the immigrants the same way Western states do.

Joppke (2007) suggested that the lack of awareness of the different dimensions of citizenship have created opposition between defenders and critics of citizenship. The dynamic debate over the pros and cons of both positions reflect the fact that each side has primarily considered different dimension of citizenship: status or rights. Accordingly, claims about citizenship as rights cannot be employed to criticize or refuse claims about citizenship as status and vice versa.

On the other hand, Joppke’s (2007) review of the modern changes of citizenship according the three dimensions discussed above, still consider it as an essentially state-related concept. Citizenship as status refers to formal state membership and the ways to access it in terms of rules. Citizenship as rights refers to the formal “capacities and immunities” related to individuals citizenship status. Citizenship as identity, according to Joppke (2007, p.37), refers to

the “behavioral aspects of individuals acting and conceiving of themselves as members of a collectivity, classically the nation, or the normative conceptions of such behavior imputed by the state”. This emphasis suggests that citizenship concentrates on the unity, harmony and integration of society and, thus, is strongly related to the “semantics of nation” and nationalism.

Joppke concluded that, with respect to status, access to citizenship has been liberalized. With regard to the rights dimension, he concluded that social rights have been weakened while minority rights have been reinforced. Joppke (2007, p.37) further suggested that citizenship identities are increasingly becoming universalistic, which confines the efforts of states to opposing “the centrifugal dynamics of ethnically diversifying societies with unity and integration campaigns”.

As identified in Harder (2010), there is a distinction between illiberal and liberal forms of the nation. Illiberal ethnic nations are characterized by “named human populations claiming a common ancestry, a demotic solidarity, common customs and vernaculars and a common native history” (Harder 2010, p. 204). In illiberal nations, an individual’s deepest attachments are claimed to be inherited rather than chosen (Harder 2010, p. 204). On the other hand, societies of civic nations promote equal rights where citizens are unified in nationalistic attachment to a common set of political values. Breton (1988 qtd. in Harder, 2010, p. 205) even goes further and argues that ethnic nations should be defined in terms of ancestry while civic nations should be defined in terms of birth, though no statement is provided as to “how ancestry constitutes ethnicity in illiberal nations, but birth constitutes civic inclusion in liberal polities”.

Immigration has created a post-Marshallian view of citizenship (Marshall, 1950) which, according to Joppke (1999), emphasizes its externally exclusive dimension, defining boundaries between members and non-members. Marshall (1950) took for granted the essential role of nation-

states in defining citizenship rights. These rights included civil, political, and social rights. The civil rights imply the freedom of individuals to express their own ideas, develop their own beliefs and to own a property. The political rights imply the freedom of individuals to participate in the process of government. Lastly, the social rights imply the rights of individuals to welfare, education, and well-being.

Kymlica (1995) posited that citizenship means not only a legal status, but also an identity. As an identity, citizenship emphasizes shared values and understanding, that is, a common culture. However, the evolutionary attainment of a communal culture shared by all members of society is often overlooked (Joppke, 1999). Newly-emerging nationalism in many countries of the world emphasizes concepts of civil society and citizenship as main blocks in building a sense of national identity. In contrast, new trends within human geography allowing for not considering the nation-state as the principle unit of analysis are more likely, according to O'Byrne (2005). He argued that any discussion of citizenship at present should be associated with recognition of the possibility of multiple citizenships and should take into consideration the fact that the nation-state is not the only source of identification. Thus, for a model of citizenship to be valid, it has to go further than the absolute of the liberal model.

On the other hand, the increased cosmopolitan societies call for a form of "multi-cultural citizenship", which values the different forms cultural expression of individuality (Tim, 2005). Multi-cultural citizenship, according to Tim, entails leaving behind the traditional concepts of citizenship, which abstract from the cultural and ethnic identities of individuals, and consider individuals exclusively as members of a certain political community. It has become indefensible for citizenship to require political and cultural homogeneity, or to assert that particularity could be transcended. Citizens are viewed not merely as abstracted individuals, but also as members of ethnic, cultural and other identity groups. Debates about multi-cultural citizenship in the literature highlight a significant

gap between multi-cultural citizenship in theory and in practice since it has been defined in terms of rights for minority groups. According to Tim (2005), in Canada, multicultural citizenship is “a citizenship for all” and not only for minorities. For example, the claims for recognition made by French-speaking minorities indicate that this type of citizenship accommodates national minorities, not only immigrants or ethnic groups. Other scholars, such as Kymilca (1995), called for a “closed societal culture” which suggested a strong distinction between the rights claimed by national minorities and the rights claimed by immigrant groups to preserve their distinctive culture. He asserted that immigrants leave their countries voluntarily; thus, no steps should be taken to ensure their access to such rights. In contrast, Tim (2005) called for a civic pluralism model for multi-cultural citizenship, based on “open societal culture”. She suggested that such a model may provide a new form of political belonging and achieve unity. Similarly, proponents of the radical version of multi-cultural citizenship propose a “differentiated citizenship” which protects the rights of “oppressed” minority groups. However, no criteria or definition has been suggested by such scholars to help to identify the “*oppressed* immigrant groups”. Having a middle position, Stasulis (2004) argued that the rapid increase of international migration calls for what she termed “hybrid citizenship”. Such citizenship implies that immigrants negotiate for an access to partial entitlements to rights within more than one country and, consequently, this will lead to different combinations of partial citizenships.

2.4.2 Political Transnationalism: Dual Citizenship and Transnational Immigrants

Citizenship is essentially based on membership in a state and, thus, rights and identities should be related to a comprehensive view of citizenship, citizenship as status, rights, and identity, although this view was not always available. According to Joppke (2007), in the prosperous age of nationally closed welfare states that came before the modern era of globalization, citizenship

was not noticeable as a nationally and territorially bounded realm. Joppke (2007, p. 38) further noted:

“Tellingly, there is no reflection on citizenship’s bounded nature in T. H. Marshall’s (1992) universalistic story of evolving citizenship rights. Marshall’s key dichotomy was citizenship and class. This reveals that the central line of conflict in the golden age was functional, not territorial: how can workers be citizens? Today, in the era of globalization and blurring state boundaries, conflicts surrounding citizenship have taken on a different meaning, closer to the original meaning of citizenship as state membership: how can foreigners be citizens, and who are we, the Danes?”

The rise of human rights resulted in a permissive stance of the states regarding legislation on dual nationality. Shifts in the normative assumptions regarding the right to dual nationality in the international human rights arena and the changing character of nationality legislation enacted by states have resulted in an increase in dual citizenship. Although, in the past, dual citizenship was considered contrary to international regulations, at present it is partially perceived as an issue of individual autonomy and identity, and there is evidence that in some cases the international law may protect the attainment of more than one citizenship (Stasiulis & Ross, 2006). Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer (2001, qtd in & Ross, 2006, p. 330) went further and noted that “the rising incidence of plural nationality may be a harbinger of a new postnational or transnational consensus about political membership, no longer dominated by the nation-state. If citizenship is inclusive and rights-enhancing, dual citizenship must be doubly so, the reasoning goes”. Stasiulis and Ross (2006) attempted in their work to answer the question whether multiple citizenship is benevolent, enhancing the liberal rights and privileges of individuals. They explored this issue through the analysis of cases where dual citizenship became a legal responsibility and functioned as a barrier to having access to basic human rights, including individuals officially protected by international law. Stasiulis and Ross (2006) studied the effects of the racialization as well as the securitization of dual nationality for specific categories of dual

citizens. Stasiulis and Ross (2006, p. 335) employed the term “securitization” to refer to “practices of governing that contrast “security” with politics”. As they studied an expanding number of cases where the rights of dual citizens had been reduced compared to some categories of uni-citizens, they found that the arguments suggested by liberal legal scholarship that support the intrinsic rights-expansion stemming from dual citizenship as lacking empirical validity (Stasiulis & Ross, 2006).

The recent violation of human rights of dual national men of Muslim and Arab background provides evidence on the racialization and securitization of diplomatic protection. The cases of unusual rendition, detention and torture of dual citizens may be positioned within the practices of the governments’ post-9/11. Such cases demonstrate the unstable nature of all types of citizenship as practiced across a transnational space and highlight the ways in which dual citizenship creates new types of exclusion on a “transnational plane”. Whereas citizenship does not imply an existing standard set of rights to all, dual citizens who may be viewed as having “dangerous” nationalities involved in the world post-9/11 security paradigm have often found themselves without any protection from their governments and, thus, they are existing in a “vacuum devoid of diplomatic protection” (Stasiulis & Ross, 2006, p. 344).

For those dual citizens, accessing diplomatic protection is much harder than for uni-citizens of liberal democracies. For example, Stasiulis and Ross (2006, p. 344) noted:

“If a dual national travels on different passports, this practice may affect the awareness of that person’s whereabouts by the government where she holds “effective” nationality, but whose passport is not used to enter another country. Moreover, if one is mistreated in a country where one is not an “effective” national but nonetheless a citizen, the government of that country may not welcome interference from the second country where one is also a citizen and holds an “effective” nationality”.

Despite the recent efforts of international human rights initiatives to stop the increase in the number of stateless individuals, as well as the efforts to provide protection to individuals without distinction as to nationality, religion or race, the refusal of states to exercise protection of “their” dual nationals goes against all these efforts and, in turn, devalues the benefits of holding a secure and reliable citizenship, such as Canadian citizenship, for individuals such as the Palestinians who are stateless and with Muslim and Arabic background. Such cases certainly raise questions about the status of dual citizens in a globalized world. The gradational nature of citizenship works at particular points of intersecting lines: “One point of intersection: Muslim, Canadian-Syrian, Traveler, Resident of City X, Friend of Y”. The situations of political exception have demonstrated how dual citizenship has been employed as a weapon for sovereignty and twisted against dual citizens. Whether dual citizen, uni-citizen or stateless, the power of flexible sovereignty is in its capacity to create new types of exclusion strategically through different forms of citizenship (Stasiulis & Ross, 2006, p. 345).

Transnational practices, including dual citizenship, can have positive impacts not only for immigrants but also for both the countries that send immigrants and the countries that receive them as well. A common main concern about the transnational ties that immigrants maintain with their homelands is that they will detract from and hinder involvement in the country of settlement. Other critics have argued that dual-state membership reduces nationality to holding a passport and thus devalues citizenship (Isensee, 1974 qtd in Faist, 2000). On the other hand, proponents of transnationalism argue that settlement occurs within a context that simultaneously links diasporas to multiple nation-states (Al-Ali and Koser, 2002; Forner, 2007; Vetovec, 1999; Basch *et al.*, 1994). Forner (2007), for example, argued that these concerns have been greatly exaggerated and that host-immigrant integration in the host country and their transnational practices can go hand in hand.

Building on this theme, Foner (2007) cited research undertaken in the US providing evidence that many immigrants, such as Latin Americans and West Indians who are politically active in their country of origin, are evenly involved in the US. Dual citizenship is the most important form of political transnationalism. However, criticisms of dual citizenship necessitate a further investigation of the nature of dual-state membership compared to other notions of citizenship.

Dual citizenship is not only linked to the increased international mobility of individuals, but also to the augmented transnational practices of migrants. Migrants maintain their substantial ties across borders of different countries. Such ties are bridged by a thick web of ordinary communications. The ease of personal travel of individuals is crucial in determining the frequency of transnational practices of migrants, for instance the return visits to their homeland to visit friends and families. Castles and Davidson (2000) argued that dual citizenship is an adequate response to increased multiple identities associated with globalization, as increased numbers of people are managing their lives in more than one country. Many major countries of immigration have adjusted their laws to tolerate dual nationality and the increased rights of diasporas. Half of all welfare states are currently tolerating and sometimes embracing dual citizenship. Even Japan and Germany, whose laws oppose dual nationality, have certain lenient exemptions, permitting dual citizenship for some of their citizens who are territorially-bound and overseas (Faist, 2001).

Dual-state membership comes in two forms, as identified in Faist (2000): dual citizenship and dual nationality. Dual citizenship occurs when an individual holds passports of two nation-states and enjoys full rights and has duties in both. In practice, only the citizenship of the country of settlement is operative, particularly while travelling. The second form is dual nationality which differs from dual citizenship in that individuals with dual nationality enjoy more rights than individuals who hold

dual citizenship. Canada is one of the most tolerant countries towards dual citizenship. Many Canadians choose to exercise their rights as dual citizens which reflects the nature of Canada's immigration policies that also aim to attract the best and the brightest from all the emigration countries. Such an approach is much better than countries that treat citizens based on their ethnicity. Dual citizenship, as Forner (2007) argued, may actually encourage immigrants to naturalize - and naturalization is more likely to make the assimilation of newcomers easier by conveying a sense of belonging, strengthening their attachment to host-country values. Making the decision of becoming a citizen in the host country, she argued, becomes easier when it does not imply losing privileges in, or renouncing allegiance to, one's native land or the possibility of being viewed as a "defector" there.

2.4.3 Border-Crossing Expansion and Dual State Membership

Transnational activities imply that membership is multi-layered. The natural equivalent to identities spanning across borders of nations in the formal political domain is dual citizenship. This form of transnational citizenship basically identifies the increasing possibility of membership in two states and does not contradict the existence of borders or loyalty to nation-states. Dual-state membership describes being a citizen in two states and not being a citizen in one country and a settled immigrant with a kind of "denizenship status" in another. This phenomenon tolerates immigrants' strong ties with their country of origin (Faist, 2000).

In conclusion, using a transnational lens to understand contemporary migration requires challenging methodologies that emphasize the nation-state as a main framework for citizenship and for the construction of identities. Many scholars have argued that "citizenship is at a crossroads" and there is a "crisis of citizenship". However, for a model of a citizenship to be relevant, it must take into consideration that many people in the 21st Century have multiple identities, lead dual lives and belong to more than one society. Such a situation may mean that a

single nation-state is not the only source of identification and it may no longer necessarily be the central unit in the analysis of citizenship.

2.5 Summary

Globalization is associated with increased mobility of many kinds. This chapter defined and discussed two forms of such mobility: migration and tourism. The chapter reviewed literature about the relationships between migration and tourism with a special focus on VFR travel that best exemplifies the tourism and migration nexus. Second, the chapter defined transnationalism and then discussed how it has been recently proposed as a way of better understanding contemporary migration. The discussion covered issues, such as the advantages of transnationalism over earlier concepts and approaches to understanding migration. In summary, transnationalism, as a new approach and conceptual framework for contemporary migration, reveals new insights into international migration by refocusing scholars' attention and highlighting processes that are not necessarily new, but have been significantly ignored by traditional approaches. Transnationalism emphasizes the importance of social spaces and movements across borders of nation-states and exposes the challenges of transnational perspectives to policy-makers in nation-states. The discussion in this chapter also covered political transnationalism as citizenship in cosmopolitan societies in terms of statusus, rights, and identity, as well as issues related to dual citizenship. The following chapter discusses how the case of Palestinians advances, challenges, and adds to the transnational literature. Third, this chapter discussed how, in recent years, globalization and increasing transnational communities have resulted in a "crisis of citizenship".

Chapter 3: The Palestinian Canadian in the Greater Toronto Area

3.1 Introduction

The Palestinians can be viewed as being a new group of migrants in the history of Canadian immigration. However, their history of immigration goes back to beginning of the twentieth century. They are also classified as new because they come from a territory that is classified as “non-traditional” in official discourses. Until the 1960s, most immigrants to Canada came from so-called “traditional” countries, i.e. the European nations such as the United Kingdom. However, throughout the 1960s and by 1967, Canadian immigration policy was modified whereby all restrictions on race and ethnic origin were no longer valid and, thus, Canada attracted immigrants from all countries of the globe, including the “non-traditional” countries (Veronis, 2006).

Although Palestinians trace their origins to Palestine, this country does not exist politically. The Palestinian Territories (the West Bank and Gaza) are governed by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) and, thus, Palestinians who come to Canada are classified as stateless because their country does not exist as a distinct administrative entity. Historic Palestine was located along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. It forms a narrow strip of land between the Mediterranean in the west and the Jordan River and Dead Sea in the east, surrounded by Lebanon and Syria in the north, Egypt in the southwest, and Jordan in the east.

The majority of the Palestinians lives in the diaspora and most are refugees. There are six major events in the Palestinian history that have resulted in increased emigration from Palestine. These events are described in detail in Table 3.1. The number of Palestinians in the world is estimated to be 7.7 to 9 million. In the absence of a Palestinian state to issue passports, Palestinians in the

diaspora carry refugee travel documents or passports of their host countries. As a result, reliable data on Palestinian demographics is scarce, yet, demographics are a significant factor in the political discourse on the right of return of the Palestinian refugee and, thus, demographics hold great symbolic weight (Gale, 2008).

3.2 History of Palestinian Migration

Palestinian migration from Palestine can be traced to the beginning of the twentieth century. Palestine had been one of the remote provinces of the Ottoman Empire, economically underdeveloped but influenced politically by ideas of Arab nationalism, which led to the emergence of a sense of Palestinian identity. The Ottoman Empire collapsed after the First World War, thus, Palestinians immigrated to Europe and the Americas seeking better employment and wealth, or higher education, particularly after being introduced to Western ideas and education through missionary schools (Gale, 2008).

Table 3.1: Major events that increased emigration from Palestine (summarized from Gale, 2008)

The 1936–1939 Arab revolt.	The war of 1947 to 1948	The 1950s and 1960s economy depression	The Six-Day War of 1967	The first and second Intifada (1987, 2000)	The Gulf War of 1991
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The first event caused a larger emigration movement. - Protest against the British mandate and the increasing numbers of Jewish immigrants (supported by Britain), Palestinians were involved in armed clashes. - Thus subject to British persecution, while the economic situation deteriorated further and led especially younger males to seek employment, education, and fortune outside of the Middle East. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This war resulted in the creation of the State of Israel, simultaneously experienced as <i>Al-nakba</i> (the catastrophe) for Palestinians, - This catastrophe created the Palestinian refugee problem, turning approximately 750,000 Palestinians (75 percent of the Palestinian Arab population) into refugees. - Many of them fled their villages in fear of massacres and battles; others were forcibly evicted or barred from returning to their homes. - Ultimately, most of them were prevented from returning to the territory that became the State of Israel. - They took refuge in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Lebanon and Syria. - This was the beginning of the problem of Palestinian refugees. When an armistice was signed in early 1949, Israel controlled three-quarters of Palestine (much more than in the 1947 plan of the United Nations). - Arab countries and Palestinians shared political agreement in their refusal to permanently resettle Palestinians in any country other than Palestine. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The economic situation was extremely depressed, further complicated by political oppression in Israel, where Arab towns and villages stayed under military control. - Palestinians left Israel, as well as the West Bank and Gaza, in search of employment - Some sought employment in the Gulf states, where the discovery of oil demanded skilled laborers and professionals. - On the political level, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded in 1964 by Palestinians outside of Palestine, in the diaspora. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In this war, Israel occupied the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza, and turned many Palestinians into refugees for the second time. - An estimated 250,000 West Bank residents and 75,000 residents of Gaza were driven from their homes between June 1967 and December 1968. - They fled to Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, often moving several times. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The negative effects of these two major political events on safety, the political climate, the economy, and education, forced more Palestinians to leave the Occupied Territories and prevented many others from returning. - At other times, Palestinians in Arab countries were caught up in larger political and military conflicts, such as the Lebanese Civil War (1975–1990) and the first Gulf War (1991). - The civil war in Lebanon and the forced removal of the PLO and its military units from Lebanon in 1982 after the Israeli invasion was a major cause of migration. - During the war, Palestinians who sought safety and wanted to escape the volatile situation were accepted by Western countries as refugees or asylum seekers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -This war resulted in the expulsion of a large number of Palestinians and their families from Kuwait, mainly as punishment for the Palestinian support for Iraq during the war. -Many attempted to settle into a difficult life in Jordan after losing their livelihood and savings in Kuwait. Some held the necessary documents to return to the Occupied Territories, and others sought a new life elsewhere in the world.

3.2.1 Palestinian Diaspora Communities

Four main groups of the Palestinian diaspora can be distinguished according to location:

- Palestinians living in Israel, in the West Bank and Gaza,
- Palestinians living in Arab countries,
- Palestinians living in Western countries.

It is not only those who were dispersed from their homeland in 1948 and 1967, or those who live outside the borders of Palestine who are defined as the Palestinian diaspora. Some scholars, such as Schulz and Hammer (2003), have argued that the Palestinian refugees living in the West Bank and Gaza who were expelled from their homes in 1948, but were still living within the borders of the country, are also defined as belonging to Palestinian diaspora community. Likewise, the Palestinians living within the borders of the state of Israel are part of the diaspora because they were subject to “internal displacement” and they became a minority in the new state of Israel. This inner diaspora has sentiment that should not be discounted and it has also shaped different expressions of Palestinian national and cultural identity. Table 3.2 explains more about the four main groups of the Palestinian diaspora, while Table 3.3 explains the travel documents that Palestinians need for international travel.

Table 3.2: Main groups of Palestinian diaspora based on location (summarized from Gale, 2008)

Palestinians inside Israel	Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza	Palestinians in Arab countries (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Gulf countries)	Palestinians in Western countries
<p>They are less than one million and constitute up to 20% of the total population of Israel.</p> <p>A significant number of the Palestinians in Israel are internally displaced and consider themselves internal refugees.</p> <p>Many of them have repeatedly attempted to return to their villages or resettle in close proximity to their place of origin; they live in unrecognized villages without access to Israeli health care, education, or social welfare services.</p>	<p>They are divided into refugees and non-refugees.</p> <p>In June 2005, the total refugee population of the West Bank (registered with the United Nations Relief Work Agency (UNRWA) was 690,988 with 26 percent (or 182,191) living in nineteen official refugee camps.</p> <p>The number of refugees who need UNRWA assistance has dramatically increased since the beginning of the second Intifada, which led to the Israeli re-invasion of Palestinian territories, economic isolation, and political violence.</p>	<p>Jordan</p> <p>The largest of the Palestinian diaspora communities is situated in Jordan and numbers approximately 2.6 million. A significant number of Palestinians in Jordan carry Jordanian passports, have the right to vote and hold office, enjoy full rights to public services such as higher education, and can work in the government sector. The legal, economic, and social situation of Palestinians in Jordan can be considered to be far better than in other countries.</p> <p>Lebanon</p> <p>Their number is widely debated and the only numbers available are limited to registered refugees (401,071). Palestinians in Lebanon face the harshest socioeconomic conditions: their Lebanese travel documents are not recognized by most countries in the world, and they must obtain work and travel permits issued by the Lebanese authorities and are not allowed to work in the public sector and a long list of other professions. Changes in existing laws are closely linked to Lebanese domestic politics.</p>	<p>Their estimated numbers vary widely, but less than 6 percent of the Palestinian people live in the Western diaspora communities.</p> <p>They are divided into European communities and those in the Americas.</p> <p>Many countries, such as the United States, Canada and Australia, have, because of their status as immigration countries, over the years provided Palestinians with work and residency permits and also citizenship.</p> <p>Others have been accepted as</p>

Palestinians inside Israel	Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza	Palestinians in Arab countries (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Gulf countries)	Palestinians in Western countries
	<p>Since 2000, unprecedented numbers of Palestinian refugees in the West Bank and Gaza have been pushed into poverty.</p>	<p>Lebanon has rejected any permanent settlement or naturalization of Palestinian refugees.</p> <p>Syria The exact number of Palestinians in Syria is unknown, but 426,919 Palestinians are registered as refugees, 27 percent of whom live in the ten UNRWA administered camps. Most refugees enjoy rights similar to those of Syrian citizens, but they are not allowed to vote, hold office, or carry Syrian passports. The travel documents issued by the Syrian government are not recognized by most states.</p> <p>Other Arab countries: Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, Libya, Egypt, and Iraq. Many of these Palestinians are work migrants who relocated after leaving their initial country of refuge in hope of finding better education and employment.</p>	<p>refugees and asylum seekers. European countries tend to accept refugees at times of acute crises, but do not generally favour integration or naturalization of refugees.</p>

Table 3.3: Travel documents for each of the main groups of Palestinian diaspora.

Palestinians inside Israel and Jerusalem	Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza	Palestinians in Arab countries (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Gulf countries)	Palestinians in Western countries
<p>Inside Israel Palestinian living inside Israel hold Israeli Passports and Israeli citizenship.</p> <p>The passport indicates “Arabic” as the nationality of the passport holder.</p> <p>Jerusalem About 15000 Palestinians living inside Jerusalem and holding Jerusalem ID, are hold temporary Jordanian passports.</p> <p>The Israeli law does not allow them to hold either Palestinian or Israeli passports.</p> <p>They do not hold Israeli citizenship as those living inside Israel, thus they hold permanent resident documents.</p> <p>Because of the continued Israeli policy which aims at emptying East Jerusalem from any Palestinian residents to replace them with Israeli citizens, many</p>	<p>Since April 1995 residents of West Bank and Gaza are allowed to hold Palestinian passports issued by the Palestinian National Authority for the purpose of international travel.</p> <p>Due to Israeli restrictions, only residents of West Bank and Gaza can apply (birth certificate is required). Palestinians born outside the Palestinian territories are not allowed to apply.</p> <p>Palestinians holding passports from other countries are required by Israel to exit and enter the Palestinian territories through either Ben Gurion International Airport, where they can get a Visa stamped on their foreign passports.</p>	<p>Jordan The recent human rights report of the US Department of State (issued 25 February 2009) lists three different types of Jordanian passport issued to Palestinians with three different types of status: 1. Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin who “receive passports that are valid for five years”; 2. “West Bank residents without other travel documentation [who] are eligible to receive five-year passports that do not connote citizenship”; and 3. “approximately 130,000 Palestinian refugees, mostly of Gazan origin, who did not qualify for citizenship”, of which “[a]pproximately half received two-year passports valid for travel but which do not connote citizenship”. The report also indicates that: “Numerous human rights activists continued to charge that the government did not consistently apply citizenship laws, especially in cases in which passports were taken from citizens of Palestinian origin”</p> <p>Lebanon They don’t hold any type of passports; they hold travel documents issued by the Lebanese authorities. Many other countries refuse to give them visa, or even allow them transit their territories.</p> <p>They face restrictions on travel abroad. They need travel permits (visa) issued by the Lebanese authorities for international travel. Permits for getting out Lebanon does not necessary mean a permit to get into again, so Palestinians willing to travel have to take the risk of being suspended on the borders without being allowed to</p>	<p>Many countries, such as the United States, Canada and Australia, have, because of their status as immigration countries, provided Palestinians with citizenship.</p> <p>They hold passports issued by the government of these countries.</p> <p>They are considered the most mobile group of the Palestinian diaspora.</p>

Palestinians inside Israel and Jerusalem	Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza	Palestinians in Arab countries (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Gulf countries)	Palestinians in Western countries
<p>rights of residency have been withdrawn from Palestinians holding the Jerusalem ID.</p> <p>Any Palestinian living outside the city or the country for more than 3 years, or any Palestinian who hold foreign citizenship (such as Canadian or American) loose his right of residency in the country and thus are not allowed to live there. Visa has to be issued for those whose Jerusalem ID has been withdrawn from them by the Israeli authorities.</p>		<p>enter the country.</p> <p>Syria They are not allowed to carry Syrian passports. The travel documents issued by the Syrian government are not recognized by most countries.</p> <p>Gulf countries: Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait.</p> <p>Many of the Palestinians living in these countries are work migrants who relocated after leaving their initial country of refuge in hope of finding better education and employment.</p> <p>They don't hold any of these countries' citizenship or passports. They only hold work permits that as soon as it expire they have to leave the country.</p>	

3.2.2 Palestinian Cultural and Intellectual Production

The Palestinian cultural and intellectual production is extremely significant in any discussion about the Palestinian diaspora. Such production exists throughout the world to commemorate the events, such as the 1948 war, that resulted in the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homeland. However, in the absence of a state and national museums, and with Israeli restrictions on school textbooks, these collective memories have been represented by memoirs, oral history, and artistic expression. Palestinian writers, poets, musicians, and visual artists have contributed significantly to the preservation of Palestinian national culture and history (Gale, 2008). Examples of these Palestinian intellectuals and scholars are: Edward Said, Mahmud Darwish, and Fawaz Turki, who have not only shaped the field of Palestine studies, but also contributed to several fields within the social sciences without denying their Palestinian diasporic identities.

3.3 Palestinian Immigrants in Canada

Information in the form of published data on Palestinian immigrants in Canada and in Toronto area is not available. Because of their stateless status on entering Canada and dispersion in several Arab and non-Arab countries, it is hard to tell with accuracy the immigration of Palestinians to Canada or to create a precise profile of their economic, social, and cultural life.

Palestinians might enter Canada as holders of passports from a number of countries, including Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, and Jordan. This condition of statelessness leads to a considerable underestimation of the size of the Palestinian community in Canada. For example, the existing published data about the Palestinian Canadians; published in 1991 (Table 3.4) shows that their total number was 4,000. However, Dr. Esam Yamani, the leader of the Palestinian

House, estimated the number of Palestinians in the Greater Toronto Area alone to be between 20,000 and 30,000.

Table 3.4: The distribution of Palestinians for Census Metropolitan Areas, 1991

The distribution of Palestinians (single-origin) for Canada and the provinces, 1991								
	Canada	P.E.I.	Quebec	Ontario	B.C.	Alberta	Saskatchewan	Manitoba
Palestinians	4,060	10	910	2,760	125	175	15	55
Males	2,255	–	450	1,565	90	95	10	35
Females	1,805	–	460	1,195	35	80	-	20

Source: (Shuraydi, 2009).

According to data published by the Canadian government itself, the number of the “stateless” immigrants coming from the Arabian Gulf and other Arab countries in the period 1991–96 was more than 6,200. It is reasonably assumed that the majority, if not all, were Palestinians. This is further supported by considering the number of immigrants who have entered Canada from Jordan in 1991–96 which was 3,847 immigrants. As many Palestinians in Jordan have been granted Jordanian citizenship, it is likely that a good percentage of the Jordanian immigrants to Canada were in fact Palestinians. Moreover, the published data also show that there is a high number of immigrants from the countries of the Arabian Gulf, including Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Oman, and Qatar. It may be assumed that the majority of these immigrants are Palestinians as the Palestinian population in those countries totals about three million. This assumption is further supported by the fact that the native citizens of these oil-rich countries are not easily tempted to migrate as they enjoy vast political power over other groups living within their boundaries, in addition to an incomparable standard of living which includes free education, free medical care, and government financial assistance for housing (Shuraydi, 2009).

Arab Canadians, including Palestinians, have prospered quite well in terms of associational life which is reflected particularly in the number of non-profit and voluntary organizations that the group has created in different cities. For example, there are nine organizations in the province of Ontario alone, including three in Toronto. Despite the relatively large number of associations, the Canadian Arab Federation (CAF) coordinates the work of the Palestinians through the Palestinian House in Mississauga (Shuraydi, 2009).

3.3.1 The Palestinian Diaspora: The Emergence of a Transnational Community

Diaspora/migration as a metaphor for a globalized world requires a critical approach (Schulz & Hammer, 2003). The term diaspora is problematic. The term is further complicated by the fact that “diaspora” has gradually come to be employed to indicate a global condition of mobility, in which immigrants are often viewed as the core (Schulz & Hammer, 2003). Diaspora entails multi-locality (multiple sites of attachment of diasporic members), post-nationality. It signifies a site where “new geographies of identity” are negotiated across multiple senses of belonging. The term is deployed from a transnational perspective in opposition to absolute approaches to migration. The term is often employed to refer to the transnational networks of immigrants (Atkinson *et al.*, 2005). The main distinction between diasporas and transnational communities is in the nature of relationship with homeland. While diasporas often have a symbolic relationship with their homeland, transnational communities have real relationships and contacts with their homeland (Portes *et al.*, 1999).

Burman (2010) notes that while the term “migration” is more conducive to the presentation of quantifiable data, the term “diaspora” is overflowing with intemperant meaning due to its association with exile, loss, and remembrance. Diaspora requires a transnational

existence - diffusion and spreading all over the world. There has been recently a shift in emphasis in the definition of diaspora, from focusing mainly on geographical displacement to presenting diasporic communities as forms of social organization and as a type of transnational community (Wahlbeck, 2002). Diaspora can be seen as an “overarching” term with a potential to include different and more particular concepts and notions of residing outside the boundaries of home such as exiles, migrants, and refugees (Schulz and Hammer, 2003). The central role of “homeland” is often accentuated in all definitions of diaspora in the academic literature. The discourses of diaspora indicate the sense of being part of a continuing transnational network that consists of the homeland, not as something merely left behind, but as a place of belonging and attachment in a “contrapuntal modernity” (Clifford, 1994).

Thus, as the term diaspora came to be used more widely for other groups of migrants in the later twentieth century, it has come to represent a specific field of migration studies, namely diaspora studies. Within this field, there has been great debate concerning the criteria that should be used to define the term. The emerging identifies the following criteria for an immigration group to be considered as diaspora: interrelated communities in at least two countries; a shared collective attachment to the country of origin; and a sense of collective history of displacement, a common identity combined with some uneasiness in integrating with the host societies. While some scholars require forced displacement or a cause related to a form of trauma, others argue that this, to a great extent, would restrict the definition of the term (Gale, 2008). Undoubtedly, the literature on the history and the present situation of the Palestinians reveal that many of these characteristics describe their case.

On the other hand, defining the Palestinian diaspora is equally as problematic as defining diaspora. One dilemma is political and moral. Many Palestinians believe that using this term

signifies potential acceptance of their dispersal, and it implies the possibility of permanence and the denial of return (Schulz & Hammer, 2003). Thus, the terms exile and refugee are more prominent as these terms emphasize the forced nature of the dispersal and the necessity of returning home, regardless of how symbolic or realistic this return is. On the other hand, using the term diaspora for the Palestinian experience allows one to evaluate the Palestinian experience in a global political, social, and cultural framework (Gale, 2008).

In general, the Palestinian diaspora refers to the dispersal in 1948 and 1967, but not all members of Palestinian diasporic communities are refugees or descendants of refugees (Schulz & Hammer, 2003). After the partial loss of the Palestinian territories in 1948 and the complete loss in 1967, the relationship between members of the Palestinian diasporic communities and their homeland became symbolic. Their social and economic networks have been centered on neighboring countries in which they settled, such as Jordan and Lebanon (Maison, 2007; Durai, 2002; Schulz and Hammer, 2003). However, after the beginning of the peace process and the Oslo Agreement, which led to the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) on some territories of the occupied land, many who were left in the diaspora have begun to focus their attention again on their homeland, Palestine. This transformation of the homeland has led to the emergence of a Palestinian transnational community, representing part of the diaspora, particularly those who migrated to Europe and North America after the displacement of Palestinian people in 1948 and 1967. They gained citizenship in these host societies, which normally have provided them with increased international security and mobility. Thus, they have been able to maintain real ties and physical contacts with the homeland, while desiring to live permanently in countries such as Canada for a better quality of life (Durai, 2002).

Building on the literature on transnationalism, the following paragraphs demonstrate that Palestinian immigrants in Canada possess many of the characteristics of a transnational community. The main difference between diasporic and transnational communities is in the nature of their relationship with the home country. The relationship is usually symbolic for diasporic communities and real for the transnational communities. On the other hand, under the definition of Glick Schiller *et al.* (1992, p.1) of “transmigrant” as people who “take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns” within social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders, Palestinian immigrants can be considered transmigrants. Based on the definition of Portes *et al.* (1999) of transmigrants, Palestinian Canadians are transmigrants as they lead dual lives and are bilingual. Furthermore, according to Dorai (2002), transnationalism for Palestinian members of diasporic communities minimizes the risks related to their unstable situation, while maximizing the advantages of the economic, legal and education spheres. Thus, their transnational practices are more likely to take place from a privileged situation. For Palestinian Canadians, “home country” might be taken to include both Palestine and neighbouring countries (Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan) from which they have later departed.

However, while the Palestinian elite (those who have the resources to respond) may be able to move relatively freely, on the basis of dual nationality and passports issued in Europe and North America, the movement of other diaspora Palestinians is much more severely restricted. They need a visa to leave and to enter their country of settlement. In Lebanon, for example, many do not have passports; they have only travel documents issued by the Lebanese authorities and, as a result, many countries refuse to give them visas or even to let them transit through their territories (Dorai, 2002).

Transnationalism in its broadest sense entails increasing mobility of people. Olwig (1997 qtd. in Riccio, 2002, p. 69) stated that “mobile people often can be seen to develop an attachment to a specific place that plays a central role as a common source of identity in their global network of relations, but which may not be their place of residence”. Within this context, the situation of restricted mobility of diaspora Palestinians represents a prime debate about transnationalism and constitutes a significant challenge to this construct as many Palestinian diasporas maintain links to their homeland only through memories and by preserving ties with family members. It is worth mentioning, however, that any progress in the Peace Process in the Middle East and the normalization of relations between Israel and Arab countries may enable more Palestinian diasporic communities to become transnational (Dorai, 2002). Transnationalism would enable them to establish effective relationships with their homeland and to engage in more visits and travel.

3.4 Summary

The literature on Palestinian immigration history and diaspora communities describes their experiences of dispersal and demonstrates the forced nature of their dispersal and the intent to return to the homeland. The history of Palestinian immigration to Canada is traced back to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War. Palestinians immigrated to Europe and the Americas including Canada in search of better lives, opportunities and wealth and, in many cases, Palestinians sought higher education in Canada after being exposed to Western ideas and education introduced to them by missionary schools. Many major events have led to increased Palestinian emigration from Palestine, and Palestinian diaspora communities are classified according to their locations to four main groups as discussed earlier.

Because of their stateless status, it is difficult to describe with precision the immigration of Palestinians to Canada since Palestinians enter Canada as holders of passports from a number of other countries. Thus, this condition leads to a significant underestimate of the size of the Palestinian diaspora community in the country. However, the Director of the Palestinian House estimates the size of the Palestinian community in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) to be 20,000.

This chapter has provided evidence of the suitability of the Palestinian community in Canada, particularly in Toronto (which is described in more detail later), to be an appropriate case for investigation in this study. The Palestinian diaspora represents “deterritorialized communities” seeking identity in a territory which is their lost homeland and which is a focal point of this identity. The Palestinian case allows the researcher to investigate how transnational activities, in terms of VFR travel to the homeland, are related to the creation of transnational identities in the deterritorialized context of dispersal. Events in recent years emphasize the urgent need to study the situation of the Palestinian diaspora. These events, such as the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference that was followed by the self-rule arrangements in 1993, have increased the emergence of transnational Palestinian communities, particularly in countries such as Canada. Thus, both the meaning and the function of the diaspora have changed. Furthermore, the abandonment of the diaspora case in the Oslo peace negotiations that resulted in a crisis between the Palestinian diaspora and their Palestinian National Authority (PNA) was solved only after the extensive consideration and attention given by the Palestinian authority to the diaspora issues throughout the Taba peace negotiations in Egypt in December 2000. However, the failure of these negotiations has, to certain extent, resulted in conflicted perspectives on how to deal with the Palestinian diaspora case. Such circumstances emphasize the crucial needs to undertake studies and thorough research on the nature of the transnational lives of the Palestinian

immigrants and the significance of notions such as “homeland” and “identity” to them, as well as to shed light on the prospects or desires of Palestinian Canadians to integrate into the Canadian host societies to the extent that a return is no longer important. This study may be considered as a foundation for further research about the experiences, mobility and the nature of the transnational activities of the Palestinian diaspora. The methods employed in this research are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

In this chapter, the design and research methodology of this study are discussed. In the first section, a conceptual framework is presented. It is derived from a combination of ideas that are addressed in the literature review. The research design, sampling and survey methods are discussed in the second section. In the third section, analyses of quantitative and qualitative data are reviewed. Finally, in the fourth section, ethical aspects of the study, the positionality of the researcher and challenges encountered in undertaking the research are explained.

4.1 Conceptual Framework

This study employs transnationalism as a conceptual framework to examine the relationship between tourism and migration. As shown in Figure 4.1, globalization entails the rapidly increasing mobility of people across national borders in the form of temporary and permanent movement, i.e. tourism and migration. Moreover, increasing levels of globalization and migration are likely to be associated with increased transnationalism if ease of movement is attainable. As a result, travel to the country of origin is one of the main transnational activities that immigrants practice across international borders. Although visiting friends and relatives lies at the heart of the relationship between tourism and migration (Williams *et al.*, 2000), it remains tenuous and vague in studies of tourism (Feng and Page, 2000). Immigrant travel is likely to be affected by many factors, such as citizenship status, length of residence, and the generation to which the immigrant belongs.

Investigation of relationships between tourism and migration require engagement with issues related to the citizenship status of immigrants in the host society as different citizenship status entails different rights and obligations and these, in turn, are likely to affect the travel patterns of the immigrants, particularly their travel to their homeland (VFR travel). Rocco (1997) defined the concept of “cultural citizenship” to refer to the importance of cultural practices for the issue of

citizenship, particularly the cultural differences between immigrants and host societies. Increasingly pluralistic populations in many immigration countries, with their ethnic and cultural diversity, call for a form of “multicultural citizenship”, which appreciates not only the individuals themselves but also values the different forms of cultural expression of individuality (Tim, 2005). Multiculturalism adds the conception of cultural rights to the three basic rights of citizenship articulated in T. H. Marshall’s classic statement of citizenship (Marshall 1964): civil, political and social. Thus, the implication of a cultural right of citizenship allows individuals to express and practice their distinctive cultural identities. Within this context, multicultural citizenship should allow for many forms of political membership in and between nation-states, such as dual citizenship. This may also influence the travel pattern of immigrants, particularly to their country of origin, which will be explored in this thesis through investigation of the impacts of multicultural citizenship forms, such as dual citizenship, on the travel patterns of immigrants.

Faist (2000, p. 202), in his analysis of the dimensions of citizenship and the access of newcomers such as migrants to citizenship, distinguished three types of people in terms of their citizenship status (Figure 4.1): aliens who enjoy few rights after entering into the country; denizens who have the right of permanent residence; and, finally, citizens who enjoy full membership status with related rights and duties. In the context of the transnationalization of immigrant life, an important question arises about whether full members of a nation-state are permitted to hold more than one citizenship and nationality, possibly dual or triple, because this is advantageous to maintaining a certain way of life in transnational social spaces. Lastly, as shown in Figure 4.1, the study examines the relationship between the length of residence in the host country and place of birth (generation) on VFR travel which is shown in Figure 4.1 as research questions (RQ), as explained in the former section.

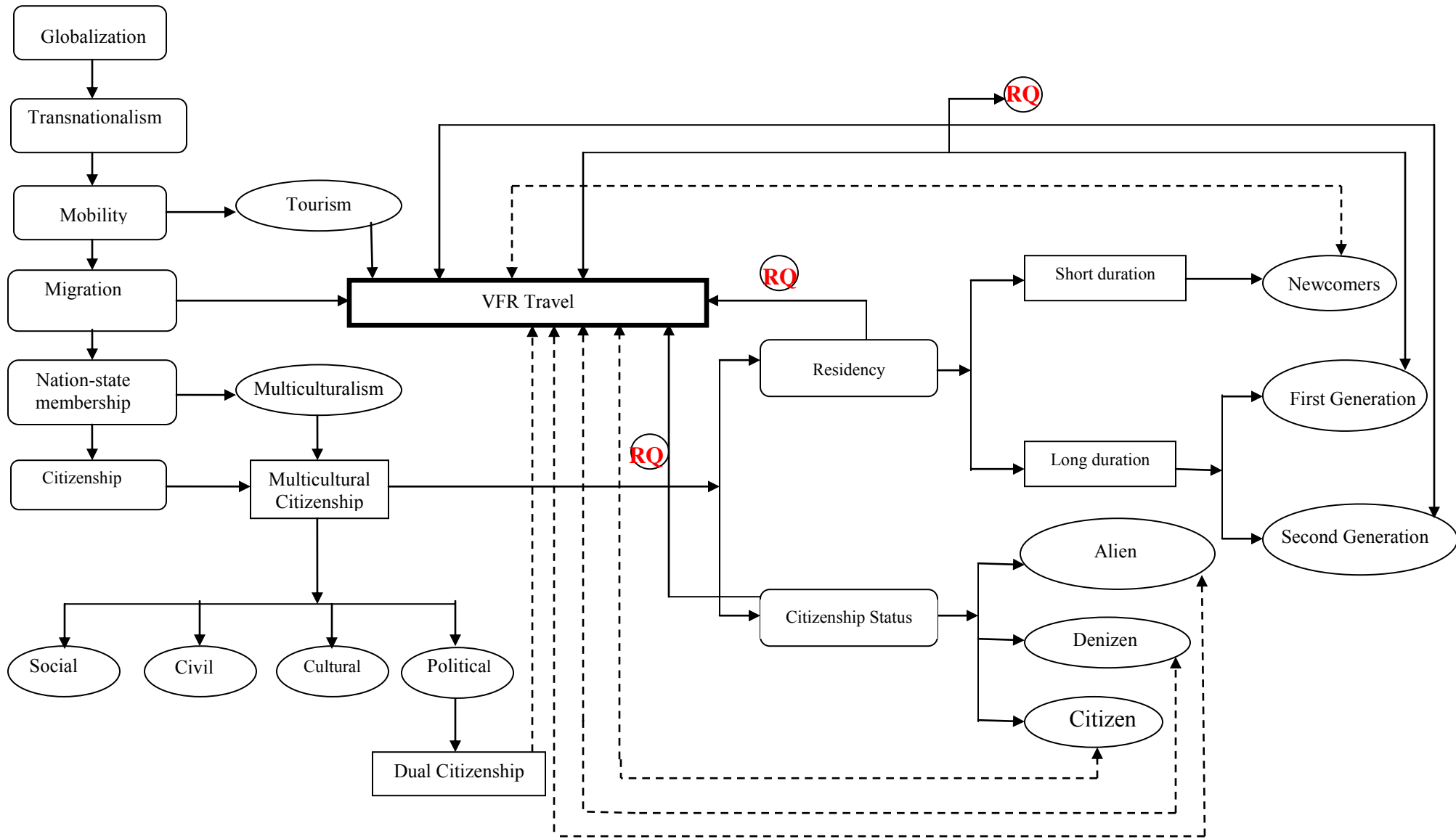


Figure 4.1: VFR Travel and Research Questions

4.2 Research Design

Three types of designs are commonly employed in research in the social sciences: qualitative/unstructured, quantitative/structured, and mixed methods. However, these approaches are not discrete or polar opposites. Rather, the first two represent different ends on a continuum with the third usually constituting a combination of these approaches (Newman & Benz, 1998).

Qualitative and quantitative research has different characteristics as described below.

Qualitative research is a means for understanding how people interpret and make sense of social phenomena to arrive at an in-depth understanding of the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The process of research involves open-ended questions (qualitative interview questions). Data are typically collected in the participants' setting (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative research explores human behaviours, perspectives and experiences using an interactive and humanistic approach (Creswell, 2003). The qualitative research process involves taking into consideration emerging questions and procedures and the research process is not usually tightly predetermined in the early stages. Therefore, changes in procedures and even research questions often occur during the study process, allowing the researcher to learn from experience and to benefit from this learning in the research process (Creswell, 2003). In qualitative research, data analysis is inductively built from particulars to general themes. The scholar makes interpretations of the meaning of the data and the process involves inductive way of thinking. Researchers start with specific observations and build on them to formulate concepts, theories, or general patterns (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). However, understanding the particularities of specific situations may be an objective of qualitative researchers, rather than the establishment and testing of general theories.

Quantitative research is a means for examining phenomena systematically. It often involves developing research hypotheses and testing them through the examination of relationships among variables. In this process, the researcher usually strives to maintain an objective position vis-à-vis the research and their informants. The variables are commonly measured by research instruments to get numerical data which, in turn, can be analyzed utilizing statistical procedures (Creswell, 2009). The measurement instruments used in quantitative research allow for the comparison of attributes under investigation through multiple statistical analyses. Quantitative research aims at providing findings that lead to generalizations, predictions and causal determinations. It is a structured process with predetermined methods and research instruments. Furthermore, although sampling of research populations is often involved, a larger number of research subjects is usually involved than is the case in qualitative research (Kealey & Protheroe, 1996).

Mixed-methods research is an approach to inquiry that combines both quantitative and qualitative forms to make the most of the strengths and reduce the weaknesses of these two approaches when each is used alone (Creswell, 2003). It is more than simply collecting and analyzing quantitative and qualitative data; it also entails the use of both approaches in tandem so that the overall strength of a study is greatly enhanced (Creswell and Clark, 2007). For example, a researcher may be able to both generalize the findings to a population and also get a detailed view of the meaning of a concept or phenomenon for individuals through adopting a combination of research approaches. Accordingly, the researcher first explores broadly to gain knowledge of what variables to examine and then studies such variables with an adequate sample of individuals (Creswell, 2009). Alternatively, particular cases may be examined in depth using

qualitative methods in order to raise questions that can then be explored with a larger number of individuals, often using quantitative techniques.

To explore the proposed research questions and to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the VFR travel of the Palestinian Canadians to their homeland, a mixed methods approach is employed in this study. The underlying idea of mixing is that quantitative or qualitative methods by themselves are not sufficient to capture the details of the VFR travel of the Palestinian Canadians, their transnational practices, issues of citizenship and belonging, and issues of identity and hybridity, and their meanings. With the combination of both approaches, the researcher can create a more comprehensive information base in order to pursue a more complete understanding of the research themes, involving both breadth and depth of insights. Moreover, the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research can provide a better understanding of such phenomenon than would be the case of only one of these approaches was adopted in isolation.

The literature review revealed that other scholars have employed a mixed methods research design in investigating travel patterns of immigrants. Furthermore, in research that investigates one aspect of immigrants transnational lives, the researcher should not lay emphasis only on a quantitative dimension, focusing on the numbers of times and frequency with which migrants visit their country of origin, without qualitative analysis of what these visits involve in terms of negotiation of cultural and symbolic resources and, therefore, of the significance of these connections in their lives (Vertovec, 1999; Portes, 1999, Saleh, 2002).

Three main strategies for data-collection exist under the mixed-methods approach: sequential, concurrent and transformative (Creswell, 2009) as explained below:

The sequential procedure is a process in which either qualitative or quantitative data collection in the first phase functions as the basis for the next phase of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2003). This implies that a researcher begins with qualitative investigations for exploratory purposes and then follows up with a quantitative, survey with a bigger sample in order to generalize the results to a specific population. On the other hand, the researcher may begin with a quantitative method to test a theory or concepts and then follows up with a qualitative method to attain a detailed examination by engaging with a few cases or individuals (Creswell, 2009). Thus, researchers can elaborate upon or expand on the findings gained from one method with the use of another method.

The concurrent procedure is where the researcher uses both types of method at the same time and converges or merges quantitative and qualitative data. The purpose is to produce a holistic analysis of the research topic. The researcher collects both forms of data simultaneously and then integrates the collected data in the interpretation of the overall results (Creswell, 2003).

The transformative mixed methods procedure is where the researcher employs a theoretical lens as an overarching perspective within a design that includes both qualitative and quantitative data. Such a lens may contain a data collection method that involves a sequential or a concurrent approach. Furthermore, it the lens provides a framework for topics of interest, data-collection methods, and outcomes or amendments projected by the study (Creswell, 2009).

In this study, sequential and concurrent mixed methods were employed to address the research questions comprehensively. The assumption is that collecting, integrating and complementing diverse types of data (both quantitative and qualitative sequentially) best provides an understanding of the VFR travel of the Palestinian Canadians to their homeland and the social and cultural meanings associated with such travel, their transnational practices, issues of citizenship and belonging, and issues of identity and hybridity.

The employment of a sequential mixed methods procedure in this study enables the researcher to begin with a key informant interviews with people with related experience and knowledge and then to use insights from the qualitative data to develop structured questions for gathering quantitative information from a questionnaire survey. Then, the quantitative data obtained from the questionnaires were used to provide a base for further in-depth interviews, which enabled further probing of key themes in the research, related concepts and their meanings. The empirical study began with key informant interviews, then a broad survey was undertaken in order to generalize results to the Palestinian Canadians in the GTA and, finally, in a later phase, qualitative, open-ended interviews were conducted to collect detailed views from participants.

Thus, a sequential exploratory and explanatory strategy is employed in this study with a mixed methods design. Such a strategy involves the researcher in two main groups of tasks: first, the collection and analysis of quantitative data and, second, the collection and analysis of qualitative data that builds on the results of the quantitative information. Such a design enables the researcher to interpret and explain the quantitative results by collecting and analyzing follow-up qualitative data. This is particularly useful when unanticipated results arise in a quantitative study. The simplicity and straightforward of this design is one of its main strengths. However, its

main weakness is the length of time involved in data collection (Creswell, 2009). The shape of the mixed methods procedure and strategies is demonstrated in Figure 4.2.

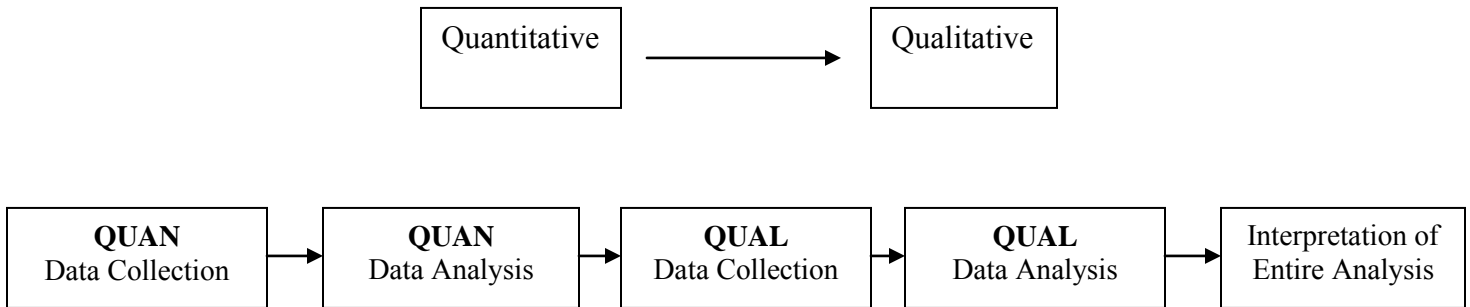


Figure 4.2: Sequential Explanatory Design (adapted from Creswell, 2009).

The employment of concurrent processes in this study enables the researcher to merge the collected quantitative and qualitative data to produce a comprehensive analysis of the VFR travel of the Palestinian Canadians, their transnational practices, issues of citizenship and belonging, and issues of identity and hybridity. The researcher integrated both forms of data collected and analysis in the interpretation of the overall results and outcomes. Table 4.1 demonstrated the design of this study.

Table 4.1: Research Design (adapted from Creswell, 2009).

Mixed Methods Approach	
Strategies of inquiry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sequential and concurrent
Research methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both open-and closed-ended questions, both emerging and predetermined approaches, and both quantitative and qualitative data and analysis
Practices of research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collects both quantitative and qualitative data • Develops a rationale for mixing • Integrates the data at different phases of inquiry • Presents visual pictures of procedures in the study • Employs the practices of both qualitative and quantitative research.

4.3 Methods of Data Collection

Fieldwork for the dissertation was carried out from March 2009 to August 2009 using quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (in-depth interviews and participant observation) research techniques. Major research methods that are employed in the research include key informant interviews, questionnaire surveys, in-depth interviews, observation and field notes, and the use of secondary data. The reasons for opting for these research methods are discussed in the following sections.

4.3.1 Secondary data collection

Secondary data sets, including statistical information collected by the federal government about some geographic region or groups, can be obtained and analyzed in detail by researchers. The main advantages of using such data are: First is saving time and cost because the researcher does not have to devote time and resources to collect data; second is the breadth of data available. However, selecting and using secondary data raise questions about its accuracy and its relevance to the research questions; therefore, such data should be selected cautiously to ensure its reliability and appropriateness (Creswell, 2003).

For this study, although statistical information is available about the research site which is the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), no statistical information is available about the Palestinian ethnic groups in Canada in general and in the Toronto area in particular. However, very little information from Statistics Canada is available about Arab communities that Palestinians are a part of. These data are used with caution to make an estimate about the size of the Palestinian community in Toronto area, as well as other characteristics.

4.3.2 Primary data collection

Primary data were collected through key informant interviews, in-depth interviews, questionnaire survey, and field observations. Each method is discussed in the following sections.

Interviews: In-depth and Key Informant Interviews

Three types of interviews are commonly recognized: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured. Structured interviews use an interview schedule that typically comprises a list of standardized questions, so the process is question-focused. Unstructured interviews focus on personal perceptions and histories, thus all questions are open-ended. Semi-structured interviews usually employ an interview guide and are organized around ordered questions but with informant flexibility about addressing issues (Dunn, 2005). They include structured sections with standardized questions and unstructured sections with open-ended questions (Williman, 2006). The role of the researcher is known to be more interfering than in unstructured interviews as the researcher redirects the conversation towards the research topics (Dunn, 2005). There are three main methods of conducting interviews: face-to-face, telephone and focus group interviews (Creswell, 2003). The options, advantages, and limitations of collecting qualitative data through interviews are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Options, Advantages and Limitation of Interviews (adapted from Creswell, 2009).

Data collection type	Options	Advantages	Limitations
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Face-to-face: • Telephone • Focus groups • E-mail Internet interview 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Useful when participants cannot be directly observed. • Participants can provide historical information. • Allows researcher control over the line of questioning. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides indirect information filtered through the views of interviewees. • Provides information in a designated place rather than the natural field setting. • Researcher’s presence may bias responses. • Not all people are equally articulate and perceptive.

In-depth Interviews

The researcher employed semi-structured, face-to-face interviews based on consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of the different types and methods. In-depth interviews were conducted with Palestinian immigrants from different generations to acquire information about their travel experiences, particularly return visits, and what these visits involved in terms of negotiation of cultural and symbolic resources and, therefore, of the social and cultural significance of these connections to the members from first and second generation. Moreover, information was also acquired about the ways Palestinian Canadians view citizenship in the host society and to what extent they believe it affects their outbound travel.

A face-to-face interview is a flexible survey strategy. According to McLafferty (2003), it can accommodate many types of questions and with the open-ended ones a researcher may reach hidden meanings. The personal contact between interviewer and respondent often leads to more meaningful answers and a higher rate of response. Other advantages of using face-to-face interviews are that they can be carried out in a variety of situations with people from varied backgrounds (Walliman, 2006). In addition, the interviewer may judge the quality of responses, notice if a question has not been correctly understood, encourage a complete answer and, finally, better understand the responses by observing the visual signs of interviewees (Walliman, 2006).

Primary data in this study were collected through semi-structured interviews with Palestinian Canadians living in the GTA area. The aim was to obtain an in-depth expression of people's perceptions, opinions, feelings, attitudes, and behaviour expressed in the own words of those involved and, thus, grounded in reality without presenting generalizations. Such approaches are characterized by exploring and finding out new insights instead of determining or testing. The underlying principle is commonly acknowledged and greatly relies on the capability to gain an understanding of behaviour and attitudes in a more productive way than through more quantitative approaches. Such qualitative approaches are increasingly becoming more familiar in tourism research (Hughes & Allen, 2010).

The main reason for selecting the semi-structured interview method is its flexibility, as this type of interview does not require all the questions to be designed and phrased in advance. This form of interviews has to a certain degree a pre-determined order, yet the researcher may be flexible in the ways issues are addressed by the participant. The researcher may conduct such interviews with a quite open framework which allows her to have a focused conversation with her participants. Semi-structured interviews do not require all questions to be formulated ahead

of time. General questions may be prepared for the interviews and then additional questions may be generated during the interview, allowing the researcher to probe for details and the participant to discuss issues.

Twenty seven interviews (including two follow-up sessions) were conducted with Palestinian Canadians in 2009. The interview instrument (Appendix A) was made up of closed and open-ended questions which had been developed based on the literature review. The study went on until the theoretical saturation had been reached as no new insights were emerging. Details about these interviews are presented in Table 4.3.

Twenty-five interviews were conducted with Palestinian Canadians living in the GTA, followed by two follow-up-sessions with Jennifer and Layan. As shown in Table 4.3, the in-depth interviews took place between May and September, 2009. All the interviews were recorded except for five upon the request of the participants. All the names of the participants used in the study are real except for Layan. The interviews were mainly in English except for eight. They took place in different parts of the GTA, except for three interviews with Palestinian undergraduate students at the University of Waterloo (Jennifer, Reem, and Ruba) who live with their families in Toronto, but were interviewed on campus. The interviews with the Palestinian Canadians were mainly face-to-face, however, six participants called the researcher and expressed their strong willingness to participate in the study but were not able to meet the researcher face-to-face and the researcher preferred not to turn them down. For these individuals, interviews were undertaken by phone.

Table 4.3: Research Interviews with Palestinian Canadians in the GTA.

No.	Name	Real name	Date of interview Year 2009	Type of the interview	Language of the interview	Place of interview	Audio Recording
1	Hanan	Yes	June 13	Face-to-face	English	Mississauga	Yes
2	Abed	Yes	June 13	Face-to-face	Arabic	Mississauga	Yes
3	Mobeen	Yes	July 18	Phone	English	-	Yes
4	Bashar	Yes	June 1	Phone	English	-	Yes
5	Mariam	Yes	August 1	Face-to-face	English	Mississauga	Yes
6	Masoud	Yes	June 1	Phone	English	-	Yes
7	Mariam	Yes	August 1	Face-to-face	English	Mississauga	Yes
8	Kareema	Yes	May 1	Face-to-face	English	Toronto	Yes
9	Jennifer	Yes	June 5	Face-to-face	English	University of Waterloo	Yes
10	Saher	Yes	Sep. 25	Phone	Arabic	-	Yes
11	Kareem	Yes	July 4	Face-to-face	English	Toronto	No
12	Layan	NO	June 20	Face-to-face	English	Toronto	No
13	Khawla	Yes	May 30	Face-to-face	Arabic	Toronto	Yes
14	Aseel	Yes	August 22	Face-to-face	English	Etobicoke	No
15	Ahmad	Yes	June 20	Face-to-face	English	North York	No
16	Majdi	Yes	May 30	Face-to-face	Arabic	Toronto	Yes
17	Omar	Yes	May 30	Face-to-face	Arabic	Toronto	Yes
18	Nabeel	Yes	May 30	Face-to-face	Arabic	Toronto	Yes
19	Ruba	Yes	Sep. 20	Face-to-face	English	University of Waterloo	Yes
20	Raja	Yes	August 15	Face-to-face	Arabic	Toronto	Yes
21	Nancy	Yes	July 30	Phone	English	-	Yes
22	Maher	Yes	July 21	Phone	English	-	Yes
23	Reem	Yes	June 22	Face-to-face	English	University of Waterloo	Yes
24	Kanan	Yes	May 30	Face-to-face	Arabic	Toronto	Yes
25	Mason	Yes	May 16	Face-to-face	English	Mississauga	No

The researcher followed an interview protocol that included the following components:

- A heading that included the interviewer name, date and place of interview, and a description about the background setting.
- Answers to the ice-breaker questions such the participant's place of living in the GTA, age, place of birth, point of departure to Canada, citizenship status, whether or not the participant had ever visited or lived in Palestine.
- The ice-breaker questions were then followed by other questions asking participants to explain their ideas, feelings and perspectives in more detail. However, many questions arose during the interviews following responses to the general questions that were prepared in advance. The interviewer probed for details and more elaboration regarding specific issues and meanings.
- A concluding statement was made and then participants were often asked whether they wanted to elaborate more on what they had said.
- The participants were often asked whether they know someone the researcher could visit to learn more about her questions.
- A final thank- you statement was made by the researcher to show gratefulness to the participants for their time and for their consideration in answering the questions.
- For the audio-recorded interviews, the transcription of the recording was carried out after each interview.
- For the non-recorded interviews, notes were taken following the same protocol for field observation notes that will be explained later.

Previous studies have followed different approaches to accessing members of ethnic minorities including advertising through community newsletters and personal contact through community leaders and organizations (Duval, 2003; Kneafsey & Cox, 2002; Stephenson, 2002; Hughes & Allen, 2010). Initial contact with community leaders was made. As well, advertising in different Palestinian dentists' clinics, food stores, travel agents and Palestinian organizations were employed as the main approaches followed in this study. Many phone calls were then received from Palestinian Canadians who were willing to be interviewed. The snowballing technique was then employed with the intent of selecting purposely a spectrum of informants representing the different groups of Palestinian diaspora. The target was to minimize accessing informants who had similar characteristics. For example, it was important to select Palestinian Canadians who immigrated to Canada from different points of departure, including Palestine (cities occupied in 1948 and 1967 (West Bank and Gaza)), refugee camps in Syria and Lebanon, Jordan, and the rich Gulf countries (Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates), as well as selecting informants from different generations, citizenship status, and different length of stay in Canada.

Employing the purposive selection approach rather than the less-guided opportunistic approach helped in minimizing the prospect of uniform views and in revealing the diversity of views that exists by having access to the views of Palestinian Canadians from different groups who have different characteristics. This approach was employed in a study conducted by Hughes and Allen (2010). It was identified in their study that with the snowballing technique, there is an increased probability of the informants having similar backgrounds and experiences. Thus, accessing a reasonably representative cross-section was a target of this researcher. As Duval (2003) noted, the snowballing technique identifies informants willing to participate in the study

and, at the same time, also allows the researcher to select informants with diverse backgrounds (Duval, 2003). The number of interviews conducted was more than those of other qualitative studies in which often about 20 informants were included (Klemm, 2002; Ali & Holden, 2006; Mason, 2004; Stephenson, 2002; Hughes & Allen, 2010; Duval, 2004).

Key Informant Interviews

Palestinian travel agents in the Toronto area specialized in travel to Palestine and leaders of Palestinian organizations in the area were identified as key informants. The following organizations were contacted: the Arab Palestine Association, Canadian Arab Federation, Arab Community Centre, Arab Palestine Association, Arab Immigrant Centre, and Palestine House. However, these organizations identified the Palestinian House as the official representative of the Palestinian community in the Toronto area. Accordingly, an interview was conducted with Dr. Esam Yamani, the leader of the Palestinian House, in addition to an interview with Maison Tabar, a Palestinian feminist activist working in an NGO. In terms of Palestinian travel agents, one main agent was identified in Toronto that is specialized in travel to Palestine. This was Sham Travel and, thus, an interview was conducted with its Director, Emad Shami as shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Key-informant interviews conducted in the Toronto area

Informant	Position	Contact method
Dr. Esam Yamani	Palestinian House, Director	Direct contact by the researcher
Maison Tabar	Palestinian activist	Direct contact by the researcher
Emad Shami	Travel Agent, Manager	Direct contact by the researcher

Semi-structured and face-to-face interviews were employed in this study. Persons in such relevant positions have appropriate experience and knowledge about Palestinian immigrants and

their travel, particularly issues that have been raised by Palestinian Canadians from their travel experiences to Palestine. This was helpful in avoiding the failure to address significant themes in questionnaire design.

The structure of the interview questions was different among the key informants based on their position, expertise and the information desired. Interviews with the Palestinian leaders included three main parts: first, key information related to the Palestinian community in Toronto area was sought given that there is no statistical or descriptive data about this ethnic group in particular, the second part focused on key issues that lead to a better understanding about this ethnic group, their socio-economic characteristics, their needs, perceptions, and challenges that confront their travel to Palestine, and the third part of the interview focused on the ways of support that they could provide to the researcher.

With regard to the travel agent representative, the interview focused on issues related to the travel of Palestinian, particularly to Palestine; for example, the documents they need and the borders they cross to reach Palestine (see the interview instrument in Appendix A).

Questionnaire Survey

Questionnaires are an information-gathering technique often employed in mixed method research that uses quantitative and qualitative data sources and analysis (McGuirk & O'Neill, 2005). According to McLafferty (2003), questionnaires are powerful tools for collecting original data about people, their behaviour and social interactions, attitudes and opinions. A self-administered questionnaire survey-based approach was selected as the most appropriate method for the proposed research. The significant advantage of self-administered questionnaire surveys is that the researcher can reach a large number of the targeted population in a relatively short

period of time, which will facilitate quantitative analysis. On the other hand, it is difficult to collect in-depth data by using this type of survey due to the standardized questions and design format, as well as the limited time spent on each respondent.

Questionnaires are used for this research in order to attain the required primary data taking into consideration the limited financial resources, time, personnel input, and possible language difficulties of many of the Palestinian immigrants in Canada. Moreover, according to McGuirk and O'Neill (2005) and Babbie (2001), questionnaires can be used to provide insight into significant social trends and their interpretation. They are flexible and can be combined very efficiently with supplementary, more intensive types of qualitative research to gain more in-depth insights into perceptions of social processes and context. In this study, the quantitative data from the questionnaires were used to provide a base for in-depth interviews with Palestinian Canadians in the GTA.

A self-administered survey was employed to collect data for this study. Respondents were selected based on a convenience sampling method. The frequenters of Palestinian events, social organizations, stores, travel agencies, coffee houses, clinics, churches and mosques in the GTA were targeted, as it was assumed that the majority of those people would possess the attributes of the population targeted in this study.

With no particular pattern in mind during data collection times, potential respondents were approached by the researcher at all Palestinian events in Mississauga and Toronto and asked about participating in the study. Once respondents indicated their willingness to participate in the survey, they were screened. Only Palestinians and only those who lived in the GTA were invited to complete the questionnaire. The purpose of this survey was then explained to the participant before a copy was given them to complete.

In general, the questionnaire contains closed questions, such as multiple choices and scaling questions (see survey instrument in Appendix A). The problem that arose in distributing the questionnaires for the Palestinian immigrants in the Toronto area is that Palestinians, like other Arabs, do not tend to share their views and personal information with “strangers” and tended to be protective of personal information. This may be because they have had negative experiences in the countries that they were living in, including Palestine, where human rights are not as protected as they are in Canada. This challenge was overcome by getting “a type of authority” for the questionnaire from the leaders of Palestinian organizations in the GTA in order to get people to complete it. Community leaders, such as Dr. Esam Yamani who is the Director of the Palestinian House in Mississauga and Maison Tabar who is a Palestinian activist in Toronto, were contacted to explain the nature of the research and asked for their support by requesting members of their organizations to complete the questionnaire and notarizing the questionnaires before distribution. This turned out to be very productive and efficient as they generously provided their support to the study, particularly because it is the first study that examines the Palestinian Canadians in Toronto area. Dr. Yamani, the leader of Palestinian House, announced about the study at two main Palestinian events that took place in April and May 2009 and encouraged the audience to fill the questionnaire.

The questionnaire required approximately 15 minutes to complete. About one quarter of those approached refused to participate. Questionnaires were collected on-site, but some respondents preferred to take it home due to lack of time. In this case, a pre-paid return envelope was provided. Thirty-three envelopes were provided; only twenty-one were returned by mail. A total of 240 questionnaires were filled out, 10 of which were discarded because they were not

satisfactorily completed. The study is thus based on a sample of 230 respondents. The survey was completed between March 30 and May 30, 2009 (80-100 hours in total).

Possible biases are inherent to this method as Palestinians who have given up their Palestinian connections (and who have possibly assumed another primary identity, such as Canadian) were not contacted. However, it could be argued here that Palestinian immigrants who are assimilated into Canadian society and no longer place a value on maintaining their Palestinian identity or maintaining social and cultural ties with homeland are not transnational and no longer a point of interest to the this research. Such immigrants are likely to have no transnational belonging and participation and, as a consequence, as explained later in Chapter 5, they are positioned in the fourth quadrant of the Grid/group theory (weak transnational belonging and weak transnational participation) and this quadrant does not exemplify a relationship between tourism and migration.

Survey Instrument and Scales

The on-site survey instrument consists of two printed pages divided into three sections. The first section focuses on the outbound travel patterns of respondents, their dominant destination, purpose of travel, and their travel experience and the length of stay. The second section focuses on respondents' country of birth, citizenship status, property ownership in country of origin, sense of belonging to the host and home countries, and their future intention for residence. The third section includes selected socio-demographic characteristics of the participants, for example, sex, age, educational attainments, occupational status, annual income, marital status, number of children, and duration of residence in Canada.

Quantitative data collected through the questionnaire survey through the close-ended questions were nominal and some were ordinal and interval obtained from questions that were

answered using 5-point Likert scales, which were coded 1 for the lowest level and 5 for the highest level.

Observation and field notes

The most important advantage of direct field experience is the engagement of the researcher in the subject being studied which is, in this case, the Palestinian Canadians in Toronto area. This enabled the researcher to see what the facts on paper in the form of maps, statistics and demographics, look in reality and, most importantly, to capture what such images, statistics, and maps could not capture. It is the exploring of intangibles, such as the way people of this ethnic group are interacting with each other and with the Canadian context, field experience is very helpful. During direct field experiences, all five senses are fully involved; thus, the researcher can understand how people interact with their environment and can get a better sense of their identity, which leads to many insights that are impossible to obtain by any other method.

For this study, field experience was especially important in the early phases of the research where ideas were generated and questions were created. Direct field experience was combined with other quantitative and qualitative research methods in order to balance the strengths and weaknesses of different methodologies, leading to a more insightful study. Data from field work were drawn from many informal, unstructured, and unplanned conversations that were held with Palestinian immigrants from all ages, including young children, in a variety of Palestinian social events and settings, such as celebrations of Palestinian anniversaries, BBQ parties, and summer “get-togethers”. The researcher was also invited to many Palestinian houses for dinner in Mississauga and Toronto which enables her to observe the way the hosts are living in Canada, how they decorate their houses and even the food that they are eating, which gave her

a fuller image about their lives and provided indicators of the ways they negotiate their cultural identity in the host society.

Data recording procedure during field observation

Before entering the field, the researcher planned her approach to the qualitative data recording of the multiple observations made during a fourth month of fieldwork. The procedure employed by the researcher was simply the recording of observations on a single page with a dividing line down the middle to separate descriptive notes from reflective notes. The descriptive notes included portraits of the participants, the event itself, specific dialogue among the participants, and a description of the physical setting and activities. On the other hand, the reflective notes included feelings, ideas and impressions. The form also included demographic information about the time, place and event where the observation had taken place.

4.4 Methods of data analysis

4.4.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) provided various techniques to analyze the collected quantitative data. Survey data were analyzed in three steps. First, preliminary statistics were obtained using the SPSS. Descriptive statistics such as percentages, means, modes, medians, and standard deviations were calculated to examine responses to each question (see Appendix B). Second, frequency tables were generated for each question and some cross-tabulations were generated. Third, chi-square tests were used to examine differences across variables and to examine relationship between the variables.

4.4.2 Qualitative Data Analysis and Validity

Qualitative inquiry is interpretative, with the researcher involved in a sustained and intensive experience with the participants. This introduces a wide range of strategic ethical and personal matters into the qualitative part of this research. Many factors may shape the interpretation of the qualitative data by the researcher, such as gender, history, values, culture, and socio-economic status. Thus, the researcher acknowledges her personal attributes. The researcher is a female Palestinian Canadian, who immigrated to Canada with her husband and four children in 2004 looking for a safe and secure life for her family. The researcher lived in Palestine, where she was born, for 34 years. Multiple strategies of assuring validity (as discussed later) were employed in the present dissertation research to create confidence in the accuracy of the findings.

4.4.2.1 Qualitative Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis in this study implied first collecting open-ended data, based on asking specific questions, and then developing an analysis based on the information supplied by the interviewees. It was an ongoing process of making sense out of the text, recordings and images obtained from the interviews with the Palestinian Canadians. The process involved continual reflection about the data, asking analytical questions, and writing memos throughout the field work. However, collecting data and making interpretations were conducted concurrently. For example, earlier collected interviews were analyzed while interviews were still going on. The process of analysing the qualitative data involved main steps such as preparing the data for analysis, conducting different analyses, going deeper and deeper into understanding the data, representing the data, and ultimately making an interpretation of the larger meaning of the data.

These steps are shown in Figure 4.3. These steps, although apparently linear and hierarchical, building from the bottom to the top, are also interactive and interrelated. The following paragraphs explain these steps.

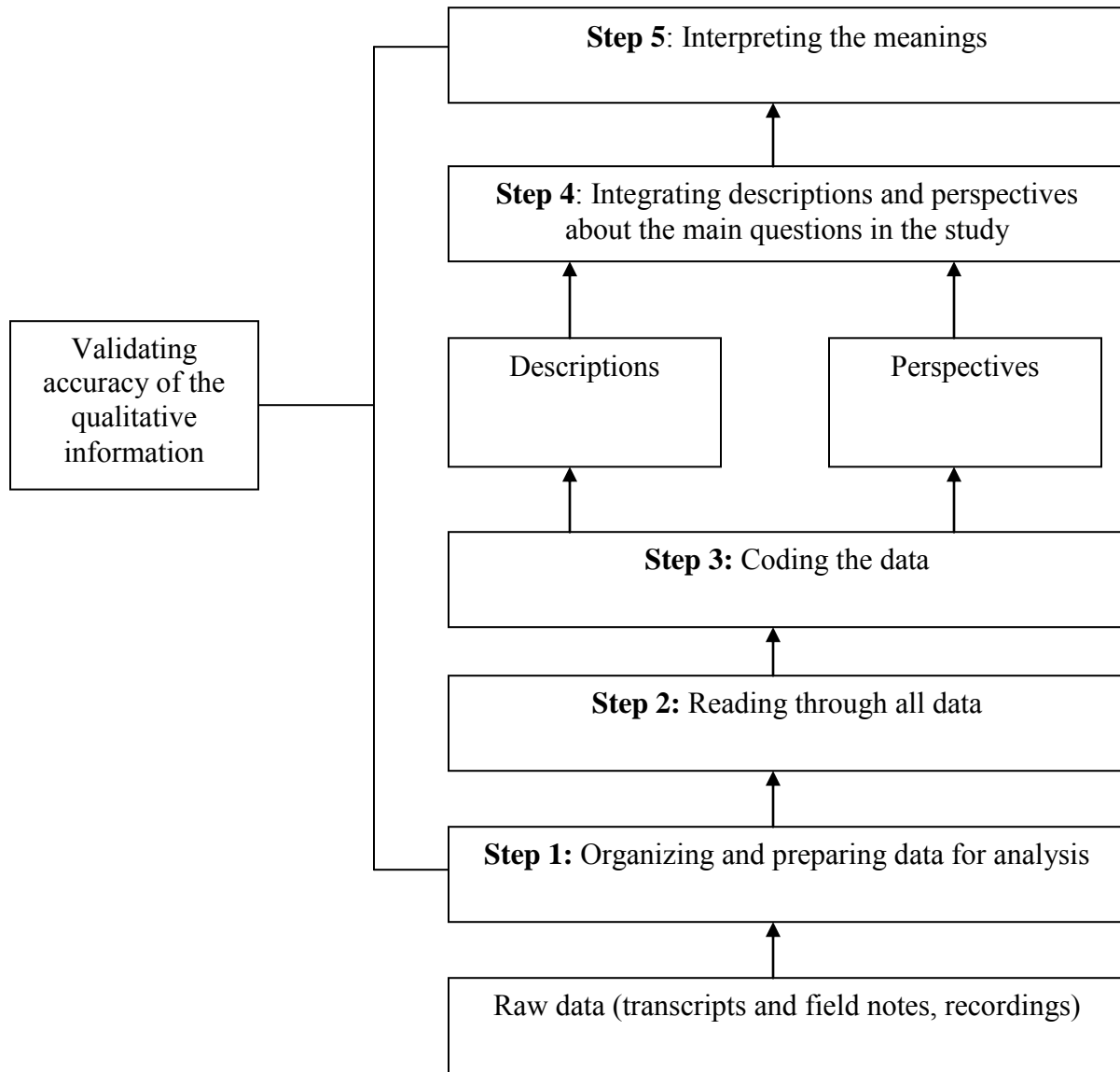


Figure 4.3: Qualitative data analysis (adapted from Creswell, 2009).

Organizing and preparing field data for analysis

As most of the interviews were recorded by a digital recorder, this step involved transcribing interviews with Palestinian Canadians, typing up field observation notes, sorting and categorizing the data into different types depending on the sources of information (for example, first and second generation, immigrant's point of departure, citizens and permanent residents, etc.).

Reading through all the data

This step involved scanning the material to obtain a broad sense of the information and then reflecting on its general meaning as a whole. The general ideas that my interviewees were saying were highlighted. Notes were written in margins during this stage of data analysis regarding the credibility, quality and the impression of the overall depth of these ideas

Coding the data

After reading all the transcriptions of the interviews carefully and getting a sense of the whole, detailed analysis of the qualitative data from these interviews took place. The underlying meanings of the substance of the information were highlighted. The researcher was then engaged in a systematic process of analysing the textual data (recorded interviews were transcribed). A list of topics was developed for each interview and then similar topics were clustered together.

In this study, the researcher preferred to hand-code qualitative transcripts or information by using colour coding schemes. Furthermore, the researcher followed the traditional approach in coding the data where the codes were allowed to emerge during the process of data analysis.

Integrating descriptions and perspectives about main themes

In this step, the researcher used the coding process and integrated the information to generate descriptions that involved a detailed portrait and perspectives about the research questions

regarding: the meanings associated with VFR travel, identity, first home, belonging to homeland, family, ethnic reunion, belonging to transnational social spaces, maintaining ties with the homeland, citizenship, participating in transnational activities, and geographical dispersal. This step also involved comparison across generations and across different citizenship status and length of stay.

Interpreting the meanings

This final step in the qualitative data analysis involved making an interpretation, or assessing the meaning, of the feelings, experiences and perspectives to capture the core of the ideas. This personal interpretation of the data was led by the researcher's understanding and experiences with the Palestinian case. Furthermore, the researcher's interpretation of data was derived from a comparison with the findings of similar studies reported in the literature review. The outcomes of this step, in many cases, confirmed past information, diverged from some earlier findings, and suggested new related topics for future research.

4.4.2.2 Reporting the findings of the qualitative analysis

As identified by Creswell (2009), although the strategies for collecting and interpreting qualitative data are mostly alike across qualitative research, strategies for reporting the findings are different. However, the most frequent form of reporting and displaying qualitative data is the narrative text. Based on the nature of the research question suggested in this study, the results of the collected qualitative data are presented in this study in a descriptive and narrative form. Deep descriptions, feelings, experiences, meanings and perspectives of the Palestinian Canadians are reported. In these ways an holistic picture of their transnational practices, including their VFR travel and issues of identity and belonging, are presented.

4.4.2.3 Qualitative Validity

Qualitative validity refers to the steps undertaken by the researcher to check the accuracy of the findings and interpretation of the qualitative data. In this study, the researcher adopted multiple strategies to determine whether the findings were accurate from the viewpoints of the researcher, the Palestinian Canadian participants and the readers. The following strategies for checking validity were adopted to enhance the accuracy of the findings:

- Triangulating of data from different sources of information. The data for this study were collected from multiple sources including interviews, observations and questionnaires. Furthermore, the researcher examined evidence from the literature about the travel patterns, ethnic studies, and Palestinian diaspora and used it to build a coherent justification for interpretation.
- Using member checking to assess the accuracy of the qualitative findings through an ongoing dialogue with the Palestinian Canadian participants throughout the qualitative data analysis process. Such dialogue was conducted whenever the researcher met the participants again throughout the field work. This included the Palestinian Canadians' summer events, such as BBQ's, "get-together" social events and visiting their homes. In some cases, these contacts were maintained by phone or through e-mail. The main purpose of such contacts was to provide the participants with the opportunity to comment on the findings and to determine whether they felt that they were accurate.
- Using peer debriefing to review and ask questions about the qualitative part of the research. This strategy involved sharing the interpretation of the qualitative data with other doctoral students in the office.

- Spending prolonged time in the field participating with the Palestinian Canadians in the GTA in their social and cultural events, their gatherings, and visiting them at their houses. The repeated observations of the Palestinian Canadians over a four-month period of time enhanced the process of data analysis.
- Clarification of the possibility of researcher bias which has been articulated in writing in the dissertation under the heading, “Positionality”.
- All the phases of this dissertation study have been subject to scrutiny by the researcher’s supervisor and the committee members, in addition to the external examiner. All these faculty members have significant experience in all research methods employed, including the qualitative research.

4.5 Ethical Aspects

Researchers are required to anticipate the ethical issues that may take place during their studies. Because research entails collecting data from people and about people, researchers are required to protect their research participants from any type of harm, to respect vulnerable populations, to build trust with them, to endorse the truthfulness of research, and to protect against misconduct and impropriety which may reflect poorly on their organizations or institutions (Isreal & Hay, 2006). Ethical questions are obvious in the present day in such issues as personal disclosure, legitimacy and integrity of the research report, the undertaking of researchers in cross-cultural contexts, and matters of personal confidentiality (Creswell, 2009).

In this study, collecting the qualitative data implied gaining entry to the research site which may be associated with a wide range of ethical issues. These issues had been considered by the researcher through all the steps taken to gain entry to the setting and to secure permission to

study the participants. Furthermore, gaining access to all the events organized by Palestine House in Mississauga had been secured by approaching the director of this organization, Dr. Isam Yamani, and getting his approval. Additionally, the questionnaire and the interview questions were reviewed by the Director of the Palestine House before getting his “stamp of authorization” by allowing the researcher to gain access to the events of the Palestine House, and by announcing about the study and encouraging Palestinian Canadians attending such events to participate in the research. The ethical issues associated with this dissertation research have been taken into consideration particularly in data collection as explained below.

- Research plans were reviewed by the Office of Research Ethics (ORE) at the University of Waterloo and received ethics clearance. As this research involved interviewing, which is a qualitative research method that is increasingly being viewed as a moral inquiry (Creswell, 2009), the ORE clearance included permission to interview Palestinian Canadians of all ages, including children.
- The researcher developed informed consent forms for participants to read (and sign in the case of the key informants) before they engaged in the research, as well as participant feedback letters. These forms acknowledge that participants’ rights will be protected during data collection. Copies of these forms are found in Appendix C.
- The research objectives were articulated verbally and in writing in each interview so they were clearly understood by the participant.
- Another issue considered during field work and data collection was confidentiality. One of the participants wanted her identity to remain confidential. For those who did not want to have their identity remain confidential, the researcher informed them about some

issues associated with non-confidentiality as the study would then include their real names, their experiences and their perspectives.

- The participants' rights, interests, and wishes were given priority when choices were made regarding recording the interview and reporting the data.
- As this study involved prolonged observation and interviewing, the researcher put much effort into conducting the research with minimum disturbance of participants. Visits or interviews were timed so that they intruded little on the flow of activities of participants.
- Following analysis, the collected data will be kept in a locked office at the University of Waterloo and will be discarded in three years after data collection so that it does not fall into the hands of individuals who may use it improperly.

4.6 Challenges and limitations

The Palestinian community in Canada, particularly in Toronto area, is one of the least studied ethnic groups. Hardly any research has been done about Palestinian Canadians. Given the fact that this study is the first that examines this ethnic group in the Toronto area, there are some difficulties related to the lack of quantitative and qualitative data about this group, including governmental statistics and scholarly research. Another main challenge that imposed certain restrictions on the researcher was the lack of funding and personnel since the researcher was self-funded.

4.7 Positionality

In this section, I discuss issues regarding my positionality as a researcher in relation to the group of Palestinian immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and to the Palestinian House in Mississauga that was my main entry point to the participants. My investigation throughout my

field work was significantly facilitated by the fact that I was considered by the Palestinian community in the GTA as both an insider and outsider. Many factors combined to determine this position as insider/outsider such as being myself a Palestinian immigrant, a middle class woman, university educated with pertinent language skills, as well as other aspects of my background such as my political affiliation, not living in GTA, and my citizenship status in Canada. First, my not being affiliated to any Palestinian political party proved useful because of the prevailing tensions within the different Palestinian parties particularly between the FATAH (Palestinian Liberation Movement) and Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) groups. This gave me a neutral position in relation to any political conflicts taking place initially on the West Bank and Gaza which then spread to the Palestinian diaspora everywhere. Since I do not belong to any political party, I merely avoided being associated with the Palestinian community's internal conflicts and, therefore, avoided any potential difficulties that could have jeopardized my study.

Being a Palestinian immigrant who lived all her early life in Palestine and who had a strong background in the Palestinian case and its history contributed to making me an insider to the community. While I was expecting that these aspects of my background would play a significant role in giving me access to the Palestinian group, I found out at some stages in my fieldwork that some additional factors were very advantageous, mainly the fact that I was born in Palestine and lived all my life there prior to coming to Canada and thus experienced all the major events that took place in Palestine. Living through the first and the second Intifada and all the negative effects of these events on safety, political climate and all aspects of life made the researcher more welcomed. However, not living in the GTA made the researcher an outsider and enabled her to maintain the required degree of detachment for data analysis and interpretation.

Regarding my positionality in relation to the Palestinian House in Mississauga, I first approached this organization in March 2009, at the very beginning of my field work, by contacting and then meeting its executive director, Dr. Esam Yamani. I developed a good working relationship with Dr. Yamani as he always welcomed me, expressed interest in my research and supported my field work. This significantly facilitated my research because of the role of the Palestinian House as a leading actor within the Palestinian community in the GTA. This organization allowed me to establish the contacts needed to conduct my fieldwork – including access to community events and participants for the questionnaire and the in-depth interviews.

Being an immigrant living in Canada for more than six years helped the researcher to understand the experience of her participants and encouraged participants to share their experiences, memories, feelings, ideas and different aspects of their lives as immigrants in Canada. In addition, being a female Palestinian doctoral student in a reputable university made the Palestinian community and the organizations representing them feel proud and more willing to make efforts to facilitate this study and make it successful. On the other hand, being a female researcher may have introduced a sampling bias in determining potential participants for the interviews because more females may have been willing to participate as they may have felt more comfortable to talk to another woman. Conversely, males may have been less willing to be interviewed by a female, particularly as the interview may have required engagement with and talking about painful memories and, sometimes, difficult descriptions of their present situation. However, efforts were made to minimize such possible biases by taking the initiative of inviting males, in particular, to participate in the interviews.

4.8 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the research design and the data collection procedures employed in this study, including details on research methodology and survey design. Data collected from the on-site survey resulted in 230 usable responses from Palestinian Canadians living in the GTA. Because of the interdisciplinary nature of the study, a mixed method research design involving both quantitative and qualitative methods was employed. The use of either a quantitative or qualitative approach alone is inadequate to address the complexity of the research questions. Furthermore, more insights and expanded understanding of the travel patterns, the meanings associated with the VFR travel of the Palestinian Canadians, their transnational practices, issues of citizenship and belonging, and issues of identity and hybridity are gained from the combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

The study involves the use of the few secondary data available as well as primary data collected through questionnaire surveys, key informant interviews, and in-depth interviews with Palestinian Canadians in the Toronto area. Moreover, other methods, such as researcher observations and the taking of field notes were employed. The data obtained from the questionnaire were mainly quantitative and included information about the travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians, their main overseas travel motivations and destinations, their citizenship status, and demographic information. The data obtained from the key informant interviews were mainly concerned with specific issues related to the Palestinian community in the Toronto area and their overseas travel to Palestine. The in-depth interviews were used to collect data about the meanings associated with return visits to Palestine, transnational belonging and participation, and identity negotiation between host and home societies. The data obtained from the researcher's

observations of the Palestinian community in several places and at several events were used to complement the data obtained from the survey and the interviews and to draw a multi-dimensional picture of this community and its travel patterns.

Chapter 5: Outbound Travel Patterns of Palestinian Canadians

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the ways migration and tourism interrelate within the travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians living in the GTA. The overseas travel patterns of Palestinian are established, the factors affecting their propensity to travel to their homeland are assessed, as well as the relationships between their travel, particularly to Palestine, with their duration of residence, place of birth and citizenship status.

5.2 The Demographic Characteristics of Palestinian Canadians

Information in the form of published data about the demographic characteristics of Palestinian Canadians is not available. Their stateless status when entering Canada makes it difficult to construct an accurate profile of their characteristics. Thus, this study is the first that documents such demographic characteristics about the Palestinian Canadians in the GTA. Data are presented on sex, age, education, income, occupation, and family type.

Palestinians may enter into Canada as holders of passports from a number of countries, such as Jordan and Israel, or holding travel documents from such countries as Egypt, Lebanon and Syria where they were permanent residents. Accordingly, this situation of statelessness for the Palestinians immigrants results in a considerable underestimate of their actual size in Canada and in the research area, the GTA. However, the Arab and Palestinian Organizations in Toronto, the Palestine House, and the Canadian Arab Federation estimate that there are about 20,000 to 30,000 Palestinian Canadians in the GTA (Interview with Yamani, 2009).

It is helpful before presenting the demographic data collected about the Palestinian Canadians in the survey, to discuss the reasons that motivate Palestinians to immigrate to

Canada. Based on the interview with Dr. Esam Yamani, the leader of the Palestine House in Mississauga, and with the Palestinian activist Maison Tabar, Palestinians were motivated to immigrate to Canada for different reasons. The most important reason is the search for a safe life for their children and families; this is mainly because of the political instability in Palestine or the Arab countries they lived in. Thus, the main motivation is to escape persecution and discrimination in those countries. By immigrating to Canada, the Palestinians are looking for freedom, mobility, equality, justice and democracy. Their point of departure in many cases was not Palestine. After their displacement from their lands in 1948 and 1967, they lived in refugee camps in Arabic countries, such as Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, and then the elite moved to the Gulf countries looking for better jobs. Eventually, many of them migrated to Canada benefiting from the Canadian decision to accept potential investors and skilled workers as immigrants. Palestinians are looking to become citizens of a country that enjoys international credibility and whose citizenship provides international protection and increased mobility. However, Palestinians are also motivated to immigrate to Canada by other traditional reasons for immigration, such as to search for better financial opportunities, to join family members and relatives, or to obtain academic degrees in Canadian universities.

The demographic characteristics of the Palestinian Canadians included in the sample are shown in Table (5.1), which is followed by a discussion of each characteristic.

Table 5.1: Demographic characteristics of the Palestinian Canadians in the sample.

Socioeconomic characteristic	Number of responses	Percentage
Gender:		
Male	129	56.1
Female	101	43.9
Marital Status:		
Married	148	65.8
Single	67	29.8
Divorced	6	2.7
Widowed	4	1.8
Age (years)		
18-30	67	30.4
31-40	59	26.3
41-50	50	22.3
51-60	34	15.2
61 and over	14	5.8
Number of Children		
0	69	30.9
1	12	5.4
2	36	16.1
3	41	18.4
4	57	25.6
More than 5	8	3.6

Sex Ratio

Table 5.1 shows sex ratios of 1.27, with nearly equal numbers of males and females (129 and 101 respectively), the sex ratio is close to being balanced. This may reflect the importance of family reunion and family migration for Palestinian immigrants in Canada. Each of the characteristics of the Palestinian Canadian respondents is discussed separately below.

Age

The age distribution of the Palestinians in the sample (Table 5.1) shows that Palestinian Canadians are mostly of young age groups as 30.4% of them are between the ages 18-30, while 26% are between 31-40 years old. This may reflect the Canadian immigration policy of attracting primarily young and educated workers and business investors whereby the country's demand for

skilled and professional workers has been increasingly met by immigration. On the other hand, the smaller percentage of older Palestinian immigrants (5.8% are over 61 years old) reflects the family reunification policy of the Canadian immigration system.

Number of Children

The sample shows (Table 5.1) that 25.6% of respondents have four children, while 18.4 % have three children, and 16.1% have two children; moreover, there are only 3.6% of the families in the sample who indicated that they had more than five children. Overall, this is a good reflection of the extended family structure which is part of an Arab’s tradition and family values. On the other hand, these results show that 69.1% of the respondents have children, while only 30.9% of respondents have no children, which may have implications for the Palestinian immigrants’ travel patterns. First, it is more likely that the Palestinian immigrants’ travel is family-oriented. Second, children may determine the time of travel and, particularly, the length of stay while visiting Palestine.

Education

Table 5.1 (a): Education

Highest level of Education	Number of responses	Percentage
Primary school	3	1.3
Middle school	11	4.8
High school	58	25.4
University	128	56.1
Post-graduate university	28	12.3

In relation to education, Table 5.1(a) shows that the majority of Palestinian Canadians are well-educated. For example, 68.4% of the sample have at least a university degree (56.1% of the sample have at least a Bachelor’s degree, 12.3% have post- graduate degrees), while only 31.5%

of the sample have below college qualifications. These outcomes seem to be related to the fact that university qualification is one of the main immigration requirements for Palestinians to gain entry to Canada. On the other hand, Palestinian traditions do give high weight to educational attainment and often parents care significantly about the educational achievements of their children. This may explain the high percentage of Palestinian Canadians with academic degrees. On the other hand, these findings are consistent with the fact that Palestinians have the highest literacy rate in the Arab countries. The majority of Palestinian immigrants in Canada are well educated (Interview with Yamani, 2009). The high education of Palestinian Canadians, as represented in the sample results, may indicate that they may have high incomes. This, in turn, has implications for their propensity to travel, as high discretionary income may be used for overseas travelling or more frequent visits to their dominant destination of travel.

Occupational Status

Table 5.1 (b): Occupation

Occupation	Number of responses	Percentage
Self-employed	37	16.2
Government employee	23	10.1
Company employee	30	13.2
Professional	64	28.1
Teacher	6	2.6
Student	23	10.1
Retired	27	11.8
Unemployed	11	4.8
Housewife	7	3.1
Other		

In terms of economic status, Table 5.1 (b) shows that 16.2% of the Palestinians in the sample are self-employed, 28% are teachers, 13.2% are professionals, 10.1 % are students and only 11.8% is unemployed. This is related to the well-educated background of the Palestinians as discussed

earlier, and only 7% of the 43.9 % of the females who participated in the survey, described themselves as housewives.

Annual Income

The variation in the occupational characteristics of respondents is reflected in their annual income. Income is usually related to individual's occupational status. That is, higher income is usually related to higher occupational status, while lower income status probably reflects unemployment, or being a student, or low income employment (Feng and Page, 2000). A substantial proportion of respondents (40.7%) reported annual incomes less than the Canadian standard for median income of CAN\$30 000, with the second highest group (21.1%) reporting incomes of CAN\$41 000–50 000, with only 7.2% of the respondents recording incomes in excess of CAN\$ 61 000.

On the other hand, Feng and Page (2000) suggest that the use of income data is complicated, in particular in its implications for generalizing the socio-economic status of immigrants. Income is problematic because it does not reflect other measures of wealth such as assets. In addition, Arab populations in general, including Palestinians, are hesitant to share their true financial status with strangers (Ohan & Hayyani, 1993). Furthermore, the term “no employment” does not always mean that the respondent is not working, as some immigrants may select to work in the “black economy” due to taxation, social welfare and other factors. Feng and Page (2000) further argued that in terms of tourism, it may not be correct to link low income status with the immigrants' potential for outbound travel.

Length of Residence in Canada

Table 5.1 (c): Length of residence in Canada

Duration of residence in Canada	Number of responses	Percentage
Less than 1 year	16	7.0
1-3 years	49	21.4
4-6 years	26	11.4
7-9 years	31	13.5
10-12 years	38	16.6
Greater than 12 years	69	30.1

In terms of length of residence in Canada, 30.1% had resided in Canada for more than 12 years, 7% had resided for less than a year, and 21.4% lived in Canada between 1–3 years. More than one in ten (11.4%) had lived in Canada for 4–6 years, 13.5% for 7-9 years and 16.6% for 10-12 years.

Table 5.1 (c) shows that the majority of the Palestinian Canadians in the sample had lived in Canada for more than 6 years, while 39.8% had lived in Canada for less than 6 years. The results in Table 5.2 indicate that the majority of the Palestinian immigrants in the sample are first-generation settlers.

Table 5.2: Recent versus established Palestinian immigrants

Duration of residence in Canada	Number of responses	Percentage
< 6 years	91	39.8
>6 years	138	60.2

Citizenship Status

Table 5.3: Citizenship Status

Citizenship Status	Respondents' Count	%
Citizen	150	65.2
Landed Immigrant	79	34.3
Total	229	99.6

In terms of citizenship status in Canada, Table 5.3 shows that 65.7% of the Palestinian respondents are citizens and 34.3% are landed immigrants. This is consistent with the sample results regarding the length of stay, as citizenship is associated with a longer time in Canada. Furthermore, since the majority of Palestinian immigrants are first-generation settlers, some uncertainty may be possible among new immigrants regarding their long-term mobility patterns.

Country of Birth

Table 5.4: Place of Birth

Place of birth	Respondents' Count	%
Palestine	138	60.5
Canada	13	5.7
Other (Arab countries)	77	33.8
Total	228	100

The countries of birth of the respondents in the sample contains a large group of Palestinian Canadians born in Palestine (60.5%) compared to those born in Canada (5.7%). This has a number of implications. First, it indicates that the majority of Palestinian Canadians are first-generation settlers. This is also consistent with the fact that largest group of them (30% of the sample) have lived in Canada for more than 12 years. This may also imply a greater degree of connection between the Palestinians immigrants and their country of origin, Palestine.

On the other hand, the Palestinian Canadian population was born in a diverse mix of other places such as Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, USA, Latin America, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. This is mainly because of their dispersal into several Arab and non-Arab countries after the catastrophe (*al-nakba*)¹. Statistics shows that there are about nine million Palestinians living in the diaspora and most of them are refugees in Arab countries such as Syria,

¹ The Arabic world that refers to the loss of their homeland in the years 1948 and 1967.

Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan. As a result, Palestinian immigrants may have varied transnational existence and social networks. This may increase their propensity for travelling as they seek to maintain social networks and family and kinship ties back in the country of origin or the country of birth if it is different than the country of origin. This, in turn, has implications for their travel patterns.

Alternatively, since the sample shows more overseas-born Palestinians (33.8% born in other countries and 60.5% born in Palestine) than those born in Canada (5.7%), this may be considered as further evidence for considering the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) as the most ethnically diverse metropolitan area in North America where a high proportion of its population has been born outside of Canada.

Owning a Property or Business in Palestine

Table 5.5: Owning a property or business in Palestine

Owning a property or business in Palestine	Respondents' Count	%
Yes	96	41.7
No	134	58.3
Total	230	100

Approaching half (41.7%) of the Palestinian respondents in the sample own a property or business in Palestine. The Palestinian diaspora ultimately meant that they left their homeland. Although they did not return physically, they are still investing in their homeland and managing their businesses from overseas. This may be further evidence of the transnational nature of the Palestinian diaspora. For example, Dorai (2001) stated that the Palestinian diaspora in the United States and Canada has significantly contributed in the economic development of the City of

Ramallah on the West Bank. These transnational activities may have implications for the Palestinian overseas travel.

This high percentage of property ownership may also be associated with the process of “semigration”. Dr. Esam Yamani (2009), the director of the Palestine House, stated that many Palestinian families living in the GTA, particularly those in Mississauga were Palestinian elite who, after the catastrophe, migrated to the capital cities of North America and Europe where they acquired their education. Then, many of them moved to live in the rich Gulf countries to get jobs, such as in Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Since most of them are well-educated, they occupy professional positions in these countries. However they still need a citizenship that provides them with the freedom to travel and a source of international security. This citizenship, in many cases, is Canadian citizenship because of the flexible immigration policies of Canada compared to other countries in Europe and the USA. Thus, these Palestinian elite families leave the rich Gulf countries that never grant citizenship for foreigners and migrants, and they immigrate to Canada. Then, a dilemma occurs when these well-educated men and women struggle to find jobs that are at the same level or even lower than their prestigious jobs in the rich Gulf countries. It often happens that women stay in Canada with the children and men travel back to the UAE, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia or Qatar to get back their good occupations and then the men shuttle back and forth between Canada and the Gulf country that they are working in. In some cases, when the children are old enough (18 and older), both parents travel back to the Gulf countries to get well-paid jobs and leave their children in Canada to study in Canadian universities. This is advantageous to them because of the high cost of education of non-citizens in the schools and the universities of the Gulf countries compared to the free

education in Canadian schools and the reasonable tuition fees that citizens pay in Canadian universities (Interview with Yamani, 2009).

Future Intention of Residence

Table 5.6: Future Intention of Residence

Future intention of residence	Respondents' Count	%
Canada	135	58.7
Palestine	61	26.5
Other	30	13.0
Total	226	100

As Table 5.6 shows, only 26.5% of the respondents consider Palestine as their future place of residence. Thus, the question that can be raised here is why there is a low percentage of Palestinians who intend to leave Canada and make Palestine their future place of residence, even though 86.3% of them indicated that they have strong and very strong belonging to Palestine. There are two main reasons for this response. First, the Palestinians diaspora after the wars of 1947 and 1967 and its result i.e. the creation of the state of Israel that turned approximately 750,000 Palestinians into refugees and prevented them from returning to their homeland that became the state of Israel. Even after they are granted Canadian citizenship, they can only enter Palestine as tourists and not as citizens. According to claims of the Israeli authorities, the Palestinian diaspora does not have any right of permanent residence in Palestine because they do not have Palestinian or Israeli citizenship. Thus, these authorities treat them as foreigners and they can enter Palestine only as tourists (visitors) after they get their visa on their Canadian passports. This visa is often issued to be valid for three or six months at the most and, after that, they have to leave Palestine. However, one Palestinian family that was interviewed indicated that they took the risk and stayed in Palestine after the expiration of their visas but they got caught at

Israeli checkpoints, which are numerous in Palestine, and then they were directly forced to leave the country so they travelled back to Canada.

The second reason is that even those Palestinians who have Palestinian or Israeli citizenships are not willing to return to Palestine permanently because of the main political events that have taken place in Palestine, for example, the first Intifada² in 1987 and the second Intifada in 2000. These events had adverse negative consequences on security, the economy, education and the political atmosphere. The deteriorated conditions prevailing in Palestine forced many Palestinians to emigrate from their homeland and prevented others from returning. Therefore, Palestinian Canadians opt to live permanently in Canada to have an enhanced standard of living for their children and to enjoy freedom and a better quality of life in their host country.

5.3 Travel Patterns of Palestinian Canadians

Although there has been recognition in the literature of the technological innovations that have led to new tourism-migration relationships in terms of new travel patterns, these new travel patterns among immigrants groups have not been examined by tourism scholars. This section of the thesis examines the travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians in the GTA, which is the first objective of this research. It is based on the data collected from the survey that included 230 participants. Then, the relationship between tourism and migration in the overseas travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians is examined.

² The Arabic term for the uprising that took place twice in the Palestinian territories, the first in 1987 and the second in 2000.

By examining the travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadian sample, it is possible first to establish the relationship between immigration and settlement in a new country with VFR travelling. Table 5.7 shows the overseas travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians in the GTA.

Table 5.7: Travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians

Number of Overseas Trips	Respondents' Count	%
1/Year	57	24.9
1/ 2 Years	44	19.2
1/ 3 Years	74	32.3
Other (such as business)	54	23.6
Total	229	100

Table 5.7 indicates that a quarter (24.9%) of Palestinian Canadians travel overseas once a year, 19.2% travel overseas once every two years, 32% travel once every three years, and 23.6% have other travel patterns (some indicated that they travel once every 4 or 5 years, while others indicated that they travel twice per year, but few of them indicated that they rarely take any overseas trip). In other words, 44.1% of Palestinian Canadians take at least one overseas trip every two years, which indicates that Palestinian Canadians have a high propensity for travelling and are actually overseas travelers. But, what motivates the Palestinian Canadians to travel? As stated earlier in this thesis, immigrants have complex motivating factors and patterns of travel that are not necessarily linked to leisure and other traditional western notions of rest and relaxation (Kang & Page, 2000). Other studies suggest that members of diasporic communities tend to preserve both their ethnic identity and linkage to the country of origin through international travel patterns. Thus, is Palestine the dominant destination for Palestinian Canadians? Is their travel for ethnic and family reunion? These questions are answered through examination of the relationships between tourism and migration that are presented in the following section.

5.3.1 Examining Tourism and Migration Relationships

As revealed from the survey, travel back to the home country is significant to many respondents. The survey results shown in Table 5.8 reveal that Palestine is the dominant destination for the majority of the Palestinian Canadians who travel overseas as 59.8% of respondents indicated that homeland (Palestinian Territories (West Bank and Gaza), Jerusalem, and the Arabic cities inside Israel) is the dominant destination in their overseas travel.

Table 5.8: Destination of Palestinian-Canadians overseas travel

Destination of travel	Respondents' Count	%
Palestine	135	59.7
Other	91	40.3
Total	226	100

N=230

A further observation regarding Table 5.8 is that the other outbound destinations for Palestinian immigrants are Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, UAE and Saudi Arabia. There is a clear evidence in this outcome that these and similar destinations are also related to VFR among the Palestinian sample travel, since such countries as Syria, Jordan and Lebanon host millions of Palestinians, and the UAE is linked to Palestinian semigration, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

As shown in Table 5.9 the journeys to Palestine are for the purposes of visiting friends and families as more than three-quarters (77%) indicated that the purpose of travelling is to “visit friends and relatives”, which highlights the strong relationship between migration and tourism.

Table 5.9: The purpose of travel to Palestine

Why travel to Palestine	Respondents' Count	%
to visit friends and relatives	177	77
to maintain social and cultural ties	38	16.5
to measure changes and transformations	17	7.4
other	16	7

Furthermore, 16.5% of the Palestinian Canadians travel to Palestine for the purposes of maintain social and culture ties, while only 7.4 travel to measure changes and transformation that have taken place at homeland, and lastly 7% travel for other purposes which respondents indicated as participating in a political meeting or event.

As Palestinian Canadians travel back to their country of birth as their dominant choice of overseas destination, this suggests a close connection between Canada as country of settlement and Palestine as country of origin. From a tourism perspective, the existence of diasporic communities increases the propensity for travel and connecting places. These outcomes exemplify the interplay between transnationalism, diaspora and tourism.

To further demonstrate the relationship between tourism and immigration, cross tabulation analysis and chi-square tests for association among variables was performed. The variables 'visiting Palestine', 'Palestine by birth', and 'duration of residence' are identified (Table 5.10) as key indicators to best demonstrate the relationship between tourism and migration.

Table 5.10: Variables illustrating the link between tourism and migration

Variables	Yes %	No %	Total % of respondents
Visiting Palestine (N=226)	59.7	40.3	98.3
Palestine by birth (N=228)	60.5	39.5	99.1
Duration of residence in Canada (N= 2230)	39.8 (< 6 years)	60.2 (> 6 years)	100

Through cross-tabulation analysis, for example, one can identify whether the Palestinian immigrants born in Palestine would be more likely to visit Palestine as their outbound travel destination. One can also identify whether recent Palestinian immigrants are more likely to visit Palestine than the more established immigrants. The results of these analyses shed more light on the relationships between tourism and migration.

Place of Birth: Cross-Tabulation and Chi-square Test

Cross-tabulation analyses shown in Table 5.11 reveal that 85.1% of the Palestinian Canadians who visit Palestine are those who were born there. Therefore, respondents born in Palestine are the largest group visiting Palestine. This outcome further suggests a strong relationship between tourism and migration.

Table 5.11: Place of Birth (POB) and visiting Palestine (Cross Tabulation Analysis)

Palestine * POB

			POB			Total
			Palestine	Canada	other	
Palestine	Yes	Count	114	7	13	134
		Expected Count	80.8	7.8	45.5	134.0
		% within Palestine	85.1%	5.2%	9.7%	100.0%
		% within POB	84.4%	53.8%	17.1%	59.8%
	No	Count	21	6	63	90
		Expected Count	54.2	5.2	30.5	90.0
		% within Palestine	23.3%	6.7%	70.0%	100.0%
		% within POB	15.6%	46.2%	82.9%	40.2%
Total	Count	135	13	76	224	
	Expected Count	135.0	13.0	76.0	224.0	
	% within Palestine	60.3%	5.8%	33.9%	100.0%	
	% within POB	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi Square = 91.943, df =2, and statistical significance = 0.000

As shown in Table 5.11 and Figure 5.1, the chi-square test for association between ‘visiting Palestine’ and ‘Palestine by birth’ was performed. A statistically significant difference is identified at the 0.05 level (Sig.= 0.000) which indicates a strong association between these two variables. This further suggests a strong relationship between tourism and migration.

Bar Chart

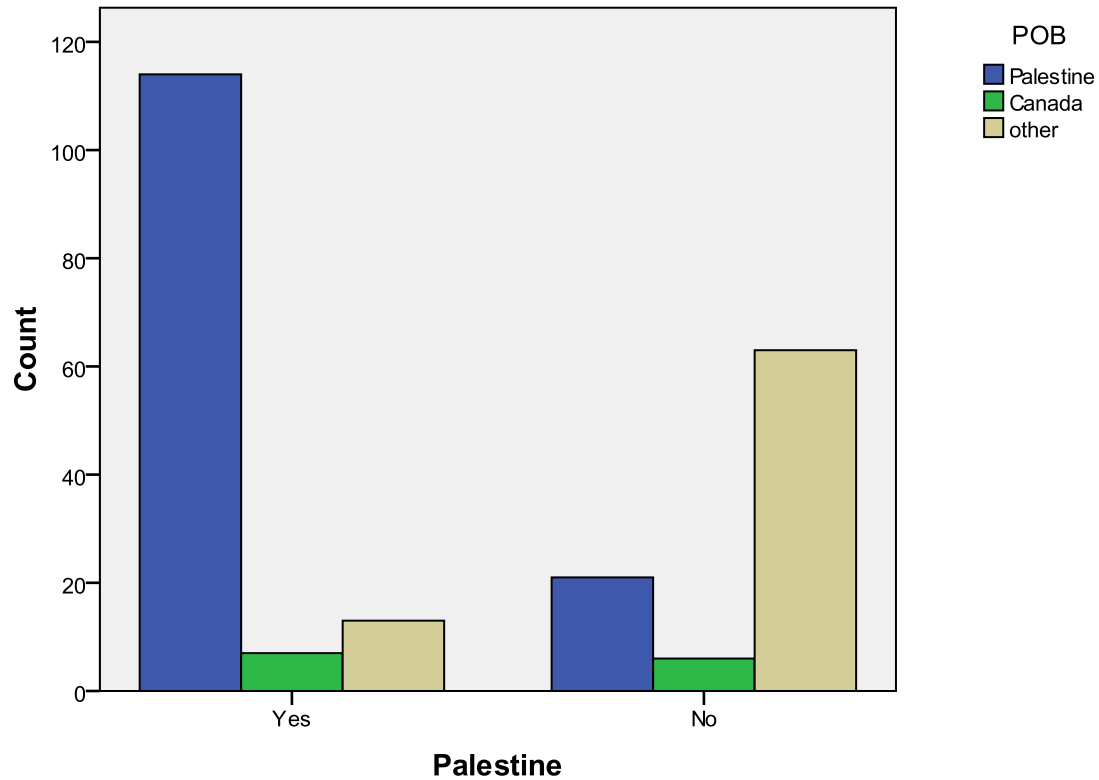


Figure 5.1: Place of Birth (POB) and visiting Palestine as a travel destination

Furthermore, due to the fact that most Palestinian immigrants in GTA were born in Palestine (60.5%, Table 5.10); this also indicates a significant relationship between VFR tourism and country of birth. This is consistent with Jackson’s (1990, p.15) study that concluded that “the total flow of VFR as a proportion of the size of the country of birth is significantly and directly related to the proportion of immigrants born in their country of origin”.

Duration of Residence: Cross-Tabulation and Chi-square Test

A chi-square test for association between ‘visiting Palestine’ and ‘duration of residence’ was performed as shown in table 5.12. A statistically significant difference is identified at the 0.05 level (Sig. = 0.036) which indicates strong association between these two variables. This further confirms a significant relationship between tourism and migration. The analysis in Table 5.12 also shows a bi-modal distribution – rapid return, followed by lower visitation levels, that later increase once better established in Canada. Furthermore, it is concluded from the table that 36.3% of the Palestinian Canadians who visit Palestine are those who stayed less than 6 years, while the majority of them (63.7%) of them are those who have been living in Canada for more than 6 years.

Table 5.12: Duration of residence and visiting Palestine (Cross Tabulation Analysis)

			Length of residence in Canada						Total
			< 1 year	1-3 yrs	4-6 yrs.	7-9 yrs.	10-12 yrs.	> 12 yrs.	
Palestine	Yes	Count	13	26	10	23	24	39	135
		Expected Count	9.6	29.4	15.0	18.0	22.8	40.2	135.0
		% within Palestine	9.6%	19.3%	7.4%	17.0%	17.8%	28.9%	100.0%
		% within Length of stay in Canada	81.3%	53.1%	40.0%	76.7%	63.2%	58.2%	60.0%
	No	Count	3	23	15	7	14	28	90
		Expected Count	6.4	19.6	10.0	12.0	15.2	26.8	90.0
		% within q2 Palestine	3.3%	25.6%	16.7%	7.8%	15.6%	31.1%	100.0%
		% within q21 Length of stay in Canada	18.8%	46.9%	60.0%	23.3%	36.8%	41.8%	40.0%
Total	Count	16	49	25	30	38	67	225	
	Expected Count	16.0	49.0	25.0	30.0	38.0	67.0	225.0	
	% within q2 Palestine	7.1%	21.8%	11.1%	13.3%	16.9%	29.8%	100.0%	
	% within q21 Length of stay in Canada	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi square=11.880, df=5, and statistical significance = 0.036

Length of visiting Palestine and the purpose of travel to Palestine

Although the majority of Palestinian Canadians travel to Palestine as a dominant destination for the purposes of visiting family and friends, the length of stay during the visit to Palestine is not as long as expected. In other studies (see, for example, King and Gamage, 1994; Seaton and Palmer, 1997; Feng and Page, 2000), VFR travel often involves a longer time of stay at the destination than travelling for other purposes. For example, Seaton and Palmer (1997) suggested that since VFR travelers are staying in free accommodation and are amused by family and friends, they may consider trade-offs in expenses by staying longer.

Table 5.13: Length of stay in Palestine

Length of stay in Palestine	Respondents' Count	%
Less than a month	125	71.0
2 months	38	21.6
3 months	11	6.3
More than 3 months	2	1.1
Total	176	100

The issue of length of stay (Table 5.13) is linked to the purpose of travel (Feng & Page, 2000). Thus, the length of stay in Palestine is associated with the high proportion of VFR as the main purpose of overseas travel. Thus, as the survey indicates that 77% of Palestinian immigrants travel to Palestine to visit relatives and friends. The survey shows that only 29% of the Palestinian Canadians stay for long period of time. Furthermore, the survey reveals that the majority of Palestinian Canadians visiting Palestine stay there for less than a month. This may be explained by the continuous cycle of violence prevailing in their homeland.

In summary, the result of the statistical analysis indicate a strong association between tourism and immigration which is consistent with the findings of other researchers such as

Murphy *et al.*, (1993), King and Gamage (1994), Feng and Page (2000), and Kang and Page (2000). As identified in Feng and Page (2000), immigration contributes to tourism flows in two ways. The first is that immigrants themselves make trips to their country of origin for family and ethnic reunion and, at the same time, they invite family and friends to visit them in their new country. This research examines one of these flows, i.e. the return visits of immigrants to their country of origin. However, a more thorough study of the other direction of tourism flows, that examines the Palestinian immigrants' families and friends visiting Canada, is required to further understand the relationships between tourism and migration.

5.3.2 Assessment of the Factors Influencing the Travel Patterns of Palestinian Canadians

In response to the first research objective stated in Chapter 1, this section assesses the factors influencing travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians. For this purpose, it is essential to determine the variables in the sample which, to some extent, influence the propensity to travel for the Palestinian immigrants in the GTA. The survey includes a considerable amount of data regarding the experience of visiting Palestine, length of stay while visiting, living in a country other than Canada and place of birth, marital status, age, education, income, employment status, occupation, duration of residence in Canada and other factors as discussed below. To determine the factors among these that are influential in shaping the VFR travel of Palestinian immigrants, chi-squared tests for associations between these variables and visiting Palestine were employed.

The variables to be tested are:

1. Place of birth
2. Citizenship status
3. Duration of residence in Canada

4. Owning a property or a business
5. Future intended place of residence
6. Location of first home
7. Sense of belonging to Palestine
8. Sense of belonging to Canada
9. Gender
10. Marital status
11. Age
12. Number of children
13. Education
14. Occupation status
15. Annual income

The statistically significant differences for the chi-square test for each of these variables are presented in Table 5.14

Table 5.14: The statistically significant differences

Variable	Chi square value	df	The statistically significant differences for the chi-square test
Place of birth	91.943	2	<u>0.000*</u>
Citizenship status	1.421	1	0.233
Duration of residence in Canada	11.880	5	<u>0.036*</u>
Owning a property or a business	35.306	1	<u>0.000*</u>
Future intention place of residence	32.263	2	<u>0.000*</u>
Where first home is	23.139	2	<u>0.000*</u>
Sense of belonging to Palestine	13.902	2	<u>0.001*</u>
Sense of belonging to Canada	2.874	2	0.238
Gender	1.040	1	0.340
Marital status	1.1815	1	0.178
Age	16.893	3	<u>0.001*</u>
Number of children	15.699	3	<u>0.001*</u>
Education	3.155	4	0.532
Occupation status	5.398	8	0.714
Annual income	7.928	4	0.094

*_Statistically significant differences at 0.05 level examined

Based on the cross-tabulation analysis and the chi-square tests, the following groups are identified as those who have a higher propensity to visit Palestine than others. However, a

thorough explanation or justification of these finding is discussed later in this thesis based on the in-depth interviews with the Palestinian Canadians.

- Palestinian Canadians who were born in Palestine
- Palestinian Canadians who are established immigrants (living in Canada for more than 6 years, particularly more than 12 years)
- Palestinian Canadians who own a property or a business in Palestine
- Palestinian Canadians who consider Canada as their future residence
- Palestinian Canadians who consider Palestine their first home.
- Palestinian Canadians who have a strong sense of belonging to Palestine
- Palestinian Canadians who are between the ages of 31 and 40
- Palestinian Canadians who have no children, followed by those who have two or three children.

In comparison to previous studies, such as those conducted by Feng and Page (2000) who examined Chinese New Zealanders and Thanopoulos and Walle (1988) who examined Greek Americans, there are some common variables influencing the propensity to travel to the immigrants' country of birth. However, this research tested additional variables to those used in previous studies. The common influencing variables for the Palestinian Canadians, the Greek Americans and the Chinese New Zealanders are: being the first generation of immigrants, long term settlement in the host country, as well as being between ages 31-40, having no or less than two children. These groups have been identified as having a higher propensity of travel to the homeland. However, there are also different variables identified in three studies that influence the propensity for travel for the particular ethnic group. These differences may be due to

different ethnicities, culture, conditions in the country of origin and destination and, more importantly, different research questions.

5.4 Grid/group Theory: Palestinians' Transnational Belonging and Participation

5.4.1 Positioning Palestinian Immigrants in the Grid/group Continuum

After outlining the specific aspects and issues relating to travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians, it may be helpful to determine the position of the Palestinian migrants in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) on the grid/group continuum suggested by Duval (2006) in order to examine further the relationships between migration and tourism. Grid/group theory may shed light on the socialization of Palestinian migrants and whether and how this socialization can be linked to their mobility.

The “grid/group” theory of socialization refers to an analytical procedure or a specific social theory that has been applied in disciplines such as cultural studies, anthropology and sociology. The anthropologist Douglas (1978 qtd. in Duval, 2006) initially conceptualized the grid/group theory as “grid-group analysis” as she employed it in her examination of the correlation between the beliefs of individuals and the social environment. Her work allowed for the creation of a cultural map, in which the dimensions of grid and group were arranged, where units of measurement that are often of individuals, but occasionally of groups or aggregates are plotted. According to Duval, the resulting graphical depiction (Figure 5.2) “showed discrete, bounded and ascribed locations that would seem to suggest that grid/group is somewhat dichotomous in its assessment of presence/absence of particular characteristic traits” (Duval, 2006, p.5). Subsequent adjustments of the map have taken place, but the main principle of what this cultural map was meant to signify stayed basically the same.

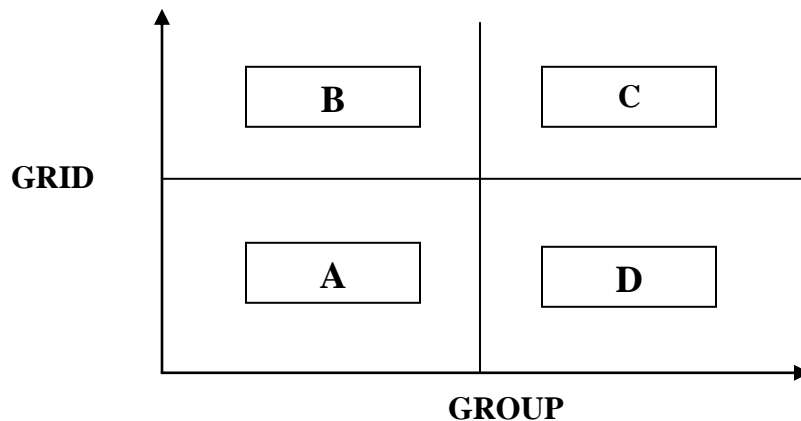


Figure 5.2: Initial grid/group theory schematic. Source (Duval, 2006)

Duval (2006) and Faist (2000) suggested that the temporary mobility of immigrants in the form of travel to country of origin is an indicator of the degree to which they are participating in and belonging to transnational social spaces. Duval (2006, p.2) stated that:

“Migrants are thus treated as actors on a transnational stage and acknowledged to have genuine agency in their ability and desire to participate in transnational affairs... Place, however characterized and malleable, has different meanings at different times to different people. These meanings will change through a migrant’s life-course and will differ from his or her immigrant neighbor”.

Accordingly, he suggested a model based on grid/group characterizations. This model is intended to provide a means for positioning the immigrants based on their own ideas about places and spaces and whether they can hold multiple perspectives. Applying this Grid/group model to migration and tourism assists in exploring the meaning of migrants’ temporary mobility. The original notion of grid is represented in Figure 5.1 as a continuum approximately corresponding to the degree to which individuals have some sense of belonging to a truly globalized, transnational identity. A migrant with a strong sense of belonging to transnational social spaces; therefore, recognizes the strength and meaning of transnational social bonds. This

individual, then, has strong transnational participation, and may engage in frequent return visits to their former homeland.

The grid, as shown in Figure 5.3, is a continuum that represents the degree to which immigrants have some sense of belonging to a real globalized, transnational identity. Group, on the other hand, represents the extent to which immigrants view and perceive their position and responsibility within larger transnational networks. In simple words, the notion of group refers to the extent to which the Palestinian migrants feel an obligation to make return visits and trips to the country of origin in order to maintain social ties. The grid continuum is a specific factor that reflects the amount of transnational participation. For the purposes of this research, transnational participation is used to represent the return visits to Palestine and the trips that Palestinians make for the purposes of visiting families and friends (VFR travel). However, the amount of transnational belonging is supposed to indicate how much a migrant's world view includes more than their place of residence in the immigration country.

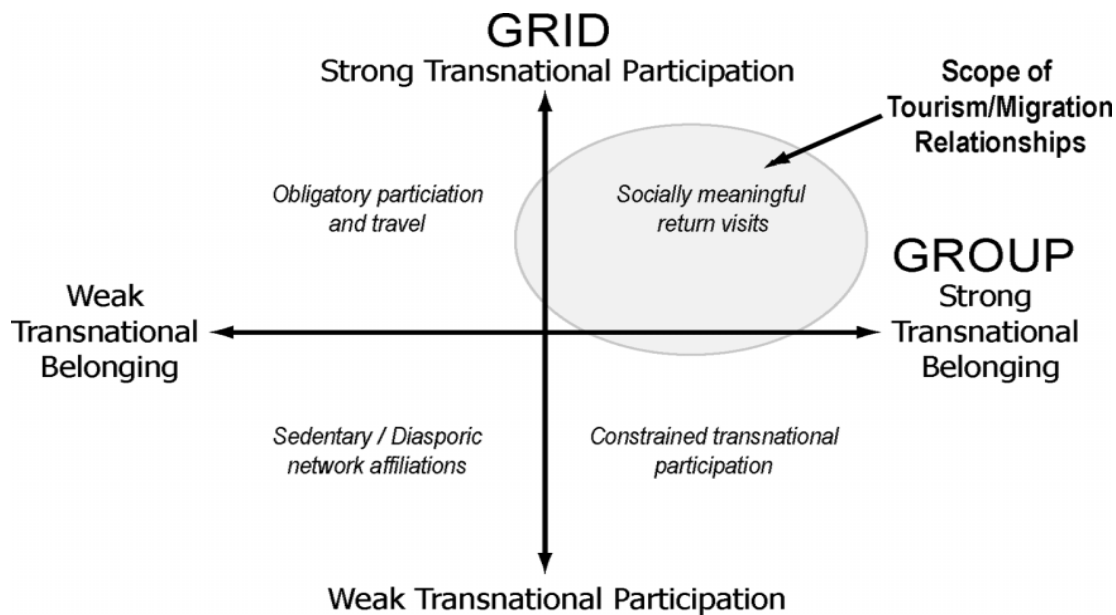


Figure 5.3: Grid/group theory applied to migration and tourism. Source: Duval (2006).

Thus, this section discusses the positioning of Palestinian immigrants within the grid/group theory based on the data collected from the survey. The survey reveals that 86.3% of the Palestinian Canadians have a strong to a very strong sense of belonging to Palestine (see Table 5.15) which means strong transnational belonging on the group continuum.

Table 5.15: Sense of belonging to Palestine

Sense of belonging to Palestine	Respondents' Count	%
Very strong	117	51.5
Strong	79	34.8
Neutral	27	11.9
Weak	4	1.8
Very weak	0	0

N=227

On the other hand, 59.7% of the Palestinian Canadians selected Palestine as their destination in their overseas travel. To further determine the positioning of the Palestinian Canadians in the GTA on the Grid/group model, it is helpful here to refer to the Chi-square test that was performed to examine association between 'visiting Palestine' and 'sense of belonging to Palestine' that showed a strong association (refer to Table 5.13). This implies that Palestinian Canadians not only have a strong sense of belonging to a transnational identity, they also translate this strong sense of transnational existence to transnational activities, such as return visits to their homeland for the purposes of visiting families and friends.

In spite of all of the constraints imposed on the Palestinian immigrants regarding their return visits to their country of origin (Interview with Yamani, 2009), they are still participating

in transnational ties with their homeland. Thus, the Palestinian Canadians are strongly positioned on the first quadrant of the Grid/group representation with their strong sense of transnational belonging and strong transnational participation. Accordingly, the Palestinian immigrants are positioned within the quadrant that best exemplifies the relationship between tourism and migration. Thus, it can be argued that the strong belonging to transnational identity and strong participation in transnational activities significantly affect the mobilities of Palestinian immigrants in the form of return visits to link with their social fields. The ways Palestinian immigrants utilize these visits to their homeland is discussed in the following chapter.

5.5 Citizenship Status of Palestinian Canadians and their Outbound Travel Patterns

This section examines the relationship between the citizenship status of Palestinian immigrants and their overseas travel patterns as a response to the third research objective. The previous section examined the relationship between visiting the homeland and citizenship, and the results indicated no association between these two variables. On the other hand, a chi-square test was performed for the association between overseas travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians and their citizenship status and a statistically significant difference at the 0.05 level was found using the chi-square test, indicating a strong relationship between these two variables (see Table 5.16). Furthermore, a cross-tabulation analysis was performed to answer the question whether Palestinian Canadians who have citizenship travel more than landed immigrants.

Table 5.16: Travel Patterns and citizenship status (Cross-tabulation analysis)

How often travel * Citizenship status Cross-tabulation

			Citizenship status		Total
			citizen	landed immigrant	
How often travel	Once per year	Count	28	29	57
		Expected Count	37.3	19.7	57.0
		% within How often travel	49.1%	50.9%	100.0%
		% within Citizenship status	18.7%	36.7%	24.9%
	once per 2 years	Count	27	17	44
		Expected Count	28.8	15.2	44.0
		% within How often travel	61.4%	38.6%	100.0%
		% within Citizenship status	18.0%	21.5%	19.2%
	once per 3 years	Count	55	19	74
		Expected Count	48.5	25.5	74.0
		% within How often travel	74.3%	25.7%	100.0%
		% within Citizenship status	36.7%	24.1%	32.3%
	other	Count	40	14	54
		Expected Count	35.4	18.6	54.0
		% within How often travel	74.1%	25.9%	100.0%
		% within Citizenship status	26.7%	17.7%	23.6%
Total	Count	150	79	229	
	Expected Count	150.0	79.0	229.0	
	% within How often travel	65.5%	34.5%	100.0%	
	% within Citizenship status	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi square value=11.406, df=3, Asymp. Sig. 2 sided= 0.010

The results presented in Table 5.15 and Figure 5.4 indicate that Palestinian immigrants who have already acquired Canadian citizenship travel overseas more than landed immigrants. These results are rational in the case of the Palestinian immigrants in Canada for the reasons discussed in the following section.

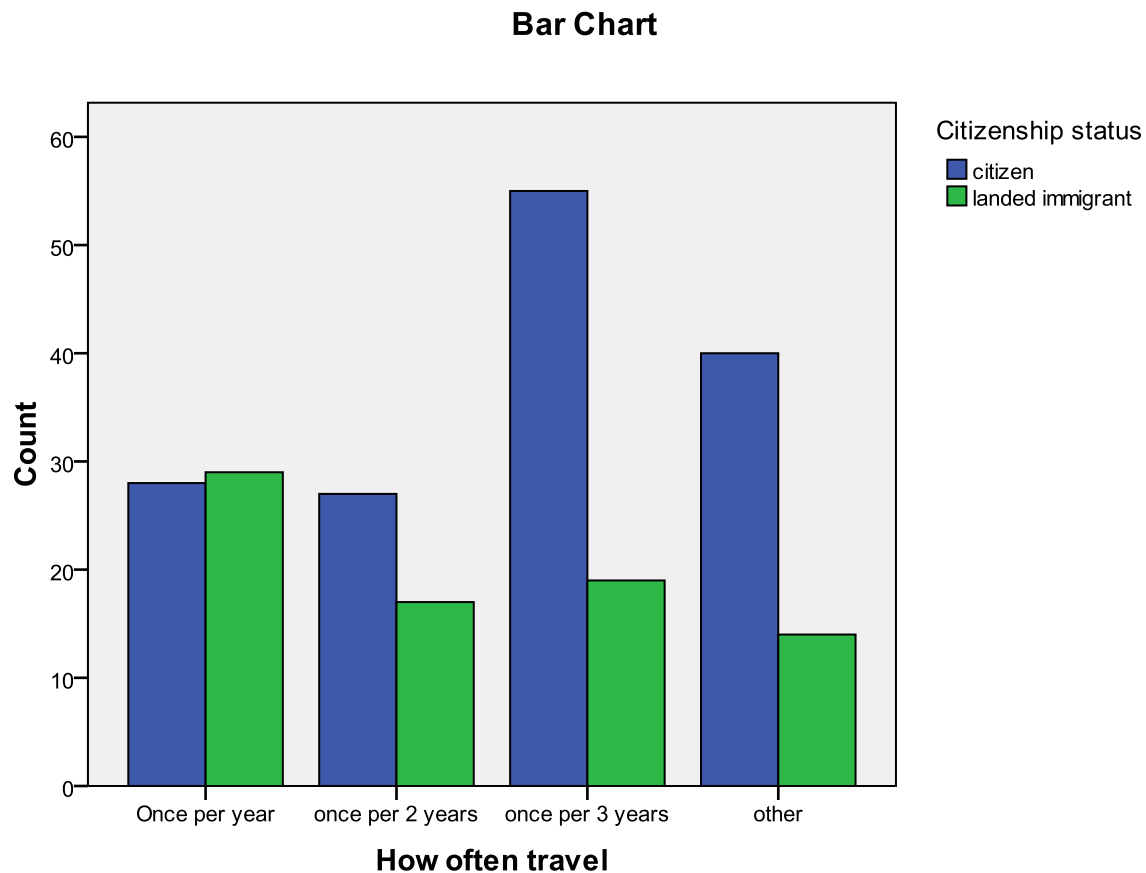


Figure 5.4: Canadian citizen vs. landed immigrant travel patterns

Before moving to the discussion of the ways the Canadian citizenship and Canadian passports influence the mobility of Palestinian immigrants in the GTA, particularly their trips to Palestine, it is necessary to relate the outcomes regarding the differences in the travel patterns of landed immigrants and citizens to the “citizenship crisis” debate discussed earlier in this thesis.

Soysal (1994) and Jacobson (1998) argued that the lives of permanent residents are more likely to be the same as citizens in nation-states. Soysal (1994), for example, argued that permanent residents benefit from wide-ranging rights without citizenship, such that there is little difference between the lives of permanent residents and citizens. However, it is suggested here

that there is a difference in the lives of denizens who have the right of permanent residence and citizens who enjoy full membership status, in terms of their overseas travel patterns.

5.5.1 The Impact of Canadian Citizenship on Transnational Participation

This section discusses thoroughly the impact of Canadian citizenship on the Palestinian Canadians' transnational activities and on their sense of belonging to Canada. The discussion is on two main dimensions. First, the ways in which Palestinian immigrants view citizenship in the immigration country, what Canadian citizenship means to them. Second, the extent to which the Canadian citizenship facilitates their mobility, particularly their return visits to Palestine, is discussed.

5.5.1.1 Palestinian Immigrants and Canadian Citizenship

Scholars are increasingly examining the link between citizenship and identity, and exploring if this relationship changes in the light of globalization and transnationalism. A common main concern about immigrants maintaining transnational ties with their homelands is that it may detract from and hinder involvement in the country of settlement. On the other hand, proponents of transnationalism argue that these concerns have been greatly exaggerated and that immigrant integration in the host country and their transnational practices can go hand in hand (refer to the discussion in Chapter 2). This research will contribute to this debate by investigating the case of the Palestinian Canadians.

As stated previously, about nine million Palestinians are living in diaspora all over the world. The majority of them are in the Arab countries surrounding Palestine. Palestinians in these countries, except for Jordan to some extent, face difficult circumstances. Their social, economic and political conditions are not equal with those of the citizens of these countries. No

citizenship is issued to them and they only possess travel documents that are not recognized by most countries in the world. They are not allowed to get jobs in the public sector and a long list of other occupations. Furthermore, Palestinians have to obtain work and travel permits from the authorities in these countries when they want to work or leave the country.

Maheer, for example, who was born in Lebanon and came with his parents to Canada when he was 4 years old. He said regarding his sense of belonging to Canada, Palestine and Lebanon:

I don't feel like I belong to Lebanon. I feel bad for the Palestinians who grow up and live in Lebanon because they are treated as second class citizens. I like going to Lebanon just because I like visiting my family there but I don't feel like I belong or represent Lebanon. I feel that with Canada and with Palestine but not with Lebanon.

(Maheer, phone interview, August 6, 2009)

It is essential to consider the situations of Palestinian immigrants in the GTA in more detail in order to gain an understanding of the significance of Canadian citizenship in Palestinian transnational lives.

Palestinians in the GTA in Canada, because of the status of Canada as an immigration country, have been provided with work and residency permits and, most importantly, citizenship. The data obtained from my interviews with Palestinian Canadians revealed that they greatly value the civil liberties and human rights that they enjoy in Canada. For example, Abed, a Palestinian landed immigrant from Jordan said:

Canada provided Palestinians, especially those who hold travel documents, with citizenships that made their lives much easier. Even the Arab countries did not do what Canada did... I know many friends who Canada allowed them to enter its land and later granted them with citizenship after they were stuck between the borders of Arab countries because they were prevented from entering these countries... I certainly feel a belonging to Canada.

(Abed, Mississauga, June 13, 2009)

Multiculturalism and some types of political transnationalism, such as dual citizenship in Canada, add cultural rights and increase the rights of diasporas. This has facilitated the integration of Canadians Palestinians and actually encouraged them to build dynamic relationships with Canadian society. This, in turn, has created a strong sense of belonging and strengthened the attachment of the Palestinian Canadians to their homes in Canada. The evidence is provided by results of the sample that revealed that the majority of Palestinian Canadians have a strong sense of belonging to Canada and consider Canada as their future place of residence.

My interviews revealed that, because Palestinians are allowed to integrate socially, culturally, politically, and economically into Canadian society, they are more able to become transnational and to have a type of transnational identity. Dual belonging and transnational activities are allowed within the Canadian context. Layan, for example, said that:

Palestinians in Canada have the option to choose between being Palestinian and being Canadian but they select being both.

(Layan, Toronto, June 20, 2009)

This indicates that Palestinians in GTA view themselves as dual citizens. In contrast, Palestinian diaspora living in other countries, where they have little degree of acceptance by the hosting society and authority and where they are not allowed to integrate on any level, have no other identities to choose from. As a result, they remain more strongly Palestinian than Palestinian Canadians.

On the other hand, Kareem, indicated that no country other than Canada allows Palestinians to freely express their opinions and practice their distinctive cultural identities. He explained:

The Canadian citizenship gives me security; allows me to vote, enjoy rights equally as my fellow Canadians. My children go to Canadian schools with other Canadian children not like in other Arab countries where only their children can go to public schools. Here in Toronto, we as Palestinian can go to the park every weekend in the summer and have a 'get-together' BBQ party with 30-40 Palestinian families without having any concerns about any authority that would annoy us just because it is a Palestinian gathering... When there was the war on Gaza we gathered and we protested against the war without worrying that the authorities in this country will come to our houses one by one after the protest to put us in prison. We express our feelings and our love to Palestine without having concerns to be beaten, arrested, imprisoned and tortured by any authorities like what people in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and all Gulf countries go through. I love Canada... this is a free country and this is the only country I wanted to live in after I left Palestine.

(Kareem, Toronto, July 4, 2009)

Furthermore, Ahmad who holds a Palestinian passport and was living in Ramallah before he immigrated to Canada 4 years ago, explained the importance for him of the fact that Canada allows the possession of dual citizenship. He further explained that this made his decision regarding his immigration to Canada much easier because it did not imply losing his Palestinian citizenship. In the end, this reinforced his attachment to Canada.

However, in Aseel's case, the situation is somewhat different. She was born in Jerusalem and holds a type of "Jerusalem ID" issued to her by Israeli authorities but she does not have a Palestinian passport as do those who live on the West Bank. Aseel has the right of permanent residence in Israel because of her "Jerusalem ID". However, the Israeli authorities do not allow her to hold two citizenships. Thus, when she visited her country recently they withdrew her "Jerusalem ID" on the border when she was going back to Canada and she was told that she no longer had the right to live in Palestine because she was holding Canadian permanent residence. She made a claim through a lawyer, but she lost the case and she is no longer considered as Palestinian. This means that she only can enter her country of birth as a Canadian and for a maximum period of three to six months. The dilemma in her case is that, according to the Israeli law, she can't hold a Palestinian passport because she was not born in the West Bank or Gaza,

and she can't hold an Israeli passport because she was not born in Israel, and she can't even hold a passport from any foreign country if she wants to maintain her right of residency in Israel and Palestinian Territories. She explained to me her feelings when she went through this and she compared it to her feeling when she returned to Toronto. She said:

While I was crossing the Israeli border, I hid my Canadian permanent residence and show them my Jerusalem ID. The officer checked the computer and he told me that I have a Canadian permanent residence card. I said no, but he screamed "you are lying". The Canadian Embassy in Tel-Aviv share with the Israeli Ministry of Interior Affairs information about Jerusalem ID holders who have applied for immigration to Canada. Then he told me that he has cancelled my Palestinian ID number from the ministry's computer so I am no more Palestinian. Then he asked me to leave and never come back unless I have a Canadian passport. So I go into the country as a Canadian tourist... I cried and screamed: "That's not fair; who gave you the right to cancel my nationality? I am Palestinian and being Palestinian is much more than a number on your computer" but he asked the security people to kick me out the border to the Jordanian side so I could leave to Canada from the airport in Jordan... I was crying through all the flight back to Toronto... but when the plane landed in Toronto I looked from the windows and said to myself this is my home, this is the country that will never kick me out because I have a Palestinian identity and citizenship. They want Canada to be my country, then 'let it be' - I don't want to go back to live in Palestine as long as it is occupied by the Israelis who deny human basic rights of having identity.

(Aseel, Etobicoke, August 22, 09)

These outcomes provide evidence that immigrants may maintain social and cultural ties with their countries of origin by transnational practices, such as VFR travelling, without hindering their integration into the host society. The Palestinian Canadians have a sense of belonging and attachment to Canada as their citizenship as this country is allowing them to practice transnational activities from a privileged position. The Palestinian Canadians constitute a case that demonstrates the possibility of being dual citizens, with no conflict between transnational practices and integration in the Canadian society. It demonstrates how transnational practices are reinforcing the sense of belonging of Palestinian Canadians to the host country.

5.5.1.2 Canadian Citizenship and Return Visits to Palestine

Although modern citizenship represents more than the right to hold a passport and to cross borders as a legally recognized national citizen, this right is becoming increasingly valuable for transnational immigrants in the 21st century who are characterized by increased transnationalism and increased mobility.

All the interviewed Palestinian Canadians who have already acquired their Canadian citizenship agreed with the fact that the Canadian passport provided them with freedom to be mobile and also provided them with international security. Nancy, for example, explained how very important it was to her to get Canadian citizenship for a number of advantages, the most important one being enhanced mobility. She said:

When you have your Canadian citizenship and Canadian passport you are mobile wherever you want and whenever you want. There is no limitation for you and the destination is where you can reach. When you are in Ramallah or in Palestine the maximum that you can reach without a visa is Jordan and after that you have to have your visa. If you want to go to Egypt or to anywhere you need your visa. But now when you have your Canadian passport you have your freedom as we can say, you can choose where you want to go and where you want to live.

(Nancy, Toronto, June 6, 2009)

After the catastrophe that ended in nine million Palestinians in the diaspora, most of them were prevented from returning to their homeland that became the state of Israel. Ironically, for the Palestinians, to get access to Palestine they must have citizenship from other countries. Thus, many of the Palestinian Canadians were waiting for their Canadian passport so that they could visit their homeland. But they are unable to return to live permanently in their homeland with the Canadian passport, as the Israeli authorities would consider them to be foreigners (Canadians and not Palestinians) and they need a visa to visit Palestine. This visa lasts for three months and is hardly ever renewed for another three months. For example, Abed and Hanan, who came to Canada from Jordan and are now landed immigrants, explained that they were waiting

impatiently for their Canadian citizenship so they can visit the villages where their parents were born and see their relatives there. Maher, a second-generation Palestinian Canadian who was born in Lebanon and came with his parents to Canada when he was 4 years old, said regarding his Canadian citizenship:

If I wasn't Canadian, if I was just Palestinian living in Canada as my parents were before they came to Canada, they have no entry into Palestine. Now they have the avenue, ever since they have become Canadian citizens they can go there.

(Maher, phone interview, August 6, 2009)

The Canadian passport opened to Palestinian Canadians many doors that were closed and that they were not allowed to go through just because they are Palestinian. Those who have already acquired their Canadian citizenship indicated that they travel more than before because it is much easier with the Canadian passport to cross borders as many countries do not require a visa to be previously issued for Canadian citizens. Mobeen, for example, mentioned that after he got his Canadian passport, he travelled every year, mainly to Palestine to visit his mother and siblings and to different places in Europe with his friends

My interviewees expressed how they had been treated with respect just because they held Canadian passports, except when they travel to their homeland. The Canadian passport for the Palestinians is the key to gaining access to Palestine. However, the Israeli authorities, at the very moment they recognize the place of birth documented in the passport, give them a hard time to pass. At the end the Israeli officers would not deny their access to the country because they are officially Canadians. They even talked about the Canadian citizenship as a source of security and protection if things go wrong in Palestine. Jennifer, for example, is a 20 year old Palestinian Canadian who was born in Canada and she said, regarding my question regarding feeling a type of protection with the Canadian passport while she was visiting Palestine:

Yes, a part of me feels safe knowing that I have a Canadian passport because if something was to go wrong or I was detained, I feel like maybe there is the chance that the Canadian embassy would 'rescue' me. My theory has yet to be tested. However, I will say that the Canadian passport is not the golden ticket that you would imagine it to be in a foreign country. As I mentioned in my last interview, when my parents and I were pulled over, our car was searched when we showed the Canadian passport, but when we revealed our Israeli passports, we were allowed to keep driving.

(Jennifer, follow-up e-mail interview, October 11, 2009)

Lastly, more examples that reflect the way Palestinian Canadians view Canadian citizenship as a source of political and social security are discussed in chapter 8. However, an example to be demonstrated here is Nancy, who is divorced with two children. She mentioned that Canadian citizenship is not only giving her protection on the political level, but also on the personal and social level. She said that she will not go to Palestine before she gets Canadian citizenship although she has a Palestinian passport. The reason is that if she visits her family there with her two children, then the two children may be taken away from her to live with their father and she will be able to do nothing about it. When she and her two children have Canadian citizenship, she will feel more confident of going there because the Canadian embassy may help her if her children are taken away from her. Another example is Kanan, a recent immigrant to Canada who was living in Saudi Arabia for thirteen years; he mentioned that he is waiting for his Canadian citizenship so he can go back to Saudi Arabia for a few years to get his same job, but with ten times the wage that was paid to him when he had his Palestinian citizenship only. He mentioned that in Saudi Arabia and Dubai, the governmental and the private sector pay much higher wages to Canadian, American and British citizens. Thus, Canadian citizenship is significant to the Palestinian Canadians in the GTA in several ways and for several reasons.

5.6 Summary

This chapter highlighted the need for a better understanding of VFR tourism to understand more holistically its relationship to migration. From a tourism perspective, the existence of diaspora communities in modern societies generates flows of tourists in both directions between country of settlement and country of origin. This increases the propensity for travel and connecting places. Although technological innovations have resulted in new tourism-migration relationships in terms of new travel patterns of immigrants, little research has examined this phenomenon. Four main research objectives have been accomplished in this chapter: first, establishment of the overseas travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians; second; assessment of the factors that influence their travel to Palestine; third, examination of the relationship between visiting the homeland with duration of residence, place of birth, and citizenship status; and, fourth, investigation of the impact of dual citizenship on immigrants' mobility.

Examination of the travel patterns of the Palestinians Canadian community in the GTA revealed that Palestine is their dominant destination when they travel overseas and that visiting family and friends is the main motivation for their travel to their homeland. This demonstrates a strong relationship between tourism and migration. The main factors that affect their propensity to travel to Palestine have been assessed and the results show that being first generation or born in Palestine, being age of 31-40, owning a property in Palestine, and considering Canada as a future place of residence are all important factors that increases propensity to visit the homeland.

There is a strong relationship between overseas travel patterns and citizenship status and Palestinian Canadians who have Canadian citizenship travel more than landed immigrants. The relationship between visiting Palestine and duration of residence in Canada has also been

examined. The results revealed that established immigrants who have lived in Canada for more than six years, especially those who have lived in Canada for more than twelve years, travel more to visit Palestine. This indicates that attachment to the homeland and maintaining ties with the society there is not weakened by the long duration of residence in the country of settlement. The other relationship that has been tested is the association between place of birth and visiting the homeland, and it has been shown that immigrants who are first generation or born in Palestine travel more to the homeland than the second generation.

Examination of the impact of Canadian citizenship on Palestinian travel patterns suggested that Palestinians travel more after they gain their citizenship as the Canadian passport facilitates their mobility, provides them with international security and freedom. Palestinian immigrants appreciate the security as well as the opportunities for education and the political stability in Canada. Dual citizenship, in particular, has provided them with increased options and facilitated their transnational activities and made their decision about immigration to Canada much easier. However, this decision is also affected by Israeli policies regarding citizenship that affect those Palestinian who were born in Jerusalem. The chapter highlighted the role of the nation-states in hindering or encouraging transnational activities and thus demonstrated how factors from above determine whether transnationalism from below occurs. It is also suggested that the political and administrative equivalent to identities spanning borders is dual citizenship.

There is also no conflict between the transnational practices of immigrants and maintaining ties with their country of origin on the one hand and integration and establishing dynamic ties with the host society in the country of settlement on the other hand. Palestinian Canadians have strong sense of belonging to Canada because of its multiculturalism and equal

social, political, economic, and political rights for all citizens. After long years of suffering, persecution and discrimination in other countries in their diaspora, they finally have been able to find a sense of security, justice, and freedom in Canada. This has significant implications regarding future negotiations between the Israeli and the Palestinian governments that may result in the development of a peace agreement between the two parties. If this agreement gives the right of return to the Palestinian diaspora to their homeland, Palestine, it is expected that the Palestinians in Canada will still want to live in Canada, but return visits may be facilitated.

Chapter 6: Social and Cultural Significance of VFR travel of Palestinian Canadians

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines how social, cultural and even political ties of immigrants with their homelands are enhanced through tourism. The chapter discusses the social, cultural, and political meanings of the VFR travel of the Palestinian Canadians which is one of the objectives of the research. After outlining both the conceptual background of transnationalism and diasporic communities in earlier chapters, as well as defining the Palestinian diaspora, this chapter links these terms to tourism by examining the notion of VFR travel to their country of origin of the Palestinian diaspora in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA).

The materials presented here are drawn from 27 interviews with Palestinian Canadians. The formal part of the interviews were recorded and generally lasted 20-50 minutes; however, each interview also involved at least an hour of informal conversation. Twenty interviews were recorded and transcribed while the community leaders, the travel agent, and four Palestinian Canadians preferred non-recorded interviews. Interviews were usually undertaken in one session by design, except for two follow-up sessions (one by email, the other by phone). Thus, the data presented in this chapter are derived from 30 interviews: three key-informants interviews, two of which were with Palestinian community leaders and one with a Palestinian travel agent, while 25 in-depth interviews were conducted with Palestinian immigrants, in addition to two follow-up sessions. Seven of the interviews with the landed immigrants were conducted in Arabic, as was one interview with a Palestinian immigrant who is already a Canadian citizen. The main characteristics of the informants are presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Characteristics of the informants

Name	Gender	Age	Point of Emigration	Citizenship Status	Generation	Length of Stay in Canada
Hanan	F	36	Jordan	Landed Immigrant	First	3
Abed	M	55	Jordan	Landed Immigrant	First	3
Mobeen	M	38	Jerusalem	Citizen	First	6
Basher	M	43	West bank	Citizen	First	12
Mariam	F	42	West Bank	Citizen	First	12
Masoud	M	18	West Bank	Citizen	Second	12
Nadera	F	16	West Bank	Citizen	Second	12
Kareema	F	25	Gaza	Citizen	Second	10
Jennifer	F	20	Nazareth	Citizen	Second	20
Saher	M	39	West bank	Landed Immigrant	First	1
Kareem	M	48	West Bank	Citizen	First	15
Layan	F	45	West bank	Citizen	First	15
Khawla	F	50	Dubai	Landed Immigrant	First	2
Aseel	F	40	Jerusalem	Landed Immigrant	First	6
Ahmad	M	42	West Bank	Landed Immigrant	First	6
Majdi	M	19	West Bank	Landed Immigrant	Second	5
Omar	M	18	Dubai	Landed Immigrant	Second	5
Nabeel	M	16	Dubai	Landed Immigrant	Second	5
Ruba	F	24	Syria	Citizen	Second	18
Raja	F	60	Gaza	Citizen	First	17
Nancy	F	38	West Bank	Landed Immigrant	First	4
Maher	M	26	Lebanon	Citizen	Second	25
Reem	F	20	Kuwait	Citizen	Second	19
Kanan	M	60	Saudi Arabia	Landed Immigrant	First	2
Mason	F	50	West Bank	Citizen	First	15

Male: 12, Female: 13; Landed Immigrant: 11, Citizen: 14, First generation: 15, Second generation: 10
 All the names are real except for Layan.

The informants are comprised of a diversity of origins, ages, religion, citizenship status and length of stay in Canada. Both genders are well represented, as are members of the first and second generations of immigrants. Eighty percent of the Palestinians are Muslims while the

others are Christians. Thus, while no claim is made that these respondents are truly representative, they do cover a wide range of personal characteristics and migration experiences.

No established methodological approach exists to provide direction for the study of the social and cultural meanings associated with VFR travel and the return visits of members of the transnational communities to their countries of origin. However, scholars such as Duval (2003) have followed an ethnographic approach comprised of in-depth interviews to examine the return visits of the Commonwealth Eastern Caribbean diaspora living in Toronto. The main methods used in this research to examine the return visits of the Palestinian immigrants were, as mentioned earlier, semi-structured interviews. These interviews were held in a variety of locations (parks, universities, private homes, coffee shops, restaurants and Palestinian community organizations, such as the Palestinian House in Mississauga). Since this research had been approved by the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo to permit the interviewing of Palestinian Canadians of all ages, data were drawn from many informal, unstructured, and unplanned conversations that were held with Palestinian immigrants from all ages, including young children, at a variety of Palestinian social events and settings, such as celebrations of Palestinian anniversaries, BBQ parties and summer “get-togethers”. Being a Palestinian, who was born and living in Palestine before immigrating to Canada, made me very acceptable and welcomed by all members of the Palestinian community. All my respondents expressed their contentment with my research and their pleasure to do their part to make it successful.

As mentioned in earlier sections, most of the studies examining VFR have focused on the economic features of VFR travelers, such as spending and travel habits and, thus, have shed light on their significance primarily from an economic perspective. As a result, the level of

understanding of VFR tourism is still quite minimal at present. In particular, a holistic approach to understanding VFR tourism is lacking and greater depth of appreciation of the importance of social and cultural associations is required (Duval, 2003), including examination of the extent to which transnational ties will determine whether or not VFR travel will take place. This is related to the underlying social motivations and the cultural background of the migrant (Duval, 2004). Accordingly, this chapter addresses the social and cultural conceptualization of the VFR travel of Palestinian Canadians to Palestine which requires a deeper examination and understanding of how Palestinian immigrants living in the GTA position themselves within the context of their place of birth (or the country of origin) and their current place of residence. Using a transnational lens, answers to the following two questions are sought: First, how do Palestinians immigrants make sense of notions of identity, belonging and home within their dual attachment to the home of the homeland and the present home? Second, does the country of origin remain central in the imaginings of home? Answers to these questions will shed light on the implications of having dual identities and leading dual lives for the overseas travel patterns of the Palestinian immigrants to their country of origin, mainly the travel that is motivated by the desire for family and ethnic reunion (VFR travel).

6.2 Transnationalism and VFR Travel

Migration is no longer perceived and analyzed from the viewpoint of the host countries only, through the classical theories of assimilation and acculturation, or ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism that have overemphasized the “container” aspects of culture (Veronis, 2006; Saleh, 2001; Hiebert & Ley, 2003). In recent years, migrants have been mainly studied and assessed within the frame of their lives in the receiving nations and they have been perceived as

being trapped in a dilemma “between two cultures” (Saleh, 2001). Transnationalism, with its dual frame of reference, is enabling scholars to understand the ways immigrants construct their lives across borders and maintain membership in both their country of settlement and their country of origin by transnational activities (Basch *et al.*, 1994). VFR travel to country of origin is one of most important transnational activities that immigrants consider to maintain physical attachment with their country of origin, in addition to social, cultural, political and economic ties. The following sections use transnationalism to explain the interconnected social and cultural experiences associated with visiting friends and families in the Palestinian immigrants’ ancestral land and how their ties to their families and friends in the homeland are shaping their overseas travel patterns with special emphasis on their VFR travel to Palestine.

6.3 Are Palestinian Canadians VFR Travelers?

To answer this question, the issue of motivation versus activity must be considered (Duval, 2003). For example, Williams *et al.* (2000) have suggested that visiting friends and family is the prime motivation for the VFR trip. On the other hand, in the study of visitors to Australia, Morrison *et al.* (1995) and Moscardo *et al.* (2000) found that visiting friends and relatives is one motivation for the VFR trip and that VFR travellers participate in other activities, such as shopping, diving and touring holidays, and visiting themed amusement parks. Such studies concluded that the Australian VFR trips are multi-purposes, so these trips should not be categorized as VFR only. This is significant when determining whether the Palestinian Canadians are VFR travelers or not. It must first be determined whether visiting friends and family is the prime motivation for their trips and the main activity they practice while they are in Palestine.

In terms of motivation, as shown in Chapter 5, 77% of the participants travel to Palestine for the purpose of visiting family and friends, and only 5% travel for other purposes. As indicated in the responses of the participants in the questionnaire, these purposes include business and participation in political events, conferences and meetings. Thus, it can be concluded that Palestinian immigrants are VFR travelers. The main activities that respondents mentioned that they undertake when they are visiting family and friends in Palestine are visiting relatives, participating in weddings, organizing parties and trips with the family and, in all cases, taking pictures with family and friends to bring back with them when they return to Canada.

On the other hand, it is more likely that, with the unstable political situation prevailing in Palestine, that Palestinian Canadians travel there mainly for the purpose of visiting family and friends and not for participating in other activities, such as recreation, shopping and others that Palestine lacks as a destination. Travel departments of most countries in the world, including Canada, frequently warn their citizens about travel to the West Bank and Gaza Strip because of the extremely dangerous and unpredictable security situation there. Thus, the main reason that makes Palestinian Canadians take this risk is because they consider it important to maintain ties with their families and friends in their country of origin. Raja, who is 48 years old and whose family lives in Gaza Strip, was asked about her main activities when she visits Gaza and also about any concerns that she may feel regarding her personal security and safety when visiting her family. Gaza is the Palestinian territory that has the highest threat of violence which could occur at anytime and anywhere. Raja answered:

There is nothing to be done in Gaza. It is under a complete siege since many years, there is no life there. People don't feel safe even when they are inside their houses. Every day, I watch and read the news about Palestine. I become concerned about my family and friends there. I sometimes have an uncomfortable feeling whenever I compare my safe and secure life I enjoy here in Canada to my

family and friends' life in Palestine. The only thing that makes me feel better is to visit them and share with them the hard times that they go through. Despite feeling fear sometimes when I am there, especially at night when I hear the gunfire, I always visit my family, almost every year. Being with them makes me feel stronger. While I am visiting Palestine, I always have faith that whatever is going to happen to my family let it happen to me. I constantly ask myself how can I worry about my safety and not feel worried about their safety. Is my life more precious than my mother's or my sister's life? There are things I can really get and feel only by being there with my family and friends in Palestine.

(Raja, August 15, 2009, Toronto)

Raja, visiting her family last time in December 2008, got stuck there during what she called the "Gaza Massacre" which was the conflict between Israel and Hamas that resulted in an Israeli military attack and ground invasion of the Gaza Strip. She said that she described this visit as the "worst days" of her life but, when I asked her whether she would consider going back again to visit her family and friends in Palestine, she answered:

It is difficult to answer this question now, particularly as I am still having nightmares about my visit and what we've gone through during this war, but I am sure at the end nothing in this world could prevent me from going back there to visit my family and friends.

(Raja, Toronto, August 15, 2009)

To many Palestinian Canadians, the trip they make to visit their families and friends is a very important event that involves a long period of preparation and shopping in Canada. Despite the security situation in their country of origin that could deteriorate further without warning, it is hard for them to stop making these trips. On the other hand, they do exercise some degree of caution by staying there for a short period of time as revealed from the sample: 71% of Palestinian Canadians stay in Palestine for less than a month because of the unstable conditions there, despite the long journey that they make between Canada and Palestine. To understand how important these visits are to Palestinian Canadians, I asked Aseel, a 38 year old landed immigrant, to explain why she travels to Palestine while it is not a safe place to visit. She said:

I know it is dangerous and that's why I don't take my children with me whenever I go there. I visit my family every two years and I can't imagine myself staying for long years without visiting them. It is the hardest trip a person could ever make. After I say goodbye to my children here in Pearson Airport I cry for long hours because I am never sure whether I will come back alive or not, so whenever they give me a hug I take it as it is the last hug I may receive from them. Whenever, the day of travel gets closer, I can't even sleep very well for many nights because of my dreams about being killed or injured there. But, when I see my brothers and sisters waiting for me after I cross the Israeli borders I realize that it is really worth it and I forget all about my fears.

(Aseel, Etobicoke, August 22, 2009)

In conclusion, I argue that the back and forth trips made by the Palestinian Canadians to Palestine are for the purposes of maintaining ties with their families and friends and there is no space for other activities to be undertaken, mainly because of the security situation that can deteriorate rapidly. The VFR travel is considered important in the lives of the Palestinian immigrants. To some degree, visiting families and friends overweighs personal safety and security. This leads to a discussion about the role of the family ties in shaping the overseas travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians in the GTA which is one of the objectives of this research and is presented in the next section.

6.3.1 The Role of Family and Kinship in Shaping Outbound Travel Patterns of Palestinian Canadians in the GTA

The loss of their homeland, partially in 1948 and completely in 1967, led to the dispersal of the Palestinian people, including the separation of family members. This geographical separation in many families involves more than four countries in the Arab world, North America, Latin America, Australia, and Europe. Despite this geographical dispersal, or maybe because of it, the emotional bonds between Palestinian family members remain strong and Palestinians are significantly connected to their families. The following sections discuss the extent to which family ties increase the propensity of Palestinian Canadians to travel, and the ways these ties connect places.

As identified in Schulz and Hammer (2003, p. 171): “Transnationalism as a social morphology is...first and foremost constituted through kinship ties”. Thus, maintaining family ties is one of the most important transnational activities that take the forms of return visits, spending vacations, making phone calls, and sending gifts or remittances. All these are transnational activities that are considered by Palestinian immigrants in order to keep the family together despite the geographical distances that separate family members. As identified in Schulz and Hammer (2003), the family has been the main institution that has contributed vitally in creating a Palestinian identity and in re-establishing a Palestinian community in the diaspora.

Based on the data obtained from the interviews, most respondents explained that family is very central to their lives and of prime importance to them. They consider that family means homeland and family represents the ties and the attachment they have to the country of their ancestors. They explained that despite the long and the hard journey to Palestine, the best part of their visit is staying with the family. Mariam, for example, explained how important the relation to the family was to her:

I love Palestine because it is my family’s roots. I have a big family in Ramallah. Distance will weaken my relations to my family if I don’t go visit so often. I always take my children with me because if I don’t, my family may forget about them. I have three brothers who live in the US, a sister who is in Dubai. We made an agreement that every year all of us spend the summer with our parents and our older brothers in Ramallah. This is the least that we can do to defeat the distance between us and feel that we are still one family.

(Mariam, Mississauga, August 1, 2009).

Nancy mentioned that having family and friends in Palestine was what motivated her to travel there. She mentioned that it is her family and friends that have always made her attached to Palestine even though she has a good life in Canada. She said:

If I go there it’s going to be for a visit not to relocate there again. I love there, it is part of my heart All the time I miss back home. I miss my family and friends.

(Nancy, Toronto, June 6, 2009)

On the other hand, Maher, one of the Palestinian Canadians who came to Canada from Lebanon, mentioned that he has never visited Palestine because he has no family there. His family is living in a refugee camp in Lebanon. He further explained that, family is the reason that makes Lebanon his dominant destination when he travels overseas, although he has no sense of belonging to this country that he was born in. This further suggests that family ties are strongly shaping the Palestinian Canadian travel patterns

Furthermore, loss of homeland, diasporisation, fragmentation, denial, and social disintegration make the family the primary source of attachment, loyalty, and identity. To many Palestinian Canadians, home is family and family is home. Family is the source to which they turn for emotional support, encouragement, stability, and security. Many of the Palestinian respondents expressed that when they were in trouble, they could only depend on a relative to help them out. They indicated that they derive their security from their close association with family members. Aseel, who lives with her husband and four children in Etobicoke, described how she always had higher security and comfort with her sisters in Palestine, rather than her friends in Canada. She said:

Whenever things go wrong here in Canada or I feel sad, I have to call someone from my family; usually my mother or one of my sisters. Talking to them always makes me feel better. I am the youngest and they still worry about me as if I am still a child. I like it when they do that, at least I feel that someone cares about me. They always give me the courage and the strength to overcome the difficulties I face here. The same thing when I go visit them, the wonderful time I spend with them and the love and care they give me always makes me return to Canada with more strength. It is like a battery that needs charging, and for me it is only my family who can give me this power. I visit them almost every year or every two years. I have many friends here in Canada, Canadians and Arabs, but no-one understand me the way my family does. Sometimes I feel that feelings of people in this country are frozen like its snow in the winter, people here are nice but busy. Everyone has his own concerns and is busy with his own life and has no time to care about others. I am glad that my family always cares about me.

(Aseel, Etobicoke, August 22, 2009).

The significance of the family as the primary source for social security explains the importance of maintaining contacts with family to Palestinian Canadians. As Schulz and Hammer (2003) suggested, family and kin operate as a “social institution” for members of the diasporic and transnational communities, which helps them to manage the transformative experiences and adapt to their new lives and new societies. Some Palestinian Canadians even immigrated to Canada to join kin or family members who had successfully made Canada their new home and it was the relative or the family member who helped in their adaptation to the new life in Canada and assisted in finding housing and a job. Ahmad, a civil engineer, came to Canada as a landed immigrant with his wife and children in 2005 and it was his brother who was also an engineer who assisted him in finding a job and a house. He explained:

I came to Canada because my brother is here. He encouraged me to immigrate to Canada. I knew that I can rely on him if things go wrong. I stayed in his house for two months until I was able to find a job and rent a house. Living with him and his family made it much easier for me, for my wife, and for my children to adapt to our new life in Canada. My wife did not like Canada at the beginning but it is my sister-in-law who always encouraged her and told my wife that all the kids like living in Canada. My brother lives now in Windsor because he has got a new job there but I always go visit him with my wife and children. Without his support we never could make it here. We both miss our family in Palestine and we always travel back to see them.

(Ahmad, North York, June 20, 2009)

Whereas human capital is inside individuals’ heads and economic capital is in their bank accounts, social capital lies in the structure of their relationships. To acquire social capital, an individual must be connected with others, and it is not himself but those others, who are the real source of his/her benefit (Portes, 1998, p. 7). Ahmad’s case represents the role of social capital in the Palestinian case. Whenever Palestinians are forced, because of the deteriorating conditions in their homeland, to immigrate to welfare states, they significantly need information and money from their transnational social network.

On the other hand, creating a Palestinian collective memory in the diaspora is a family business. The family memories are passed on orally from one generation to the next. The family plays a main role in transmitting memories of the catastrophe and the image of the lost homeland, and the life in homeland before the catastrophe. Many Palestinian Canadians of the first generation whom I interviewed, particularly those who have grown up in refugee camps in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, told me that they have been always telling their children the stories that they heard from their parents, grandparents, and other elder people who were living with them. Thus, the first generation of Palestinian Canadians is educating their children, who were born or raised in Canada, about their homeland. Then, the younger generation, in turn, will become part of the process of the restoration of Palestinian history. According to Schulz (1999, pp.100-101), this reiteration of the experience of Palestine through “acts of memory” make Palestine tangible with a high degree of compassion. As a result, many children born in the diaspora can describe the intricate details of their family’s house, such as the texture of the bricks, the location of an olive tree in the back garden or the smell of a lemon tree in the spring. Abed, a recent immigrant, described his childhood memories in Palestine before he became a refugee in Jordan. He even showed me on his computer, using “Google Earth”, the land that used to belong to his family in an old village in Palestine called *Ramla*. He also told me how his old village was completely destroyed and an Israeli settlement was built there. Ramla is the name of an old Palestinian village that exists nowhere but in the memories of the Palestinian diaspora, like Abed who was born there. He said:

I still remember everything about Palestine. I was 5 years old when my family left their home to live in a refugee camp in Jordan after the war. I still remember the orange gardens in Palestine, the houses, my father’s store, even the taste of the Kharoob trees.... I still remember when the Israeli planes hit the bridge that we walked on to go to the other side of the river. I even remember the reflection of the moonlight in these holes in the bridge and how I was about to fall

into one hole except my father held my hand at the last minute... Palestine is the “symbol” for home, Palestine is the dream, Palestine is the homeland.... I always tell my three daughters about Palestine and how their great grandfather refused to leave his land during the war in 1948 while we all ran away... he stayed on his land and died there... I am waiting to get the *Canadian passport so I can visit my uncles in my homeland with my wife and daughters.*

(Abed, Mississauga, June 13, 2009 emphasis added)

In conclusion, I can argue that family plays a vital role in the lives of the Palestinian Canadians in the GTA. Family and kinship are playing a considerable role in shaping the travel patterns of Palestinian immigrants living in the GTA. Family ties have significant implications in developing transnational practices through which Palestinian Canadians seek to solidify and rejuvenate these ties. The VFR travel is taking place largely as a result of the Palestinian immigrants’ desire to maintain social connections with family members. As a result, VFR travel is perceived by the Palestinian immigrants living in the GTA as the vehicle through which families can be re-united after the long years of their geographic dispersal and despite the long distance that separates them. However, the economic factor is important and sometimes it hinders VFR travelling. Palestinian immigrants with low income experience less return visits, or visits without children, as parents alternate in their travel. Although my interview with the travel agent revealed that there had been a decline in airfare from Toronto to the Middle East region, my respondents expressed that keeping networks and activities alive between Canada and Palestine is economically overwhelming. For example, they have to work hard and save money for their travel to Palestine and to buy presents for their families there. Indeed, periodic return visits to Palestine imply sacrifices in Toronto. Most of my respondents expressed that they experienced tension in managing their budget and distributing resources to satisfying their children’s needs in Toronto and their family’s expectations in Palestine. Some of the respondents expressed that their low incomes prevented them from visiting family and friends every year or

two years, so they could only travel every four or five years. On the other hand, families with high incomes, such as Bashar who works a professional engineer, do not have such constraints. He sends his wife and children every year to spend the summer with his family in Ramallah. Thus, it seems that there is a relationship here: there will be fewer visits by Palestinian Canadians who have low incomes and there will be more frequent visits by those who can afford it.

6.3.2 VFR Travel and the Return Visits of Palestinian Canadians

The return visits are positioned as a form or type of travel within the larger category of VFR tourism, as suggested by Duval (2003, p. 267). However, there are a number of features that distinguish the returning visitors from the larger category of VFR travelers. For example, the returning visitor often has had a non-tourist experience in the destination in earlier periods and, accordingly, has previous knowledge of the destination area. Therefore, a returning visitor has social and ancestral foundations and ties at the destination place. Thus, the return visit is for the purpose of solidifying these ties. The third characteristic is that returning visitors are associated with diasporic communities emerging from past migration episodes. Diasporas exist within transnational frameworks because many tend to sustain their ascription to the larger social unit that they belong to in the country of origin (Baldassar, 1995 qtd. in Duval, 2003). Based on these distinctions of the return visitors, and using data obtained from in depth-interviews with Palestinian Canadians in GTA, it is suggested that many of the VFR Palestinian travelers are basically return visitors because of their extensive familial, social and cultural ties in Palestine, and maintaining these ties is of prime importance for them. The VFR travel of the Palestinian immigrants in the GTA to Palestine has significant social, cultural, and even political meanings.

Furthermore, in some cases, return visits to Palestine have national implications and functions as discussed in the following sections.

6.3.2.1 VFR Travel to Maintain an Active Social and Cultural Network in the Homeland

VFR travel to Palestine allows the Palestinian migrants to maintain social and cultural connections in the natal home. Many respondents return periodically in order to rejuvenate their social relations and keep these relations alive. This, according to Duval (2003), seems to capture best the essence of the theme of maintaining social and cultural ties with the natal home. Maintaining ties with friends and family in Palestine by periodic return visits is considered critical and important so Palestinian immigrants will not be treated as strangers by their family and friends when they come back. For example, Layan, whose husband decided to return home to Palestine after living in Toronto for 15 years, explained in a follow-up phone interview, her pain when she was treated as a stranger, even by her family and relatives, when she returned to Palestine after 15 years of immigration in Canada without a single trip during these long years. On the other hand, her husband, Kareem, was totally welcomed because he used to visit every two or three years. She said:

I felt like a stranger, everything has changed. I guess 15 years is long. My family until now treats me as a stranger. Sometimes I feel that they are mad at me because I did not visit before. They don't say it but I can see it in their eyes. All my friends that I used to have before I left to Canada either left the country or are not interested anymore in my friendship. For them I am a stranger, a person that they never know. I was 25 years old when I left and now I am 40. I guess I am different.

(Layan, Toronto, June 20, 2009)

Layan's case may be related to the issue of social capital where there is emphasis on the significance of face-to-face interaction. Social capital will wither away if investments in social relations cease. As Layan failed to visit her family and friends in the homeland during her

lengthy absence, she felt like a stranger when she returned. On the other hand, her husband, who returned frequently during his absence and thus maintained face-to-face interaction with his social network, fitted in right away. However, there is a matter of gender that also plays role in Layan's case as explained later.

Duval (2004) discussed how return visits facilitate return migration. For those Palestinian immigrants considering returning to live permanently in Palestine, return visits are important. Some respondents, particularly recent immigrants such as Saher, Kanan and Khawla, explained how important it was for them to stay engaged in their societies in the country of origin in case they were not able to integrate into Canadian society and decided to return to Palestine. They all considered the best way to stay engaged is by making periodic return visits.

On the other hand, my respondents considered that maintaining ties with the natal home is significant to their children as well. Those who can afford it take their children with them on every visit so their family members can see the children. The importance of maintaining a connection between children and the extended family members in Palestine was illustrated by Maison as she said:

I visit my family and friends in Ramallah every two years. I take my children with me so my family and my kids get to know each other and can be familiar with each other. I have many relatives there... my mother is too old to travel, and my sisters and brothers do not come to visit us in Canada; they can't afford it and travelling for me with the Canadian passport is easier than their travel with their Palestinian passports, so I don't mind to travel to see them with my kids.... I always think of the future. I may die suddenly while I am living in Canada, then it is my family who would take care of my kids, and most likely my kids will be living with them in Palestine, so it's important that my kids be familiar with their family in Palestine and with their Palestinian society. That's why I keep this relationship alive.

(Maison, Missaussaga, May 16, 2009)

These findings that travel for ethnic and family reunion is motivated by a desire to maintain an active social and cultural network in the homeland are in line with other studies, such as Nguyen and King (1998) who examined the Vietnamese immigrants in Australia, Basch *et al.* (1994, p. 239) who examined the Caribbean nationals living in the Caribbean, Duval (2004) who examined the Commonwealth Eastern Caribbean diaspora in Toronto, and lastly King (1994, p. 173) who suggested that “travel for ethnic reunion has a tendency to become synonymous with VFR travel”. Thus, it is concluded here that the VFR travel of Palestinian Canadians is underpinned by a deep meaning that amalgamates the maintenance of social and cultural ties with their natal home, in addition to the desire for family and ethnic reunion.

At the same time, the Palestinian case draws attention to the significant role of social capital in the VFR travel of Palestinian Canadians to the homeland. Many VFR travelers visit friends and relatives to maintain the strength of their social ties and to sensitize their children to home cultural values. Face-to-face interaction is important to these Palestinian Canadians as they recognize that the absence of such types of interaction may cause their social capital to wither.

6.3.2.2 VFR Travel for Maintaining Culture, Traditions, and Language

The frequent trips of Palestinian Canadians to Palestine for the purposes of visiting family and friends are a vital attribute of the transnational social fields in which my interviewees and their families are embedded. The back-and-forth movements in these fields shape the transnational orientations among my Palestinian respondents. However, these trips are also used by Palestinian immigrants as a means to maintain their culture, traditions, and language. Most of my interviewees who have children indicated that it is very important for them, whenever the conditions in their country allow in terms of security and safety, to bring their children with them when they visit their families in Palestine. This is mainly to provide them with knowledge about

the Palestinian identity and to create a sense of attachment to Palestine as the homeland. Therefore, many of my respondents explained that they visit Palestine to help their children maintain their culture and traditions, which they consider to be important. Aseel, for example, described her return trips to Palestine as maintaining the culture she grew up with in her home and she wanted her four children to grow up with the same culture. She said:

We have our own culture and traditions that I want my children to learn. The only way to do it is not only by talking about it. If they don't live it, feel it, they will never learn it. The only way to make them live it is to take them home and spend the summer vacation with my family. Back there in Palestine, they can see how children respect parents, love the family and care about them more than they care about their friends. The longer I live here in Canada, the more self-focused my children are. They are more and more caring about themselves and their happiness. For them, parents are only there to satisfy their requests and they never think of their obligations toward their parents, as love, care, and respect. I take them to Ramallah so they can see how much my nieces and nephews care about their moms and dads, brothers, sisters, relatives and how much family is important. Here, children care about their friends more than they care about their family.

(Aseel, Etobicoke, August 22, 2009).

Given the fact that many Palestinian Canadians travel to Palestine with their children, when it is safe to do so, summer is the most frequent time of the visits of Palestinian Canadians. Some of them even mentioned that they have siblings in the USA or in the Gulf countries and they visit in the summer so children can meet with their cousins and the family enjoys reunion. Furthermore, all the Palestinian children I met in my fieldwork indicated that they enjoy the summer vacations there, meeting cousins, being spoiled by uncles, aunts, and grandparents. They even told me stories about how their grandfather took them every day to a candy or a toy store to get something, and how grandmother cooked for them every day the kind of food that they like, and they also talked about spending great times with their cousins of the same age.

On the other hand, as mentioned in Chapter 6, children affect time of travel and, in the Palestinian Canadians' case, most families travel to Palestine in the school summer vacations.

Regarding the duration of stay there, it depends on the political stability in the country as they leave the minute they feel danger to their children. However, in most cases, as indicated in the survey results, Palestinian Canadian families do not stay there for long periods, usually a month or less as a precaution to any risks. For example, the travel agent I interviewed mentioned that, whenever his Palestinian customers book a flight, they ask about the possibilities of changing the return date. He said that he is aware of the uncertainties prevailing in their homeland and these are reflected in clients' indecision about when to come back to Toronto. On the other hand, he mentioned that they usually book their trips for a month. He frequently receives phone calls from them to make changes in the return date, either making it later if the conditions are stable to allow an extended stay, or earlier if a crisis takes place.

Palestinian Canadians are living within two value systems which are not necessarily competing: the Palestinian and the Canadian. Many of the Palestinian respondents recognize that the behaviour of their children born in Canada is influenced by Canadian values and, as a consequence, they expressed their fear for significant weakening in their parental authority. To them, taking their children to their country of origin is a way of maintaining their culture so children will be exposed to the Palestinian traditions. The more the children become familiar with their Palestinian culture, the less conflict will arise between parents and children. Conflict often arises because of the two value systems as, for example, about pre-marital sex, which is totally unacceptable to Palestinian Canadians and contrary to their culture. Preserving culture through return visits also help the Palestinian Canadians to protect their children from undesired influences from their friends. Thus, in their struggle to define new behavioural norms for their children, they travel frequently, or whenever they get the chance, with their children to visit their family and friends and spend some time with them.

Importantly, the more the children adopt “mixing and matching” from the Palestinian and Canadian norms, the more the decision to stay in Canada is enhanced. That is, Palestinian Canadians are willing to stay in Canada as long as their children are not totally assimilated within the Canadian culture. For example, Maison, the Palestinian activist who is the mother of an 18 year old daughter said:

I can't imagine that one day my daughter will approach me and tell me “Bye mom, I want to move out and live with my boyfriend”. This will get me a heart attack. That's why, whenever I can go visit my family in Palestine, I take her with me so she will live our culture and know that we are different. This does not mean that I don't want her to learn anything from Canadians. They have so many good things to learn from, such as their honesty, their good manners and behaviour. Canadians are so polite, organized, and they don't interfere in your own life. Everyone in this country knows his limits, and the best thing about them is that they respect the rules and the law. Many of these good matters we miss in Palestine... see, did you got my point?, I want my children to learn the good things from the Palestinian culture and the good things from the Canadian culture so when they grow up they will be good Palestinians and good Canadians.

(Maison, Mississauga, May 16, 2009)

Furthermore, Palestinian Canadians, as do other Arabs living in Canada, have their concerns regarding authoritarian parent-child relationships. Because of these concerns, they do not want to take the risks associated with granting more freedom to their children in the Canadian context and taking a more liberal view of bringing them up. Most of the Palestinian respondents expressed their concerns about drugs, pre-marital sex, loss of culture, and violence. Some mothers complained about the times in Canada when they feel that their children are becoming their parents.

This is what Rumbaut and Portes (2001) discussed in their book *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America*. They described this situation as *role reversal* which takes place in immigrants' houses when children may turn out to be, in a very real sense, their parents' parents. The reason is that children's acculturation often progresses much faster than their parents. Thus, information on which to build important family resolutions is sometimes dependent on children's

understanding and knowledge. This is simply because they speak the language of the host society and know the culture better than their parents, particularly mothers who stay at home and do not interact with the dominant group in Canadian society. For example, Khawla, a landed immigrant and a mother to three teenagers told me how sad she felt whenever her children told her what to do when she went out with them, she said:

Sometimes, because my children speak English much better than me and because they know more about the Canadian society than I do, they tell me what to do or what to say, for example, they say: “mom, this is the way you do this”, or “mom, this is what you say”. I totally hate it when they do that. They make me feel that I am the child and they are the parents. When I go with them to Palestine, I am the boss all the time.

(Khawla, Toronto, May 30, 2009)

Furthermore, Palestinian respondents who have children who were born in Canada expressed their concerns regarding the relative lack of emotional connectedness with their children. The Palestinian family usually has strong ties: parents take care of the well-being of their children so they expect their children to take care of them in their old age. However, in order to make these family ties stronger, the parents, particularly the mothers, elect to spend their summer vacation with their families in Palestine. Aseel told me how important it is to her to take her four children to Ramallah, when it is safe for her children to travel to Palestine, so her children can see how her nieces and nephews take care of their grandmother who was 78 years old. For example, she told me how upset she was one day because she was sick and she had to go to the hospital and her thirteen year old daughter did not show the care that she desired to have from her. She said:

My husband drove me to the hospital one day, and I asked him to go back home with the kids and I would call him when I am done, so I stepped out of the car and I looked at the faces of my children I did not see any sympathy, no one was worrying about me and they did not even ask: “Are you going to be Ok, mom”. At 3:30 in the morning I called my husband to get me home and at 7:30 in the morning when they woke up to go to school, none of them went into my room to check on me or even to see if I died or I was still living. When they came back from school,

they did come and check on me.... This really broke my heart. I said that's it, I need to take them to Palestine and I did. One day when we were there, my sister was sick and her daughter who was 15 years old was sitting next to her bed all night. She did not want to go to sleep in case her mom needed something, and she was crying because she was worried about her mom. When my daughter saw her, she looked at me and said: "I love you mom, and sorry for not taking care of you when you were sick".

(Aseel, Etobicoke, August 22, 2009)

Based on the data obtained from the interviews, in the families that mentioned that they frequently visit Palestine and stay there for the summer vacation, their children are able to understand and to speak the Arabic language much better than those families who do not take their children. For example, Mariam mentioned that, in her summer vacations she and her children spend time with her family-in-law and this was the main reason why her children, who were aged 14 and 16, did not lose their mother-tongue. She further highlighted that, because her children maintained the Arabic language, they never felt like outsiders when they visited Palestine and they were more able to understand everything happening around them, even the traditions celebrated at home. This is in consistent with Louie's (2006) conclusion that maintaining the mother-tongue helps the second-generation immigrants to feel part of the home formed by their parents and facilitates their transnational practices.

Respondents expressed that the lack of English fluency of the parents and the lack of Arabic fluency of the children were key obstacles to family communication, particularly about complex issues. Aseel, for example, described the disappointment of her thirteen year old daughter because of her inability to express herself in Arabic. I got the chance to ask her daughter, Leen, about it and she told me that she understood Arabic but she could not speak Arabic so, on many occasions, she found herself facing extreme difficulties in communicating with her mother, particularly when she needed to ask about important matters which she described as "mother-daughter talk". This is simply because she did have the vocabulary and her

mother would have a hard time understanding her in English. She then told me that she liked going back to Palestine so she can learn more Arabic from her cousins because even her Palestinian or Arab friends that she had in Canada always speak English with her. These outcomes are in line with Louie (2006) who discussed the dynamics of the parent-child relationship among Chinese and Dominican immigrants and concluded that the second-generation Dominicans were able to maintain Spanish language because they were back-and-forth travelers.

Transnational migrants are less likely to experience cultural gaps when they return to live in Palestine. For example, Layan, who lived in Toronto for 15 years without a visit to Palestine, eventually returned to live in Ramallah in response to her husband's determination. During a follow-up interview by phone from Palestine, she discussed the difficulties she faced with the Palestinian culture after her return. She suggested that the transition was even harder than her experience in adjusting to the Canadian culture when she first immigrated to Canada 15 years ago. She mentioned that people always expect her to say what they like to hear, so if she criticizes someone, they get mad. She further explained:

Here (in Palestine) everyone is expecting you to give compliments and if you give a criticism they don't like it. Everyone here gives himself the right to interfere in my life, my family, my friend, my family in law, even my neighbor. No respect for private life here. If I go to the market with a short skirt everyone stares at me, although there are many women who are dressed like me. Here everyone stares at everyone. My husband is no longer willing to help me in the housework so his family and friends do not make fun of him. He helps me secretly when there is no-one in the house except me and him. My family always wants me to convey an image of being very successful in Canada. I speak freely that in my early years of immigration I worked as a waitress in a restaurant. My family gets mad when I do this. There is nothing to be ashamed of. Why do I always have to show off and pretend that I am rich while I am not? What's wrong with always saying the truth? Once we had a party at our house to celebrate our return, my friends told me that I talk so freely to men and I should stop doing that because I am not in Toronto anymore. They said that I am more Canadian than Palestinian. I hear this ten times every day, from my family, my friends and my family-in-law.... I miss my life in Toronto so much.

(Layan, phone call, November 20, 2009)

Living in Ramallah, for Layan, involves a constant process of comparison with Toronto. This is mainly because gender relations have been changed by migration. The transformation of gender relations by migration to Canada is clearly noticed in the Palestinian Canadian case. Arranging and organizing the return visits are frequently a source of anxiety to women, as such visits entail much stress and tension. Husbands always remind their wives not to talk freely with men the way they do in the Canadian context as they may be misunderstood by the other gender and they may be criticized by their families, particularly their in-laws. Many Palestinian women mentioned that return visits often involve lots of quarrels with their husbands regarding the way they deal with the other gender during their visits in Palestine. Visiting relatives, and participating in weddings and other celebrations, are always associated with pre-departure discussions between couples about differences in gender relations between the Palestinian and the Canadian contexts which require Palestinian Canadian women (not men) to be more conservative with the other gender. Furthermore, discussions often arise between couples, since women prefer to spend more time in their parents' home rather than their in-laws. However, in the Palestinian context, it is socially required that women stay longer in their husbands' homes, where they traditionally belong. This is another source of anxiety to the Palestinian Canadian women, especially those who left Palestine soon after their marriage to follow their husbands in Canada. Thus, they did not get the chance to adjust into the acts and attitudes of the receiving family and consequently feel more like a stranger when they are in their in-laws homes. My interviews with the Palestinian Canadian women also revealed that many of them consider themselves fortunate as immigrants to Canada as they were able to develop a strong and open relationship with their husbands away from the control of their in-laws, especially the mother-in-law. However, visiting Palestine brings back some tension to this relationship as many men

change their attitudes and become more strict and conservative under the pressure of their family. This is consistent with Salih's (2002) study of Moroccan women in Italy. Aseel, for example, mentioned that she prefers to live in Canada and never return to Palestine where she would be again under the interference and control of her mother-in-law. Furthermore, Layan mentioned that she got sick when her husband told her that he decided to go back and live in Ramallah because she feels that men are being selfish by making such decisions as returning means much more stress for women than for men.

On the other hand, Layan never returned to visit Palestine. In contrast, her husband Kareem made periodic return visits and his relation with his family, friends and the Palestinian society were always maintained. For Kareem, it was much easier to fit again into Palestinian society than for his wife, Layan. This is consistent with Duval's (2003) argument that return visits facilitate return migration.

6.3.2.3 VFR Travel as a form of resistance and as a political statement

While the researcher was examining the social and cultural meanings of return visits, she found that the travel of the Palestinian Canadians also has significant political meaning. Palestinians are making a political statement by their travel to their homeland. This is not surprising taking into consideration the politics of Palestine as a "place". The suffering caused by their diasporisation and dispersal, are significant to the Palestinian Canadians. Their fragmentation has "promoted an identity of 'suffering', an identification created by the anxieties and injustices" experienced by the Palestinian diasporas because of their forced exile and some external forces (Schulz & Hammer, 2003, p.2). Cohen (1997) described the Palestinian diasporas as "victim diasporas" to reflect the ways in which they have been created as a result of catastrophes occurring to them.

Regardless of their vulnerability, Palestinians always describe themselves as people who resist and struggle, and who will never give up. In the construct of “resistance”, there is an extraordinary amount of pride and self-acclaimed strength (Schulz and hammer, 2001). Resistance is a prime political principle and a challenge to the occupier as well as their generally undignified situation of being dispersed, restricted from returning home and, consequently, having greatly reduced mobility. With struggle and resistance as main ingredients of the Palestinian ideology, it is not surprising that many of the Palestinian respondents considered visiting family and friends as a symbol of resistance to the current separation and dispersal, and as a political statement indicating that Palestinian are not and will never be defeated.

The reunion of the family in Palestine, and nowhere else, is a strategy developed by Palestinian immigrants in the GTA to overcome their dispersal (*shatat* in Arabic) and fragmentation. Travel for visiting family and friends in Palestine has significant meanings, other than maintaining social and cultural ties, beyond those of other VFR travelers. VFR travel to the Palestinians is a political “symbol” for their ability to overcome their victimization and their dispersal (*shatat*). Respondents told how they felt proud of themselves after each visit to Palestine because they believed that they achieved a success. Visiting family and friends in Palestine is a dream to Palestinian Canadians. Hanan, a recent immigrant to Canada coming from Jordan, has a family in Palestine, but she has never visited them because she is a Palestinian refugee holding a Jordanian passport, so the Israeli authorities do not allow her to cross the borders to her country. She told me that she is waiting for her Canadian citizenship so she can go to visit her uncles and other relatives in Palestine and to see the village where her parents were born and to show it to her daughters. She described this as the dream of her life.

It is imperative to recognize, as the interviews with the Palestinian Canadians revealed, that VFR travel was perceived by many of them as a type of commitment to the family and to their nation. Their ability to undertake VFR travel to Palestine is an indicator that shows that the Palestinians have not been defeated by their dispersal and the loss of their homeland. This may partly explain why Palestinian Canadians are prepared to endure all the difficulties associated with their travel to Palestine. These difficulties include crossing the Israeli borders to their homeland, as well as the risks associated with their stay there because of the unstable political conditions prevailing in most Palestinian cities and villages. Another point to be added here is that Palestinian immigrants who hold Canadian citizenship mentioned that they recognize that they are not welcomed, even as visitors, by the Israeli authorities existing on the borders, airports or even at the checkpoints. Many of my respondents talked about how bad they were treated despite the Canadian passports that they were holding, just because the Israeli soldiers knew that they were Arabs (Palestinians) visiting their homeland. Jennifer, a second-generation Palestinian who was born in Toronto told how she took this as a challenge, i.e., she wanted to return and visit her family in Nazareth because the Israelis did not want her to do that. She described her experience by saying:

My sister went to Palestine three years ago under the Canadian passport and they gave her a lot of trouble and I went last year with my parents.... It was upsetting at the checkpoints. We had to go through several checkpoints. It is very degrading... I just felt that they want you to hate being there.... One time we were on the highway in Israel, we were pulled over and we thought it would be smart to show them the Canadian passport, we thought Canadian passports are from a peace-making country.... As soon as we showed them the Canadian passports, they started to speak to each other in Hebrew. My mom said they were saying that: “ They are Arabs, put them on the other side, tell them to pull over”, so we had to stay there for an hour and they screamed and they hung their guns in our car; it was very uncomfortable and very degrading.... When my sister left on her Canadian passport and when my cousins left on the Canadians passports, they made it horrible for them. They make you feel that you don’t want to be there. I feel it is a

psychological trick because they don't want you to come back if you are Arab. So it is a kind of "dread" thing. I will not let them win. I will come back.

(Jennifer, University of Waterloo, June 5, 2009)

The Palestinian Canadians consider the VFR travel as a mean to relieve the "pain of separation" from family members, as mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, that they experience in their diaspora. I borrow this phrase, the "pain of separation", from Walton-Roberts (2009) to describe the state of emotion due to the separation of immigrants who left their families to work overseas and how the emotional scars of such separations remain intensely in their minds for years. Palestinian Canadians have suffered similar pains of separation from their families when they decided to immigrate to Canada searching for a safe and secure life, particularly for their children. Every Palestinian Canadian I interviewed mentioned, in tears, their own story of separation from a loved one, which could be a sister, a brother, a mother, a father, a grandparent, a friend or all of them together. They all mentioned the intense emotional pain they suffer and how difficult it is to overcome. They also mentioned how difficult the circumstances of separation were for them when they first arrived to Canada. This pain lasted for long time, but the return visits to see family and friends makes the separation much easier for them to handle. However, many of my interviewees mentioned that even the "goodbye" ceremony they had on the last night before they returned to Canada was no less difficult than the one they had when they first immigrated to Canada. Coping with separation for Palestinian Canadians is one of the hardest experiences. Ahmad explained this pain by saying:

I remember very well the day when I went to say "Goodbye" to my 69 year old mother. She cried a lot and she begged me to stay. I even still remember her words that day: she said: I do not want to die while you are away from me, I will miss your kids, please don't take them away, I want to see them every day... [tears]... I love them and can't live without them playing and running around me. If you leave, I may die and never see them again.

(Ahmad, North York, June 20, 2009)

Furthermore, Ahmad mentioned that he promised his mother to bring his children to visit her every year. He wondered why Palestinians did not have a homeland like other people of the world so they could live peacefully with their families and friends. He said:

I left Ramallah because my daughter was almost killed by an Israeli soldier who shot on a group of children playing in the parking lot while under curfew. The bullet missed her but killed her friend who was 6 years old.... I had a good job there, so did my wife. We did not need money; we left because we did not want our kids to be killed if we stayed. I tried to explain this to my mother but it was still hard to separate but I visit her every two years with my children to make our separation easier for all of us. It is our destiny as Palestinians to be separated from the people we love. I want a safe life for my kids and to do so I have to leave my mother.

(Ahmad, North York, June 20, 2009)

Ahmad described to me how sad he felt when his father passed away three years ago while he was in Canada and the pain he suffered when he went there for the funeral and the relatives there told him that his father really wanted him to come back so he could see him before he died. What makes things worse for Ahmad is that he has to leave his mother alone because his older brother is in Canada, his oldest sister is in New York with her husband and children, his youngest sister is in Dubai in the United Arab Emirates with her husband and children as well, and his younger brother is in an Israeli prison.

The same pain was described by Aseel; every time she calls her 78 year old mother in Jerusalem, she asks her with tears to end this separation and to return to her homeland because she wants to be with her and enjoy being with her before she dies. Aseel mentioned that, whenever she gets a chance, she travels to see her mother to end this pain of separation even if being together again is for a short time. Thus, frequent return visits to Palestine for family reunion is the mechanism that the Palestinian Canadians use to overcome the pain of separation.

To my surprise, some of my interviewees blame themselves for causing pain for the people they love, although they recognize that their immigration to Canada was necessary in

many cases, particularly for their children. For example, Aseel mentioned how much she blamed herself because she encouraged her husband to immigrate to Canada and his father in Palestine died while her husband was in Canada. She said:

Everyone knows, including me, that my husband is the favorite son to his father. My father-in-law was shocked when we told him that we want to apply for immigration to Canada. When we got the immigration visa after 4 years, and went to say goodbye to him, he was sick and he asked us to stay and to have more faith in God that no harm will happen to our children. He knew that it's my idea to immigrate to Canada. I could not look in his eyes when we went to say goodbye. After he died, I could not sleep for a long time because I felt guilty to separate a father and a son, and then he died without his son being next to him... [tears]... it is hard to be a Palestinian.
(Aseel, Etobicoke, August 22, 2009)

Maison also blamed herself for immigrating to Canada with her husband and children and causing pain to her mother. She mentioned that she is the reason behind the deterioration of her mother's health. She said:

Since I left she has always been sick. Whenever I called her she cries. I like to talk to her and tell her about the difficulties of my life here in Canada, especially that we can hardly cover the expenses of our lives as the children are growing and their demands increase. Last time I visited her she took me to her room and opened a drawer and gave me an envelope with money inside and she asked me to go the market and buy whatever I want for myself and my children... [tears]... after two weeks of my return to Mississauga she died... [tears]... later I knew from my father that she sold her wedding ring to give me the money.

(Maison, Mississauga, May 16, 2009)

6.4 Social and Cultural Meaning Associated with VFR Travel and Return Trips

VFR travel becomes part of the social dialectic between the country of the ancestors and the diaspora (Duval, 2004) whose emergence is the outcome of the increased human mobility and international migration. As Gilroy (1994, p. 207) suggested, diasporas are at the heart of numerous "relational networks" and, thus, they may be motivated to travel to their countries of

origin in order to strengthen their social networks' ties and to maintain their network affiliations, Basch *et al.* (1994, p. 7) described these social ties as "transnational social fields". This section investigates the social and cultural influences and meaning associated with the Palestinian Canadian's VFR travel to their country of origin by examining the way Palestinian immigrants in the GTA negotiate their identities within their transnational existence.

6.4.1 The Concepts of Transnationalism and Transnational Identities and their Relationship to Tourism

The use of a transnational lens enhances understanding of contemporary migration and the dynamic nature of immigrants' lives that change over time. Transnationalism, as a theoretical and empirical framework, requires scholars to conceptualize their investigations across multiple spaces and various scales (Walton-Roberts, 2003). Recently, more research has been developed that examines immigration in Canada as a transnational process (see, for example, Hiebert, 2000; Hyndman & Walton-Roberts, 2000, Nolin Hanlon, 2001; Waters, 2001; Walton-Roberts, 2003; Duval, 2003; Duval, 2004; Walton- Roberts, 2005). On the other hand, technological advances, particularly in communication and transport, provide efficient means that significantly facilitate the transnational participation of immigrants in terms of VFR travel and back-and forth movements to the country of ancestors. Transnationalism has allowed scholars to recognize the multiple social fields linking several social spaces, and has allowed recognition of the dynamic nature of immigrant's identities. Palestinian Canadians provide pertinent insights into globalization, transnational identities and hybridity as discussed below.

The maintenance of the Palestinian identity and attachment to the homeland has remained central to Palestinian immigrants. Palestine as an entity has never faded away into abstraction for most members of the Palestinian diaspora living in the GTA, as they have been able to re-create

their homelands in their new settings in Canada. The transnational existence of the Palestinian Canadians has smoothed the way for possible inventive conceptualizations of their home, Palestine, while new relations with new homes in Canada have been formed. This re-creation of home is accomplished through the maintenance of Palestinian identity and cultural and social practices, and periodic visits to their family and friends in Palestine (VFR tourism). As Duval (2004) suggested, the study of the temporary mobility of immigrants, particularly the trips to the homes of their ancestors, represents a mean to understand the implications and the consequences of negotiating identities between dual homes and lives.

6.4.1.1 The Process of Identification: Hybrid and Complementary Identities

Woodward (1997) argued that migration is producing plural identities, but also contested ones, in a process which is fraught with inequalities and uneven development. These new identities can be described as “unsettled” and “unsettling”. Gilroy (1997) argued that these identities are not positioned in one “home” and there is more than one source for such identities. Hall (1992, p.276) suggested that identity is formed in the “interaction” between self and society; it is constructed and modified in a “continuous dialogue” with the cultural world “outside” and the identities it offers. He also argued that “identity is formed through unconscious processes over time, rather than being innate in consciousness at birth” (p.287). It remains always “incomplete”, is always “in process”, always “being formed”. Said (2002) suggested that all identities are situated in symbolic space and time. They have what he calls their “imaginary geographies”.

Furthermore, Hall (1992) and Gilroy (1987; 1993) have challenged the view of identity as originating and embedded in kinship and a shared history. They both use the concepts of diaspora and hybridity, where essentialism and its political demands are challenged by a

perspective on identity that encompasses notions of fluidity and hybridity, and suggest that identity is constructed in specific historical situations. In Canada, for example, as elsewhere, identity construction has been confronted by the forces of globalization. Liberal multiculturalism in such countries is transforming into “hybrid pluralism”. Contemporary strategies of identity construction lead to a “hybridity” that is promoted by the emergence and rapid increase of diasporic communities for whom “lived-in places” are transnational social spaces (Osborne, 2006).

Transnational lives and attachment to Palestine and Canada affect the processes of identification of Palestinian Canadians. In this context, a construct like “hybridity” is very helpful. It refers to “the ways in which identities are formed anew in the process of meetings occurring through travels and movement” (Schulz & Hammer, 2003, p. 13). Forms of identity construction in diaspora have become a symbol for the “hybridization” of identity (Hall, 1992). If “transnational” is about activities and linkages that are cross-border, then “hybridity” in contemporary literature has come to refer to the ways in which processes of identification are affected by transnational activities such as VFR travel, particularly return visits to maintain social and cultural ties with the natal home. This is further confirmed by Schulz and Hammer (2003) as they suggested that maintaining social interaction means actual journeys to visit family, friends and members of same ethnic group in other parts of the world, mainly in the country of origin. Ghorashi (2004) suggested that the heterogeneous character of modern states overturns the old understanding of identity as linked to homogeneous national states or roots. He described these identities as “neither static nor monolithic, but rather dynamics, complex and hybrid” (p. 330). Based on this argument, it can be argued that the identity of the Palestinian-Canadian is not only hybrid, it is also transnational because it results from a process whereby

cultural identity is de-territorialized from the physical boundaries of Palestine and undergoes the process of hybridization. In light of this, and by considering the multi-layered experiences of Palestinian Canadians, the concept of “hybridity” is helpful in understanding how Palestinian Canadians in the GTA negotiate the interaction of the diverse elements of their identities.

Based on the data obtained from the interviews, Palestine is a significant source for the identity of Palestinian Canadians, but not the only one. This has resulted in “strategic hybridity” (I borrow this term from Poynting *et al.*, 2004 qtd in Mason, 2007) which implies that Palestinian Canadians are moving strategically between the various elements of their identity as they are able to maintain strong relations to natal home since Palestine is the dominant destination for their overseas travel, and VFR is the dominant motivation for their travel and, at the same time, they are well integrated in the Canadian society.

Also based on my interviews, the concepts of “identity” and “belonging” are multifaceted and, in many cases, complicated. For most of my interviewees, these notions are a mix of belonging to both countries, Canada and Palestine, and, in many cases, they are not certain of exactly where their home is, except for the second generation who consider Canada as their home, as discussed in Chapter 7.

All of my interviewees have a strong longing for Palestine and that is why they make return visits whenever they can but, at the same time, they do not want to live there and Palestine is not where they want to construct their homes. Accordingly, Palestine is a home in their minds and hearts, but is not a real home because Palestine cannot provide them with security, freedom, justice and, most importantly, a decent and a safe life for their children. On the contrary, Canada is the place where they find what they are looking for to construct homes. This multi-layered identity and sense of belonging of Palestinian Canadians is making them live “in between” a

Canadian and a Palestinian identity and they have multi-locality in terms of living between “here” and “there”. This is illustrated by Mobeen, a 34 years old Palestinian immigrant who had lived in Canada since five years, he said:

I have my life in Canada and I am happy with it and I am planning to live and stay in Canada, so I am not planning to go back there.... Palestine is the memory, the family... One of the things that makes me move to Canada is because there is more freedom here than there. Here in Canada I still feel I am Palestinian. You can live a Canadian Palestinian type of thing because you don't need to remove your identity being Canadian.... I am very proud of being Palestinian. When I have kids I would love to go to Palestine and explain to them and show them where they are coming from... Palestine is part of me.... I am Palestinian and that place is part of me and something that you cannot forget - especially Palestine is not like other countries of the world. It is different because of the special things happening there... I choose to live in Canada but for my kids I want them to know that they have Palestinian roots and they come from this area and they are Canadians too, so they can decide what they want to be.

(Mobeen, phone-interview, July 18, 2009)

Many of my respondents explained that they enjoy a better living in Canada compared to Palestine and the other Arab countries that they lived in. This is demonstrated in the sample results where 59.7% of the respondents selected Canada as their future intended place of residence. My respondents talked about a feeling of being a “visitor” when they travel back to Palestine to visit their family and friends. This is particularly after they have lived in Canada for a number of years. When my respondents were talking about the way they were looking at things in their homeland, it was obvious that they use a Canadian lens when they visit. For example, Aseel described how differently she saw things when she was visiting Palestine. She said:

The first time I visited Palestine was after 2 years of me living here, and the second time was in two years so I was living in Canada for 4 years. The longer I live here, the more feeling I have as a visitor when I go there. I don't think I can still fit there after living 8 or 10 or 12 years in Canada. There are more things that I used to accept or take it as norm before I immigrated to Canada but now I can't accept. For example, the interference of my family-in-law in the way I raise my children or in matters that are between me and my husband is no longer acceptable for me; friends visiting without calling or without appointment is not acceptable, neighbours annoying is not acceptable. When I visited last year, I found myself thinking a way totally different than the way Palestinians there think. It is me who has changed. Living in Canada has

changed me and I feel like disoriented when I am there, but I love to visit there, I miss my family and that is why I go. I can't live without them.

(Aseel, Etobicoke, August 22, 2009)

This quotation emphasizes that the identity of the Palestinian Canadians is always hybrid and relational. This identity is often affected by the negotiations that Palestinian Canadians make “between cultures”, the culture of home and the culture of the host society. The culture that emerges in their diasporas is, therefore, the result of complex process of combining the positives of both cultures to form a “new” culture which is related to, but not exactly like, any of the original ones. Thus, this new culture is created by immigrants; however, whether this new culture survives after return migration requires further investigation. Aseel, Maison, Layan, and Nancy explained that they encouraged their children to learn the best of the Palestinian and the Canadian cultures so they can be a remarkable mix of both.

In another context, most of my interviewees explained that the saddest part of their visit to Palestine was to experience the hard lives of the Palestinians living in Palestine because of the checkpoints, the curfews, the siege, and all of the other Israeli measures that made the Palestinians' lives a misery. They said that they were pleased that they were only visiting and not living there, and that they were fortunate because they had a second choice.

Furthermore, my interviewees considered living in Canada is privileged compared to their lives in the Arab countries. Many of them experienced intermediate migration in the sense that they had lived in countries other than Canada and Palestine, such as Kuwait, United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. They all confirmed that their life in Canada was much better than in the other Arab countries where they were treated as foreigners and they were never granted citizenship. In contrast, Canada provided for them a level of security, justice, and fairness that they had lacked for much of their lives. Kanan, for example, is a landed immigrant in Canada,

and he lived for 13 years with his wife and children in Saudi Arabia. He explained how Canada was a much better place for them to live in than Saudi Arabia. He said:

I lived thirteen years in Saudi Arabia working so hard but never get a citizenship and never treated equally with my other Saudi Arabian colleagues. Saudi Arabia impose so many restrictions on us, they even determine what type of cars we are allowed to purchase. While when I came to Canada, from the very first minute I made landing, I enjoy all rights equal to the Canadian citizens... There is more transparency in Canada. Everyone knows his rights and his obligations... Even dealing with the Canadians is better than dealing with specific categories of people back home.

(Kanan, Toronto, July 4, 2009)

Most interviewees expressed that they are allowed to feel at home in Canada, unlike in other countries that they lived in, and this is one of the main reasons that strengthens their sense of belonging to this country. This strong sense of belonging that Palestinian have to Canada is affected by the paradigms of acceptance within the wider society. All my interviewees considered living in a multi cultural country, such as Canada, is making their integration easier.

For example, Mobeen said:

Canada is very multicultural. I think what enriches it is that everyone brings his own culture and lives together with people with different cultures.... I am a 100% Palestinian and living in Canada and being happy and integrated here does not mean you lose your identity. Identity is what you are, it is just you are living with your own identity with other people coming from different places. Only Canada gives the opportunity that makes people coming from everywhere and integrates with each other and brings their own culture with them.

(Mobeen, phone interview, July 18, 2009)

The acceptance paradigm is significantly influencing the way Palestinian immigrants feel toward the place that they are living in. Reem is a 21 year old university student who came to Canada with her mother when she was one year old. She talked about how her mother and she were expelled from Kuwait after Iraq's invasion in 1991 and how she was not allowed to take anything from her house. She left all her money, jewelry, and clothes there and she came to Canada with three children and no money in her pocket. She further talked about the help her

mother received in Canada and she illustrated the way her family was accepted and how she had a strong sense of belonging to Canada and no sense of affiliation to Kuwait, although she was there. She said:

Everyone in Canada has the same rights and freedom, nobody is higher than others, everybody can run his own life, and everyone is accepted... My mom came to Canada when I was one year old, she was a high-school teacher in Kuwait and then she was expelled because of Saddam Hussein. They took everything from her... that's why I believe that Canadians have rights and stuff. Look at the Palestinians; they always pay the price when the war happens... I belong here.

(Reem, University of Waterloo, June 22, 2009)

The feelings of security that Palestinians have during their living in Canada have strengthened the sense of belonging they also have to the country. All the first-generation interviewees explained that their immigration to Canada was a search for a secure and safe life, in particular for their children. Furthermore, 70.8 % of the respondents have a strong to very strong sense of belonging to Canada. More importantly, the sense of belonging is linked to the issue of identity. As identified in Said (1984, p. 53), *The Mind of Winter*, feeling belonging, “rooted”, or “part of something” is one of the most fundamental components of our sense of being and influences every facet of our lives. The importance of belonging and feeling secure and having a future prospects strengthens the emotional sense of feeling “home” in Canada for the Palestinian Canadians. Ahmad, explained how his feeling that he lives in a safe place made him consider Canada as a home. He said:

I feel safe in Canada. It is a blessing to live in a safe and secure country. Ask us the Palestinians about that. I remember when we were in Ramallah, me and my wife could not sleep for so many nights especially during the Israeli army invasion to the city, big tanks everywhere, planes striking and shooting muscles everywhere, horrible sounds and we were living in fear. My children used to stick to us and cry and all we can do for them is hug them and pray that God will protect us all. I can't even protect myself so how can I protect them, I felt hopeless. We were scared that our children could be killed in front of our own eyes. My wife had nightmares for years. She got depressed and I almost lost her. My kids also could not take it anymore. When we first came here to Canada, my children once heard the loud noise of thunder at night, they all ran to our room asking if there are Israeli tanks and planes in Canada, too [laugh]. Believe me, we

are lucky that we could immigrate to Canada and enjoy living here. My wife and children love Canada, they don't want to go back and live in Ramallah again. We can go visit our families in Palestine, especially my mother every 2 years but we can't live back there again. What is the use of having "home" if you can't live in it peacefully. Home is where you feel safe. Canada is my home now and Palestine is in my heart and will remain in my heart until I die.

(Ahmad, North York, June 20, 2009)

These outcomes are in line with other scholars' arguments. Kondo (1996) suggested that an emotional sense of home as a "safe place" is essential for diasporas. Furthermore, Mason (2007) suggested that the relationship between the home of the homeland and the home of the lived reality is central to the feelings of belonging for Palestinians who live in the diaspora.

6.4.1.2 Complementary Identities

As stated earlier, Palestine remains central in the identification and imagination of home for all my interviewees. They all considered that maintaining their identity and culture is important and they all want their children to maintain this identity. They said that they identified themselves as "Palestinian Canadian", however, I suggest that they are "neither-nor". Neither fully Palestinian, nor fully Canadians. The Palestinians found what they were looking for in Canada so it is Canada where they have established homes, friends, and jobs. They consider themselves as privileged by living in Canada; their children live in peace and have rights for education in schools and universities. They also they have rights to health care as do other Canadian children. Accordingly, concepts of home and belonging for Palestinian Canadians are multi-layered. These multi-layered understandings of home and belonging are emphasized by many of my interviewees who indicated that they have two homes: Palestine "their imagined home" and Canada their "real home". This multi-locality or living "in-between" is best manifested in one of my interviewees' answers to my questions regarding life in Canada and in Palestine. Nancy, a 35 year old recent immigrant, said:

For me Canada is a good country, it's not too bad but sometimes I feel like going back home just because I miss being around the family... The society there I believe,, or its not I believe, I am sure it's more difficult. There everybody will be watching you and interfering in your life but here I live my life and nobody is interfering in my life. How life is easier in Canada or back home... I believe each place has its advantages and disadvantages, and then you have to decide by the end which location is good for you to live in... I miss back home. I miss the city I used to live in, my house, my family. Sometimes, you feel that you are between two locations and cannot decide where to live. I like there but my kids don't like there, they want to stay in Canada. You feel that you are in between, you are not totally Canadian and you are not totally Palestinian. I am not totally adjusted to Canada and I am not totally away from Palestine. All the time you have this mix feeling... If we didn't have the occupation, our life would be much easier. Sometimes, I feel that we have advantages by living in Canada much more that we have back home but we have family there and friends there that all the time attract you to go to that part of the world.

(Nancy, phone interview, July 30, 2009)

Canada is their lived reality and is the place where the advantages are, while Palestine is the place to which they ultimately all belong, the place where their family and friends are. This negotiation of identity between “here” and “there” is not only creating a type of “hybrid” identity but also “complementary” ones. Palestinian Canadians cannot live without their family, friends, and the place that has all the memories, but, at the same time, they want to enjoy the security and the advantages that Canada is providing for them and for their children. Thus, the Palestinian Canadian is not able to live without Canada or without Palestine: these two places are equally important to the lives of the Palestinian immigrants. This has implications for their overseas travel as more VFR travel, particularly return visits to their country of origin, are expected.

It is suggested that, with the progress of any peace agreement between the Palestinian National Authority and the Israeli government and the consequent transformations that may take place in the Palestinian Territories, it is more likely that Palestinian Canadians will be more able than other Palestinian diaspora to respond to these changes at home. This is mainly because they have the resources that facilitate their transnational activities. For them, transnationalism has provided other options and flexible solutions. For example, their transnational identities, dual

citizenships, transnational networks and, most importantly, the Canadian passport (which is an element of the citizenship) will increase their propensity to travel back and forth between the home and host countries. The transnational activities of the Palestinian Canadians are taking place from a privileged position because, unlike other countries that they lived in, Canada has granted them Canadian citizenship which eventually provided them with freedom of mobility, international security and protection, particularly while visiting Palestine. Thus, they are “elite” among other Palestinian diasporas who face legal discrimination and have no rights in the host societies. The movement of the majority of the Palestinian diaspora is severely restricted and they face restrictions on mobility and travel abroad. In contrast, the Palestinian Canadians may shuttle back and forth between Canada and Palestine while opting to stay in Canada for an enhanced standard of living, particularly for their children.

This is consistent with Longva’s (1997, p. 174) suggestion that, for diasporas, the country of settlement and the country of ancestors cannot “be dichotomous” and that they become “two facets of the same life”. This also resonates with Mason (2007) who examined the Palestinian immigrants in Australia and found that home was a multi-faceted concept, and could not be defined easily because Palestinians in Australia had strong longing for Palestine while establishing a feeling of being at home in Australia. As Mariam, one of my interviews who had lived in Canada for 9 years, said: “I am part of the Canadian society... I feel at home because I have decided since I left my country to make Canada my home”. In conclusion, the Palestinians view their past not as something that they want to go back to but, rather, as a background setting that shaped the basis of ongoing identity negotiations within their new homes in Canada. Thus, Palestine and the past are in their minds while they are living their present and thinking of their future.

6.4.1.3 Recreating a Palestinian Home in Toronto

In this section, I will discuss my observations during the field work, particularly through observing the Palestinian houses that I entered to do my interviews. My first observation is that there are many common things in the ways Palestinian Canadians decorate their houses, which may indicate a “symbolic” meaning that the Palestinian immigrants are trying to create inside their houses in the GTA to reflect a sense of belonging to the place that they originate from. For example, all Palestinian houses have a picture of Jerusalem hanging on the wall. Jerusalem is a sacred place for Palestinians, both Christians and Muslims. Jerusalem has key religious sites, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa Masjid. Many of my interviewees mentioned that, whenever they visit Palestine, they go to visit Jerusalem. Furthermore, the city has special meaning to all Palestinians because it is viewed as being the capital of the future Palestinian State and because of the continuous extensive Israeli measures to control the city and to push the Palestinian out of it. The other common decoration among the Palestinian houses in the GTA is a picture of the former Palestinian president Yasser Arafat who was poisoned by the Israelis.

By religious affiliation, most Palestinians are Muslim and there is a significant Palestinian Christian minority, so some houses have pictures showing Quranic writing and others have pictures of the Virgin Mary and the City of Bethlehem on the wall. All Palestinian houses display Palestinian embroidery (Tatreez) which is the most indigenous form of Palestinian folklore and art. Palestinians view the embroidery masterpieces as a language for expressing their identity and as a symbol of their folklore. Some of the Palestinian houses displayed pictures of women wearing the traditional dress which is a cross-stitch-embroidered dress. All these decorations are displayed along with modern pieces of furniture and vases purchased from

Canadian stores. The most important part is that the Palestinian Canadians obtained all these decorations from Palestine through their return visits. These pieces have significant meaning to the Palestinians and their sustained transnational activities in the form of return visits facilitate the creation of a Palestinian house in the GTA.

In terms of food, houses also contained both Canadian and Palestinian items. For example, a mix of Canadian and Palestinian food and spices exist in the Palestinian Canadian kitchen. Spices are present as are the ingredients for special Palestinian meals and desserts that are mainly used in Ramadan and special events such as Eid Al-Adha, Eid Feter and others. These ingredients are brought back from Palestine and stored in the kitchen. The significance of food in forming a sense of belonging and creating identity has also been emphasized by Salih (2001) who examined the Moroccan immigrants in Italy. As identified in Salih (2001, p. 57), food “not only nourishes members of the group, but its consumption is also a sign of belonging and socialism”. Furthermore, food is also a sign of solidarity in performing ethnic identity. In conclusion, my observations from my field work suggest that Palestinian Canadians have dual identities and belonging even in the ways their houses are decorated. The items displayed and the food in their kitchens reflects a mix of a Canadian and Palestinian social identity.

6.5 Summary

As discussed in Chapter five, Palestinian Canadians are positioned in the grid/group model in the quadrant that represents strong transnational belonging and strong transnational participation. It has been argued in this chapter that strong transnational activities, such as frequent return visits to the homeland, stimulate strong transnational belonging to different places. However, ease of movement is an important element of being transnational.

The multi-layered identities of Palestinian diasporas in Canada and the way they position themselves within the home and host societies has implications for travel as revealed in the movements that occur between the places of origin of immigrants and diasporas (which become destinations) and the new places of residence (which become new origins). Examining how Palestinian Canadians are positioning themselves within their transnational social spaces leads to a consideration of what notions such as “home” and “belonging” ultimately mean. It was found that their “external homeland” was the central source for identification but not the only source, resulting in multi-layered identities that are “hybrid” and “complementary”. Palestinian Canadians’ identities are in flux, in a continuous condition of redefinition, re-creation and adjustment. Thus, the utilization of “strategic hybridity” allows the Palestinian Canadians to move fluidly between the different elements that form their identities. This is demonstrated in the dynamic relationships these immigrants are building with both Canada and Palestine. With VFR travel and return visits offering special social and cultural meaning for all travelers, the return visit and VFR travel are perceived by Palestinian Canadian as transnational exercises through which they can maintain an active social and cultural network in their homeland, preserve their culture, traditions and language, and as form of resistance.

The Palestinian case highlights the significance of face-to-face interaction in maintaining social capital. Palestinian Canadians recognize that the absence of such interactions will lead to a decline in social capital in the homeland. Interviews with Palestinian Canadians suggest that the Palestinian VFR travelers visit friends and relatives to maintain the strength of social ties, to sensitize their children to Palestinian values, to confirm the possibility of future social support, to avoid feeling as strangers, and to suffer with family members that remained at home.

Palestinian immigrants in the GTA have strong family ties that significantly shape their travel patterns, as they practice periodic return trips to Palestine to visit their families despite all the difficulties and the unstable political situation prevailing there.

Ease of movement is a prerequisite to being transnational. However, many Palestinian Canadians are completely immobile internationally until they acquire their Canadian citizenship and passport. On the other hand, although at the borders they are Canadians, in the homeland they are not and this is particularly the case for men. As shown in this chapter, return visits are associated with anxiety for women who have been able to develop an open relationship with the other gender in Canada. Husbands always remind their wives not to talk freely with men as they do in Canada for fear of being misunderstood by the others or being criticized by their families, particularly their in-laws. Return visits in some cases highlight disagreements and tensions between couples as gender relations have been transformed by migration. Many Palestinian Canadian men change their attitudes and become more strict and conservative under the influence of their family during their visits to Palestine. Such gender complexities created by immigration deserve more thorough investigation by scholars.

Chapter 7: Inter-Generational Differences

7.1 Introduction

The term second generation immigrant refers to native-born children of foreign parents or children who were foreign-born but brought to the host country before adolescence (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 23). However, the standard definitions of first and second generations do not sufficiently reflect the complications of the lived experiences for some groups of immigrants (Mason, 2007). The Palestinian Canadians are one of these groups. For example, the second generation of Palestinian Canadians, in terms of the catastrophe (*al-nakpa*), is the third-generation born away from their homeland. Yet, the term “second-generation” is the one that is used in this research to refer to Canadian-born children of Palestinian parents or those Palestinian children who were born outside of Canada, but brought to the country before adolescence; the second generation term is used rather than third generation to minimize confusion.

This chapter explores the means of maintaining relationships with the homeland of the second generation Palestinian Canadians and demonstrates the inter-generational differences in terms of the ways of maintaining their Palestinian identity and attachment to the homeland. The chapter then examines the role of VFR travel in reinforcing the social and cultural relationship of these people with their country of origin.

7.2 The Development of Transnational Identity of the Second-generation Palestinian Canadians

While immigrants and diasporas are likely to view the country they have settled in as their home, and their children undoubtedly do, the proposed research, within this context, will attempt to

explore two important themes: the position of the ancestral homeland in their lives and the differences between the first and the second generations.

7.2.1 The Notion of “Home” to the Second-generation Palestinian Canadians

Palestinian Canadians who were born into the diasporas had less or no lived experience of their homeland, Palestine. This is particularly the case for the second generation whose association and perception of Palestine have been mainly passed down to them and not lived or experienced directly. As Al-Barghouti (1998, pp. 60-61) noted:

“Now we even know less of our history. The occupation has created generations of Palestinians who are strangers to Palestine, generations who are familiar with every alleyway of their places of exile, but who are ignorant of their homeland.... These generations are condemned to love an unseen lover, a distant, difficult lover separated from them by guards and fences and sleek terror. The occupation has transformed us from the sons of Palestine into the sons of the idea of Palestine”.

Second generation Palestinian Canadians have a strong sense of belonging to their roots in the parental country of origin but, at the same time, they feel that Canada is the only home that they actually experience. My interviews with young Palestinian Canadians revealed that there are ambiguities involved in the articulation of home. Home is understood as both the physical space and the symbolic conceptualization of the place where they belong. This multiple perception of home is reflected in their answers to questions about home and the place that they feel they belong to. For example, Maher explains:

From stories that we hear, Palestine is a beautiful place and... whether I would get back the right of return, would I actually go back and live there? I will feel like a foreigner because I would really feel like I am not really from there. I am more Canadian than Palestinian. That's how I would feel. The image says it's perfect and living there is perfect.

(Maher, phone-interview, July 21, 2009)

Some of my interviewees who had visited there said that they felt strangers in their own homeland because it is totally different context than the one they got used to in Canada. Some

described how their return to Palestine was a heart-breaking experience and that their feelings of being home did not help. For example, they did not feel safe there because of the occupation and thus felt like strangers. Jennifer, a 20 year old university student in her second interview after she had visited Palestine for the second time, said:

I spent the first half of my visit in Jaffa, which is very close to Tel Aviv and thus in a very Israeli part of the country. In that sense, I felt very uncomfortable and like a stranger. It was very difficult for me to walk into a store and ask for a bottle of water and get a reply from the store clerk in Hebrew. Because of my five days in Jaffa, I was exposed to this different side of 'Israel' and was pretty uncomfortable. Even though I was with my Palestinian family and we spoke Arabic together, I was always tense when we went out to dinner or walking because people would hear us speak Arabic and look at us differently. I felt like a stranger or a 'weirdo' in my own homeland, which was very heartbreaking. I would not, however, say that this weakens my ties to Falasteen. If anything it strengthens it, because it gives me more of a reason to maintain a physical attachment to the identity that is at risk.

(Jennifer, University of Waterloo, June 5, 2009)

However, the understandings of the second generation of identity, belonging and home have been largely shaped within the interplay of the attachments to Palestine, the homeland of which they have no lived experience and attachment to Canada, the country in which they live and has offered them a home. Maher, for example, a young man in his early 20s said:

Ideologically, I think I belong to Palestine although I do not have real roots other than the father of me being Palestinian. I don't even have real documentation that says I am Palestinian but I belong to Palestine because of my roots... In Canada, I feel Canadian, I live Canadian every day. I am Canadian. With Palestine, it's something that is more in the background. I am not a Palestinian everyday living in Palestine or breathing Palestine but I think about it every day. I identify myself with the people there but it is something that I never touched, or breathed or experienced.

(Maher, phone-interview, July, 21, 2009)

He further explained:

We were stateless until we came to Canada... and Canada is a great country for us to grow up and I identify myself as a Canadian but I never forget Palestine because my parents grave it enough.

(Maher, phone interview, July 21, 2009)

Jennifer explained:

As much as I love to visit, I think I cannot live there. It is a very different lifestyle and it is hard for me, raised in the western world, to think about living in a country where Arabs are treated as second class citizens. It would hurt me too much. I do not see a future for peace and justice simultaneously, and would not want to settle down in such an unstable place. Furthermore, my entire family lives in Toronto, so it's hard for me to think about leaving them.

(Jennifer, e-mail interview, October 5, 2009)

Reem, a 19 year old university student who came to Canada from Kuwait with her mother when she was one year old, thinks similarly. She explained that Canada is her home because it is where she has lived all her life and that she feels that she no longer fits with the culture in Palestine and she is not thinking of going back to live there one day. She said:

I don't think I can live back there because it is uncertain, here it is more organized. It is a better environment for living, while over there it is like depression and hard.

(Reem, University of Waterloo, June 22, 2009)

In order to further understand the distinct ways in which family ties and ethnic reunion can both contribute to the development of Palestinian Canadian second generation transnational practices, it is useful to consider interviews with the Palestinian Canadians that focus on the family homes in which the Palestinian Canadians grew up, particularly, the representations of the parental country of origin, how they identify themselves, and their actual engagement (or absence of engagement) with these representations in terms of back-and-forth movement. My analyses reveal that Palestinian Canadians are significantly affected with the sad memories that create specific attitudes towards the upbringing of their children, particularly those from the first generation who experienced and lived the catastrophe, their dispossession from their homeland, and all its consequences as feelings of homesickness and loneliness. Many second-generation Palestinian Canadians whom I interviewed told me that they knew much about the history of Palestine and they were aware of the hard conditions that their parents and grandparents went

through in their forced exile. Stories about the braveness and the dignity of their great grandparents who resisted the occupation of their lands and the forced exile were common among second-generation Palestinian immigrants. Surprisingly, whenever I asked Palestinian children during my field work about the place they originated from, they would mention not only the country, but also the name of the village where their parents or grandparents were born. Many of the villages whose names they mentioned were completely destroyed many years ago by the Israelis and they no longer exist on the map. However, they still exist in the memories of these young Palestinian Canadians. My second-generation interviewees mentioned that they know about Palestine from the stories they heard from their parents. For example, Maher noted:

The way my parents brought me up, they always talked about Palestine; they told me stories about my grandfather - how he lived in Palestine. My dad listened to stories from his parents and from older siblings; he passed all these stories along to us: about what our grandfather used to do in Palestine, what our house looked like, how we had all crops on our land, all these things were engraved in us since we were kids.

(Maher, phone-interview, July 21, 2009)

Accordingly, many second generation Palestinians grow up with strong attachments to Palestine as a place to which they belong, to which they must return and in which they will ultimately feel at home.

However, Palestine is their imagined home, while Canada is their real home. Thus, they refer to Palestine as the primary home of origin and source of their identity, but they refer to Canada as the place where home is a reality. At the time I interviewed them, many had been born in Canada, like Jennifer, or brought up in Canada as had Maher, Reem, Ruba, Nadera, Masoud, Majdi, Omar, and Nabeel. Maher, for example, who came to the country when he was four years old, feels a strong part of his identity is Canadian but, at the same time, Palestine remains a core part of his self-identification. He said:

Canada is my only home. I have been here since I was 4 years old. I don't even remember what it was like before I am Canadian. This is the country I always lived in and I have been here since I can remember.... We are Palestinians, we're proud to be Palestinians.

(Maher, phone interview, July 21, 2009)

In view of that, the second generation of Palestinian Canadians is experiencing a multi-faceted thinking around identity and home. Similar to the first generation, notions of home and identity to the second generation are also contrapuntal. First and second generation Palestinian Canadians have multiple allegiances to several places. Accordingly, the meaning of home is more likely to be multi-dimensional and home is not necessarily tied to a definite geographical place.

7.2.2 Intergenerational Differences in the Means of Maintaining Transnational Ties

The emergent literature shows that, similar to the first generation, second-generation immigrants can practice transnational activities (Portes *et al.*, 1999; Levitt, 2004; Louie, 2006; Mason, 2007; McAuliffe, 2008; Bhattacharya, 2008). However, the main difference between the first and second generations is in the means of maintaining the ties with homeland. The first-generation Palestinian Canadians, for example, mainly reinforce their ties with their homeland by means such as books, songs, poetry, memories and, in many cases, by physical contact such as VFR travel. When travelling was not possible, it was largely replaced by telephone calls. As Al-Barghouti (1998, p. 61) noted:

“We Palestinians have become telephone addicts. We live for the voices transmitted from afar. The ringing of the telephone brings detailed news of those we love and signals reversals in their worldly fortunes - one ring for joy, another ring for sadness, and yet another for longing. For Palestinians, the ringing of the telephone ushers in quarrels, remonstrances, censure, and apologies, as well as joy and delight. There is no other sound that we simultaneously yearn and dread as much as the ringing of the telephone”.

On the other hand, second-generation Palestinian Canadians are using different means for linking up with their homeland than those their parents used. For example, transnational communication technology facilitates developing “virtual” and “three-dimensional” relationships with homeland. It also enables young Palestinian Canadians to maintain a national discourse. Information technology brings Palestinians closer together and, thus, bridges the geographical distance. This global reach of information and technology, such as Arab satellite stations, has created a new possibility of linking with Palestine, since the landscape gets much closer through the presentation of actual pictures from the homeland.

Many young Palestinian Canadians I interviewed said that they practice many activities to keep linked with Palestine, such as being part of Palestinian chat rooms and e-mail groups, or accessing global media on-line as well as a number of Palestinian radio and TV stations, to keep themselves up-dated with events there. Many also mentioned that they are part of on-line Palestinian communities and online Palestinian and international organizations. Some also follow internet blogs from the homeland. Others are in continuous contact with their extended families through e-mail, Skype and Facebook. However, these practices bridge the geographical distance among Palestinian Canadians in diaspora more significantly than with their friends and families in the Palestinian Territories. Despite the importance of the Internet to many Palestinians who are imprisoned in their cities, towns and villages, the number of Internet users in the Palestinian Territories is currently estimated at only 10-14% of the Palestinian population. This is mainly due to the Israeli restrictions imposed on the development of a Palestinian Information and Technology sector (Abudaka, 2010).

Some of the second-generation Palestinians who are students at Canadian universities mentioned that they are part of Palestinian organizations on campus, such as Palestinian Rights. These activities have opened their eyes about their responsibilities as Palestinians in raising awareness of their peoples' rights to live in peace on their lands. Reem, Jennifer, Ruba, Nadera, Kareema, Majde, and Masoud mentioned that they participated in every strike or rally that is taking place in Toronto as a response to Israeli violence against their people in Palestine such as, for example, the recent war on Gaza. Within this context, Maher explained:

Students in university get exposed to a lot of issues. Political issues are big things on campus. For me when I went to the University of Western Ontario, there were always events about Palestine, debates, celebrations, that really opened a lot of my eyes.... At the university you feel like a part of Palestinian organization, you feel more responsibility; you actually feel that it is like your duty to represent Palestine, to raise awareness about Palestine. I would encourage my kids to be involved in a lot of these student site events on campuses and in their school and I would pass a lot of stories for them and help them courage their identity.

(Maher, phone-interview, July 21, 2009)

In sum, the means of maintaining relationships with homeland have shifted for each generation. For the second generation, although the vast majority has no lived experience of homeland, Palestine has remained central to ideas of identity, home and belonging. However, their transnational relations have reinforced the sense of belonging simultaneously to the two countries; the host and the home country.

7.3 Transnational Ties of the Second Generation and their Travel Patterns

Maintaining transnational ties with the homeland by transnational practices has, to a great extent, reinforced feelings of the second generation's closeness to their wider Palestinian community and, thus, reinforced feelings of greater solidarity within this community. This, in turn has its impact on their travel patterns to Palestine, particularly their travel for the purposes of visiting friends and family. Members of this generation have Canadian passports and many have been

able to visit Palestine. Many of my interviewees of the second generation indicated that it is very important for them to visit their extended family in Palestine at least once every two years. Some of them even travel every summer to spend the school vacation with their cousins in Ramallah. For example, Nadera said that since she turned 14 year old, she has been travelling to Palestine every summer by herself and her grandmother meets her at Amman airport so they can cross the border together to Palestine. She said that her parents have their own jobs in Canada and they cannot travel every summer, but it is really important to her to spend the summer in Palestine with her grandmother, aunts, uncles, and cousins. On the other hand, the second generation Palestinian Canadians originated from the villages that were occupied in 1948 and, thus, their villages no longer exist or currently are Israeli villages, and their extended families are living in refugee camps in Lebanon and Syria. Those young Palestinians are still motivated to visit Palestine, even with no family there. They want to visit the place of their roots. For example, Ruba and Maher, said that all their friends who do not have family there went to Palestine just to see the place where their ancestors came from. They even said that one day they will visit the village where they came from even it is not Palestinian any more. In this context, Maher explained:

Even though I am Palestinian and I love to travel to Palestine, until now I never had a reason to travel to Palestine because all my family left our land in Palestine so I don't have anybody there to travel to see... Usually if I want to go visit I want to go visit where we are originally from, although that village no longer exists for us. There is not much purpose of visiting it because it is an Israeli village right now, but I still would like to visit one day as a tourist and go visit Akko. But I really see myself more visiting the Arab areas of Palestine which is the West Bank because I relate too much to the West Bank... I love to go. I want to go. I want to go to Akko.

(Maher, phone-interview, July 21, 2009)

This is consistent with a UK-based study conducted by Mason (2004) who examined the circumstances in which “physical co-presence” was considered the most efficient way to

maintain kinship that extends across borders. She concluded that even where there are no immediate links with family and relatives return visits to the homeland still take place to search for “roots” in the country of the ancestors. On the other hand, other informants, such as Kareema and Reem, cannot visit even though the villages that they originated from and their families are still there. The reason is mainly because of political instability. Kareema, a 23 year old girl who was born to a Palestinian father and British mother, mentioned that she frequently visits her grandparents in Britain, but, since she left Palestine ten years ago, she has never visited her grandparents in Gaza because of the continuous violence there. She explained:

If I am able to go, I would go frequently.... I go visit my grandparent in Britain because it is more feasible and safe, but going to Gaza is not the same.

(Kareema, May 1, 2009, Toronto).

Similarly, Reem explained:

You can't forget where you came from... but I don't go visit so often because of the conflict between Israel and Palestine.

(Reem, University of Waterloo, June 22, 2009).

However, my interviews revealed that for the majority of the second-generation Palestinian Canadians, maintaining ties with Palestine by being physically there is significant. Travelling to visit families and friends is always perceived by them as an important accomplishment. Visiting Palestine is a dream and is something that they envy each other for. For example, Maher explained that he was more encouraged to visit Palestine after his friends actually visited and described their trip to him. He explained:

They went there stayed in a hotel, visited around and went to the villages. I was surprised. I can go there too. Before that it was an idea or a dream that I am going to visit there. I want to go to see the house of my grandfather and where my father was born.

(Maher, phone interview, July 21, 2009)

In some cases it is the young Palestinian Canadians who urge their parents to travel to Palestine. Jennifer, one of my interviewees, mentioned that her parents left Palestine thirty years ago and never went back to visit because they hated the pain of leaving home and, thus, they were scared of what they might find and frightened to see what they left. They had so much pain that they did not like to talk about the situation there; they just ignored it for many years. She also mentioned that they never addressed identity with her or nationality. They never mentioned “Palestine” in the house and never discussed the politics of it because they wanted her to stay away from it. They told her that she is part of the “Arab” world. Until she was twelve years old, she only knew that the name of her country was “Palestine”. In her first year at the University of Waterloo, she saw the Palestinian Flag in the Student Life Centre on one of the doors inside, so she stepped in and she found that it was the Palestinian Rights Club She joined and became a very active member. In 2008, she begged her parents to take her to visit family in Palestine and they did and it was the first time for her to see her homeland. She visited again in 2009 and she was planning to go back there in May 2010.

Despite the strong sense of belonging to Palestine that second generation possesses, they consider that their home is in Canada and Canada is where they want to spend the rest of their lives. Yet, they all identify themselves as Palestinians and, thus, Palestine is still the main source of their identity. In the Palestinian Canadian case, it is not only the place but also the politics of Palestine that shape their identity.

7.3.1 Meanings Associated with the VFR Travel of the Second-generation Palestinian Canadians

To many second-generation Palestinian Canadians, it is very important to visit Palestine (if possible). The return visits are perceived by them as essential to keep in touch with family and

homeland despite the vast distance. Although return visits to Palestine were described by most of my interviewees as emotional experiences, they were not able to describe whether they were sad or happy while they were there. Most of them said that they were not sure whether they were happy or sad for most of the trip, they always had a mixture of both feelings. For example, Jennifer said:

I found myself feeling happy and sad at the same time during the whole trip - happy to meet my family and sad they use Hebrew words. Some of the kids don't know the Arabic meaning for a word. I saw settlements everywhere.... Going through checkpoints was really upsetting; it is very degrading, and they scream, they have their guns hanging in your car, it is very uncomfortable. It is something very sad but it is something that I don't want to neglect again for twenty years and I want my children to go too.... I don't want to hide my kids from any pain.... It is important to maintain ties to the place where your ancestors were born.

(Jennifer, University of Waterloo, June 5, 2009)

Similarly, Maher who had never visited Palestine, but was encouraged to go after his friends had travelled there, wondered about what his feeling would be when he visits the house where his father was born - but cannot go inside because it is occupied by an Israeli family now.

Even the whole village no longer exists as a Palestinian village. He explained:

What kind of emotion is it; were you happy... It will always be a mixed emotion; you can't tell if you are happy or sad... I always wonder, are you happy... are you upset? This is the place where you could be, and what would be your life if you grew up there, because you did not grow up there, you never had the chance, you'd probably be different... I can probably go there and see the house but I don't know how I am going to feel about that.

(Maher, phone interview, July 21, 2009)

Masoud, a high school student who came to Canada with his parents when he was six years old, mentioned that he visits Palestine every year with his mother and sister and he feels happy there because he enjoys being spoiled by aunts, uncles, and grandparents, and because he has the opportunity to socialize with his cousins. However, he also mentioned that he feels sad for his family there because there is always a siege around the cities and there is no place to go to for entertainment.

On the other hand, Maher mentioned that the overall impression after people come back would be the satisfaction of accomplishing something important. Moreover, all my interviewees mentioned that their return visits had strengthened their ties to Palestine and they all decided to go there regularly. For example, Maher explained:

My friends loved their visits, they felt very emotional about it, that they went and saw a lot of things... They enjoyed going there because they felt they accomplished something, they are now connected deeper with Palestine, with their identity because they went there and they stepped on the soil.

(Maher, phone-interview, July 21, 2009)

Likewise, Jennifer described her first visit to Palestine as very “emotional”, particularly that she saw her parents going back and meeting their families after thirty years of separation. She loved visiting with her parents the places in which they were born. It was an experience that she says she will never forget; just being there and seeing where her family came from meant a lot to her.

My interviewees revealed that although the return visit to Palestine reinforced their belonging and attachment to Palestine, it also reinforced their decision that it is Canada where they want to have their future residence. This finding is significant because it has implications for any discussion about *the right of return* of the Palestinian diaspora to their homeland. Earlier research about immigrants concluded that return visits facilitate return immigration (Duval, 2003; 2004), but this is not the case for the second-generation Palestinian Canadians. My interviewees mentioned that, although they love to visit, they cannot live there. The reasons for this include not fitting into the culture, lack of a safe life and security, no opportunities, violence, and, very importantly, a feeling of being strangers because they have no lived experience there. Thus, despite all the transnational practices of second-generation Palestinian Canadians, such as

their back-and-forth movements, most of them indicated that they would willingly live in Canada and that was their intention. For example, Jennifer said:

As much as I love to visit Falasteen³, I think I cannot live there. It is a very different lifestyle and it is hard for me, raised in the western world, to think about living in a country where Arabs are treated as second class citizens. It would hurt me too much. I do not see a future for peace and justice simultaneously, and would not want to settle down in such an unstable place.... Going to Falasteen makes me wish we had more Arab culture in Canada or a more vibrant Palestinian community, but I think honestly that there can never be an identity as the one that lives in the homeland. One thing I can say: this trip secured in me the sense that there will never be justice for Arabs in Israel and, as such, I could never live there. By default, it seems I have chosen that my life will be set up in Canada.

(Jennifer, University of Waterloo, June 5, 2009)

Maher also wondered about the differences that may exist between the image parents engrave in their minds about Palestine and the reality on the ground, and what he would do if the Israelis give the Palestinian diaspora *the right of return*. He explained:

It is probably a better image than the reality on the ground. I always ask myself if we get Palestine back are we going to go back there. From stories that we hear, Palestine is a beautiful place and... whether I would get back the right of return, would I actually go back and live there. I will feel like a foreigner because I would really feel like I am not really from there. I am more Canadian than Palestinian, that's how I would feel. The image says its perfect and living there is perfect.

(Maher, phone-interview, July 21, 2009)

7.4 Summary

This section examined the means by which the second-generation Palestinian Canadians maintain ties with the homeland, including the transnational practices in terms of back and forth movement to Palestine. The social connections with the homeland facilitated by technological advances and the efficient means of travel have resulted in the transnational nature of Palestinian Canadians, particularly the second generation who are more familiar with these technologies than their parents and who are also more enthusiastic about travelling.

³ Falasteen is the Arabic word of Palestine

Social contexts, such as the family and ethnic union, can strengthen the sense of belonging of the second-generation to transnational social spaces that, in turn, facilitate the development of transnational practices. The family context is where the second-generation Palestinian Canadians first get a sense of who they are and from where they originated. This generation has been raised in households full of homeland influences. This implies second-generation Palestinian Canadians who themselves experience transnational orientations and practices, such as travel for the purposes of family and ethnic reunion. In some cases, the second generation's sense of transnational belonging and participation are stronger than their parents. To the second-generation Palestinian Canadians, maintaining social interaction with grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins and other family members is important. Solidifying and rejuvenating these ties mean physical attachment and actual journeys to visit family, friends and members of same ethnic group in the country of origin. These findings are in line with the emergent literature (for example, Portes et al., 1999, Louie, 2006) that suggests that, analogous to the first generation; second-generation immigrants may experience transnationalism at the level of practice, for example, the back-and-forth movement, and at the same level as their parents. The interviews with the second generation have revealed that young Palestinian Canadians frequently return to Palestine to visit families and the places where they originated from, as well as for solidifying the social ties with their homeland. Thus, it is concluded that second-generation Palestinian immigrants have strong transnational belonging and are keenly participating in transnational activities.

These outcomes are in line with Louie's (2006) conclusion that second-generation immigrants with greater contacts within the family in the country of origin, ethnic language

maintenance, and the very frequent number of trips they make to their country of origin, are more likely to adopt from both transnational and ethnic orientations, meaning they identify who they are within both origin and destination contexts. This particular finding of the research is significant since it implies that travel patterns to immigrants' country of origin necessarily influence the extent to which the identity of the second-generation is transnational.

Chapter 8.0 Discussion

This study aimed to further understand the purpose of “visiting friends and relatives” (VFR) travel, which best exemplifies the relationship between tourism and migration. The study explored the transnationalism practices of Palestinian Canadians and issues of identity and hybridity. It examined the cultural, social, and political meanings associated with VFR travel for the first and second generation Palestinians. The main finding of the study is that the travel patterns of immigrant ethnic groups are strongly influenced by ties to the homeland. This is consistent with the existing studies of ethnic minorities, such as those in the UK that have been discussed earlier.

First-generation Palestinian Canadians who left Palestine considered their separation from their homeland to be only temporary, with intent to return to it at some stage. Therefore, their integration in the host society was not for the purposes of making the return smoother. However, as their return became increasingly more complicated and unlikely with the rapidly deteriorating conditions in their first homeland, they considered Canada as a “second home” and their future place of residence. Thus, they came to regard both the homeland and the host country, in varying degrees, as sources of identity. As a consequence, their identity became a “hybrid” of several components, including that of their ancestry and that of the host country.

Nevertheless, many aspects of their original culture were preserved and connections with the homeland were maintained by different means. VFR travel is one significant means of maintaining such connections. VFR travel is also significant for reinforcing identities for the second generation, as informants indicated that it is important for them to travel with their children to Palestine to learn the language, the traditions, and the culture and preserve their

identity. By investigating the Palestinian case, the study highlights the politics of mobility. Travel of Palestinian Canadians represents something much larger than maintaining social and cultural ties with the homeland; it is a source of pride, freedom, self-acclaimed strength, self-respect and a form of resistance.

On the other hand, the study emphasizes that the country of ancestry is a key factor that influences Palestinian Canadian travel. This is consistent with the UK-based study of Hughes and Allen (2010) who found that the first generation made and prioritized visits to the country of origin (Ireland). It is also consistent with the Canadian study by Duval (2003) who found that VFR travel of Caribbean migrants is an “adaptation mechanism” for maintaining social and cultural ties with the homeland and for preserving the Caribbean identity for other generations.

8.1 VFR Travel, Transnationalism, and Diaspora

A key characteristic of diaspora is that their point of reference is a place other than the place in which they currently reside (Hughes & Allen, 2010). It was found in this study of Palestinian Canadians that transnational activities enhance connections with family and homeland. Part of this is VFR travel to Palestine for those Palestinians who have the opportunity to do so. When physical contact is not possible, connection is maintained by other transnational means available through technological advancements as telephone, internet chats, Skype, Facebook, and web-based Palestinian organizations that bring together Palestinians from all over the world. These transnational activities create a network of relationships spanning the globe. Thus, diaspora affects the process of identification and belonging in several ways. In other words, transnational activities for which mobility is a prerequisite, foster “hybrid” or “hyphenated” identities where members of diaspora experience feelings of attachment, security,

stability and belonging to more than one place (Figure 8.1). Within this context, some scholars, such as Schultz and Hammer (2003) go further and argue that transnational activities not only reinforce family relationships but also boost nationalism in a cosmopolitan world, rather than making it obsolete.

As shown in Figure 8.1, globalization has led to increased human mobility and crossing international borders this in turn reinforces the social and cultural ties that transnational immigrants have with their friends and families. Such migrants are pulled by their homelands to make return visits to maintain the ties with their friends and relatives which in turn facilitates the formation of hybrid identities as the Palestinian identity has been de-territorialized from the physical boundaries of Palestine and then goes through the process of hybridization. Palestinian Canadians give a great significance to the enhancement of family and ethnic reunion, as well as the preservation of their Palestinian identity. All these in turn become the main motivation for their travel for their homeland “visiting friends and family”.

The figure also demonstrates that both first and second generations are attached to Palestine as their homeland. However, for the first generation Palestine is the homeland as it is the main source of their identity but they are also attached to the country they live in, while for the second generation Palestine is one of places to which they belong. This reflects the fluidity of connections between places, host and home countries, which can be viewed through different lenses, all of which are considered as constitutive of the immigrant’s life world.

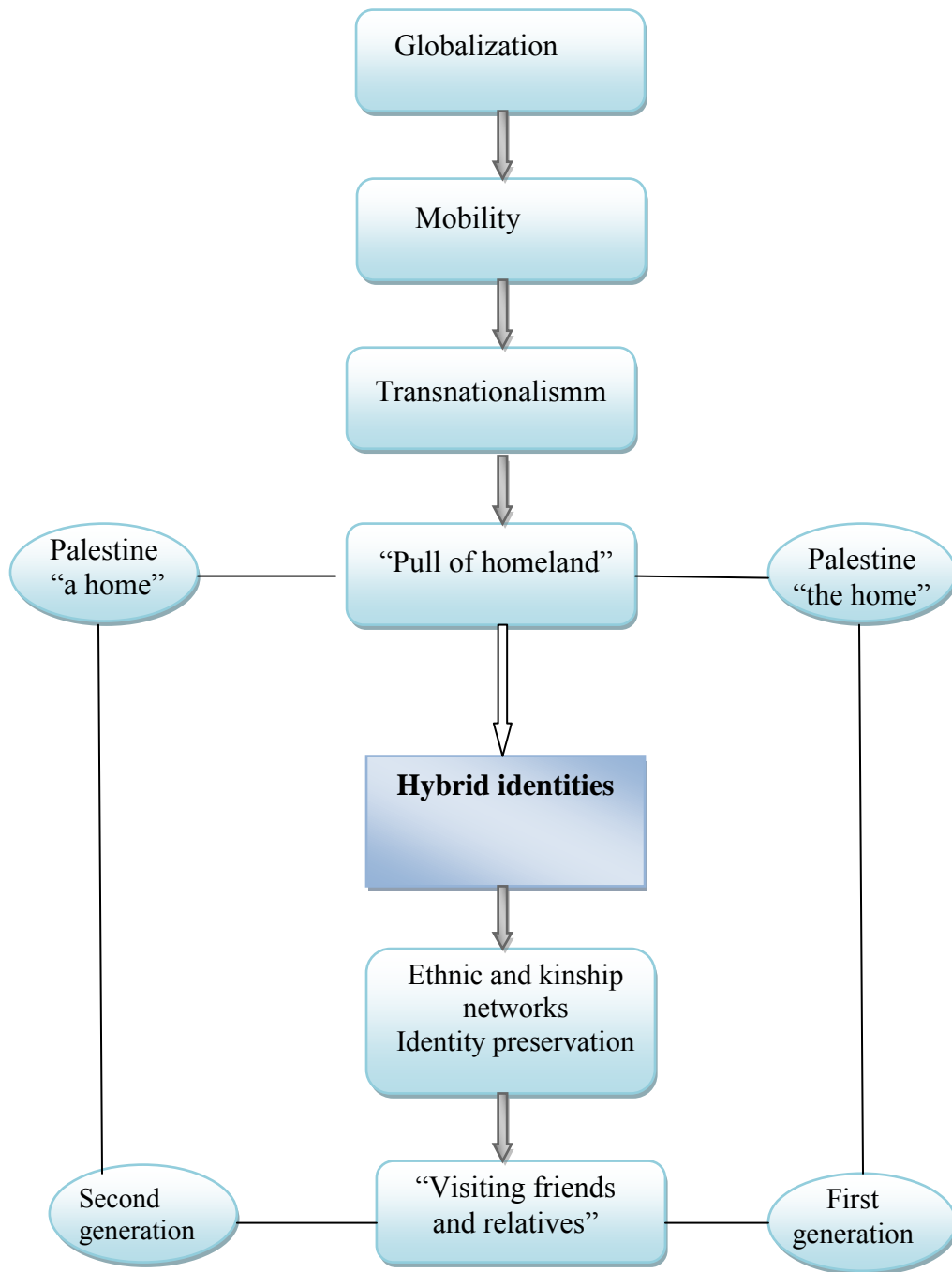


Figure 8.1: Conceptualization of VFR travel

8.2 Intergenerational Differences

The violent nature of the dispersal of their parents and ancestors and the dispersal of their relatives have created a special bond between second generation Palestinian Canadians and their homeland. Young Palestinian Canadians demonstrate strong solidarity and sympathy with the Palestinians living under the occupation or in the refugee camps. Such bonds greatly enhance their Palestinian identity; however, the process of identification has altered, particularly for the second generation. For them, Palestine is a significant source of identity but, in Canada, they have espoused new ways of life, new cultural as well as social traditions and values and, as a consequence, they find that they no longer fit well within the Palestinian culture in their homeland. Thus, their identities can be referred to as “global identity”. Their future place of residence is Canada so they are more fortunate than the majority of Palestinian diaspora as they have been able to find a new homeland with citizenship rights.

In terms of travel to visit friends and relatives, there was always an emphasis on the part of the first generation that these trips should be family-based. However, few previous studies (for example, Stephenson, 2002; Stephenson & Hughes, 2005; Hughes & Allen, 2010) have focused on the meaning of these visits to the new generations. A Canadian study of Caribbean immigrants focused on the new generation only (Duval, 2004). Unlike the results of Ali and Holden (2006) who studied the Pakistani community in Luton, near London, where return visits were undertaken less “voluntarily” by young Pakistanis and, thus, a type of obligation was demonstrated, the second generation Palestinian Canadians demonstrated much enthusiasm for voluntarily undertaking such trips. Issues of marriage do not come up for the second generation Palestinians as for the Pakistanis.

The second-generation Palestinian Canadians demonstrated a desire to visit their extended family in Palestine where they get spoiled, to meet cousins of the same age and to interact with the Palestinian community and homeland. These visits certainly contribute to the identity formation of the second generation. These trips undertaken by young Palestinian immigrants may be described in many cases as roots-related trips. Travel to Palestine provides members of the diaspora with opportunities to find answers to questions about their roots, their past, and their sense of belonging in the Palestinian context. These findings are similar to the findings of Stephenson and Hughes (2005) who examined Afro-Caribbeans, but are unlike those of Hughes and Allen (2010), who examined the Irish community in Manchester where such visits by second-generation Irish were suggested to be related to a desire to maintain emotional ties to the family and a “special place”, rather than discovering heritage or roots. In this situation, where the distance is short and access is relatively easy, both the first and second generations make frequent trips to the homeland.

This study also found that most first-generation Palestinian Canadians identify themselves as Palestinians; however, they do also have a strong sense of belonging and attachment to Canada. Thus, their visits to Palestine have been motivated by the “pull” of the homeland rather than the “push” of the host country. The second generation Palestinian Canadians also identify themselves as Palestinian Canadians and they are proud of being Palestinian but they perceive themselves as being more Canadian than Palestinian. Similar to the first generation, their visits to Palestine are motivated by the “pull” of the homeland. Both first and second generations describe their experiences of visiting friends and relatives in the homeland as positive on the personal level, but they were often saddened because of the deteriorating conditions in Palestine. They spend most of the time on their visit with their friends

and relatives. However, the ways that the first and second generations perceive themselves through their visits are different. While the first generation consider themselves to be insiders or locals while they are visiting, the second generation feel that they are more like guests, but very special guests, and sometimes they act like tourists as they visit cities in Palestine, especially the sacred places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. On the other hand, because of their frequent visits, they feel that they are perceived as insiders by their relatives and family in the homeland.

Neither the first nor the second generation consider Palestine as their future place of residence; however the first generation consider Palestine as “the home” while Canada will always be “a home”. For the second generation, the orientation towards Palestine and Canada is similar; however Palestine is the ancestral homeland, that is highly politicized, which they will always belong, and from which much of their identity is drawn, even if they have only visited occasionally, if at all. On the other hand, Canada is the home where they see themselves as fitting in more easily socially and culturally, and where they want to live. Table 8.1 provides a comparison of the inter-generational similarities and differences.

Table 8.1: An inter-generational comparison

	First Generation	Second Generation
Identification	Palestinian	Palestinian Canadians
Orientation to Palestine	the home	the ancestral home
Orientation to Canada	a home	the home
Future place of residence	Canada	Canada
Sense of belonging to Palestine and Canada	strong sense of belonging to both	strong sense of belonging to both
Identity	hybrid	hybrid
Frequency of VFR travel	regular	regular
Significance of VFR travel	very significant	very significant
Perceive themselves while visiting	insiders and locals	very special guests and tourists
Experience of visiting	positive	positive
Priority of Palestine in overseas travel	prioritized	Prioritized but less so

8.3 Dual citizenship and human rights

This study has revealed that Palestinian Canadians greatly value the civil liberties and human rights that they enjoy as Canadian citizens. However, although they view Canadian citizenship as a source of political and social security, as Jennifer said in her interview, this is still a theory that has to be tested. The question that is raised here is: if things go wrong or if a Palestinian Canadian were to be detained while visiting Palestine, would the Canadian Embassy rescue them? If Jennifer did not get the chance to test her theory that the Canadian Embassy would rescue her if she needed protection, Raja did, as she was visiting her family in Gaza in the winter of 2008–2009 and got stuck by a three-week armed conflict that started with a surprise opening Israeli air strike against the Gaza Strip on December 27, 2008. Raja mentioned that she contacted the Canadian Embassy in Tel Aviv to help her get out but they did nothing.

On the other hand, Canada provides forewarnings on Citizenship and Immigration on Canada's website (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010) about the difficulties that will face their dual nationals if accessing consular and diplomatic protection:

“If a Canadian has legal or other difficulties outside the country, Canadian diplomatic and consular representatives in that country can try to help. However, if the Canadian in difficulty in another country is also a citizen of that country, Canadian officials may be entirely unable to help. That country will be dealing with one of its own citizens and probably will not welcome “outside interference.” Indeed, foreign authorities will definitely consider you as one of their citizens, especially if you choose to travel under their passport”.

Many cases have been documented recently related to the suspension of the Canadian federal government of its diplomatic protection of male dual citizens of Muslim background caught in the security context. These cases have certainly raised serious human rights concerns: for example, Ahmad El Maati was tortured over two years in Syrian and then Egyptian prisons by officials who employed information obtained from Canadian law enforcement and intelligence agencies. El Maati had made a lawsuit against the Canadian federal government in January 2006 demanding the truth about its role in his imprisonment. The suspension or laxly practiced protection of dual citizens against illegal detention and alleged torture in foreign states are of great concern, particularly in this mobile world (Stasiluis & Ross, 2006). As Forcese (2004 qtd. in Stasiluis & Ross, 2006) noted:

“non-responsibility doctrine which limits state's rights to provide diplomatic protection to their dual nationals is a dangerous concept in a world where people regularly cross borders and where abuse of rights in a country of one's non-residence is almost invariably dealt with by seeking help from one's country of (effective) nationality”.

Such flexible sovereignty of governments requires further research as it has implications for the relationship between nation-states and the increasing number of individuals who hold dual citizenships and a variety of citizenship statuses in an era of increased global migration, global human movements of all kinds, and global war.

8.3 Travel as a political statement

The investigation of the Palestinian case has highlighted the politics of mobility. With struggle and resistance as main ingredients of the Palestinian ideology, many Palestinian Canadians consider that visiting family and friends in the homeland is a strategy to resist their current separation and dispersal, and as a political statement it indicates that Palestinians are not and will never be defeated. The real impact of their resistance may not be measured externally, but by its internal consequences. Travel to Palestine, despite all the difficulties it entails while crossing borders, facing checkpoints, and the siege and the deteriorated conditions that prevail there, there is a source of pride, self, respect, happiness and freedom when they are confronted and hopefully overcome. Travel to a homeland where they are constrained from returning, is a political statement that indicates that Palestinians are not defeated, and will not succumb. Canadian citizenship breaks their immobility and enables them to visit their homeland. This has the significant meaning of being an active participant and not a passive victim.

8.4 Discussion

Globalization entails rapidly increasing mobility through which modern society is moving in the direction of “zero-friction” and, as a result, capital, goods, people, information and signs are moving increasingly freely around the globe. However, the investigation of the travel of Palestinian Canadians demonstrates a case of diaspora with immense friction as people have difficulty in visiting their homeland. Their transnational activity is significantly restricted through visa protocols and check points. The study highlights the ongoing decisive role of states and governments in determining mobility and rights, in spite of the increasing rhetoric of borderless mobility.

Mobility takes place at a wide variety of temporal and spatial scales and, as such, it can be regarded as a continuum of movement that is becoming increasingly significant. As indicated in the preceding sentence it occurs in at least two dimensions, time and space, although the latter has both horizontal and vertical components, the former has been emphasized in this thesis. The latter is relevant to such movements as transhumance when people may move up and down the side of a mountain. Mobility includes short journeys such as to shop in the neighborhood, commuting, visiting nearby friends and families as well as longer movements as in some business travel, long distance commuting, study abroad, extended recreational travel, many vacations, travel for seasonal work, and so on. Such population movements may occur across hours, days, weeks, months and years, and take place at the local, regional, national and international scales.

Mobility, which has been defined as the movement either in real or “virtual” spaces of people and objects (Kaufmann, 2002) is an increasingly important theme in the social sciences. Some consider it to be a point of departure for understanding modern societies. Thus, for example, John Urry (2007), in his monograph *Mobilities*, suggested that mobility should be positioned as a key concept in understanding late modern society and this new proposition has been described in the literature as the “new mobility paradigm”. Researchers in migration, tourism and transport studies are increasingly engaged in thinking about mobility, and its opposite immobility, at a variety of scales, and incorporating this perspective into their research.

Human mobility in terms of people crossing national borders has also increased in association with globalization, which leads to large-scale movements of all kinds: temporary and permanent movement of labour; refugees; individuals and families; highly skilled specialists and manual workers, and so on. Human mobility, which maps the time-space geographies of everyday life, takes different forms in terms of frequency, distance, duration, and scale. Globalization is

creating new forms of mobility. Mobility between places and the seeking out of new and former communities play a significant role in identity formation. However, attempts to generate definitions of temporary, as well as permanent human mobility based on motivation are no longer successful. Both forms of mobility, short and the long-term, are characterized by mixed motivations: mobility can be undertaken for consumption or production purposes, or for a combination of both. As identified by Williams and Hall (2002, p.6), mobility is a “means to combine goals in space”. Definitions of places of home, work, first home or second home, places of origins and destinations are becoming more complicated in the 21st Century as a result of increased mobility, and as a consequence distinctions between these categories are also breaking down.

This study has explored points on the continuum of mobility, in particular the relationship between two main forms of mobility: tourism and migration. The study has demonstrated that tourism and migrations, as two important social phenomena, are not separate and that there is a significant nexus between them. Taking into consideration the era of globalization with its increased mobility, the study has explored the generation of changing and multiple identities and diasporic communities, shedding more light on the transnational spaces that individuals belong to which, in turn, reflect and have implications for travel as revealed in the movements that occur between the places of origin of immigrants (which become destinations) and the new places of residence (which become new origins). These movements are influenced by the extent to which immigrants maintain social and cultural ties that cross the borders of the host country within which they are living. On the other hand, the study has demonstrated, through the investigation of the Palestinian case, that although some borders have been broken down as a result of globalization, others have been reinforced. The investigation of the travel of the Palestinian Canadians who still face restrictions on their mobility has also demonstrated that not all people

are free to be mobile and are living in a “zero-friction” society. Part of the problem for many Palestinian Canadians is forms of immobility that is linked to rights and documentation.

This study also explored issues of citizenship. It shows that migrants are living within national spaces but with a variety of citizenship statuses ranging from non-citizenship, to partial citizenship, to full rights-bearing citizenship. Citizenship has three dimensions: as a status, as rights and as identity. As a form of hierarchical citizenship, dual nationality creates what Stasiluis and Ross (2006) called “hyphenated citizenships”, e.g., Palestinian-Canadian, Syrian-Canadian, or Jordanian-Canadian, that are at all times rooted in specific nation-states. The study suggests that forms of citizenship have implications not only for the global mobility of peoples, but also for the increasing transnationalism of immigrants’ lives. From the perspective of migrants, dual or multiple citizenship is viewed as a way of extending their geographical spaces and, thus, enhancing personal and familial advantage. With the intensification of travel and international migration, and with the increased time that immigrants spend outside their country of nationality and their country of primary residence, their protection by their state of “effective” nationality is suggested to be significant citizenship right in a hyper-mobile world.

Return visits of the Palestinian Canadians have not only social and cultural meaning, but significant political meanings as well. This is not surprising in the case of the Palestinians with a homeland that is a highly politicized place. Resistance and struggle are part of the Palestinian ideology and, thus, their travel to Palestine is a political statement. To not travel is to admit defeat, and to travel, despite the restriction on mobility in terms of visa and documentation, is important in order to show that Palestinians are active producers of their own life rather than mere victims of things that have happened. This is equally significant across generations.

Chapter 9.0 Evaluation, Observation and Conclusion

The main goal of the research was to provide empirical research on the nature of the relationship between tourism and migration as exemplified by the investigation of VFR travel. Four research objectives were identified through an initial review of the literature on VFR tourism, transnationalism and migration. These objectives were addressed through an analysis of data obtained from a questionnaire survey and key informant and in-depth interviews conducted with members of the Palestinian community in the Greater Toronto area. This concluding chapter summarizes the findings related to each objective and outlines several implications. The chapter ends with a summary of the research contributions and suggestions for future research.

9.1 Evaluation of Research Objectives

9.1.1 Establishing the Travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians

The first objective was to establish the overseas travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). This objective was met through the analysis of the quantitative data obtained from the questionnaire survey. It was found that connections with the homeland are maintained through VFR travel which is a main element of such connections. Palestine is a key issue in Palestinian Canadians' travel and tourism decisions. It was also found that 44% of Palestinian Canadians take at least one overseas trip every two years, which indicates that Palestinian Canadians have a high propensity to travel and are actually travelling overseas. Palestine is their dominant destination when they travel and the main motivation for their return trips to their homeland is visiting friends and relatives.

The following factors influence the overseas travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians: place of birth, duration of residence in Canada, owning a property or a business, intended future

place of residence, where the first home is considered to be, sense of belonging to Palestine, experience of visiting Palestine, length of stay while visiting, marital status, age, and number of children.

Furthermore, it was found that the following groups have a higher propensity to travel than others: those who were born in Palestine, who are established immigrants (living in Canada for more than 6 years, particularly more than 12 years), who own a property or a business in Palestine, who consider Canada as their future intended place of residence, who consider Palestine their first home, who have a strong sense of belonging to Palestine, who have had a good or very good visit to Palestine, who stay in Palestine for less than a month when they visit, who are between the ages of 31 and 41, who have no children, followed by those who have two or three children.

9.1.2 Identifying the Role of Family and Ethnic Reunion in Shaping the Travel Patterns.

The second objective was to determine the ways in which family and ethnicity influence the travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians. This objective was achieved by the analysis of quantitative data and the interpretation of qualitative data obtained from the questionnaire surveys and the in-depth interviews with the Palestinian Canadians in the GTA area. It was found that the majority (77%) of the Palestinian Canadians travel to “visit friends and relatives”. Thus, their travel is defined in terms of “ethnic reunion” which involves travelling for the purpose of visiting friends and relatives and maintaining cultural ties with their parental homeland, as well as attaining cultural knowledge of the customs and way of life there. This is especially the case for the second generation Palestinian immigrants. It was also found that ethnicity is a significant “pull factor” for Palestinian Canadians’ overseas travel to their homeland. The analysis showed

how parents have an important role in encouraging their children to maintain ties with their country of origin. The parents enhance the cultural knowledge of the second generation by maintaining culture, traditions and the language and, thus, enabling individuals to create a personal connection with the homeland.

9.1.3 Identifying the Social and Cultural Significance of VFR Travel

The third objective of the research was to investigate the meaning of the VFR travel as a transnational exercise for the first and second generations. This objective was achieved by the interpretation of the qualitative data obtained from the in-depth interviews and from the field observations. Meeting this objective required deeper understanding of how Palestinian Canadians position themselves within the context of their host and home country, and the means to foster the bridging of identities and ties with homeland. This, in turn, led to an investigation of the authentic belonging of Palestinian Canadians to a transnational identity and in their participation in transnational activities to maintain and strengthen transnational social bonds. It was found the VFR travel (return visits) in the case of the Palestinian Canadians serve three main purposes: Maintaining an active social and cultural network in the homeland; maintaining culture, traditions, and language, particularly for the second generation immigrants; and as a political statement (not to travel is to admit defeat).

The study revealed that that travel is a way to reassert the family heritage and to reassert particular family relations. Despite the uncertainty prevailing in their homeland, the Palestinian Canadians consider it significant to travel with their children to the country of their ancestors. Parents assert their parental authority by travelling to the homeland. Therefore, they travel to the homeland with their children in order to sensitize them to Palestinian values and to maintain the

Palestinian culture through face-to-face interaction. However, they travel with their children only when the conditions in Palestine allow them to do so. They never compromise the safety of their children. Thus, changing the time of their return trip to Toronto as a response to any unexpected deterioration in conditions in Palestine is very common in the Palestinian-Canadian case.

The Palestinian case demonstrates the significant role social capital plays in VFR travel. Many Palestinian Canadians visit their friends and families to maintain the strength of their social ties, to sensitize children to Palestinian values, to solidify their links with a source of future social support, to avoid feeling like strangers, and to suffer with family that remained at home.

It was also found that the Palestinian Canadians are strongly positioned on the first quadrant of the grid/group representation because of their strong sense of transnational belonging and strong transnational participation which best exemplifies the relationship between tourism and migration. Lastly, it was found that the strong belonging to transnational identity and strong participation in transnational activities significantly affect the mobilities of Palestinian immigrants in the form of physical sojourns from place of residence to homeland to solidify social and cultural ties.

For the second generation, it was found that because they have been raised in households full of homeland influences; they do experience transnational orientations and practices at a similar level as their parents. This includes travelling to the parental country of origin for the purposes of family and ethnic reunion. Second-generation Palestinian Canadians also maintained ties with homeland by means of transnational communication technology that facilitates developing “virtual” and “three-dimensional” relationships with Palestine, bringing Palestinians together and bridging the distances that separate them. It was also found that with greater

contacts within the family in the country of origin, ethnic language maintenance and the frequent number of trips they make to their country of origin, young Palestinian Canadians are adopting from both transnational and ethnic orientations and, thus, their identity is formed within both origin and destination contexts.

9.1.4 Examining the Relationship of VFR with Citizenship Status, Generation, and Duration of Residence

The fourth objective of this study was to examine relationships between travelling to Palestine and the place of birth on the one hand, and the length of residence in Canada on the other hand, as well as the relationship between the overseas travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians and their citizenship status. This objective was achieved by analyzing the quantitative data from the questionnaire which was complemented with the qualitative data from the in-depth interviews regarding the ways that Palestinian Canadians perceive their Canadian citizenship. It was found that the great majority (85%) of Palestinian Canadians who visit Palestine were born in Palestine. It was also found that the most visits to Palestine are made by those who have been in Canada for longer than 12 years, and landed immigrants whose length of stay in Canada is between 1-3 years. Regarding citizenship status, it was found that Palestinian immigrants who have received Canadian citizenship travel overseas more than landed immigrants. These results make sense in the case of the Palestinian immigrants in Canada as Canadian citizenship significantly facilitates travel to Palestine and provide a type of security while there. Acquisition of citizenship also confers increased freedom, opportunities and mobility for the Palestinian community in Canada in terms of their outbound travel.

9.2 Research Contribution

From the research objectives examined, this dissertation makes several academic and practical contributions to the literature. From an academic perspective, it contributes to the literature by filling many research gaps, particularly in the ways that migration and tourism interrelate among groups of immigrants with new overseas travel patterns. This research examines one dimension (the overseas travel of immigrants) of the relationship between tourism and migration that is comparatively neglected in the academic literature. The research also contributes to the literature by exploring a rarely researched area - the relationship between travel patterns of immigrants and citizenship status. This investigation adds to the citizenship literature by examining how immigrants view their Canadian citizenship and the ways it affects their mobility. The study highlights the politics of mobility by investigating the travel of Palestinian Canadians and the way that they perceive this travel as a political statement. It also emphasizes the role of social capital in VFR travel. The study also fills an academic research gap in examining the significant differences between first and second generations in terms of travel patterns and the ties they maintain to their country of origin. Thus, the research answers several research questions that have not been pursued previously.

Given that, in a globalizing world, diasporas have significant and practical roles, in the sense that members of diaporic communities maintain relationships and ties with several places, particularly their country of origin, the research has shed additional light on diaspora population as the source of ` transnational communities by emphasizing a main aspect of their transnational life: travelling for family and ethnic reunion and to preserve links with a country of origin. Unlike existing literature about VFR travel which provides insight into the size and economic

significance of the VFR tourism market, the research highlights the inherent social, cultural and political meanings associated with such trips. It also provides insights into the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora and the role they play in such travel. The research also contributes to a broader understanding of specific constructs, such as transnationalism, which is itself a very broad notion.

9.2.1 The Palestinian Case and its Contribution to the Literature

Displacement of Palestinians from their homeland, dispossession of their land, their politicized exile, and the complexities of their lived experiences make the case of diaspora Palestinians a significant subject for research. This case examines shifts in relationships with the country of origin and negotiations of the concepts of belonging, home, family and ethnic ties for successive generations of dispossessed Palestinians. It contributed to knowledge regarding the ways transnationalism supports these concepts. For example, highlighting the intergenerational differences of Palestinian Canadians in terms of maintaining transnational ties with their country of origin may add to the academic literature that transnationalism is a differentiated process. In addition to the differences already existing between Palestinian communities living in Canada and other end destinations of diasporas, the case of Palestinians in the literature (for example, Maison, 2007; Durai, 2002; Schulz & Hammer, 2003) reveals that transnationalism is a dynamic process as it has developed within the elite in response to changes at home, but has remained nearly unchanged among the greater part of Palestinians affected by the diasporas. Furthermore, the Palestinian case has implications for other diasporas by drawing attention to the situation where immigrants come from an unstable political situation and persecution and, thus, their

migration to Canada is motivated by a search for freedom, equality, democracy, and human rights.

Although Palestinians do not have a long history of immigration to Canada compared to other groups, this history goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century. However, Palestinian Canadians remain one of the least studied ethnic groups and they are hardly mentioned in any survey or study in Canada. This is so, even though published data show there are increasing numbers of Palestinians immigrating to Canada. Furthermore, there is a lack of comprehensive studies focusing on Palestinian immigrants as a transnational community although a large number of significant studies focus on specific Palestinian refugee situations. Most international academic studies in the Palestinians context focus on the politics of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) and issues related to the conflict with Israel. With some exceptions (see for example Mason, 2007; Schulz & Hammer, 2003; Brand, 1988; Ghabra, 1987; Sayigh, 1994; Habib, forthcoming), Palestinian diasporas have been noticeably absent from academic research. However, the need to analyze the transnational lives of diaspora Palestinians is becoming more acute given the recent political environment in the Middle East. It also has high relevance to Canada and its policies of multiculturalism. The study shows that VFR travel is a significant transnational activity that diaspora Palestinians living in the Toronto area practice in order to maintain ties with their homeland. Although in many cases Palestine was not the point of departure for them, yet it may be considered as the point of reference.

Furthermore, the Palestinian case makes a distinctive contribution to the diaspora literature by addressing the ways homeland has remained central to ideas of identity, home and belonging to the later generations of diaspora Palestinians, particularly to those who have no lived experience of Palestine. Given the high complexity of the Palestinian case, it lends itself to

innovative and theoretically valuable research in terms of citizenship, mobility and human rights. The Palestinian case has demonstrated the ways in which the politics of place make the homeland central in shaping the Palestinian identity in the diaspora. The travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians has also demonstrated the politics of mobility. Palestinian Canadian travel and return visits to their homeland are symbols of resistance and their rejection of giving up and surrendering, regardless of the cost. Furthermore, the Palestinian case demonstrates how immobility, linked to rights and documentation, is imposed by the state, but also how transnational subjects attempt to challenge that imposition.

From a practical perspective, the research furthers understanding of Palestinian Canadians ties with their original homelands and the movements that occur between their places of origin (which become destinations) and the new places of residence (which become new origins). Furthermore, as there are no previous research-based surveys of the travel patterns of Palestinian Canadians, this research is novel in that it documents and assesses Palestinian immigrants' outbound travel patterns and experiences. Such a survey may form a baseline for any future data about Palestinians in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The study may help organizations interested in Palestinian diasporic communities to make a better assessment of their situation and has implications for the right of return which is subject to intense international political. A resolution to this particular issue is expected as a part of any final settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

9.3 Future Research

Suggestions for future research are provided in this section. Such research will add to the studies of the relationship between tourism and migration, the role of travel for family and ethnic

reunion that follows immigration in tourism and the impacts of VFR tourism on the travel destination.

- 1) This study has examined one direction of VFR travel which is the travel of Palestinian Canadians to their homeland, Palestine; however, the other direction of travel is seen in the travel of the friends and families of Palestinian Canadians who are invited by the Palestinian immigrants to visit them in Canada. This flow has yet to be examined. This direction of flow of VFR travelers from country of origin to country of residence is also worthy of examination. The impact of these travelers on the tourism sector in Canada may also merit further research.
- 2) This study has revealed that visiting family and friends in Palestine is often prioritized whenever Palestinian Canadians consider tourism and travel decisions. This has implications for the economy of the travel destination which is, in this case, Palestine. This may also represent a productive area of research.
- 3) In light of the recent technological developments and advancements in transport and communication that facilitate the communication and travel of minority groups to their country of origin, further research is required that examines the role of ethnic reunion in the immigrants' new travel patterns. Such relationship between tourism and ethnicity is relatively unexplored. Further theoretical and empirical analysis is essential to provide a holistic understanding of the interplay between ethnicity - that has particular relevance to diaspora - and tourism.

- 4) In a country such as Canada, where the reception of immigrants, both forced and voluntary, has been commonplace and multiculturalism has been the policy, there are considerable opportunities to explore the immigration and transnational experiences of numerous groups of migrants. Research on other ethnic groups may lead to the identification of similarities and differences, and reasons for these, eventually resulting in the creation of a general model of ethnic and family ties in travel patterns and the propensity to travel to the country of the ancestors.
- 5) While this dissertation was driven initially by an interest in tourism research, a theoretically fertile framework for investigation may be proposed for future research that further examines the continuing role of state actors in determining mobility and rights, despite the increasing rhetoric of borderless mobility. Furthermore, given governments' interests in the "global war against terrorism", the implications of the cases that demonstrate the ways in which governments have become flexible in their management of sovereignty by providing diplomatic protection of dual citizens while travelling or when things go wrong in the country they are visiting, requires further examination. In particular, the significance of these practices for a rights-based view of citizenship merits exploration.
- 6) Return visits in some cases highlighted disagreements and tension between couples as gender relations have been transformed by migration. Many Palestinian Canadian men change their attitudes and become more strict and conservative under the influence of their family during their visits to Palestine. The gender complexity that is created by immigration deserves more thorough investigation.

- 7) Although the study of the VFR travel of Palestinian Canadians addressed the role that social capital plays in such travel, further research is required in order to provide further insights into this phenomenon. Furthermore, research into the investment in social relationship through VFR travel could make a significant contribution to the social capital literature.

9.4 Major Insights

This research has several implications. The first is in terms of the consideration of a transnational approach for understanding immigrants' mobility, particularly VFR travel and its role in solidifying the strands of multiple identities that are becoming more global, rather than a diaspora approach that focuses on immigrants' adaptation in their new country. The former is more inclusive, recognizing the possibility of multiple homes and associated identities, and it can help scholars to understand the propensity for VFR, as a transnational activity, to take place. There is a need to further examine the deeper meanings that underpin VFR travel, particularly in the context of migration and transnational communities. The study shows that VFR travel means for the immigrant much more than a trip to visit family and relatives. VFR travel to the Palestinians is a political "symbol" of their ability to overcome their victimization and their dispersal (*shatat*). Such a complicated motivation for travel is not captured well by the VFR category because it does not fully embrace the deeper meanings associated with such trips.

Second, investigation of the Palestinian community in Canada has revealed that significant social and cultural ties exist in both the natal home and with Canada. The Palestinian diaspora has experienced more than one cycle of migration (displacement) and, with each cycle, they have left family and friends behind with whom they want to maintain social and cultural

ties. This has implications for the definition of such basic terms as “the return visit”. Return visit does not necessarily imply travel to the homeland but to any number of places where significant social and cultural ties may exist.

Third, there are implications for the significance of ethnicity as a “pull factor” of motivation in shaping specific forms of travel. The established standpoints of tourism motivation and behaviour do not fully reflect the significance of ethnicity. Thus, the study reinforces Stephenson’s (2002, p. 378) conclusion that “ethnic reunion should be conceptually viewed as a distinct form of ‘travel’, socio-culturally dissimilar to conventional forms of ‘tourism’ ”.

Fourth, the investigation of the Palestinian Canadian case has revealed that Palestinians, particularly the second generation, overwhelmingly expect to stay in Canada. This may have implications for the right of return that may be achieved during future negotiations. It suggests that liberal immigration policies will promote peace settlements in the region. The more Palestinians are allowed to integrate into the host society, the more their Palestinian identity becomes “hyphenated” and transnational. Most Palestinians living in other countries may have no other identities to select from; consequently, their identity may remain, in a sense, more pure and more strongly Palestinian. These Palestinians are more likely to insist on the opportunity to return to Palestine than the Palestinian Canadians.

9.5 Conclusion

Mobility is a vital component of late modernity and it creates the potential for a wide range of possibilities that facilitates the kind of life we know. The field of mobility is wide-ranging and encompasses migration, tourism, visiting friends and relatives, information and communications technology, and our everyday life. The ways we practice the mobilities of our everyday life is part of our identity and it gives meaning to ourselves. This study examined mobility of one of the

transnational communities in Toronto area in terms of their overseas travel patterns and explained how their travel to homeland is part of their identity formation.

Given the limited research and understanding of the interplay of the different forms of mobility of transnational communities in cosmopolitan Metropolises, this study of travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadian community in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) has focused on their VFR travel which best exemplifies the relationship between tourism and migration. The study focused on the impact of family and ethnic reunion on their travel patterns. It has also emphasized the factors that shape the travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians. The study examined the relationship between their return visits to Palestine with their citizenship status. It also examined the ways Palestinian immigrants in the GTA area view their Canadian citizenship.

The outbound travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians demonstrate a significant ethnic tourism component. Palestinian Canadians travel to their country of birth as their dominant outbound travel destination for the purposes of visiting friends and relatives and maintaining social and cultural ties, indicating strong links with homeland that have ethnic underpinnings. Family ties play a significant role in shaping the outbound travel of Palestinian Canadians. The study demonstrates the strong sense of family that is associated with a strong sense of Palestinian identity.

The study also furthers understanding and provides an overview of the significance of cultural and social meanings associated with the “visiting friends and relatives” (VFR) segment of tourism. It focused on Palestinian immigrants’ insights and experiences in order to situate the social phenomena studied (i.e., tourism and migration) within their own context and setting. The study reveals that the social and cultural meanings behind the return visits - which are temporary

physical sojourns to the home country and are conceptualized as a transnational exercise - of the Palestinian Canadians are fostered and rationalized to maintain family and social ties, and to maintain culture and language, particularly for the second generation. It is also a means of resistance of separation caused by forced dispersal and its consequences. The study also revealed that attachment to Palestine is a major driver of the international travel patterns, and perhaps even of the recreational activities, of the first and second generation of Palestinian Canadians in the GTA area.

This study adopted a qualitative approach by examining the meanings of “home”, “belonging” and “identity” for first- and second-generation immigrants. The study has shown how the notion of transnationalism and transnational identities may play a role in generating VFR tourism. The study demonstrated the ways in which Palestinian Canadians construct their identity within different socio-spatial contexts through their travel insights and experiences. A distinct feature of the Palestinian community in the GTA area is a strong sense of belonging to the host country that provides them with security, rights and freedom and, simultaneously, a strong sense of belonging to a homeland that is often linked to a lost home and the hardships of living separated from its land and culture. The Palestinian community in the GTA area is characterized by strong intercommunity networks on many levels, such as family ties and global communication. These strong connections facilitate the preservation and negotiation of Palestinian transnational identities.

Palestine is one source, but not the only source, for identification of Palestinian Canadians in the GTA which results in the formation of multi-layered identities that are “hybrid” and are in flux, in a continuous condition of redefinition, re-creation and adjustment. Thus, the utilization of “strategic hybridity” allows many Palestinian Canadians to move fluidly between

the different elements that form their identities. This is demonstrated in the relationships these immigrants have with both the host and home country, with implications for their travel patterns. The Palestinian case shows that Palestine, as a place that is highly politicized, remains central to the Palestinian identity in the diaspora. Being politically active can occur in an international realm. It may be concluded that the politics of a “place” may be not less important than the “place” in shaping the identities of diaspora communities.

The study found that VFR travel for the Palestinian Canadians contributed to the process of identity formation, a process that is facilitated by strong sense of belonging to Canada. Thus, it is concluded that the temporary mobility of immigrants in the form of back and forth movement to the country of origin is influenced by their degree of their belonging and participation in transnational social spaces. Furthermore, this also works in the opposite direction in that immigrants’ identities are modified through their mobility, particularly their travel to places where social and ethnic ties are significant.

The study highlights the significance of face-to-face connection friends and families to the Palestinian Canadians, despite the danger of travelling to the West Bank and Gaza. The VFR travel in the Palestinian case demonstrates the significant role that social capital plays in VFR travel. It is suggested that Palestinian Canadians VFR travelers visit their friends and families to maintain the strength of social ties; to solidify the prospects of future social support; to avoid feeling like a stranger; and to suffer with family that is left behind. The study shows the complexity of the Palestinian Canadian motivation for VFR travel, including the sense of commitment to those who are left behind and still suffering, loyalty to their homeland, sense of obligation to an identity that is at risk, feelings of guilt, familial bonds, keeping the narrative alive and avoiding the feeling of defeat.

The contemporary celebration of travel and mobility of transnational migrants with hybrid identities may be different for those stateless Palestinians who have terrifying experiences whenever they attempt to cross checkpoints in their country or try to enter another country at an airport. Such Palestinian diasporas experience significant restrictions on their movements and, thus, limited mobility. Browne (2005, p. 428) employed the notion “bordering” to indicate how particular bodies are made to be “outsiders” in the delineation of the state. He added that “bordering occurs through a variety of symbolic, discursive and material practices, of which classificatory identity/mobility documents such as passports play an important role”.

Dual nationality, which is a form of hierarchical citizenship, creates hyphenated citizenships that exist on a transnational plane. Nevertheless, such hyphenated citizenships are always embedded in relationships among specific nation-states. The investigation of the Palestinian Canadians in the GTA suggests a hyphenated Canadian transnational identity. Although holding dual citizenship can be beneficial for some individuals, for others caught in the securitized policies and practices of the flexible sovereignty of the states, the vagueness certainly can become a significant disadvantage. The focus on the nexus between migration and tourism, with special consideration of citizenship issues, has been mostly advantageous in the re-thinking and re-conceptualization of national citizenship as a form of membership within a state that reflects inequality and hierarchy. This is an essential corrective to the liberal theories affected by T. H. Marshall’s effort that consider citizenship mainly as the key means of access to inclusion and rights.

As some scholars (e.g., Schultz & Hammer, 2003) have argued, mobility is not equally distributed among the various members of diaspora communities and not all immigrants have the same ability to cross borders. Thus, this study confirms the suggestion of Hyndman (1997) that

transnationalism is one outcome of the “politics of mobility”. The Palestinian case provided the context for innovative and theoretically valuable research on citizenship, mobility and human rights. This dissertation also highlights the highly politicized aspects of mobility/immobility, national identity and national autonomy in the Palestinian case, and emphasized the continuing role of states in determining mobility and rights.

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Appendix A: Research Instruments

Questionnaire Survey Instrument

1. How often do you travel overseas?

- a. once per year b. once per 2 years c. once per 3 years d. Other. Please indicate.....

2. When you travel overseas, what would be your destination?

- a. Palestine b. Other. Please indicate.....

3. Why do you travel to Palestine? (tick all that apply)

- a. to visit family and friends b. to maintain social and cultural ties c. to measure changes and transformation that have taken place in home country d. Other, (please explain).....

4. How do you describe your experience of visiting Palestine?

- a. very good b. good c. neutral d. negative
e. very negative

5. How long do you stay when you visit Palestine?

- a. less than a month b. two months c. 3 months d. more than 3 months

6. Place of Birth

- a. Palestine b. Canada c. Other. Please indicate.....

7. Have you lived in a country other than Palestine and Canada?

- a. Yes b. No

If yes, where and for how long?.....

8. Citizenship status in Canada

- a. citizen b. landed immigrant c. alien d. refugee

9. Where do you consider your first home?

- a. Canada
- b. Palestine
- c. Other. Please indicate.....

10. Do you own a property or business in Palestine?

- a. Yes
- b. No

11. Future intention of residence

- a. Canada
- b. Palestine
- c. Other. Please indicate.....

12. How do you describe your sense of belonging to Canada?

- a. very strong
- b. strong
- c. neutral
- d. weak
- e. very weak

13. How do you describe your sense of belonging to Palestine?

- a. very strong
- b. strong
- c. neutral
- d. weak
- e. very weak

14. Gender

- a. male
- b. female

15. Marital Status

- a. married
- b. single
- c. divorced
- d. widowed

16. Age

- a. 20-30
- b. 31-40
- c. 41-50
- d. 51-60
- e. 61 and over

17. Number of children

- a. 0
- b. 1
- c. 2
- d. 3
- e. 4
- f. more than 5

18. Highest level of education

- a. primary school
- b. middle school
- c. high school
- d. university
- e. post-graduate university
- f. none

19. Occupation

- a. self-employed
- b. government employee
- c. company employee
- d. professional
- e. teacher
- f. student
- g. retired
- h. unemployed
- i. housewife
- j. others. Please

indicate.....

20. Annual income (CAN \$)

- a. less than 30,000
- b. 31 000-40 000
- c. 41 000-50 000
- d. 51 000-60 000
- e. 61 000 or more

21. Duration of residence in Canada

- a. less than a year
- b. 1-3 years
- c. 4-6 years
- d. 7-9 years
- e. 10-12 years
- f. greater than 12

Key Informant and In-depth Interview Instruments

Key Informant Interview Questions

From your experience in working with Palestinian immigrants, are there any issues raised by the Palestinian Canadians when they travel overseas?

What are the main difficulties that face Palestinian Canadians in their overseas?

What are the main obstacles Palestinian Canadians face when they travel to Palestine?

What kind of documents do they need for such a travel?

Since there is no airport in Palestine, how do Palestinian Canadians reach their destination?

What are differences in travel based on the differences in the Palestinian diaspora communities?

In-depth Interview Questions

How often do you travel to Palestine?

Is Palestine your dominant destination in your overseas travelling?

Why do you travel to Palestine? To visit family and friends, to measure transformations at homeland, to maintain social and cultural ties, or for other reasons, please explain?

What does your visit to Palestine mean to you?

What is the social and cultural significance of your connections to Palestine?

How do your visits to Palestine affect the ties that you have with your country of origin?

How do you describe your visits to Palestine? What is the good part and what is the sad part of this visit?

What is the thing that ties you to homeland that you do not know? What is the thing that makes you not feel at home in other country than Palestine (for example, Canada)?

Is it considered to be of value to maintain your Palestinian identity and culture by visiting Palestine?

Do you feel that it is essential that your children to be exposed to their country of origin? Why?

How do you view your citizenship in the Canadian society? To what extent you believe it affects your outbound travel in general and to Palestine in particular?

Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationship with the larger society in Canada?

Do you know any other Palestinian immigrants who may be willing to participate in such an interview?

**Appendix B: Descriptive Statistics for Each Question in the Questionnaire
Survey**

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		Std. Deviation	Variance
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Statistic
q1	229	3	1	4	2.55	.073	1.106	1.223
q2	226	1	1	2	1.40	.033	.492	.242
q31	177	0	1	1	1.00	.000	.000	.000
q32	38	0	2	2	2.00	.000	.000	.000
q33	17	0	3	3	3.00	.000	.000	.000
q34	16	0	4	4	4.00	.000	.000	.000
q4	182	4	1	5	1.84	.067	.899	.809
q5	176	3	1	4	1.38	.049	.656	.430
q6	228	2	1	3	1.73	.062	.936	.875
q7	230	1	1	2	1.38	.032	.487	.237
q8	230	1	1	2	1.34	.031	.476	.226
q9	226	2	1	3	1.79	.039	.593	.352
q10	230	1	1	2	1.58	.033	.494	.244
q11	226	2	1	3	1.54	.048	.719	.517
q12	226	4	1	5	1.92	.059	.888	.788
q13	227	3	1	4	1.64	.050	.760	.577
q14	230	1	1	2	1.44	.033	.497	.247
q15	225	3	1	4	1.40	.042	.635	.403
q16	224	4	1	5	2.40	.082	1.227	1.505
q17	223	5	1	6	3.13	.112	1.678	2.816
q18	228	4	1	5	3.73	.052	.787	.620
q19	228	8	1	9	4.11	.149	2.245	5.041
q20	194	4	1	5	2.30	.095	1.321	1.744
q21	229	5	1	6	4.02	.114	1.727	2.982

Appendix C: Research Ethic Forms

Questionnaire Cover Letter

Dear Sir/Madame,

I am a PhD. student in the Department of Geography and Environmental Management at the University of Waterloo conducting research under the supervision of Professor Dr. Geoff Wall on study that examines the outbound travel patterns of Palestinian immigrants and their relationships with their citizenship status with special focus on intergenerational differences in terms of the social and cultural significance of this travel. The findings could be used to shed more light on Palestinian ethnic groups and their specific situation, particularly as this research would be the first to examine this ethnic group in Canada. As there are no research-based surveys of the travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians, the proposed research will provide an opportunity to undertake a survey to assess the Palestinian immigrants outbound travel patterns. Such a survey may form a baseline for any future data about the Palestinians in Canada. The study will also help organizations interested in Palestinian diasporic communities to make better assessment of their situation. Because you are members of the Palestinian community living in Toronto, your opinions are important to this study.

I would appreciate if you would complete the attached brief survey. Completion of the survey is expected to take about 15 minutes of your time. The questions are quite general (for example, how often do you travel back to Palestine?). You may omit any question you prefer not to answer. There are no known or anticipated risks to participation in this study. Participation in this project is voluntary and anonymous. Further, all information you provide will be considered confidential. The data collected through this study will be kept for a period of 3 years in a locked office in my supervisor's lab at the University of Waterloo.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please complete the questionnaire and seal it in the envelope provided. If after receiving this letter, you have any questions about this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please feel free to contact Professor Geoff Wall at 519-888-4567 ext. 33609

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics. However, the final decision about participation is yours. Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes in the Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 Ext. 36005.

Thank you in advance for your interest in this project.

Yours sincerely,

Esmat Zaidan
University of Waterloo
Tel: 519 888 4567 ex. 37041

Key Informant Consent Form

Dear Sir/Madame,

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my PhD. degree in the Department of Geography and Environmental Management at the University of Waterloo under the supervision of Professor Dr. Geoff Wall. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

Increased urban diversity and the increasing growth of immigration and diaspora communities in modern societies that are formed as result of migration urge scholars to grasp the relationship between tourism and migration particularly travel for visiting friends and families to maintain ties with the original country. The proposed research examines the mobility of members of diasporic communities with transnationalism as a conceptual framework for studying and understanding contemporary migration and associated issues such as citizenship. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to establish the travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians with special focus on differences across generations and to explore the relationship between their international travel patterns and their citizenship status.

This study will explore the role of family and ethnic reunion on the Palestinian Canadians travel patterns and will investigate the social and cultural significance of their visits to Palestine for the first and second generation. The study will also investigate the impact of multicultural citizenship forms, particularly dual citizenship on Palestinian immigrants outbound travel patterns. The findings could be used to shed more light on Palestinian ethnic groups and their specific situation, particularly as this research would be the first to examine this ethnic group in Canada. As there are no research-based surveys of the travel patterns of the Palestinian Canadians, the proposed research will provide an opportunity to undertake a survey to assess the Palestinian immigrants outbound travel patterns. Such a survey may form a baseline for any future data about the Palestinians in Canada. The study will also help organizations interested in Palestinian diasporic communities to make better assessment of their situation. Therefore, I would like to include your organization/ travel agent as one of several Palestinian organizations/travel agents to be involved in my study. I believe that because you are actively involved in the management and operation of your organization/travel agent, you are best suited to speak to the various issues, such as main obstacles facing Palestinian Canadian while they travel back to their homeland, Palestine.

I would kindly request your assistant in distributing and collecting the survey (Questionnaire) from your clients. Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately one hour in length to take place in a mutually agreed upon location. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of

information, and later transcribed for analysis. Shortly after the interview has been completed, I will send you a copy of the transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study will be retained for 3 years in a locked office in the Department of Geography and Environmental Management. Only researchers associated with this project will have access. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at **519 888 4567 ex 37041** or by email at ezaidan@uwaterloo.ca. You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Geoff Wall at 519-888-4567 ext. 33609 or email gwall@uwaterloo.ca.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes of this office at 519-888-4567 Ext. 36005 or ssykes@uwaterloo.ca.

I hope that the results of my study will be of benefit to those organizations directly involved in the study, other Palestinian organizations not directly involved in the study, as well as to the broader research community.

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours Sincerely,

Esmat Zaidan

CONSENT FORM

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Esmat Zaidan of the Department of Geography and Environmental management at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an

accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

YES NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

YES NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____

Participant Feedback Letter

Dear Sir/Madame,

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study. As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to examine the outbound travel patterns of Palestinian immigrants and their relationships with their citizenship status with special focus on intergenerational differences in terms of the social and cultural significance of travel to their homeland. The data collected through interviews and the survey will contribute to a better understanding of the Palestinian community living in Canada and will form a baseline for any future data about the Palestinian Canadians. The study will also help organizations interested in Palestinian diasporic communities to make better assessment of their situation.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analyzed for this project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations, and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or if you have any questions or concerns, please contact me at either the phone number or email address listed at the bottom of the page. If you would like a summary of the results, please let me know now by providing me with your email address. When the study is completed, I will send it to you. The study is expected to be completed by 2011.

As with all University of Waterloo projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes in the Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567, Ext., 36005.

Yours sincerely,

Esmat Zaidan
University of Waterloo
Tel: 519 888 4567 ex. 37041