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Gender and Migration: Beit Hanina as A Case Study

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This thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master's degree in Gender and Development Studies from the Faculty of Graduate Studies at Birzeit University, Palestine

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ملخص البحث

الهجرة والنوع الاجتماعي: بيت حنينا حالة دراسية

الهدف من هذا البحث هو دراسة علاقات وأدوار النوع الاجتماعي في قرية بيت حنينا الفلسطينية، بتأثرها بتجربة الهجرة لدى سكان بيت حنينا الاصلانيين. بحيث يركز هذا البحث على التأثيرات والتجارب العابرة للحدود من خلال أعين مجموعتين من السكان الأصليين؛ مع التركيز على كيفية تشكيل أعراف وعادات وأدوار النوع الاجتماعي، كما التغيرات الحاصلة بها كيفما يتم تداولها ضمن مساحات جغرافية وثقافية عابرة للحدود. بحيث ان المجموعة الأولى من السكان الأصليين تتشكل من مجموعة المهاجرين الذين ينحدرون من قرية بيت حنينا ويسكنون في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. هذه المجموعة تتضمن الأشخاص الذين يزورون أو يعودون الى القرية بشكل متكرر كما تشمل الأجيال الثانية والثالثة من المهاجرين الحناينة. أما المجموعة الثانية، فهي مجموعة السكان الأصليين الباقين في بيت حنينا ، والذين لم يقومو بالهجرة أو هاجرو لفترة قصيرة من الزمن، هذه المجموعة تجمعها علاقات أسرية مع المجموعة الأولى، وعلى اتصال دائم بهم.

كما تم التركيز ضمن هذا البحث على العلاقات الاجتماعية، وتصورات النوع الاجتماعي، والتحويلات الاجتماعية الحاصلة بين المهاجرين والباقين فيما يخص النوع الاجتماعي (بورتيز، ٢٠٠٨؛ ليفيت، ١٩٩٨) ، بحيث تركز غالب البحوث عن المجتمعات العابرة للحدود الوطنية بعلاقتها بالنوع الاجتماعي على التحويلات الاجتماعية من المهاجرين إلى الباقين؛ إلا أنه ضمن هذا البحث تم إدخال واضافة مفهوم التحويلات الاجتماعية العكسية من الباقين إلى المهاجرين أيضا.

للإجابة عن تساؤلات البحث تم استعمال مناهج البحث الكيفي، بحيث تم القيام بعدد من المقابلات المعمقة والمقابلات الجماعية مع أعضاء من المجموعتين في بيت حنينا.

Abstract:

This research project explores how transnationalism has affected gender norms, roles and relations in the Palestinian village of Beit Hanina north of Jerusalem. it focuses on the impacts and experiences of transnationalism through the eyes of the two native groups in the village, focusing on how gender norms and relations are shaped, transformed as well as circulate across geographic physical boundaries, as well as cultural boundaries. The first native group is the trans-migrant group, or the "hyper-transnational" group. They are the natives of Beit Hanina (*or Hanayna* in Arabic*),* who originate from the village but reside in the US. They are first, second and third generation immigrants in the US, who return to Beit Hanina as frequent visitors or return migrants. The second native group is the "stayers" group; or the "fixed-transnational" group. This group of Hanayna has not immigrated to the United States, but has kin relations with the hyper transnational group in the US, and is in constant contact with them.

The social interaction between these two groups, the perceptions of gender norm, roles and relations shared within this transnational community, and the transactions of gendered "social remittances" (Portes, 2008; Levitt, 1998), in addition to reverse gendered social remittances that flow from the stayers group to the trans-migrant group are also central foci.

To answer the research question, qualitative research approach was taken, in-depth interviews, and group interviews with members of the two groups have been conducted.

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Chapter one: Introduction

Purpose:

The purpose of this research project is to explore how transnationalism has affected gender norms, roles and relations in the Palestinian village of Beit Hanina north of Jerusalem. This research focuses on the impacts and experiences of transnationalism through the eyes of the two native groups in the village, focusing on how gender norms and relations are shaped, transformed as well as circulate across geographic physical boundaries, as well as cultural boundaries. The first native group is the trans-migrant group, who I also call the "hyper-transnational" group. They are the natives of Beit Hanina (*or Hanayna* in Arabic*),* who originate from the village but reside in the US. They are first, second and third generation immigrants in the US, who return to Beit Hanina as frequent visitors or return migrants. The second native group is the "stayers" group; or the "fixed-transnational" group. This group of Hanayna has not immigrated to the United States, but has kin relations with the hyper transnational group in the US, and is in constant contact with them. The social interaction between these two groups, the perceptions of gender norm, roles and relations shared within this transnational community, and the transactions of gendered "social remittances" (Portes, 2008; Levitt, 1998) in the community are the focus of this research.

Introduction:

For the past thirty years, academic studies have associated migration with social and cultural transformation, including (more recently) changes in gender norms and relations. Transnational communities can be defined as; "…groups whose identity is not primarily based on attachment to a specific territory. They therefore present a powerful challenge to traditional ideas of nation-state belonging" (Castles, 2002, 1157). Portes (2008) argues that in a

transnational setting, migration affects the migrants' home community far more than their host community.

Some scholars conceptualize the flows of various social and cultural changes by sending communities as "social remittances"; connoting the flow of ideas and behaviors through migrants to their home communities, (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Levitt, 1998). Others treat these changes as a result of the combination of social remittances and wider processes of globalization (Castles, 2002).

Despite the growing literature on migration and social\cultural change, the issue of gender in migration is still marginalized and undervalued (Pessar and Mahler, 2006; Curran et al, 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford, 2006). In the past women were incorporated into migration studies through studying the sex composition of migration without noting gendered relations and their effects on the causes, consequences or processes of migration (Mahler and Pessar, 2006). Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford (2006) describe this method of studying gender within migration studies as the "add women and stir" method; in which the focus is on sex roles to explain women in migration, mainly connecting women's migration with the private sphere, and men's migration with the public sphere such as employment. However, since the mid 1990's and influenced by the growing literature on migration and social change, assimilation theories, transnational communities, and the idea of social remittances, new scholarship has emerged that has shifted from a focus on sex roles to one on gender.

These studies focus on the construction of gender relations in relation to migration processes; the assimilation of second generation migrants into ethnic and gendered minorities; the networks of migration and the changes occurring in sending communities; the social and economic remittances affecting non-migrant women; and the gendered generational hierarchies

that impact decision making processes in migration, settlement and return (Andrews, 2014; Currran et al., 2006; Dannecker, 2005; Mahler and Pessar, 2006, Vlase, 2013; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford, 2006).

Palestinian migration, and the effects of migration on Palestinian communities have not been widely researched. The research that studied it has focused on the empirical facts and trends of migration, the reasons behind it, and its economic effects on the Palestinian community (Di Bartolomeo et al., 2011; Khawaja, 2012). Others have focused on emigrants and their integration into the host society as well as the formation of their identities and the relations they form/maintain with their sending communities (Christison, 1989). Still others have studied some of the transformations experienced by Palestinian communities that have resulted from various types of migration (Hilal, 2015; Silmi, 2010; Taraki, 2010). Nonetheless, changes in gender relations resulting from migration experiences have hardly been touched upon, aside from Saleh's (2011) study mentioning a few observations concerning gender in migration.

A Short Background on Beit Hanina:

Beit Hanina is a village in the north of Israeli occupied Palestinian East Jerusalem. As a village its native population is largely defined by the act of immigration to the US since the first half of the 20th century (Seif Eldin, 1993). While emigration mostly emptied the village of its native population, internal migrants to Beit Hanina became a majority, and turned the previous village social structure into a contemporary urban one. The native *Hanayna,* who are the central focus of this study fall within two groups. The first group is the trans-migrants group, or the hyper-transnational group; which is the group of natives who immigrated to the US and maintained transnational ties with other Beit Hanina natives across generations. The second group is the group of stayers, or the fixed-transnational group, which includes the natives who

haven't immigrated to the US or only immigrated for a short period of time, and are still in contact with the hyper transnational group. Transnational ties between these two groups have been established through acts of return and return visitations on the trans-migrants end, and visitations to the US on the stayers end. Furthermore, these transnational ties are strengthened through constant communication, transnational marriages and kin relations between the two groups.

Research Question:

How are gender norms and relations shaped by the different experiences of transnationalism among Hanayna? To what extent and in what specific ways has differential migration experiences of Hyper-transnational Hanayna versus fixed transnational Hanayna led to differences in their gender assumptions and gender role preferences concerning men and women in this transnational community? What are and how are gendered social remittances transmitted within this community?

Sub Questions:

1) How are gender identity dynamics shaped by different locations and experiences including experiences of transnationalism, assimilation and return when applicable?

2) What are the groups' perceptions of gender roles and norms? What are their perceptions of themselves and others in relation to gender norms and roles?

3) What are the specific experiences (in the US and in Beit Hanina) that shaped their perceptions of each other?

4) What are the gendered social remittances transmitted in the community, both from the US to Beit Hanina and vice versa? How are they transmitted? And who are the transmitters?

5) What are the differences among the men who leave Beit Hanina and the men who stayed? What are the differences between the women who leave and the women who stay?

6) How does generation along with gender affect these processes?

Outline:

The second chapter, the literature review chapter, provides the social and historical background on Beit Hanina, and covers the literature on migration and social change, focusing primarily on approaches to gender in relation to migration and transnationalism. The third chapter provides an in-depth description of the methodology including; sampling, data collection approaches and procedures. The fourth chapter, presents the basic data findings on the two transnational groups and undertakes a comparative generational findings analysis. Finally, the fifth chapter; is the analytical conclusion chapter; which presents an analysis of the findings in relation to the literature in the field of gender and transnationalism and concludes this research.

Operational Definitions:

Hyper-transnational Hanayna or trans-migrant Hanayna (used interchangeably) - are the *Hanayna* who originate from the village, or are married to someone from Beit Hanina, and live in the United States or have lived there for a long period of time; (here operationally defined as over fifteen years). Whether they are first, second or third generation emigrants; and return either as frequent visitors or return immigrants.

Fixed-transnational Hanayna – also called 'stayers'; are the *Hanayna* who originate from the village, or are married to someone from Beit Hanina, and have not immigrated to the United Stated or have immigrated for a short period of time (operationally defined as less than 15 years), and have kin relations with emigrants and are in contact with them.

To conclude this chapter; the study of gender within migration studies is still young. It offers a lot of potential to develop deeper understanding of how gender relations and perceptions are affected by migration\transnationalism and population movements. There is a scarcity in research on migration in general, and gender and migration in particular, within the Palestinian context; a study of this kind adds to the Palestinian body of literature and opens further

discussion on population movements and the resulting socio\cultural change in the Palestinian context.

Chapter Two: Literature Review[1]

Since the 1980s, there has been a growing trend in academic research, which associates migration with social and cultural change, specifically in sending and transnational communities. The theoretical frameworks emerging from that trend were actively employed by researchers to assess and explore the impacts of migration on gender norms and relations (Curran et al., 2006).

The purpose of this review is to provide some insights into the issues of migration and social change, including gender relation, and how these changes occur. It is divided into four sections; the first section is an introduction to Beit Hanina village; the second section is on migration, transnationalism and social change; the third section is an engagement with some of the literature on migration and gender; and the fourth section provides an overview of some literature on Palestinian migration.

Section 1: Beit Hanina: Geography, Population, Gender Relations, Migration Experience

This section provides a brief introduction to Beit Hanina, its geographical location, population, livelihood, women, and emigration. Due to the dearth of academic literature on the village, this introduction is based mainly on the work of Seif Eldin (1993), where he provides insights on Beit Hanina and some of the political social, and cultural changes, which have taken place in the village.

Beit Hanina lies seven kilometers to the north of Jerusalem. Prior to 1967, the village was surrounded by a number of villages, mainly Shufat, Alram, Hezma, and Kufr Akab. However, after the occupation of Jerusalem, Beit Hanina has been surrounded by Israeli settlements, some built on confiscated lands belonging to Beit Hanina, these settlements include Nevi Ya'akoub and Pisgat Ze'ev. And since the early 1990s, Beit Hanina has been divided into two separate

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[1] Parts of this literature review were developed as a final project, titled gender and migration at the UNU GEST program in the university of Iceland, in 2016.

parts. The first is now called Beit Hanina town, which is controlled and occupied by the Israeli authorities, and the second in Beit Hanina Al-Balad, which is under Palestinian rule – although still controlled by Israel. (Seif Eldin, 1993).

According to the Palestinian encyclopedia of 1961, the projected population of Beit Hanina in 2002 was 11,610 (Seif Eldin, 1993). However, according to JIIS (2004), the actual population of Beit Hanina town was 22,685 in 2003, and, in 2012, it had reached 33,617 (ARIJ, 2013). This demographic trend reflects an unnatural growth in the village's population, mainly due to internal migration. According to the 1931 Palestine census, a 100% Muslim population inhabited the village. This has changed however; now the village has a Christian convent in addition to two churches (ARIJ, 2013), which is a sign of a new religious diversity in the town that did not exist during the early 20th century. In Seif Eldin's treatment of the traditional economic activities in the village, he points out that the inhabitants were originally mainly engaged in subsistence agriculture, in which women played a particularly important role. He shows, however, that agriculture has sharply declined due to the mass urbanization of the landscape, the emigration of the original inhabitants and the population sprawl to the village. Now, most inhabitants of the town are wage earners (Seif Eldin, 1993). Moreover, he emphasizes the role of the village women in sustaining their families during the first waves of migration to the United States, which took place from the early 20th century until the 1950s and 1960s. He describes the village's women as normal "village women," taking part in the traditional division of labor. Despite the significant roles played by women, he mentions inheritance rights as the most inherent problem faced by them in the village, where they faced unequal treatment and were unable to claim inheritance.

Seif Eldin (1993) dates the first emigration from the village to the brothers Masha'al to

the United States in the early 20th century. The brothers were, in this sense, "emigration entrepreneurs" following in the footsteps of their maternal uncles from the Al Bireh village, which is located in Ramallah and has a long history of emigration to the United States. Seif Eldin divides emigration into two waves. The first one took place in the early 20th century and was spurred by three factors: the unwillingness of young men to serve in the Ottoman army; the poverty of the village at the time; and the early formation of emigrant networks in the United States. The second, and bigger wave of emigration, took place in the 1950s and 1960s following years of drought in the village and the formation of strong emigrant networks in the United States.

According to Seif Eldin (1993), men mostly emigrated from Beit Hanina and were followed by their male offspring during these waves. Later, they went back to village to get married and brought their wives with them to the United States. These emigrants have played an important role in the development of the village and in the lives of the native population left behind, for example, by establishing various Beit Hanina associations in the United States. These associations have kept emigrants tied together and facilitated emigrant contributions to the village, mainly in education by founding new schools in addition to building local mosques. The "Dar Alma'aref" organization, for example, which was built with the donations of native community, both emigrant and local, is mainly concerned with native Beit Hanina villagers and, specifically, native women by providing them with educational facilities, high school classes for students, scholarships to universities.

Current situation

Being part of East Jerusalem, Beit Hanina was occupied by Israeli forces in 1967. Since that date, Israel annexed 70500 Dunums, mostly comprised of privately owned plots of land; and

using the law of absentees it immediately expropriated 20000 Dunums, where it later built Jewish settlements, and simultaneously prohibited the construction of Palestinian neighborhoods on almost 40% of east Jerusalem leaving only 5200 Dunums for Palestinians (Btselem, 2011). Moreover in the year 2000 the so-called municipality of Jerusalem declared the Jerusalem master plan as a strategic plan for the city of Jerusalem until the year 2020. This master plan is the first plan that includes both east and west Jerusalem and clearly declaring one of its main goals as maintaining the Jewish majority in Jerusalem, by expanding settlement areas and granting the Jews more spaces within east Jerusalem while at the same time not granting enough space for the Palestinian population through imposing high restrictions on zoning and obtaining building permits (Badil, 2013).

In addition to land confiscations, Palestinians in Jerusalem, including the residents of Beit Hanina, face another issue; the revocation of permanent residency permits. A residence permit "has a constitutional aspect that establishes the right to permanent residency; on the other hand, it has a declarative aspect, which expresses the reality of the permanent residency. When this reality disappears, there is no longer anything to which the permit can adhere, and it is automatically revoked, without any necessity for formal revocation" (Stein, 1997, 6). Therefore a residence permit or the "Jerusalem ID" can be revoked in case someone leaves the city for more than 7 consecutive years, or if they obtain a foreign citizenship. Moreover there is a need to renew an exit\entry permit every 12 to 18 months in case of long term traveling (Stein, 1997).

Section 2: Migration and Social and Cultural Change

Portes (2008), Portes and Zhou (1993), Levitt (1998), and Castles (2002) show the role played by migration in affecting social change. King and Christou (2011) focus on return

mobilities and on the different theories developed to understand it and its effects. Portes (2008) offers a theoretical map to identify the nature of social and cultural change, and how migration, especially, international migration, acts on social and cultural structures. Levitt (1998) indicates the importance of social remittances on sending communities and Castles (2002) identifies the different aspects of transnationalism within a globalized context.

Culture is defined by Portes (2008) as "the realm of values, cognitive frameworks, and accumulated knowledge", while social structure is "the realm of interests, individual and collective, backed by different amounts of power" (Portes, 2008, 7). He claims that the elements constituting social and cultural structures can be organized in hierarchies of causal influences, ranging from deep elements to visible surface elements (Portes, 2008). On the one hand, values are considered to be a deep, invisible, element in the *cultural structure,* as it is not invoked in every day life. As such, they constitute the driving force of principled actions (Durkheim, 1965 cited in Portes, 2008; Weber, 1949 cited in Portes, 2008), directly influencing norms (the rules that direct everyday conduct) and are organized as roles (the behaviors culturally ascribed to individuals in their positions that are embedded within institutions (such as the family) or the surface level of culture (Portes, 2008)). On the other hand, *social structure* hierarchy is based on the deep element of power, which is defined by Weber as the ability of actors to impose their will (Weber, 1947 cited in Portes, 2008). Power is embodied in social classes, where different economic, social, and cultural resources affect the status of different actors, which, in turn, is acted within organizations; individuals within organizations act according to the normative roles attributed by their status (Portes, 2008).

Social and cultural changes can be attributed to micro processes (individuals), meso processes (communities), and macro processes (societies). Such transformation may occur at the

surface levels of social and cultural structures, affecting some economic organizations and role expectations, or, at deeper levels, transforming the value system or the distribution of power. Institutionalizing the resulting changes from these processes establishes and stabilizes the results (Portes, 2008).

Migration is a form of change that leads to more change; the social and cultural transformations stemming from international migration are analyzed in relation to the types and characteristics of migration and migrants; the incorporation processes, which are affected by the characteristics of the migrants and the receiving society; the relationship with the sending community; and the different influences—and the levels of impact—witnessed by the different communities (Castles, 2002; Portes, 2008; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Levitt, 1998).

Castles (2002) and Portes (2008) indicate that the social and cultural changes incurred through migration are directly related to the number of migrants and the volume of migration; the duration of the movement; and the socio-economic characteristics and class composition of the migrants. Although receiving communities are usually unaffected by migration, sending communities are; large and permanent out-migration waves can depopulate regions and permanently affect their cultures. Following Portes (2008), who claims that cyclical movements may reinforce social and cultural structures rather than change them, some researchers argue that migration is not only an indicator of underdevelopment but also a cause for its perpetuation (Delgado-Wise and Cypher, 2007 cited in Portes, 2008).

On the receiving end of migration, there is evidence that migrants are incorporated differently, depending on the receiving community and the characteristics of the migrants. According to Castles (2002), there are three types of incorporation in the new community: (i) assimilation, which means encouraging the migrants to learn the language of the receiving

country and to adopt its social and cultural practices in full; (ii) differential exclusion, where the migrant is integrated temporarily into sub-systems, such as the labor market and excluded from others, such as the "national culture"; and (iii) multiculturalism, which implies abandoning the idea of a unified national culture, which requires migrant assimilation. Portes and Zhou (1993), on the other hand, argue that migrant assimilation does not necessarily mean assimilating into the mainstream culture or the "white middle class." Depending on the ethnicity of the migrants, the areas they inhabit in the new country, and the access to upward mobility, they might assimilate into different groups and ethnicities and adopt some practices and not others. This has been termed "segmented assimilation." Portes and Zhou, (1993) in their study of the second generation of migrants, indicate cases of downward assimilation, where the second generation of inner city migrants in the United States assimilated into poor ethnic minorities.

The incorporation of migrants is also dependent on the migrants' levels of interaction with the receiving community. Levitt (1998) singles out three categories of migrants: (i) the recipient observers who do not interact directly with the mainstream society and whose knowledge of the receiving community is based on the media; (ii) the purposeful innovators that absorb everything; and (iii) the instrumental adapters or those whose interactions with the receiving society in their work environment and in public spaces have forced them to develop and abandon certain practices.

Scholars have argued that, prior to 1960, immigrants—in their efforts to assimilate—had to severe ties with the sending community (Portes and Zhou, 1993), thus adopting Castles' (2002) notion of assimilation. However, after 1960—and due to the advancement of communication technology, increasing mobility—cheap travel, and the growth of temporary, cyclical, and recurring migrations, immigrants kept and formed bonds with their original

community (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Castles, 2002). While older migration scholars focused on the notion of "chain migration," recent research emphasizes "migration networks" and their development, as links between communities in sending and receiving countries (Castles, 2002).

Migration networks have given rise to transnational communities. They are "groups whose identity is not primarily based on attachment to a specific territory […] and, therefore, present a powerful challenge to traditional ideas of nation-state belonging" (Castles, 2002, 1157). Trans-migrants are actors within migration networks who have been portrayed as being capable of crossing cultural boundaries and formulating hybrid identities. They often feel solidarity with each other in their homeland or elsewhere (Castles, 2002). Levitt (2001) identifies certain characteristics of transnational villages. She stresses the participation of migrants in village matters and the adoption—by non-migrants—of specific values held by migrants, mainly due to social remittances, the creation of cross border associations, and organizations, including hometown associations in the host community. Vertovec (2004) finds the hometown associations to be some of the most influential factors in creating change, especially when those changes are attached to monetary incentives or donations, and when there are already major well-being contrasts and class differences between the inhabitants. This is seen in Beit Hanina concerning the native villagers, where the Beit Hanina associations in the United States serve as a source of belonging and influence the development of the native community back home through its support of local organizations and schools.

Levitt (1998) introduces the notion of social remittances or "the ideas behaviors identities and capital that flow from receiving to sending country community" (926). The creation of social remittances is rooted in the altering of the interpretive frames of the migrants, which are the behaviors and views brought by migrants to the receiving community and are used to make

sense of their experiences in the receiving community in relation to how things are done at home. The alteration caused by the aforementioned interactions and incorporation in the host society creates several patterns of social remittances. First, some cultural practices are abandoned due to their irrelevance in the context of the host community; second, some acquired practices do not lead to new norms and values; and third, some acquired practices are sustained and internalized.

Transmitting social remittances from migrants to non-migrants within a transnational community occurs through return migration and visits to the community of origin; non-migrant visits to receiving countries; and phone calls and exchanges of social images (such as social media) and letters between individuals (Levitt, 1998). The remittances exchanged are comprised of several elements. First, they involve normative structures, which are the ideas values and beliefs that influence the norms affecting interpersonal behavior, such as the standards of gender and age (Levitt, 1998). These values and ideas are not always positive (Levitt, 1998; Portes, 2008); some negative models include increasing individuality rather than encouraging collectivity (Levitt, 1998). As they are affected by the migrants' incorporation within the host community, downward assimilation results in negative remittances. Portes (2008), for example, points to the proliferation of a gang culture in a Mexican village caused by remittances stemming from migrants that had assimilated into gangs in the United States. Second, remittances reflect systems of practice, which are "the actions shaped by the normative structures" (Levitt, 1998, 934), and which include, for example, intra-household labor. Finally, they involve social capital, which Levitt (1998) indicates is in itself remitted in addition to the norms and values they transmit. Influential immigrant individuals were, for instance, able to remit social capital and power within the transnational society to their non-migrant relatives.

The transformative impact of social remittances is determined by their nature; some

remittances are easier to transmit than others. Levitt (1998) argues that the position of the messenger within the community affects the level of impact. Thus, men with higher status or trans-migrants, who are in similar positions to the receivers, are more likely to have more influence on the characteristics of the target audience; gender, class and life cycle positions of the receivers highly affects the acceptance or rejection of the remittance. A case in point are independent women—who have their own sources of income or are younger and unmarried; they have more freedom and are more flexible to accept the social remittances transmitted to them. Moreover, the impact of remittances is also affected by the cultural difference between the sending and receiving countries: the closer their cultures, the more the impact. The features of the transmission process, when the social remittances are bundled with economic remittances, are easier to accept and have higher transformative potential. Finally, the force of transmission impacts the remittance; thus, high levels of transmission over a short period of time will increase its effects. (Levitt, 1998)

There have been four main critiques of transnationalism (King and Christou, 2011). First, the focus has been perceived as being too much on specific groups, notably immigrants in the United States, resulting in the sidelining of transmigrant identity formation (Vertovec, 2001 cited in King and Christou, 2011). Second, many find that too much emphasis has been on first-generation migrants and the treatment of transnational behavior as a first generation behavior only (Vertovec, 2001 cited in King and Christou, 2011). In contrast, mobilities theory, which explains some of the changes witnessed in sending communities by the mobilities of people, objects and values, from the host community to the sending community by returnees. This theory does not only deal with returnees as only return migrants of the different migrant generations but also includes return visits to the community of origin (Cresswell, 2006; Hannam

et al., 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2000, 2007 cited in Steven and Christou, 2011). Third, the presentation of transnational\translocal social fields in transnationalism theory has been criticized for neglecting the multilayers of these social fields. As a result, it has been seen as creating an imprecise framework. Lastly, the sending\host community duality—which focuses on immigrants looking back at their home countries—ignores the second generation and its own formation of transnational ties when return migration takes place.

It has been argued that globalization is not merely a form of economic relations but also the transmission of ideas and cultures across the world (Castles, 2002). Thus, social change is ubiquitous and more affected by globalization than changes to migration (Portes, 2008). Yet, Levitt (1998) has shown that social remittances differ from the global cultural transmission in that they are sometimes unintentional and unsystematic rather than directed by the media. They travel through identifiable pathways, which migrant transmitters and non-migrant receivers can identify and know their source and destination. They occur between individuals who know each other or are connected through a common acquaintance and the timing of the communication relative to other transfers.

Section 3: Gender and Migration

Gender has been defined as "a system of social practices within society that constitutes people as different in socially significant ways and organizes relations of inequality on the basis of the difference. Like other systems of difference and inequality, such as race or class, gender involves widely shared cultural beliefs and institutions at the macro-level of analysis, behaviors and expectations at the interactional level, and self-conceptions and attitudes at the individual level of analysis" (Ridgeway and Smith Lovin, 2006, 247).

In their review of the ethnographic research on immigrant women, Mahler and Pessar

(2006) revealed two contradictory results: On the one hand, immigrant women, who were employed, experienced greater autonomy and independence; on the other, there was an intensification of male control over female immigrants and increased abuse of women. They further show that research on transnational communities and gender is undertaken through the use of two models; the first and prevalent one concerns engendering remittances, specifically social remittances; the second one pertains to what they term the "gendered geographies of power" used for analyzing gender identities and relations in a transnational community. This model, in turn, is comprised of four elements. First, it involves the "geographical scales," which acknowledge that gender operates on different scales, spatial, social and cultural. Mahler and Passer argue that the main question concerning "geographical scales" is whether international migration (the changing geographies) causes the reinforcement of gender norms and ideologies or whether it leads to their transformation, which is, then, communicated to their transnational community. Second, the model comprises the social location within the social hierarchy depending on a person's gender, class and ethnicity. Third, it engages a person's agency based on his/her social location. And, finally, it entails the imagination and mind work or the images and values exchanged in a transnational community.

This fairly new model, which was developed from 2001 to 2003, is still not widely used. But it is recommended by Curran et al (2006) for the use in future research on gender and migration. As previously indicated, the majority of researchers employ the social remittances approach to analyze gender changes in relation to migration (e.g. Vlase, 2013; Aguirre-Sulem, 2014), while others use economic remittances in addition to social remittances (Belanger and Linh, 2001), and some focus on structural factors such as ethnicity, class, and gender affecting the migrants and the sending community to explain the changes (Andrews, 2014).

Vlase (2013) and Dannecker (2005) study the influence of women's transnational labor migration through employing the remittance approach, both stressing the transformative nature of migration. Yet, in her study of the influence of women's work migration from Romania to Italy on those "left behind," Vlase (2013) found that upon their return, women transmitted social remittances stemming from their work for the upper and upper middle class Italian families, thus reflecting the values and practices within that specific class. Thus, women re-negotiated household structures on return, demanding nuclear family housing and refusing to return to their husband's family house where they experienced control from older and more affluent members. Moreover, they influenced their girls' education and sought to promote egalitarian attitudes within their households.

Dannecker (2005) has studied the effects of female labor migration from Bangladesh to Malaysia. She claims that women migrants suffer from a lack of safe networks due to the negative image of migrant women who also have been subjected to a more severe form of exploitation than male migrants. However, despite their adverse experiences, women have developed an understanding of how earning their own money achieves greater autonomy in their decisions. What is more, after their return, many have tried to introduce new practices and negotiated their positions and gender relations within their households, aiming at achieving greater equality. This practice has affected women in their community and encouraged them to experience migration and to alter their positions; some have even invested the money they earned through lending it to other women who want to migrate.

Andrews (2014) addresses the impact of migration—from the San Miguel community in Mexico to the United States—on gender roles by focusing on the participation of the "left behind" women in the civic arena. He uses an intersectional approach to understand the role of

the structural marginalization faced by female Mexican migrants in the United States, which shaped their experiences. His argument is that the social remittances approach links male dominance and control to Mexico and women's empowerment to the United States.

These findings suggest that migration has, indeed, altered female positions in the civic arena, where many women have gained predominance in an effort to secure more resources for their community after years of marginalization and low participation. They also are consistent with Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford's (2006) observations in their review of the literature dealing with the women "left behind." However, this change in the status of women was the outcome of the negative experiences of women who migrated to the United States. They suffered from undocumented status, resulting in a lack of mobility, poverty; magnified male control, and bad working conditions. This situation not only made women refuse to migrate. It also strengthened men's longing to return to their communities and intensified their encouragement of women to participate in negotiating and securing communal resources. As a result, women were empowered, leading to a change in their social role and status. They became active participants and also community leaders.

Women's marriage migration and its effects on gender relations in the sending community in Vietnam has been studied by Belanger and Linh (2001). They found that economic remittances sent by married daughters gave emigrant daughters greater decision-making power within their natal families. However, those remittances did not challenge the gender and age hierarchies within the sending household; those who controlled and managed the remittances were usually older household members, leaving younger women's status unchanged. At the same time, this sort of marriage reallocated the tasks and duties of female emigrants tasks to their sisters, which, in turn, had negative effects on them. It has been shown that transnational

marriage (Portes and DeWind 2007) transformed Vietnam women's marital preferences; more young women preferred transnational marriages, not only because of the better economic situation but also because of the good experiences their peers had with foreign men compared to local men. This gave them greater negotiating power regarding marriage decisions and, partially, skewed the parents' preference towards having girls.

Moreover, some scholars studied what is called "Green Card" marriages, where a local marries a Green Card holder in order to immigrate to the USA, whereas green card holders are more desirable for marriage than non green card holders (Kalpagam, 2005).

Men and Masculinities:

While men have been the focus of most migration research, they have rarely been studied as gendered subjects. Aguirre-Sulem (2014) looks at the role of transnational migration on the formation and transformation of masculinities in sending communities by exploring the migration experience of indigenous Mexican men -Quialanense- to the United States. She found that Quialanense masculinities were affected by migration in significant ways. It involved a transition from the elder's wisdom traditional form of masculinity—in which a man is a husband, a father, and a provider who has control over his women's bodies—to an experienced migrant masculinity able to provide from a distance. Migration became a point of passage from boyhood to manhood and a platform for indigenous men to enact their masculinities, which are seen as subordinate masculinities both in the United States, where the hegemonic masculinity is described as the white middle class man in an urban setting, and in Mexico, where indigenous masculinities are not hegemonic. Men usually returned in their American cars, dressed differently, blended English into their language, and had tattoos on their bodies, representing their experiences and showing off the money they earned during their stay them off as a symbol

of their successful migration experience.

In the sending community, this led to further change in masculinities and in images and preferences. Aguirre-Sulem (2014) argues that by having and enacting a   variety of masculine forms due to migration gave men more space to choose from and create new masculinities. A case in point is men who decide neither to migrate nor to be traditional men (for example those who continue their education). Additionally, the two main images or types of returnee men—the gangster and the devout Christian that were formed because of their different interactions in the United States—were preferred by women to traditional men and views of manhood.

The above literature mostly utilizes the social remittances approach to understanding changes in gender relations; while none utilizes the gendered geographies of power approach despite it being recommended by different scholars.

Section 4: Literature on Palestinian Migration

The literature on Palestinian migration, and the effects of migration on Palestine, is, as noted, limited. Nevertheless, researchers have studied Palestinian migration from several different angles. Some have focused on the act and trends of migration, the reasons behind it, and its economic effects on the Palestinian community (Di Bartolomeo et al., 2011; Khawaja, 2012). Others have explored the role of emigrants and their integration into the host society, the formation of their identities, and the relations they form/maintain with their sending communities (Christison, 1989). Finally, a few studies have been undertaken about the transformations experienced by Palestinian communities, which resulted from various types of migration (Hilal, 2015; Silmi, 2010; Taraki, 2010). Yet, on the whole, gender in migration has not been thoroughly studied in the context of Palestine, apart from some reports (Saleh, 2011) about migration trends.

Both Di Bartolomeo et al. (2011) and Khawaja (2012) found that Palestinian emigration, in recent years, has been caused by triggers similar to those found in surrounding countries, notably, study and work. This type of migration is usually expressed as that of "male only" in Palestinian society. Di Bartolomeo et al. (2011) notes that in 2000, Palestinian women comprised 36.5% of Palestinian immigrants to OECD countries, 44% of whom had a university degree. This kind of migration experience has been linked to increased levels of education and the consequential enhancement of human capital. On the basis of the 2010 migration survey conducted by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, Khawaja (2012) shows that 31.1% of male emigrants remitted cash, while only 9.7% of female emigrants did so. He explains this gender divergence by pointing to the lower female participation in the labor force. While focusing mostly on outward migration and emigrants, Di Bartolomeo et al (2011) and Khawaja (2012) notice that inward migration increased during the years of 1990–1994 because of the eruption of the Gulf War and the signing of the Oslo Accords. Both events led many PLO members, who resided in different Arab countries, to return to the West Bank. However, they do not address the effects of this inward migration.

In her study of Palestinian immigrants in the United States, Christison (1989) notes that Palestinian immigrants, unlike other immigrants, strongly identify with Palestine, its culture and its cause. She claims that their different degrees of integration into U.S. society did not significantly affect their sense of belonging to Palestine. This dual Palestinian-American identity form is attributed to the political situation in Palestine and the sense of loss of their homeland, despite the fact that most Palestinians in the United States are not refugees but rather from West Bank villages. According to Christison (1989), their identity is preserved through various practices, including sending their children during their teen years to their home villages to

acquire Palestinian culture and traditions and the return of elderly Palestinians to their home villages. Khawaja (2012), however, claims that this is contradicted by the results of the 2010 migration survey, in which only 9% of the returnees were older than 60 years.

Christison (1989) argues that Palestinians as a group are not only much involved in community activities through local churches and mosques in American society but also highly active in organizations that are specific to their home villages and their home community, such as the Ramallah federation. These organizations that connect the Palestinians in the United States together and with their home communities—along with the establishment of foreign missionary organizations —have been identified as important elements in the early transformations witnessed by Ramallah and Al Bireh (Taraki, 2010). They have played an important role in facilitating emigration from Palestine to the United States.

Taraki (2010) has stressed that the shift in Ramallah and Al-Bireh from village communities to a "cosmopolitan" community was a direct result of various migration trends and the consequential interactions between local and international social networks. While tracing the formation of the city of Ramallah and Al-Bireh, Taraki (2010) notes that the urban expansion experienced by Ramallah in the early 20th century was mainly brought by the economic remittances sent by emigrants in the United States. This expansion not only crossed the old village building borders and incorporated the features of Western architecture into Ramallah's buildings. They also replaced the traditional village building with western-style buildings. Changing the structure of the village neighborhoods. This transformation led to another change in the village neighborhoods from being structured around kin and family relations to non-kin relations.

The Oslo Accords, and the creation of the Palestinian Authority, carried further changes

to Ramallah. On the one hand, it experienced more migration from the West Bank; on the other, it became the host of Palestinian PLO returnees from exile who possessed a different set of values, attitudes and behaviors, usually referred to as modern, and untraditional. In this way, new values were introduced in addition to new social classifications (Taraki, 2010). Taraki's (2010) study is one of the few studies that look at how processes of migration reshaped local communities – their economies, architecture and social structure. Her work on Ramallah and Al-Bireh is very relevant to an understanding of many of the processes that have shaped Beit Hanina.

The changes in Ramallah and AlBireh led to the establishment of different neighborhoods with different identities. In her study of the prestigious Al Masyoun neighborhood in Ramallah, Silmi (2010) argues that local elites (old migrants and native property owners) and elite returnees managed to create a somewhat "gated community" in Al-Masyoun, which identified with modern values, such as personal freedom, privacy, and individuality. According to her, the tensions between old inhabitants (refugee and native) and newcomers (new migrants from the West Bank and returnees) were usually based on the fear of the neighborhood losing its identity as a modern neighborhood and as a home for pre-existing values. However, she found that those values are not usually challenged. She also shows that women returnees had certain values and behaviors that differentiated them from local women. These differences, in turn, affected the locals, leading to the adoption of some of their behaviors and values.

On a different note, Saleh (2011) observes that international migration in the case of Palestinian women left behind did not have transformative effects. On the contrary, it reinforced existing gender regimes. She ascribes these findings to two factors: firstly, she mentions the nature of the countries most Palestinians immigrate to, which are mostly conservative countries

mainly in the Gulf region; secondly, she points to the Israeli suppression of any progressive cultural or political activities that aim to bring any significant changes in Palestinian society. Moreover, she argues that the Israeli occupation encouraged Palestinian male emigration as means of financial gain. Consequently, the male nature of migration has reinforced women's dependence on men and strengthened existing patriarchal structures.

To conclude this chapter, there are two main approaches to the study of gender in migration; the gendered geographies of power approach and the social remittances approach. While both approaches have their benefits and limitations, the gendered geographies of power is rather new and less widely used, despite it being recommended by different scholars. In the case of Beit Hanina, I believe that the gendered geographies of power provides a holistic approach to studying the issue of gender, while looking at the different social status of the people, therefore integrating the issues of class and generation, however, the social remittances approach provides a more in depth linking of transnationalism and changes in gender relations; as an exploratory case study, the main focus is on social remittances to provide an in-depth understanding of the transnational context and social remittances and their flows in the specific context of Beit Hanina.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In their reviews of the research on migration and gender in different disciplines, Mahler and Pessar (2006), Donato et al. (2006), and Curran et al. (2006) conclude that most gender and migration studies are qualitative, due to the difficulty of operationalizing gender theories. Thus, the frameworks used to study gender and migration are usually taken from anthropology and qualitative sociology. Curran et al. (2006) criticize quantitative migration research on the grounds that two major biases limit its gender analysis. First, they argue, that there has been a male bias in conducting surveys; most researchers direct their questions to the heads of the household who are usually men. Second, the main focus of quantitative migration studies has frequently been the migrant population. As a result, non-migrants, who are usually women, have been left out. Moreover, they find fault with qualitative sociological and anthropological research because of its predominant focus on the family and household thereby precluding gender from entering other domains. Therefore, Mahler and Pessar (2006) suggest that the study of gender in migration should take the form of methodological hybrids, such as Massey's "ethnosurvey" (1987), which employs several methods at different phases of research (Massey, 1987 cited in Mahler and Pessar, 2006). However; they also point out that qualitative ethnographic research is a good option for exploratory research, which provides the data that can be used to develop and refine quantitative tools to enable the theorization of the field of migration and gender.

In the case of Beit Hanina; taking a qualitative approach serves the purpose of exploring how transnationalism affects that particular community. As this research focuses on the individuals' life experiences and the meanings they give to experiences, their perceptions, their understanding of how gender relations operate across a transnational and a generational

spectrum; it is vital to take a qualitative approach to conducting this research as an exploration. The data that was generated through this research can help develop quantitative tools for the future use of scholars.

Qualitative analysis is characterized as being an iterative process, according to Berkowitz (1997) it is:

...a loop-like pattern of multiple rounds of revisiting the data as additional questions emerge, new connections are unearthed, and more complex formulations develop along with a deepening understanding of the material. Qualitative analysis is fundamentally an iterative set of processes (Berkowitz, 1997 cited in Srivastava and Hopwood, 2009)

As a reflexive iterative approach; it entails looking and relooking at the data, discovering new insights from the data to uncover findings and develop a deeper understanding about the issues that are present (Srivastava and Hopwood, 2009).

During the field research; issues such as transnational marriages amongst the different generations, and the issue of "lost children" immerged. While they were not initially central foci, they became central to understand the dynamics of this transnational community.

1. Researcher Location/ Positioning:

As the researcher, I will start by positioning myself in relation to the Beit Hanina native community. I have lived in Beit Hanina almost my entire life, and I attended school in Beit Hanina. However, I am not a native Hanini; as I am originally from Hizma, a village that neighbors Beit Hanina, and has formed strong ties with the community of Beit Hanina over generations. I should note that I have 3 cousins belonging to the hyper transnational group of Hanayna residing in California, USA, whom I met once in my life. Due to a variety of reasons I chose not to include them as participants in this study.

Growing up, Beit Hanina for me wasn't necessarily associated with its native population or with a village community, it was rather an urban neighborhood; as the majority of the

population of Beit Hanina are not its natives, but are internal migrants to Beit Hanina, just like myself. As I walked the streets of Beit Hanina through the years, a recurring sight of *Hajat* (older women) who dressed in *Thobe* (traditional Palestinian dress) and spoke a heavy peasant accent; just like my grandmother in Hizma, gave me the feeling that there is a village within this urban neighborhood. While this village culture was not exposed to me as I wasn't a part of its community, it was very present among its native population. Walking the streets in summer evenings, I could hear rowdy groups of youngsters speaking English in an American accent mixed with a broken peasant accent. These "visitors to my neighborhood", and their foreign accents were at many times the source of a good laugh for other youngsters who found their mixing English and peasant Arabic to be very funny.

Being from Hizma, and being able to introduce myself as a woman from Hizma acted as a double edged sword in the field research. On the one hand, interviewees felt a connection with me as they were able to identify people from my village, especially older male interviewees. On the other hand, the deep ties between the two neighboring villages, developed some form of an implied rivalry, as why would a woman from Hizma want to study the case of Beit Hanina became a question for the *Hanayna*. Furthermore, discussion about Hanayna women in the US becomes more of an embarrassing subject to touch upon, as they perceive my background to be of a conservative village background, just like themselves. Implying that they wouldn't want to share these stories with me, as it would be a source of embarrassment in front of a member of not only a neighboring community, but also a culturally similar community that shares their conservative ways, where ideas on "shame" and "honor" as they are related to the women's bodies and gendered identities are similar. Thus speaking of issues on "lost girls" and going in-

depth with the processes of "losing children becomes rather embarrassing for the interviewees as it is considered to be a social taboo.

2. Research Strategy:

A. Initial strategy:

Initially I aimed to use four different research tools:

1. Background readings on the community: To use secondary data including existing survey material, as well as local histories in order to understand the community context and major changes it had passed through.

2. Life history interviews of individual migrants (with men and women of the two main migration groups, of different generations and classes) in order to understand the experiences and impacts of migration, the forms of interactions between the groups, and the changes in gender relations and gender perceptions witnessed in the community from their perspectives

3. Focus group discussions: composed of men and women from the two main migration groups in order to affirm and generalize some of the findings from the individual life histories.

4. Ethnographic observation to observe lifestyle issues throughout the interviewing process, including tastes, dress, styles, consumption, and recreation. Interviews and focus groups were to be recorded and transcribed, and observations noted.

The number of the interviews would be based on qualitative interviewing sampling logic; where the number is not predetermined but rather depending on the outcome of interviews and the information collected in order to reach "theoretical saturation" (Glaser and Straus, 1967 cited in Gioia et al., 2012).

B. Research Problems Faced:

I faced many difficulties throughout the field research. The presence/ absence of different generations of hyper-transnationals in the community made accessing some of them nearly impossible. Or due to their mobility, systematically arranging interviews with those who were present was very difficult. Firstly, it was very difficult to access the younger generations of the hyper transnational group, as most of them reside in the US. Secondly, Many of the hyper transnational interviewees were leaving after a few days of contacting them, therefore I couldn't conduct personal in-depth interviews with each one, and instead I was forced to hold an unplanned group interview with those who were present and about to leave.

The distinction of hyper and fixed transnational Hanayna that was the basic categories on which my research was designed also faced difficulties in the field. The vast majority older generations of Hanayna belongs to the hyper-transnational group; accessing fixed transnational older generations in the community was almost impossible, so I used information about the older generation of fixed transnational Hanayna provided by other informants. In addition, there was a shared sense of suspicion and insecurity about sharing personal information; especially information related to legal residency caused by the fear of facing legal consequences from the Israeli authorities. This inhibited some Hanayna from taking part in the research – meaning it became another obstacle to finding respondents willing to take part in the research. All the above meant that organizing focus groups became impossible – the mobility and absence of hyper transnational Hanayna forced me to interview who I could whenever the opportunity presented itself. The suspicions of fixed transnational Hanayna – including sometimes their unwillingness

to share experiences in front of each other also meant that organizing a focus group was not only difficult but would probably not be useful.

As I conducted most of the interviews in public settings, such as at a local organization's offices, where the community members felt comfortable to sit down for interviews; I couldn't collect ethnographic data on their home spaces throughout the process.

I also experienced difficulty in obtaining secondary data, the only source on Beit Hanina was a book by Seif Eldin (1993), while it was immensely helpful; other secondary data sources would have been beneficial to form a bigger picture on the village. There weren't any survey materials specific to Beit Hanina other than a few population surveys, which I used.

C. Revised Research Strategy::

My field research started at the end September 2016 and lasted till the middle of February 2017, with some breaks in between. Throughout this period I conducted a total of 14 in-depth life-history interviews, and 3 group interviews. Nonetheless, I only used 10 of the in-depth interviews in my analysis, for reasons that will be specified in later sections. All of the interviews where fully taped using a recorder.

Access to respondents took place through the help of *Lajnat-Al-Ma'aref* (Knowledge committee), a community organization that works with the native population of Beit Hanina was the gatekeeper (Cresswell, 2007) between the researcher and access to the native community of Beit Hanina. The gatekeeper is defined as a member of the community under research, and leads the researcher to participants (Cresswell, 2007). In my case, Lajnat Al-Ma'aref organization, and the secretary of the organization; Jamileh, provided me with both contacts in the community and space for conducting interviews. As I approached Lajnat Al-Ma'aref, and explained the purpose of my study, they welcomed me to their organization and offered to help me with contacts and a

place to conduct the interviews. Jamileh, the secretary in Lajnat Al-Ma'aref, had a very important role in this research. While she didn't want to be interviewed for personal reasons; she connected me to some interviewees not only through the organization's connections, but also through her personal connections. Jamileh, also took an unexpected role, that I had not thought of prior to starting the field research. As a conservative community; neither the organization, nor the people in the community would have been comfortable with a young woman sitting down with a stranger, especially if it was from the other sex, in an isolated location such as the office. Jamileh's presence in the office at the times of conducting interviews; especially with male interviewees, made it acceptable within the community to sit down for interviews with me, and it allowed me to complete the field research process without breaching any social\cultural rules in the community.

1. Sample:

While *Lajnet Al-Ma'aref* provided me with access to several interviewees; I also asked for referrals from my respondents to other participants who held certain generational and transnational attributes that are of interest for conducting my research. This purposeful selection method is known as Snow-ball sampling (Cresswell, 2007), as one informant identifies other informants who might be of interest for the research. At the beginning of conducting my field research; amongst my first respondents were Akram(49) and Um Rami (62). Akram(49) referred me to 2 respondents from the fixed transnational group, Najla (46) and Salma (17); Um Rami (63) referred me to three respondents from the hyper transnational group Suad (58), Sami (71) and Suha (46), and a third interviewee (whose interview hasn't been used in the research)

referred me to a group of hyper transnational older generation men. The rest of the interviews were held through Lajnat Al-Ma'aref's connections, or through my personal connections.

Overall Sample:

	Hyper Transnational	Fixed Transnational
Male	Jamil Sami Hassan Ali Akram Moe	Kassem Musatafa
Female	Um Rami Suad Faten Suha	Um Ahmad Najla Reem Dalia Salma

2. The Research Questions:

1. Life Histories:

A. Main elements of life history interviews of hyper and fixed transnational groups:

- Self-introduction.

- Life experience in chronological order, from early life stages to present life stages.

- Household-introduction.

- Information on Children's lives and child raising experiences in their specific geographic locations.

B. Additional life history issues for the hyper transnational group:

- The reasons behind and the process of emigration.

- The community they live in at the US.

- Relations with Hanayna community the Arab American community and the mainstream American community in the US.

- Relations and relation maintenance with the Hanayna in Beit Hanina.

- Return, and return visitations to Beit Hanina, as well as children's return.

C. Additional life history issues for the fixed transnational group:

-The reasons behind staying in Beit Hanina.

- Relations and relation maintenance with hyper transnational Hanayna.

- In cases of return -fixed transnational- migrants, the causes behind their return and their experience in the US.

- The young generation of fixed transnational Hanayna, were asked to provide information on their future aspirations; as well as family history, such as their parents' and siblings' experiences.

2. Perceptions and Attitudes that were asked to all respondents:

- Attitudes on women's employment

- Attitudes on women's higher education.

- Attitudes on gender roles

- Attitudes on raising daughters and sons

- Attitudes towards women's inheritance and ownership rights

- Decision making in the household

- The perceptions about the other group in terms of men and women and gender roles

- The perceived differences between themselves and other group.

- How the perceptions were formed.

3. Group interviews:

- Self-Introduction

- General description of their emigration, and life in the US.

- Household information.

- General information about their children and child raising experiences in the US.

4. New issues that emerged from the field and were integrated in the research:

- Attitudes towards transnational marriages of the younger generations of fixed transnational Hanayna.

- Children's marriage information, decision and processes.

- Lost children; the definitions of lost children, and the difference between losing male and female children.

-Attitudes on women's post graduate education.

A. **Hyper Transnational Interviews:**

For this group; I held 3 in-depth interviews, 1 with a male, Akram (49) , and 2 with female respondents, Um Rami (63) and Faten (50). These interviews were life history interviews; covering most of the issues above. 3 group interviews were held, one with a couple; Sami (71) and Suad (58), one comprised of a group of 4 older generation men, Jamil (86), Ali. (66), Hassan (66), and Moe (55) and one with a group of women, with the main respondent being Suha (46). While I couldn't conduct in-depth life history interviews in the group sessions, the focus was

basic demographic and migration information on the respondents, and then focusing on attitudinal and perception questions outlined above.

The context and dynamics of the interviews:

The first group that I covered in my interviews was the hyper transnational group. Most of the respondents were return visitors. Their departures to the US were scheduled shortly after contacting them; usually after less than a week. Therefore at these instances, I held group interviews, rather than in-depth life history interviews. Most of the interviewees during these interviews were either related to each other and lived in areas near each other in the US, or had formed friendships over the years of migration in the US. The average length of the in-depth interviews was an hour and fifteen minutes; while for the group interviews it was around an hour and thirty minutes.

A case in point, is the group interview held with a group of hyper-transnational men that was arranged by a respondent who I interviewed earlier. This interview was held at the house of one of the interviewees, four hyper transnational men were present for this interview. As I sat down with them, it was a little uncomfortable, both for me and for the men; being a young woman interviewing 4 older men, and asking questions about their personal lives in the US, and their attitudes toward gender roles. This interview however, was very informative for my research.

Um Rami (63), a hyper transnational return visitor; also linked me with other hyper transnational visitors to Beit Hanina. In her interview, which was conducted at a calm spot in a local coffee shop; she displayed deep emotions when talking about her early life; she calmed down later as she started talking about her children, and the joy they bring to her life. After the interview, Um Rami and I moved to a house near this coffee shop; that is where I met Sami (71)

and Suad (58). As I introduced myself, Sami was able to recognize some people in my family and they both gave me a warm welcome to their house. As I sat down to explain my research project to them in their balcony overlooking the main street in Beit Hanina, He asked me to take a look outside and expressed his fury because of how young people here are not careful about littering and do not mind harming the environment around them; as opposed to young people in the US, and how the "Americans" are following islamic religious tradition on keeping a clean environment better than the Muslims here.

The four of us; Um Rami, Suad, Sami and I were present, while both Sami and Suad spoke of their life histories separately. Sami was very emotional as he talked about his forced emigration experience, as he was in Cairo at the time of the 1967 war, and Israel didn't allow him to return to Beit Hanina at the time, thus he was forced to immigrate to the U.S.. In the discussion on gender norms and roles following the life history parts of the interview, a strong opposition between Sami, and both Suad and Um Rami surfaced. Interestingly, Sami displayed more egalitarian views on gender roles, than the two women.

Um Rami (63) also linked me with Suha (46) who she knew was visiting from the US. I contacted Suha for an in-depth interview and prepared to meet with her but didn't realize that it would take place during a social gathering for a number of hyper transnational women at her parents' house. Nonetheless, I took the opportunity I had available, and turned it into a group discussion. While Suha (46) was the main informant in this group as she was comfortable to share her story in that setting; the discussions that took place between the women on gender roles in the US were rather interesting with most of the women focusing on the great difficulties they faced while raising children in the US, and the extent of control measures they tried to enforce on their children in the US; this is where Um Zeinab comes up in the discussion. While all the

women expressed their attitudes; Suha (46) the main informant, was the most outspoken and her attitude largely depicted the general attitudes present with us, thus mainly her input was used in the research.

B. Fixed Transnational Interviews:

Interviews with this group were comprised of in-depth interviews. 2 interviews were held with two male respondents; Kassem (44) and Musatafa (25), and 5 with female respondents, Um Ahmad (53), Najla (46), Reem (36), Salma (17) and Dalia (19).

The context and dynamics of the interviews:

Interviewees from the fixed transnational group were slightly more accessible for me, however as I wasn't part of the community and didn't have previous relations with many members of the community; most of the interviews were facilitated by Lajnat Al-Ma'aref organization, however I could contact my respondents whenever any clarification were needed unlike the hyper-transnational respondents; whom I couldn't access after conducting the interviews. The average length of the interviews was 1 hour for this group.

Kassem (44) who works at the local gas station; I knew for many years as the man who filled my car with gas every once in a while, while always throwing funny remarks on my gas filling habits. I contacted him at the gas station and the interview took place at Lajnat Al-Ma'aref office.

Some of the interviews that were conducted haven't been used in this research. An interview with an older fixed transnational woman in her 70's; who had a very unusual story, and who experienced an emotional outburst during the interview, wasn't used in the research. On the one hand; I couldn't ask any questions or divert the conversation because of the high emotions during the interview, so I listened and offered some comfort. On the other hand; the exceptional

case that she had didn't apply to the purpose of the research.

Other cases, where interviews were conducted but didn't go in to the research; was because I felt that these interviewees complied with the organization's request to be interviewed, however several indicators during the interview sessions were indicating that they didn't feel comfortable with sharing their personal stories even though they accepted to take part in the research. These interviews were not used out of respect for their personal wishes.

Ethics of Research

This research was undertaken according to the ethical guidelines of research that entails human participants at Birzeit University. The respondents in this research gave informed oral consent. Respondents were also informed that they could change their statements, and are able to back out at anytime they wish to. Information that might harm the well being of the respondents was not used in the research. Furthermore, due to the sensitive personal nature of the information obtained from respondents; their identities have been treated with confidentiality, and are concealed.

Chapter Four: Findings

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part addresses the findings in the two transnational groups. it is branched into two main sections; the first section addresses the findings from the Hyper transnational group, while the second addresses findings from the fixed transnational group. The second part titled findings by generations, provides a comparative generational analysis.

Part 1: Findings

Section 1: Findings on Hyper transnational Hanayna

Table 1: Hyper transnational group information

Name	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Age of Emigration	Residence	Reason for emigration	Education prior to emigartion	Education in the US	Occupation In The US	occupation in BH	Number of children males\females	
Um Rami	Female	62	Married	16	Detroit - Beit Hanina	Marriage	Middle school	-	Homemaker	-	3	3
Faten	Female	50	Widowed	15	Cleveland - Beit Hanina	Marriage	Middle school	Secondary school Diploma - Enrolled at the University	Homemaker	Teacher Assistant	3	2
Suha	Female	46	Married	1 year old - returned to beit hanina and re-emigrated at 15	New York	Marriage	Middle school	-	Shop owner	-	3	-
Suad	Female	58	Married	17	Detroit - Beit Hanina	Marriage	Secondary school	-	Teacher of arabic	-	3	2
Um Zeinab	Female	60's	unkown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Akram	Male	49	Married	21	Beit Hanina (Previously New York)	First intifada closures - Financial needs	3rd year at Birzeit University	Bachelor's Degree	Taxi driver	Teacher	2	4
Hassan	Male	66	Married	16	New York - Beit Hanina	Work	Middle school	-	Supermarket owner		2	5
Sami	Male	71	Married	23	Detroit - Beit Hanina	Inability to return to BH after the six day war - work	University degree	-	Retired - previously production control at a company	-	3	2
Jamil	Male	86	Married	16	Beit Hanina (Previously New York)	Work	Middle school	-	Sales man	Retired	3	2
Ali	Male	66	Married	17	New York - Beit Hanina	Work	Middle school	-	Supermarket owner	Supermarket owner	-	-
Moe	Male	55	Married	2nd generation	New York	-	-	Secondary school	Grocery warehouse supervisor	-	-	5

This section is divided into two sub-sections; in the first sub-section I will introduce the hyper-transnational group of interviewees and provide a short description of their experiences. In the Second part, I will address the findings on the attitudes, perceptions and preferences of the transnational group of natives from Beit Hanina (*Hanayna\Hanini)* towards women's roles, raising children in the US, women's higher education and employment, inheritance rights, in addition to their perceptions towards the *Hanayna* women who remained in Beit Hanina.

<u>Section 1.1: Introduction:</u>

By definition the Hyper-transnational *Hanayna* are the *Hanayna* who originate from the village, or are married to someone from Beit Hanina, and live in the United States or have lived there for a long period of time; (here operationally defined as over fifteen years). Whether they are first, second or third generation emigrants; and return either as frequent visitors or return immigrants. In this study, the research group is comprised of 5 women, with ages ranging from 46 to 65, and 6 men with ages ranging from 49 to 84, as I couldn't find younger generations of hyper transnational migrants staying at the village or visiting at the time of conducting the research.

In terms of the women, Um Rami, Suad, and Faten, 62, 58, and 50 respectively, immigrated to the United States during their teen years immediately after getting married to Hanini men living in the US. Um Rami, and Suad currently lives in Detroit, Michigan, and in Beit Hanina, moving constantly between the two. They have been good friends for some time, having known each other through the Arab and *Hanini* community in Detroit, in which they are active members. While Um Rami has always been a homemaker, Suad; before retiring, was an English and Arabic language teacher for children of emigrants in the Arab community in Detroit.

Both Suad and Um Rami have children. Um Rami is a mother of three adult daughters and three adult sons, who are all married and with children, and settled in Detroit. Suad has three adult sons and two adult daughters who are also married and settled in Detroit.

Faten, originally from the nearby village of Hizma, was married to a Hanini, who died a few years after her marriage life began with him in Cleveland, Ohio and Beit Hanina. She is the mother of three adult sons and two adult daughters. One of her daughters is settled in the nearby village of Hizma, her mother's village, and the rest are married and settled in Cleveland. While in the US, after her husband's death, Faten obtained her high school diploma in the US and is currently taking university level classes whenever possible in the US as well. While she is now constantly moving between the two countries, she settled in Beit Hanina during her children's early and late childhood but visited the US often. In Beit Hanina, she worked as a teacher assistant at Al-Iman school, a private Islamic school in Beit Hanina. She is now retired, which gives her more time to travel and enjoy her days as a grandmother in Beit Hanina and in Cleveland.

Suha, 46, the youngest female hyper transnational interviewee immigrated to the United States at the age of one, however, at the age of eleven, her mother brought her back to Beit Hanina, which was a common practice for emigrants in the 80's and 90's. At fifteen she got married to her current husband from Beit Hanina and moved back to The US with him. She lives in New York, where she and her husband own a shop. She hasn't returned to Beit Hanina during the past 30 years, but in 2016 she made her first visit and is planning to return back to Beit Hanina more often and to bring her three adult sons and grandson with her to visit the village in the near future.

In terms of the men, Jamil, at 86, is the oldest of the interviewees. He immigrated to New

York at the tender age of 16, worked as a travelling salesman and has two adult sons and three adult daughters. Jamil only returned to visit Beit Hanina following the deaths of his mother and one of his sons in the late 70s and early 80s, Later on, in the early 2000s, he settled in Beit Hanina after marrying his second wife, who provided him with the necessary residency documents to settle in Jerusalem. Moe, Jamil's 55-year-old son, a grocery warehouse supervisor in New York, is the only second generation male interviewee among the hyper-migrants. He himself has 5 girls from two marriages, both to Palestinian women who emigrated with him after marriage, during his lifetime he visited Beit Hanina six times, twice with his daughters, who come more frequently with his current wife.

Ali and Hassan, 66 are first cousins who emigrated from Beit Hanina to New York around the same time period (in the 1960's), Hassan was 16 and Ali 17. Both men own grocery stores in the US, while Ali owns one in Beit Hanina as well. While Ali (66) spends half of the year in New York and the other half in Beit Hanina, Hassan (66) tends to make one or two yearly visits to Beit Hanina which amount to three months per year. Hassan has two sons and five daughters, and 22 grandchildren. Six of his children are married within the Arab community and along with the grandchildren who are settled in the US.

Sami 71, is married to Suad (the schoolteacher above who lives in Detroit). He is the only interviewee who obtained a university degree prior to emigrating to the US. During his time in the US; Sami, who is now retired, worked in quality control at a local company in Detroit. Working in skilled labour gave him the opportunity to experience a better work-life balance, unlike the other male interviewees who spent immense amounts of time working mostly as self-employed shopkeepers. As such, Sami was able to devote more time to his family and the local community. Although during the time his children were growing up he was unable to visit Beit

Hanina regularly; now he along with his wife are constantly moving back and forth between the two communities.

Akram, 49, the youngest male interviewee, was 21 when he first immigrated to the US. Prior to his emigration, he had been an engineering student at a university in the West Bank, but due to the first Palestinian uprising (1987-1993) -*Intifada*-, and the University closures, he had to leave for the US. During his time in the US, he finished his studies and worked as a taxi driver in New York. He married Najla (originally from the Palestinian village of Silwan) and she decided to return to Beit Hanina in the 1990's, and he followed shortly after his father's death in the US in 2006. He works as a teacher in a school in Beit Hanina. He has five children, two boys and three girls, all are either enrolled in universities o arr finishing school. He is the only interviewee from this group that came back to settle in Beit Hanina, with no plans of returning to the US, but with some visits to the US nonetheless.

Section 1.2: Findings:

I.   Marriage:

All of the first generations of hyper transnational women interviewees experienced underage marriage, with the age at the time of marriage ranging from 15-17. However, almost none of the younger generations of second and third hyper transnational women experienced underage marriages and married in their early twenties instead. Men interviewees reported being married at various ages ranging from 18-26 at the time of the first marriage. Endogamous transnational marriages -marriages between hyper transnational Hanayna and fixed transnational Hanayna or with populations from nearby villages- are the most common type of marriages for the hyper transnational group. While all of the first generation interviewees experienced

marriages from Beit Hanina, the majority of the second generation also experienced endogamous transnational marriages.

First generation migrants to the US like their same generation who stayed in Beit Hanina, preferred endogamous marriage -marriage from the same natal community (Williams, 2010)- with their kin relatives; especially in terms of marriage for women. Hassan (66) explains that almost all of his 6 daughters married Hamula (clan) members from the fixed transnational group.

In terms of first generation hyper transnational men interviewees; Jamil (86) in his first marriage, Sami (71) -married to Suad (58)- Hassan (66) and Ali (66) all married Hanayna women from Beit Hanina or women from nearby villages, such as the case of Hassan who married a woman from the village of Al-Jeeb. The men's mothers arranged their marriages in Beit Hanina while they were in the US. Ali (66) refers to his experience with arranged marriage by saying that "She -the wife- was shipped to me", as he and all of the other first generation of men did not know their spouse prior to their wives' arrival in the US.

The women of the first generation, all emigrated upon marriage. While Suad (58), Faten (50); originally from the nearby village of Hizma, and Suha (46) are all married to first generation emigrants from Beit Hanina. Um, Rami (62) is married to a second-generation immigrant; She states that "He was also young, around 18 (she was 16), and he didn't speak any Arabic when we first met".

Moe (55) an older second-generation migrant who visited Beit Hanina 6 times during his lifetime; twice for meeting a future wife and to get married. While he married twice, the first was from Atarah, a village near Ramallah, the second was from the fixed transnational group of Hanayna.

The young second and third generation of hyper transnational Hanayna in the US practiced three patterns of socially accepted marriages. The first discussed is homogamous/endogamous transnational marriage (intra-group marriage). The second and third generations were encouraged by their parents to marry partners from the fixed transnational Hanayna or from nearby villages that share the community's values. This pattern is encouraged firstly because of the first generation's will to forge and keep ties between the second generation of migrants and Beit Hanina; as Sami (71) whose son is married to a woman belonging to the Fixed transnational group says "getting married from here is of a high value, it declares that the person wants to stay connected to Beit Hanina and to Palestine". Secondly, is the issue of legal residency status; to give the second generation of emigrants especially young men, who do not hold legal residence status the choice to be able to return to Beit Hanina by marrying women who have legal residence in Jerusalem. Faten (50) explains that all of her children in the US have married from local Palestinian women and men, originating either from Beit Hanina or Hizma (Faten's Natal village), she also states that she prefers her sons to marry women who hold legal residency status in Jerusalem, i.e blue ID, as to be able to return to Beit Hanina anytime they wish to, without facing problems with the Israeli authorities, also because the family owns land in Beit Hanina and if they do not have residency status this makes it vulnerable to being confiscated by the Israelis. However, in 2013 Israel passed new and more restrictive residency laws concerning 'family reunification' processes for Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem (Blue ID holders).

The family reunification laws passed in 2002 by the Israeli Knesset, and are being renewed each year since 2003. These laws froze the process of obtaining a legal residence for the spouses of residents of east Jerusalem. Furthermore, these racist laws place restrictions on the ages of the spouses asking for legal residence permits (35 and older for men, and 25 and older for women),

in addition to forcing the holder of the Jerusalem ID to constantly prove that they are living in Jerusalem, or are constantly going back and forth as to not lose residency rights in Jerusalem, moreover this process is a time consuming one. It can take up to two decades to obtain legal residence (Izheman, 2017), and of those without legal residence returnees, they are only capable of staying three months at a time.

Hassan (66) and Ali (66) state that "these days, it is hard to get married to a person from Jerusalem (Blue ID holder)" while they both recall attending a wedding in New York, where the wife is a hyper transnational woman and the young man is from the fixed transnational group in Beit Hanina – thus he has an Israeli residency but his wife does not. Hassan (66) says,

"When they tried to enter Jerusalem they told the man that his wife can not enter and that he married her only to bring her here! It's been a year and she is still waiting in New York. One whole year, and she still cannot enter Jerusalem."

The third role of endogamous transnational marriage is based on the assumption that women are cultural gatekeepers, and are responsible for transferring the culture to their children in the US and in some cases to their husbands as well. Um Ahmad (53) from the fixed transnational group points out that many young men from the second and third generations are still encouraged by their parents to return to Beit Hanina to find wives. Especially, those who were seen as becoming more and more "Americanized" and displaying deviant behaviours from their community's social norms. Salma (17) from the fixed transnational group also mentioned that her second generation immigrant male cousins in the US, between the ages of 23 and 25 are looking for wives in Beit Hanina, whereas the older cousins have already married from Beit Hanina.

A number of cases of second-generation women who permanently returned to Beit Hanina after marriage were mentioned. These women were relocated to Beit Hanina in their teen years by their parents and ended up marrying in Beit Hanina (usually teen marriages), or nearby

villages and never returning to the US, such as the case of Faten's (50) older daughter and Jamil's (86) older daughters. Similar cases of second generation immigrant men permanently relocating to Beit Hanina after marriage have not occurred.

While homogamous/ endogamous transnational marriage was still the most widespread pattern among second generation marriages. The second socially acceptable pattern is marrying within the hyper transnational group in the US -both from the Hanayna hyper transnationals or Palestinian Hyper transnationals. Endogamy came to encompass marriage between Hanayni who were located in the US, to such an extent that marriages between Hanayni in the US, sometimes occurred between those living in different states such as Suha's (46) son, who married a woman from the Hanayna community from a different state. While others such as Um Rami's (63) daughters in the US married hyper transnational Hanayna from the same state, some also married men from the general hyper transnational Palestinian community around them.

The third socially accepted pattern, albeit more recently accepted by the hyper transnational Hanayna, is ethnoreligious homogamous marriage in the US. Meaning marriage from within the wider ethnic and religious group (Williams, 2010), i.e Arab Muslim American community. This type of marriage is newly acceptable in the Hanayna community in the US and is practised in areas where there is a large Arab American community, such as Detroit, Michigan. Um Rami's (63) son, and Suad and Sami's daughter married Lebanese spouses from their immediate community in Detroit. While Um Rami (63) did not approve of this marriage at first, as she wanted her oldest son; Rami to maintain his relation to Beit Hanina by marrying a Hanini or Palestinian woman, it became socially acceptable in these US communities to marry from the general Arab community.

Still socially unacceptable, although a pattern that does occur, is -heterogamy -marrying from outside the wider ethnic-religious community (Williams 2010). Among the second and third generation, a few similar cases were mentioned by respondents briefly, specifically when discussing the issues of "lost children" – those who lost the cultural (and sometimes social) connection with their parents in the US. These cases were always raised as being examples of failure and deviant from the norm and stand as the negative example of everything that the Hanayna community in both the US and Beit Hanina have struggled to avoid in the way that they live and organise their transnational lives over three generations.

II. *Perceptions on raising girls in the US*

The interviewees had strong opinions towards raising boys and girls differently. While there is a perceived need to protect children, both boys and girls, from the popular American culture and the freedom it entails; girls, however, are perceived to be in more need of direct protection until they get married, as they are the ones who could "shame" the family.

Suha, 46, is a mother of 3 adult males, describes the way she raised her children in the US,

My boys used to go to school, I used to drive them back and forth, I did not give them a lot of freedom but they were allowed to go out with their friends once or twice a week. They used to go to the Cinema, or to a shopping mall, but they would be home by 10 on most days.

When asking if she had girls would they be raised differently she answered with:

Of course! Girls are not allowed to stay out until this hour (10 pm), and if she wants to go out it would have to be with me. And I would not allow her to have American friends… boys have more freedom, of course, girls are not allowed to do the same, American girls are different, if for example, I had a fifteen-year-old daughter, I would not allow her to go out with American girls. Oh No! god forbid!

 Girls forming friendships with "American girls" or with other girls from outside the Arab community is highly discouraged, as these girls are perceived to have negative effects on the girls, and might eventually be responsible for leading them astray.

The above example displays a difference between raising a boy and raising a girl. There are other strong indications of the differences between raising boys and girls, particularly when it comes to the freedoms the children enjoy. The constant fear of girls being "lost"; which is a term that usually describes a girl who cut ties with the family or elopes with boyfriends who were not perceived as suitable husbands; thus dishonored her family, led some parents to impose many rules specifically for girls to follow, from the age of early childhood. Hassan, 66 explains that

Girls from an early age know that this (Having boyfriends, and going out with friends) is a red line, they know what is allowed and what is not allowed, but boys have more freedom, of course, they can go wherever they want.

The girls, however, cannot go anywhere without the permission of their parents Hassan (66) proceeds to say,

Look, first of all, our girls do not go out without the permission of their father… let's say they want to go out, they can go in groups of 4 or 5 girls, that is perfectly ok but you would not see our girls coming home late or having boyfriends, that just does not exist.

This claim, that girls were protected and never 'lost' is contradicted by other claims of hearing about cases of "lost" girls, Faten 50, says,

There were many stories, once a girl left her car at the exit of a highway and eloped with her boyfriend, her family went to the police claiming that their girl was lost or kidnapped, she found out from the local news that they were looking for her, and she came out saying I was not kidnapped, I ran away and I choose my life and do not want to live with my family anymore! When you see this catastrophe how would you want to stay in America!

In another effort to protect the girls, some of the interviewees either sent some of their girls to stay with relatives in Beit Hanina, such as Faten's oldest daughter who was sent back to

live with her grandmother during her teen years. Or the entire family relocated during the children's teen years, Um Rami (63) says,

I signed my daughter up for a sports team when she was younger, the team used to travel around the US for competitions, I wanted to join them during their travels because I won't let my daughter go alone, they refused, I was scared that they would lose their identity, so a few years later I made the decision to come back here with my children, in order to keep their identity.

Faten 50, who relocated her entire family after her husband's death, first to Cleveland, then to Beit Hanina for her children to attend local schools and grasp the culture, and then back to the USA for higher education and work, has her granddaughters in mind. She says,

My daughter's daughters are 4 years old, when I talk to them on FaceTime, believe me, I start thinking about what they will be when they turn 16. I get worried for real! I sometimes tell my daughter to come back here, this is my point of view, even if the mother is religious and conservative they might still be lost.

This need to protect girls is displayed during their childhood and adolescence years; this behaviour usually decreases substantially after the girl gets married. Hassan, 66, claims "Now the girls are out of my duties section (as they are married)" or as Suad (58) puts it, "Now they are married they can go wherever they want to go", therefore, when a girl is married the need to protect her is far less than an unmarried woman, and the duty is transferred to her husband and her in-laws rather than her father.

Akram (49), who returned to Beit Hanina, describes the effects of the parents' behaviour on children from his experience with his nephews and nieces,

Their relationships (The children's relationships) in schools, with their classmate, are very restricted. They put the children in public schools and do not allow them to make friends! The children either rebel and become 100% Americanized or become a lot more conservative, I think it is wrong all wrong and I did not want that.

All of the interviewees described themselves as religious individuals, who wanted their children to act according to Islam. However, most of the interviewees expected girls to show higher levels of religious commitment and practice especially when it comes to wearing the

headscarf (*Hijab*). For example, Faten 50, states that "In America, people practice real religion, the women you'll see are very religious and wear the hijab, they don't go out in shorts or whatever!" Wearing the hijab, which is strongly associated with the image of a good girl in the interviewees' perceptions, is considered to be the epitome of religious practice for girls in the United States.

While children are praised for practicing religion; in the case of girls, her character is judged in the community in the US as to whether she is a good Arab Muslim girl or a bad Americanized girl based on her religious practice, manifested in her by wearing the religious dress –Hijab-; in addition to following traditional conservative values. In the case of boys, however, the level of religiosity and religious practice does not constitute a basis for characteristic and behavioural judgment; traditional values, on the other hand, do. Hassan, 66; the same person who commends girls for wearing the Hijab by saying "Mashallah (god willed it) almost all of the girls wear Hijabs", and who displays his pride in the level of religiosity the girls exhibit, he admiringly speaks about his son's unlawful (*Haram*), behavior, "…for example Hussein my youngest, god bless him, comes home at 12 or 1:30, and it is known that he is in good hands (Laughter)" although his son's actions are considered to be sinful they are not shameful (*Aib*) for a young man.

III.   *Women's Higher Education.*

In the interviews, women's higher education was one of the most enthusiastic topics of discussion by all generations. There was a unanimous approval of girls education, for example, Faten, 50 years old mother of six including two female children, states

(girl's education) *yes, of course a girl's (university) degree is a girl's weapon* ("weapon" -being able to fend for herself and her children without being taken advantage of by other

people) *I was my children's role model, I earned my (high school) diploma after my husband's death and I enrolled at the university with my son.*

Despite this agreement on the importance of girl's higher education, most of the interviewees discussed women's higher education in relation to its positive or negative relation to marriage; Ali (66) states,

I am for the education of girls, but not post graduate education, a girl reaches the age of 30-35 and is not married yet, this is a shame for her… education is important but a woman's end goal (life goal) is making a home, this is the main and most important role.

Moreover, Um Rami (63) and Suad (58) shared the opinion that "too much education can ruin a household", and Ali (66) declares that "…if a man less educated than her is proposing to her, she would look down on him. She would not build a good life with him…" Therefore, there is a shared perception that some women who pursue high levels of education might develop attitudes that are contradictory to the values and roles a woman ordinarily displays. Thus some respondents had negative perceptions towards women's postgraduate education (masters and PhD level).

While Ali's (66) views were supported by the other men during the group interview, another opinion that is usually brought up by both men and women is that higher education is important for women because of the benefits it brings to her household and her children. When Um Rami, 62, challenged the importance of a girl's post-graduate education because it "increases the possibilities of having marital problems", Sami (71), strongly defended his opinion that "girls' education is more important than that of boys" he continued by saying, "I mean if she gets an education and gets married, she will greatly help her husband and children", Sami (71) also states that "It all depends on the woman herself; some do develop destructive attitudes and some do not. Frankly, I would not have a problem with a woman PhD holder, but I would with an uneducated woman." Thus, the attitudes developed highly educated women is in

question, for example, looking down on her husband if he is not as educated as she is, rather than the benefits of education itself in Sami's views.

Moreover, most of the respondents referred to their girls' higher education as a back-up "in case something happens" (Sami, 71), or because "the divorce rates are increasing" (Hassan, 66). This perception is shared between both the male and female respondents. As Suha, 46, mother of 3 males and owner of a private business in New York puts it "of course the girl should get an education because you do not know what will happen in the future. If something happens with her husband, or if anything happens, she needs to have a degree that will allow her to work and provide for her family."

The case of Akram (49), a self-described "highly conservative and religious man" stands out, not only as is he the youngest in the youngest male interviewee and a return immigrant, but as his attitude towards women's education is rather more progressive that the rest of the group, as he expresses his opinion on women's higher education,

When I came back here I encouraged my wife to earn her master's degree, even when I was not settled here… My view is different in that I do not see a woman as a thin layer of glass that needs to be protected and be kept in the house. No, I would love for my girl to get a good education, I am even ready to send her to any university she wants, even if it was not in Palestine, I would send her outside, I have no problem with that.

His view suggests that he does not view higher education as a backup plan, or a way to protect the girls' future if something happens, but as a need for the women to develop and gain a degree of autonomy.

IV. *Women's Employment*

Similarly to education, women's employment is accepted in the hyper transnational interviewee group, Hassan (66) states "and work (I accept the idea) why not!". However, also as

in their perceptions towards women's education, women's work is considered to be a secondary role. She is a wife and a mother first then a provider, Suha (46), says,

Let me talk about my daughter in law -as I consider her to be like my own since I do not have daughters- if she comes to me now and tells me I want to work, and now that she has two kids, I would all her no you cannot! you cannot work until you raise your children, and until they start school, once they do you can work and help your husband. You know! Who would raise the children if she does not? nobody can, not even me, their grandmother, I can babysit them for a couple of days but no more, when it was my turn to raise children, I did, it is now her turn!

Another woman, Um Zainab, in her 60's, within this group interview exclaimed, "some women even put their children with babysitters, my daughter, Zainab, may god be happy with her, never did! we never trust the babysitter only the mum should care for her children".

Almost all of the respondents have reported similar situations, where their adult female children leave the job Market during their years of motherhood to tend to their kids. Older women in the US who "finished" their duties of raising young children do tend to go back to the job Market, or experience work for the first time, such as Suha, and Suad aged 46 and 58 respectively.

Moe, 55, the second generation interviewee, also seemed to share the view that women's employment should be secondary to their domestic and parenting roles, he says,

I never forced my wife to do anything, I would cripple my myself working, once she asked me if she should (work), I told her that she should not have to, many women in the Arab community work, but that's only because they have to.

Therefore the majority of hyper transnational interviewees asserted that neither work nor education for women is perceived as ways to establish autonomy and personal development in addition to economic benefits; it is only a means of helping the husband, the primary provider if she is married and her husband is unable to provide or if she has free time before getting married. Hassan (66), says,

When my daughter came to me to ask me if she could have a job, I said why not! I mean if her mother and father are on the same page, and are sure about her upbringing and her behaviour, then work is not shameful, and I think that she even has to experience work.
 Therefore, it seems that a woman's decision to work is still bound by the consent of her father or parents, which is in line with the attitude that women should not gain autonomy through work or education.

Yet again, Akram (49) stands out as a supporter of women earning some degree of autonomy and independence through work and education. Akram (49) says, "I would love for my daughter to earn an education… Because I want my daughter to work in the field she chooses and to be able to prove herself and her personality in this world."

V. *Women as wives and mothers*

In the previous sections, the hyper-transnational group tends to perceive that women's essential roles should be in the reproductive sphere, revolving around their identity as mothers and wives. Therefore, women are expected to be the primary caregivers within the household rather than sharing this responsibility with spouses, who should instead be the primary breadwinners. While this clear divide of gender roles could be disadvantageous to women, most of the members of this group agreed that when it comes to decision-making within the household, these days women are treated as equals rather than submissive followers, unlike the old days.

Hassan (66), explains,

We usually exchange opinions. I mean, when either the women or the man is backwards (Mutakhalef), one will have to be the decision maker. But when the two are equal in terms of their Islamic and traditional education and even their academic education, call it whatever you want, when the equality is there the decisions are made 50\50, or even the woman becomes the main decision maker. I mean there were many times when men proposed to my daughters and my wife said no, she is the one who decided.

Um Rami also indicates that in her household there is a decision-making equality between herself especially in decisions concerning the children, such as decisions of return to Beit Hanina, and marriage. However, some of the responses by the group indicate that there are a contradiction in terms of what they claim happens it terms of decision making, and what actually happens. While Faten (50) claims that when the option of sending her daughter back to live with her grandmother in Beit Hanina during her teen years, came about, her husband was keener towards making this move. She explains that "While I was not sure if I wanted her to go live with her grandma, my husband wanted it badly, I was not forced or anything, but I felt like I had to agree", this might be an indicator that while a woman is perceived to be entitled to have an opinion the final decisions should usually be made by the man who heads the household. While mostly women's opinions are thought over, there is still a sense that a man is the final decision maker.

Many *Hanayna* women of the first and second generation, both emigrants to the US or American-born, are expected to move in with their in-laws when they get married especially during the early years of marriage in the US This sometimes affects the couple's autonomy, and many women faced restrictions placed on them by their new family. Um Rami (63) shares her experience in the US saying,

When I wanted to go buy something I had to do it according to their (in-laws) time. I mean, many times I was craving things or needed something, I could not just go get it! They had to bring it to me, and I could not just ignore what they wanted, I was very pressured until my mother in law and father in law moved back to Beit Hanina. We became a lot more independent, for example, I got to give my kids the things I wanted to give them, such as giving them opportunities to play sports, which I did!

As Mothers, women are expected to keep the family connected to their roots, by passing down cultural and religious values, and social norms to their children. "You know the saying that

the mother is a school," says Hassan (66). Moreover, many interviewees share the view that women are expected to spend every waking hour with their children when they are at home, even if they worked, especially in the US because of all the social forces which can lure the children into adopting American cultural norms, and become 100% Americanized. As Um Rami (63) puts it, "a woman should always welcome her children home after school even if she works, she can take an hour off work!"

The majority of the men in the hyper transnational group spent the majority of their day at work, and rarely at home, especially private business owners. Akram (49), who owned a taxi in New York says "I was very tired in the USA, there is no social life, you do not see your family, I used to see many men like that, they would work till 12 am every day and never take a day off! Why? To buy a big family car but to never actually drive it!" Therefore, in many instances, the children's upbringing in the Hanayna community in the US is seen as solely the responsibility of the mother. And if she upholds this responsibility well enough and raises them according to religion and 'tradition' she is to be commended for it, as Hassan (66) says "you see all those girls wearing Hijab, Masha 'Allah (God willed it), it is because their mothers taught them, an education is 25% at school and 75% at home!"

VI. *Women's inheritance and ownership*

Although legal and Islamic practices provide women with rights to inheritance, in the Arab world; men are favoured in inheritance. Land in the Arab world is usually owned by men and is preferably passed down to male descendants rather than female descendants. Sometimes women either willingly give their share –or part of it- to their brothers, or are forced to do so (Joseph, 1996). Amongst the women interviewees, women's inheritance is viewed as a religious duty, which must be followed through. Excluding Akram (49), the attitudes of most male

interviewees were not clear enough to draw any findings. The women were clearly vocal about their rights to inherit from the family. Suha (46) confirms that

men and women are equal in these terms, a woman should inherit just like the man, of course, according to the religious laws, we do not hold this idea that a woman should not inherit, it used to be more but now women do inherit

Um Rami, (63) shares this view by giving her own example "I have inherited from my father, it is the sharia law", Akram (49) on the other hand says,

From my experience in Beit Hanina, it is like the rest of the villages, women are usually pressured into giving up their inheritance to either their brother or to someone else, but it is Haram to do that, my grandmother, for example, did inherit from her father, it seems that they were religious…

As for women's ownership of assets Akram (49) says "In my experience in the US, I did not see any woman who owns the house or shops or anything, only the men owned them, but that's probably because most of them did not work", while Faten (50) says "I do own my house here and the family house in the US", moreover Suha (46) adds "Many women do own assets". Therefore, there isn't a clear idea on the perceptions towards the ownership of assets for women, while three of the four women report that they do own assets. For the men it was somewhat more difficult to address such an issue, as there was a feeling of reluctance to discuss it especially during the group interview session as all of the men present were related, thus having common inheritance that they would not want to discuss, or inheritance becomes an embarrassing topic to discuss openly if one or more of the men interviewees –who are self-described religious men- in the group pressured their female relatives to give up their inheritance.

VII.   *Perceptions towards women stayers:*

Most men returnees did not form many perceptions about the women Hanayna stayers in Beit Hanina because they usually mingle with other men or with other returnees, but their general comment is that the Hanayna stayers are developing in terms of women's education and

work, and are just like the Hanayna in the US. While the women share the same perception that girls are getting more and more educated, with Um Rami saying "I am very happy about it here, the families pay more attention to their girls. They educate them and give them some freedom, which far better from when I was here growing up". Several refer to the freedom that women here enjoy, Suha (46) said,

"There is some freedom in the US for Hanayna women, but here it is freer, even though they are under occupation. I find that the women here enjoy more freedom than those in the US. It was such a surprise after I returned here to find out about this. So much has changed for the women here, women work and go to school, they own cars, and the men are giving them freedom it is really good."

Section 2: Findings on Fixed Transnational Hanayna.

Table 2: Fixed transnational group information

Name	Age	Marital status	age at marriage	Children boys \ girls		Education	Time of starting higher education	Occupation	Emigration	return year	Occupation in the US	Family in the US	Visits to the U
Um Ahmad	53	Widowed	16	4	2	3rd year university	High school and University enrollment after marriage	Homemaker	thought about- went to visit and check but decided not to - green card holder	none	none	1 male child and siblings	twice
Reem	36	Married	17	5	1	2nd year university	High school and University enrollment after marriage	Homemaker	none	none	none	In laws, extended family of the husband	none
Najla	46	Married to Abdullah	19	2	4	Master	Graduate degree and finished undergraduate after marriage	Teacher	2 years - US citizen	1999	arabic - religion teacher	Extended family of the husband	none after retu
Dalia	19	single	-	-	-	2nd year university	currently enrolled	student	none	none	none	sister - extended family	once
Salma	17	single	-	-	-	High school	currently enrolled	student	none - US citizen	none	none	sister - extended family	none
Mustafa	25	Married	24	1	0	University degree	after high school	journlist	none	none	none	extended family	none
Kassem	44	Married for the second time	first- 17 Second- 26	2	5	middle school	-	Gas station employee	10 years after first marriage	2000	super market employee	sisters and brothers - extended family	none after retu

Section 2.1: Introduction:

By definition the Fixed-transnationals in this study are the *Hanayna* who originate from the village, or are married to someone from Beit Hanina, and have not immigrated to the United Stated or have immigrated for a short period of time (operationally defined as less than 15 years), and have kin relations with emigrants and are in contact with them. The interviewees from this group are comprised of 5 women with ages ranging from 17 to 52, and two men aged 25 and 44.

In terms of the female respondents; Um Ahmad, 52, a house-maker; lives in Beit Hanina along with her son and grandson. She has six adult children, four males and two females. Her eldest son, and all of her brothers and sisters, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law live in the US. Reem, 36, a house-maker, originates from a village near Ramallah. She, however, is married to a Hanini and has been living in Beit Hanina for the past 19 years, along with her husband and 6 children; 5 boys and a girl. All Reem's husband's family lives in the US.

Najla, 46, a teacher who originates from the nearby village of Silwan, is married to Akram, 49; a teacher at a local school in Beit Hanina and is an interviewee from the hyper transnational group. She lived in the US for a total of two years and has moved back to Beit Hanina since 1999. She has 6 children; two sons and four daughters. All of her sisters and brothers-in-law live in the US as well.

Of the youngest generation; Dalia and Salma, 19 and 17 respectively, both live with their parents in Beit Hanina. Dalia is a student of laboratory medicine at the university of Jerusalem - Abu Dis. Salma (17), is in her final year of high school and is planning to enrol for a degree in architecture after finishing school. Both young women have male and female siblings living in the US, in addition to extended family members.

In terms of the male respondents; Kassem, 44 lived in the US for 10 years. All of his sisters and one of his brothers live in the US. He works at a local gas station and is a father of seven, two boys and five girls, respectively. Musatafa, 25, recently married and is expecting a baby daughter is a journalist for a local news agency. While he and his brothers and parents never immigrated to the US, all of his extended family members live in the US.

Section 2.2: Findings

I. ***Women's Higher Education:***

There is a universal agreement between all of the respondents on the importance of women's higher education. The three older women, Um Ahmad, Reem (36) and Najla (46) within the group had all enrolled at the university while being married, with both Um Ahmad and Reem (36) also obtaining their high school degrees after marriage. Um Ahmad who hasn't finished her undergraduate degree after having her last child 28 years ago, claims that her experience with education was revolutionary to Beit Hanina,

As I told you, they did not educate women in the pas., I made a revolution in the village by going back to my studies, it was a true revolution you know! The mentality of the Hanayna changed after it. I was very surprised about the other villages, you know Hizma (a nearby village) does not have the financial resources of Beit Hanina, but all of the girls had higher education degrees, while in Beit Hanina, women were forbidden from it.

Najla (46) earned both her undergraduate degree and her graduate degree in Shari'a and Islamic studies from Jerusalem - Abu Dis University, while Reem (36) is still enrolled for undergraduate studies in English education in the AlQuds open University. Both Dalia (19) and Salma (17) reported that their mothers earned their undergraduate degrees from the same program, Shari'a and Islamic studies. This preference amongst the older women for Shari'a studies is due to the proximity of the college campus, which offers this degree, to their homes as it is in Beit Hanina and because it is a sex-segregated program. The younger generation of

women are not pursuing degrees in Shari'a and their choice of a degree program is not tied to the proximity of the campus or the sex segregation of the program. As Dalia (19) is studying laboratory medicine at Al Quds University in its Abu Dis Campus and Salma (17) is looking forward to starting a degree in Architecture next year after graduating high school.

While these two young women are looking forward to finishing their higher education prior to their marriage - unlike their sisters - as Dalia (19) says "I do not mind getting engaged during my years at the university, if I find the right man, but I would like to get married after I finish." While Dalia reported that her sister got married during her university years, Salma, 17 stated that her older sisters did not finish their education due to early marriage, however, she notes a change in her father's attitude:

He changed because he saw how my sisters married early, and how the women their age are still not married because they are studying and working and are benefiting their lives. You know he saw that even one of my cousins, who is my sister's age got a degree in technical engineering and got married and her education is very beneficial for her, her husband and her children as well; I feel that he feels very guilty for having my sisters married early, so he is making up for it with me!

The men in the group, Kassem, 44 and Musatafa, 25 are both married to women who are university graduates, while Kassem (44) himself is not one; Musatafa (25) graduated last year, both he and his wife finished in the same year. Both men conveyed their eagerness for their daughters to get higher education in the future, as they are still young, or in Musatafa's (25) case, he is still childless. Musatafa (25) states "As for my future daughter, I want her to be learned and educated and have a degree of self-determination and confidence".

This viewpoint is shared with the women whose daughters either finished their higher education such as Um Ahmad's two daughters or are currently enrolled in school or university. Reem (36), who remains enrolled, states that everybody around her has supported and encouraged her decision to get a university degree, and on her part, she wants to make sure that

she supports her daughters to earn university degrees as well. Najla's (46) eagerness towards higher education was extended to her daughter's eagerness to obtain a graduate degree abroad. she states:

> *Look, I do not have a problem with that (travelling for a master's degree), I am ok with it, if they want to go they can. Seriously, one of my daughters is studying in Jenin (a city to the north of Palestine) she does not come home very often. Sometimes, when she has exams she does not come home for a month, so she is already travelling. You know Amman, Jordan is closer to Beit Hanina than Jenin.*

Despite this apparent enthusiasm towards women's higher education, the two youngest (female) interviewees expressed their frustration with some of the comments they receive regarding their education from the people surrounding them. Salma (17) says

> *There are people, due to their ignorance that it is currently the 21st century and that all girls are educated; still say that a girl is destined for her husband's house. They will say, why would you get degrees while your end is in your husband's house?*

Similarly, Dalia (19) says,

> *In general, people say; not necessarily directed to me, that your end is your husband's house, sometimes when I am upset over a grade they tell me why are you upset, you will hang your degree on the kitchen wall, or your end is the kitchen. It is very upsetting when someone tells you that, even if it is realistic, it is still upsetting!*

II.   *Women's Employment*

In terms of women's employment, most interviewees saw it as an optional decision depending on the woman herself, or in case there is a financial need to provide for herself and her family. While Reem (36) is a home-maker, Najla (46) is a full-time teacher, she says "Take it from me, a woman's education is very important. You know, I pay all my children's tuition fees, while my husband pays for our other needs, both of our paychecks are spent on the kids, we barely have any savings, so it is very important to work!" Um Ahmad states that she has tried working at a daycare centre but did not enjoy the experience so she quit her job after one month.

Although both Dalia (19) and Salma (17) stated that they wanted to work after obtaining

their degrees, Salma (17) says

Of course I want to work! if I did not, I would not be studying for the Tawjihi (high school diploma) and would just stay home. If I wanted to study to only stay home, I would not study for the Tawjihi (High-school diploma) *and waste my time in the first place!*

Salma (17) also states,

My mother does not work, she does not have it in her. A woman who is employed and has a family has to be made of steel. Especially if she has children, because unfortunately, in our society most men do not do housework. If she works, she is going to be working around the clock inside and outside the house. She really needs to be strong.

Dalia (19) on the other hand, states that

If there is a financial need then she has to work, but if a woman's husband is well off and can provide well enough for the family, then why bother with working inside and outside? It is better if she stays home and takes care of the family

Although both young women would like to work and have more autonomy, they are both afraid

of the double burden that occurs when women work inside and outside the household.

As for the men in the group; Musatafa (25) says,

My wife is currently unemployed, she didn't find employment after graduating from university yet, so she doesn't work. If she wants to work then I have no problem, but it is her decision, she doesn't have to work. And even if she does decide to work and finds a job, it will always be my duty to provide for the household, not hers. She should do it only if she wants the experience and give her more purpose if she feels like it, and not out of duty.

Moreover, he states that his wife and himself had already agreed that "there is no problem

if she works, but if I feel that it will affect the children or our relationship, I can ask her to stop."

On the other hand, Kassem (44) says that his wife does not work, even though she has a

university degree. He states that he does not want her to tire herself with work, as he is

financially providing for the family, and she is taking care of domestic work, he thinks this

divide is fair enough so no one has to work more than the other.

Although there is an acceptance of women's employment, Um Ahmad (53) suggests that there are certain occupations that a woman should not take, "a woman should be employed at a respectable place, which does not put a lot of pressure on her or degrade her", she continues, " For my daughters I would not like them to work in places where they are alone with men, for example, in offices. I like the teaching profession for women, it is very respectable." Furthermore, she states that when her daughter was working at an organisation, she had to join her on several meetings because they took place in hotels and lasted until nighttime, which she was not comfortable with. She was not okay with leaving her daughter to attend alone. On a similar note, Salma (17) who wants to be an architect suggests that, although her parents do not object to her subject of choice, she feels like architecture is a man's job rather than a woman's job. This leaves her questioning her decision; despite the approval of her family and her teacher's enthusiasm.

III. *Women in the Private sphere in Beit Hanina*

1. Marriage:

Most of the older and middle generation interviewees in this group were young at the time of marriage, and some experienced underage marriage. Um Ahmad (53) and Reem (36) were both married below the age of eighteen, and Najla (46) was married at the age of nineteen. Kassem (44) who got married for the first time at the age of 17, also experienced underage marriage.

Reem (36) -who hails from a village near Ramallah- explains that she did not make the decision to get married and states that "20 years ago girls could not say no. At least in my community. They did not ask you, they just told you that you are getting married". Kassem (44)

also states that he felt a lot of pressure to follow through with his engagement although he did

not want to, he says,

> *I was 17 when I got married the first time. I got engaged to my cousin, who is from the US and I really wanted to emigrate, work and build a life there for my family but during the engagement period things did not go so well with us, and I wanted to leave the relationship, but I couldn't get myself out of the situation because if I did, it would strain the relation between my mother and her sister! Unfortunately, things didn't work out and we got divorced 10 years later.*

The youngest generation of women interviewees, Dalia (19), Salma (17) explain that

their older sisters also got married at a young age, while Salma's (17) sister experienced under

age marriage. Dalia (19) conveys that although her sister was enrolled at the university at the

time of her engagement to a hyper transnational man, she feels that her sister was pressured to

take the decision to get married; she says

> *I feel like they forced her a bit. It was not really forcing but they pressured her; they used to tell her that he is a good man, which he truly is, but she was not fully convinced at the time. Now she is happy though.*

According to the two young women, their parents played a major role in the marriage decisions

of their sisters, both Dalia (19) and Salma (17) however, feel that their parents have changed in

terms of the girls marriage; Salma (17) conveys this change in her father's mentality (as

explained previously) is due to the fact that he observed that women of her sister's age are not

married, but are studying, working and lead fulfilling lives. Salma (17) explains that this helped

change her father's mentality towards when she will get married.

Both of the young women are looking forward to obtaining their higher education

degrees prior to getting married. Furthermore, none of the daughters of the older generation, such

as Um Ahmad's (53) daughters and Najla's (46) daughters experienced early marriage (below

18). As for the interviewees with young daughters such as Reem (36) and Kassem (44), there are

no plans to get them married before at least finishing high school in Kassem's (44) case, or

obtaining a university degree in Reem's (36) case. Akram (25) the youngest man in the group, and a newly-wed was married at 24; along with his wife who was 23 at the time of marriage. That is the oldest ages of marriage among any of the fixed-transnational Hanayna.

Marriage with Hanayna from the hyper transnational group, residing in the US has been an issue raised in the interviews with the fixed transnational interviewees. Najla (46) -originally from Silwan, a nearby village- initially immigrated to the US upon her marriage to Akram (49) from the hyper transnational group. She states that while he was in the US his mother and aunts spotted her at a social event in Beit Hanina, and they went to ask her family for her hand for their son. He came back to Jerusalem to meet his bride and get married in Beit Hanina, and later on, she left to the US with him. Her experience with emigration as she states was "the most dreadful experience", as she only spent a total of two years in the US before resettling in Beit Hanina, mainly because of the amount of control she felt exercised on her by her in-laws in the US.

Kassem (44); as stated earlier, had an endogamous transnational marriage and married a Hanini girl who was living in the US. The marriage was the means through which he could obtain US citizenship and start a life in the US; where he could provide for his new family in the US, while also sending money home to his family in Beit Hanina. However, he believes the cultural differences between himself and his first wife, a second generation immigrant in the US, however, was a major factor in their divorce. After his divorce and return to Beit Hanina, his mother got him engaged to a fixed transnational woman as a means to prevent him from going back to the US.

Similarly Um Ahmad's (53) eldest son; Ahmad, who is in his thirties, married a second generation hyper transnational woman, while he was still attending University; for the same reasons stated by Kassem (44), Um Ahmad (53) explains that initially her sister, who came back

for a summer vacation bringing her daughters from the US with her, offered to marry her daughter to Ahmad, while Um Ahmad (53) refused as he was still young and attending university. Ahmad went on to meet another second generation hyper-transnational girl at an event in the village that same summer and asked to get married to her.

While some of the younger generations of fixed transnational Hanayna still experience endogamous transnational marriage; there is an increasing rejection of transnational marriages by the younger generation of fixed translational Hanayna and their parents, in the case of young women. The interviewees explain that a large number of young hyper transnational men -As Um Ahmad explains prompted by their parents- are still looking for brides from the fixed transnational population of Beit Hanina, or from surrounding villages. Um Ahmad (53) speaks of her experience with her daughter saying,

My daughter, Nirmeen, had 40 suitors from the Hanayna in America, she got engaged once for one day (Laughter) and then I could not handle the idea and asked them to quit the engagement on the next day, I want my daughter to be around me. She is a woman, if she goes to the US and the man god forbid beats her or insults or humiliates her she will have no-one to take care of her there, even though she failed in her marriage here and got divorced, she is still around me and I am not stressed, A girl is not like a boy, whatever happens to the man, even if he gets lost there you wouldn't care he will still be a man, but if the girl had bad luck and has no-one around her what would she do! she will be miserable!

Najla (46) despite the dreadful experience she had with marriage emigration to the US, says that all of the suitors that come to her oldest daughter are from the Hyper transnational group, yet both Najla (46) and her husband Akram (49) reject this type of transnational marriage. Najla (46) believes that her daughter is accepting of marriage with a hyper transnational Hanini. While Najla's daughter is accepting of transnational marriage, both Dalia (19) and Salma (17) - who is a US citizen- state that they do not want to immigrate to the US upon marriage, although their cousins who are second generation immigrants in the US are looking for brides in Beit Hanina. Both of the young women's sisters emigrated after marriage; while Salma's sister

resettled in Beit Hanina after her husband obtained US citizenship; the experience of Dalia's (19) sister with emigration, led to her rejection of transnational marriage. She States "My sister came once in the past three years and her daughter does not speak Arabic, I do not want that". She, however, explains that her parents would prefer her to marry a Hanini whether from the fixed or hyper transnational groups. Although she does not appreciate transnational marriage, it depends on *"Naseeb* (destiny)*"* so she is still unsure.

While Dalia's (19) parents prefer Hanayna suitors as they see them as part of their social unit, Reem (36) and Kassem (44) share their rejection of transnational marriage for their daughters; as they deem hyper transnational Hanayna as culturally different, and are afraid for the daughters' well-being in the US, as they would be alone in a new family.

Musatafa (25) the youngest of the men, also explains that the reasons why he did not want to get married to a hyper transnational woman are first because he refuses to immigrate to the US; thus distinguishing himself from the middle generations of men such as Kassem (44) and Ahmad. He also preferred a woman who grew up in Jerusalem, sharing his culture and identity; despite having most of his cousins in the US and being able to get married there.

Importantly, transnational marriage in Beit Hanina is also associated with traditional marriage; where the bride and the groom meet each other for a short engagement period before getting married. The notion of traditional marriage is being challenged by the younger generation of locally situated women. Both Dalia (19) and Salma (17) aspire to meet and get to know their future partners for a longer period of time, and then make their decisions, as Dalia (19) says,

I am not with traditional marriage nor with love marriage! I do not know it has to be somewhere in between because having a relationship does not add up to my religious and cultural beliefs. I think a longer period of engagement would be the best solution.

The younger generation of both men and women neglect emigration to the US as a criterion for choosing life partners, instead, they look for partners who are highly educated and religious locally.

Both transnational marriages and local marriages imply virilocal marriages; where women leaving natal homes and joining their husband's family in their home. All of the married interviewees experienced living with extended family members from the husband's (father's) family, especially in the early years of marriage. Reem (36) explains her experience living with her mother-in-law; she says "Although there was no privacy or autonomy for the two of us (herself and her husband). She was really nice and helpful. I was young when I got married and she was always helping with my new responsibilities". Dalia (19) also states that her paternal grandmother was "peaceful" and not controlling. Dissimilarly Salma (17) states that before the death of her paternal grandmother " she had a lot of power over all of us, because my grandfather died early in life and she had to raise orphans alone she was a very strong woman, who controlled everyone around her", this is similar to the case of women "left behind" such as Najla's (46) mother-in-law who only immigrated to the US when Najla's father-in-law was fatally ill later in life. She says that despite having a bad experience living with her in-laws in the US, her mother-in-law lives with them in Beit Hanina now, and although it is a more tolerable situation than living with them in the US, she is still very controlling and is the primary decision maker within the household.

Among the fixed transnational Hanayna, it is clear that the older generation still prefers endogamous marriages for their children. Simultaneously though, they are more sceptical about transnational marriage, even when the suitor is originally from Beit Hanina. Women generally are more aware of the negative sides of transnational marriage – as women who would end up

isolated in the US and under the authority of their in-laws. But the younger generation of women besides being aware of the loss of relative freedom of movement and marital autonomy also perceive transnational marriage as 'traditional marriage' – where they do not get to know the groom beforehand. Their preferences and perceptions are strongly shaped by the changing norms in the West Bank in terms of marriage – where, although parents still play a critical role in allowing or even organising marriages, upon engagement a young couple is allowed to spend time getting to know whether the potential spouse is suitable or not. In contrast, a transnational marriage is viewed as a potential trap with many dangers for young women.

2. Decision Making:

Accounts on decision making within the households varied with the different interviewees. the two men, Kassem (44) and Musatafa (25) conveyed an equality in household decision making with their wives, as Kassem -the father of 7 children- declares,

If I have a point of view and she has a different point of view, we see what is best and then implement it. for example, if I come up with a suggestion, and she sees it is good for the family then she agrees with it, if she doesn't perceive it as a good suggestion, and has a different one then we take the more positive suggestion. If a decision concerns one of our children, we also take suggestions from them as well and see what it is best for all.

Um Ahmad (53) and Reem (36) both suggested the same level of equality when it comes to decision making, Reem (36) says

My husband and I have very good understandings, we have very similar mentalities, if he wants to take a decision concerning a project for example or taking a step in something he comes and we deliberate together. He also discusses his decisions with his mother, the three of us discuss together and come to an agreement. Although he is the one that has to implement these decisions especially if it is about work projects but he still deliberates with us and we agree together.
While Um Ahmad stated that she was the one, along with her daughters, who took decisions concerning the daughter's marriages.

On the other hand Najla (46) –A full-time teacher- refuses to make decisions within the household, especially decisions concerning the children; as she doesn't want to face any consequences if her decision doesn't work out. she says,

Even if I have a voice in things I don't like to use it, not even with the smallest decisions, especially when it comes to the children. Take for example, My daughter a few months ago wanted to go out with her friends to Jerusalem I told her to ask her father for permission, he gave her permission and on the same day a stabbing happened in Jerusalem, my husband blamed himself for letting her go there, if I took that decision he would have blamed me.

Furthermore, she says that because her mother-in-law "raised children while their father was away in the US she is very controlling" and voices her opinions far more than Najla (46) does.

Dalia (19) and Salma (17) both saw their fathers as the ultimate decision makers in the household, they also felt that their views are being taken into consideration. Salma (17), speaking of her sisters' marriage decisions says,

I think my father had the power to decide in my sisters' marriage. at the time that is what he wanted… My mothers didn't have any power in the matter, I don't think she even agreed with him. As for decisions concerning money my father has the money and it is up to him, but he is never cheap with us.

Dalia (18) says that

He (father) has the last word. but he takes our opinions into consideration if something concerns us. but for example I took my own decision on the subject of my studies, he didn't involve himself in it, so I feel I can make my own decisions alone on certain things.

3. Child Raising:

In Beit Hanina, boys and girls are raised differently. While both boys and girls are equal in terms of schooling, girls and boys are given different freedoms, roles and powers within the household as well as out in the community

According to some of the interviewees, they perceive that boys are sometimes given some power over their sisters. Najla (46) –the mother of 6 children- says

A lot of times my sons are making trouble with their sisters, but my mother-in-law doesn't allow me to reprehend them, as she thinks boys never make mistakes and they should never be held accountable to what they are doing as opposed to their sisters

While Dalia (19) says that "Sometimes my brothers try to meddle in my life like if I am expressing an opinion or doing something sometimes they'll try and meddle… my parents know about this, but as always the ultimate decisions are in the hands of my father, so whatever they do they usually don't have power over me as long as I have my father"

Furthermore; in relation to their brothers, Salma (17) –high school student- and Dalia (19) –Undergraduate student- feel the difference between them. Dalia (19) talks about house chores, she says,

I have to do all the house chores although I am the only girls left in the house, and the rest are boys. If I don't my mother scolds me but she doesn't mind my brothers not doing anything around the house. But sometimes my older brother comes home from work tired, and my father asks him to come help him at his carpentry shop, and he has to go.

Salma (17) thinks that there is an "unfair division of work as they don't have to work with my father often, but I always have to clean and pick up after them!" Dalia (19) also says that she is responsible for house chores while her brothers are not.

Salma (17) and Dalia (19) explain that their brothers enjoy more freedom than they do. Salma says "They can go out at all times even late at night", while both girls claimed that they don't really like to go out, and prefer staying at home, but if they want to do they need to take permission, which is usually given to them as their parents "Trust" (Dalia and Salma) them. The idea of trust is also seen in Um Ahmad (53) and Musatafa's (25) attitude toward raising girls they both state that "Raising the girls in a right manner, installing education, confidence and religiosity in them in order to establish trust, and then they can go out into the world and face it without needing any supervision."

IV. ***Women's Inheritance Rights***

The interviewees know and assert that women have a right to inherit according to islamic Shari'a laws. However, all of them stated that often this is not the case, and women are pressured to not take their inheritance rights. Um Ahmad (53) says,

Nowadays there aren't a lot of land plots to inherit, for example our neighbors house was the only thing left after he died. His girls came to Beit Hanina from the US claimed the house and sold it. Although it is their right, many people criticized them for this decision, people said that they threw away their father's house.

Reem (36) says that her mother in-law on several occasions has asked her to leave her inheritance for her brothers, because the brothers of the women should have more right to the inheritance. Reem says that her answer to her mother in-law's suggestion is always that "a woman also has a right to inheritance even if she has all the money in the world! it is her right". The idea that a brother has more rights to inheritance especially if he is in a bad financial situation, Salma (17) says "If the brother is in more financial need than his sister, then it is normal for her to give up her inheritance. My aunt gave up her right to the house we are living in because she is well off and doesn't need it" Although it is seen as an acceptable and a fairly normal act, for a well off sister to help her brother by giving him her share of inheritance, it is seldom reciprocated if the situation is switched where the woman is in need, as her financial situation is her husband's responsibility.

Moreover, many have stated that they have seen cases where women were either shamed into giving up their inheritance or pressured. Kassem (44) says "women have a right to inherit and they do, but the common practice of not letting her inherit causes a lot of social problems here, just like everywhere else in the country." Of the two men, Musatafa (25), as a religious person stood up for women's rights to inheritance. He says

I think it is one of the biggest social problems we face, that causes turmoil within families. This unlawful act leads to people losing the Baraka (the blessing and abundance from god) from their

money, because it is Haram. I think we should go back to practicing real religion as seen in the Quran and Sunnah and let go of these traditions of the Jahiliya (Pre- Islamic tradition) it happens a lot in Beit Hanina, to shame women and pressure them, we should revert to religion and god's law to prevent it, as it is one of the greatest sins

V. *Perceptions toward Hyper-Transnational Hanayna*

The fixed-transnational group formed various perceptions toward the hyper transnational group; including gendered and generational perceptions. Some of these perceptions are quite contradictory, depending on the interviewee's own experiences with hyper transnational individuals. Some of the interviewees from the fixed group themselves have had past experiences with emigration to the US. However, all of the interviewees have relatives who belong to the hyper transnational group; and in some cases, they have first-degree relatives, ie. children, brothers and sisters.

These perceptions are often formed about the freedoms enjoyed by the hyper transnational group members, their traditions and religiosity, the behaviours displayed by their young men and women as well as the changes the hyper transnational Hanayna have gone through across time. Moreover, the perceptions that the fixed transnational Hanayna hold also include perceptions of the identities the young Hanayna generations in the US, in addition to the perceptions they believe the hyper transnational group formed about them as a fixed transnational group.

Starting with the perceptions that the fixed transnational Hanayna have on how the hyper transnational group perceives them. Many of the interviewees acknowledged that the hyper transnational group members perceive the fixed transnational group behaviours as fixed in time. As if they have not changed at all since the time of their (hyper transnational group's) emigration. Reem (36) states that,

The women who come here think that we are living in the 1960s and 1970s, and that we have not

developed and that we are Mutakhalfin (backwards). Even my brother in law, he still thinks like the old people from the 60s and 70s. They do not know that the Hanayna here are becoming like them and even better, and most of the children here are educated and we travel and move. You know even the gifts they send us. They send the men Charleston pants they really think we are living in the 70's.

Dalia (19) also expresses this idea, she says

When they (emigrants) come here they do not know anything about us today, they think we are the Mutakhalfin (backwards), this is wrong. Because they took the old traditions from here with them and kept them while we have changed and they have not.

The interviewees expressed various perceptions toward the young generation of hyper transnational Hanayna, each interviewee had some perceptions regarding certain issues, such as identities of the young generation; behaviours; control and freedom experienced by the young hyper transnationals. Um Ahmad (53) views that the young generations of hyper transnational men and women have lost their identity as Arabs; stating,

I used to see the Hanayna who wanted their children to have an Arab Cultural Identity send them here when they 12 or 14 years old also so they do not get lost in the US. many of them experienced cultural shock here. They didn't speak the language; life here was very different than in the US; they hated it here and they would leave and never return.

While she explains that young men are "lost" through having assimilated to the mainstream American culture, exhibiting behaviours that are socially unacceptable in the Beit Hanina community, thus giving these young hyper transnational men a bad reputation in Beit Hanina

Young people there are lost (in the US). *Of course, the young men are lost. I don't know the percentages but some parents try to bring the young men who have babies from their girlfriends to get them married to an Arab girl from here. He takes her there and then leaves her because he is already in a relationship. When the poor girl finds out she either comes back here or she stays and keeps quiet or runs away…*

She also states that many of the young second and third generation hyper transnational women are lost in the US due to similar situations,

I also know cases of girls in the US who ran away on their wedding night because of their parents' pressure to get married, a few months ago a man killed his daughter because she ran away although she is a well-educated pharmacist, and nothing was ever proven that she dishonored her family (had premarital sex)*, but his traditional mentality drove him to kill her, and many girls have had relationships and got married without their parents' permission.*

Um Ahmad's (53) views refer to the conflicts between the different generations of emigrants, with the younger generations within the US being more accepting of the American culture and the older generations being more traditionalist in their ways.

Similarly, Musatafa (25) also views the young hyper transnational behaviours as foreign to Beit Hanina due to the surrounding culture. He States:

The US society is very different than here, no matter how traditional and conservative you might be, the surrounding environment is not very conservative and is accepting of different behaviours that are completely unacceptable here, so there is always a bigger chance of being dragged into these behaviours.

Reem (36) on the other hand speaks of the degree of control and traditionalism the older generation hyper transnational Hanayna inflict on young women in comparison to young men. She says

They have the traditions that their families raised them with; when it comes to religion, they are very far away from it, especially the young men and women. They have been raised with the culture of Aib (shame) so they act just like old people. some of the young men are highly educated and have good positions and are integrated within the American culture, so they are not fully traditionalist. They are t only traditionalist when it comes to girls and women and Aib, men can come and go as they please and women are left in the house, even the young women who come here say that they feel freer here than in the US and are better educated and active in society.

Kassem (44) on the other hand saw that both young men and women in the US enjoy more freedom than here. While admittedly women tend to enjoy less freedom than men in the US, they still display different behaviour from the fixed transnational women in Beit Hanina. His main point of critique to women's behaviour in the US is the level of interactions and friendliness between the sexes in the Arab American community, as opposed to the women and

their interactions with the other sex in Beit Hanina.

Najla (46); pointed to the differences in young hyper transnational youth -especially women's- behaviour in Beit Hanina in comparison to the US;

You know when the young people come here they always pretend to be religious, they pray on time, they fast if it is Ramadan, they obey older people here, but their actions there (in the US) suggest a huge difference. For example, you only find out that a person (man or woman) is married or has a baby through Facebook and Whats app. You don't know who they married; when they got married?... They never obey their parents there, Girls come here acting like angels fallen from the sky, but then you would hear stories that make the hair go grey! They get married without their mothers and fathers consent or knowledge...

The two youngest interviewees often formed conflicting perceptions toward the hyper transnational group especially concerning the traditions they practice, the freedoms they enjoy and their religiosity. For example, Dalia (19), displays very contradictory perceptions on the amount of freedom the young generation has, she states "I feel that they become more Americanized, they act more like foreigners than like us Arabs". Furthermore, she says:

It really depends on the parents and the freedom they allow their children. Some families are freer (Americanized) than others; they let their daughters do what they want and live their lives. Some are more traditional. But I think overall they are Americanized. They are far away from religion... I think they are traditionalists, some have changed but the majority are very conservative traditionalists, especially when it comes to girls even if they are educated and employed!

Salma (17), whose cousins from the US visited Beit Hanina a few times states that,

They are different, I do not know maybe because they go to mixed school but I find that the girls are more comfortable with boys! you know they act as if their cousins are their brothers, it is not like that here, there is a difference between a brother and cousin, there they are really close, I do not like that at all!

This is consistent with Kassem's (44) point of critique, where within the boundaries of the Arab community and the kin in the US; there are higher degrees of comfort and friendliness between men and women, as opposed to Beit Hanina, where interactions between men and women are more limited and less comfortable and friendly.

Furthermore, she says "I don't know they are like us, some of them are. They are religious Muslims and their parents are Arabs like us but I still feel that there is a difference". This difference is pointed out by both of these young women, Dalia (19) and Salma (17) especially regarding values such as respect for the elderly, as they believe that the younger generation of hyper transnational Hanayna of both genders lack respect for older people, and are more individualistic.

Um Ahmad (53), the oldest of the fixed group interviewees, was capable of tracking some of the changes she noticed in the hyper transnational group's behaviors towards women; she states that "firstly American laws has certain age requirements for schooling children, and prohibits underage marriage, thus girls are spending more time in school resulting in girls being more Americanized and less accepting of conservative traditions" Secondly she claims that in the past ten years specifically, the Hanayna in the US have really changed due to factors including having more communication with the Arab world in general;

You know there is a very important factor, which is the dish (satellite dish.) It brought people together., They saw that we are not Mutakhalfin as they thought. They saw that we are developed. They watch T.V shows from here and learn religion; for example, my sister came here for the first time 35 years ago after a long stay in the US; I saw her 35 years ago and I always thought that she was by far behind me. After she started watching Arabic TV I feel as though we are now closer in terms of our mentality.

Part 2: Findings by Generation

In order to develop a deeper understanding of the findings based on transnational experiences, it is important to undertake a gendered generational comparative analysis of the findings. Given that generation is often highly determinant of gendered attitudes, norms and roles, this section seeks to understand whether differences among respondents are more linked to gendered generational or migration factors.

	Women		Men	
Generation	Hyper transnational women	Fixed transnational women	Hyper transnational men	Fixed transnational men
Oldest Generation > 57	Um Rami Suad		Jamil Sami Ali Hassan	-
Middle Generation 36 - 56	Faten Suha	Um Ahmad Najla Reem	Moe Akram	Kassem
Youngest Generation 17 - 35	Accounts on Second \ Third generation	Dalia Salma	Accounts on Second \ Third generation	Musatafa

In this generational findings analysis, the respondents will be divided according to their gender, and generation. Respondents fall between three main generations, the first generation who are older than 57, the middle generation, who are between the ages of 36 and 56, and the youngest generation is composed of people who are between the ages of 17 and 35.

In Terms of women's generational groups; the older generation includes Um Rami (62), Suad (58); they are part of the hyper transnational group. The middle generation is made up of Faten (50) and Suha (46) from the hyper transnational group, and Um Ahmad (53), Najla (46) and Suha (36) from the fixed transnational group. While the youngest generation includes Dalia (19) and Salma (17) from the fixed transnational group. Due to the inability to locate interviewee counterparts for the youngest generation from the hyper transnational group at the time of the research, these will be accounted for by information provided about them by the other informants in order to undertake the comparative analysis.

In terms of men's generational groups; the oldest generation includes Jamil (86), Sami (71), Ali (66), and Hassan (66). However, because almost all of the men of this generation present at Beit Hanina during the time of conducting the interviews are hyper transnational individuals, the narrative of Um Ahmad on her Husband Abu-Ahmad (a fixed-transnational) who died last year in his seventies will be used for comparative purposes. The middle generation includes Moe (55) and Akram(49) from the hyper transnational group, and Kassem (44) from the fixed transnational group. Lastly, the youngest generation is comprised of Musatafa (25) from the fixed transnational group, and similar to the situation of the youngest women's group, the inability to locate interviewee counterparts for the youngest generation from the hyper transnational group at the time of the research, they will be accounted for by information provided about them by the other informants in order to undertake the comparative analysis.

I. *Women's Higher Education*

There is an accepting attitude towards women's higher education within all of the age groups for both men and women, regardless of the individual's transnational experience and level of education. However, women from the fixed transnational group interviewees of all generations

have a higher educational attainment than women who belong to the hyper transnational group. It is likely that fixed transnational women from the oldest and middle generations who enrolled in a university or earned their higher degrees were able to do so because both the location and sex-segregated degree programs (Shari'a) and college campuses facilitated their access to higher education, in a way that did not conflict with gendered norms.

While Um Ahmad (53) of the middle generation group had enrolled in an English literature degree in Hind Al-Husseini college in Jerusalem -A college for girls- Reem (36) is currently enrolled in an English education degree at Al-Quds Open University -which does not require classroom attendance and can be completed from the home. Najla (46), in addition to Dalia (19) and Salma's (17) mothers -who are also middle generation fixed transnational women- have all attained their degrees in Shari'a and Islamic studies at the university of Jerusalem - Abu Dis. Critically, these areas of study are accessible because a branch of the university that offers them is situated in Beit Hanina. As well, these study programs are sex segregated. This facilitated their entry into higher education, given that they did not have to leave their communities to attend, as well as the fact that there was no gender mixing. Faten (50); a hyper transnational belonging to the same middle generation, is also enrolled at the university in the US. She enrolled along with one of her sons at a local university due to its proximity to her home.

The youngest generation of women from the fixed transnational group are now attending or are planning to attend universities outside of Beit Hanina. This suggests that once their mothers broke the mould and went to university, the following generation did not have to do so under the same restrictions. In addition, Dalia (19) and Salma (17) both state that their parents are not involved in choosing their university specialisation as was the case with their

mothers. Both the young women claimed that their parents placed their "trust" in them to behave appropriately according to the acceptable social norms; for example, not to form friendships and relationships with the opposite sex, dressing appropriately- and to act according to their religious upbringing in a mixed setting. This notion of trust assists the girls' access to higher education but limits the girls' behaviour; as it implies that the loss of trust, in the case of misbehaviour, entails social and parental consequences.

In comparison, the majority of young hyper transnational women; of the same generation, attain undergraduate degrees primarily in Nursing, as local colleges close to their homes in the US offer it, as well as being a feminised specialisation. This suggests that youngest generation hyper-transnational women's access to higher education is governed by similar gender limitations that existed for the middle generation of fixed transnational women who attended university. Perhaps parents' ruling hyper-transnational young women through "trust" is less possible in the US because there is not a wider cultural context of gendered and social norms for them to operate within.

The acceptance of women's post-graduate education is highly dependent upon the individual's own experience of higher education; the higher the education, the higher the acceptance, regardless of their gender or experience with transnationalism. Women's post-graduate education has been contested by some of the men and women from the oldest generation groups.

None of the oldest generation of hyper transnational women expressed support for women's post-graduate education (MA and PhD). Both Um Rami (62) and Suad (58) expressed concerns over women's post-graduate education as it will result in the development of autonomous attitudes by the women, and thus create marital and familial

problems. Similarly, most of the men of the oldest generation have exhibited negative attitudes towards women's post-graduate education, mainly because it delays their age of marriage; the exception is Sami (71), the only man in the oldest group with a University degree. He is highly supportive of women's post-graduate education, as long as it does not affect the women's attitudes towards their husbands who are less educated than they are.

In the middle generation group of women; Najla (46), a fixed transnational with a masters degree, stands out in her support of women's postgraduate education, including leaving the country to get an education abroad, unlike any of the other interviewees who have less educational attainment in this group. Of the middle generation of men, Akram(49), a hyper transnational returnee with a master's degree, also stands out in his support of women's postgraduate education, compared to both Hamid (44) and Moe (55), who have not attained higher education degrees and have not expressed any enthusiasm for women's postgraduate education.

Regarding the youngest generation of women, both Dalia (19) and Salma (17) –fixed transnational women- have stated their eagerness to obtain both higher and post-graduate degrees in their fields of choice. Musatafa (25) of the youngest group of men has not expressed any rejection of women's post-graduate education. However, due to their unavailability, the youngest generations of hyper transnational men and women's attitudes remain unclear.

II. *Women's Employment*

Attitudes toward women's employment amongst the different women's generational groups are independent of their educational attainment and transnational experience. Rather, they

are dependent on their own experiences with employment, or the experiences of women in their immediate family.

The attitudes toward women's employment amongst the women's groups cover the range from absolute rejection, to conditional acceptance (such as when children are fully grown up or in the case of financial need) to absolute acceptance. All of the women view their employment experience (or inexperience) as the best for women, and project their own experience on other women. Moreover, even when there is acceptance of women's employment, only in one case (Najla 46), is their support for the idea that women should undertake work for self-fulfillment and autonomy. Najla's support of these ideas is probably due to the fact that she is the most highly educated woman amongst the different generations.

From the oldest generation of women; Suad (58), a hyper transnational who had been employed as a teacher of Arabic language in the US, expressed her absolute acceptance of women's right to work even in the presence of young children in the family. Contrarily, Um Rami, (63) another hyper transnational from the oldest group, who had not had any experience with employment, expressed absolute rejection, and strongly linked women's employment with financial needs rather than self-fulfillment or personal desire.

Um Ahmad (53), Faten (50), Suha (46) and Najla (46) from the middle generation of women have all had experience with employment both in Beit Hanina, for the fixed transnational women, and in the US for the hyper transnational women. Reem (36) from the same group, on the other hand, has not had any experience with employment. Their attitudes span from absolute acceptance to conditioned acceptance based on their experiences. Najla (46) is a full-time teacher in Beit Hanina and mother of six. She claims that women should work as a way to not only provide for the household, but also to establish some form of autonomy especially in making

their own decisions, and voiced her absolute acceptance of women's work. Suha, (46) on the other hand, is also a full-time employee in the family-owned shop in the US. Suha (46) voiced her conditioned acceptance attitude toward women's employment, "after the children are grown", replicating her own life-cycle experience with employment. Whereas Um Ahmad (53), a fixed transitional, and Faten (50) a hyper transnational voiced absolutely accepting attitudes toward women's employment, Um Ahmad (53) conditioned it with the issue of "respectable jobs" for women, meaning ones that are gender appropriate. Reem (36) did not have the opportunity to work during her lifetime. However, she has a positive attitude towards women's employment. This is because her employment status stemmed from her circumstances. As a young wife with children and no higher education. It meant that the likelihood of finding work and undertaking 'respectable employment' were almost impossible. While her circumstances haven't allowed her to have access to "respectable employment", she is now enrolled at a university degree program in English education, with the hopes of having future employment, most likely as a schoolteacher.

The youngest generation of women expressed conditional acceptance of women's employment. The young women from the fixed transnational group, Dalia (19) and Salma (17) both have stay-at-home mothers but would like to be employed in order to have some autonomy as young adults. Their main view is that women with young children, who do not have financial needs, should place their personal desires aside for a while until their children grow up. This is also the case for the youngest generation of hyper transnational Hanayna women, who have mostly stopped working after having children as explained by the interviewees and as supported by the literature on Arab-American Women. (Ghazal Read, 2004).

Men's attitudes also range from absolute rejection to conditional acceptance and absolute acceptance. This is found to be dependent on both the level of education, the experience of the women in their family, and the type of job the men themselves have. However, they mostly view the issue according to what the women in their immediate family did, which is seen as the best case scenario. The majority of the men in question did not view women's work as a way to gain a type of independence and autonomy, with the exception of Akram(49) who has higher levels of education.

Among the oldest generation of men, all of whom belong to the hyper transnational group, their stated attitude toward women's employment has been one of absolute acceptance. However, subtle remarks on the type of long hour jobs the men hold in the US, and the need for women to provide full-time attention to the children, suggest a more conditionally accepting attitude. Sami (71), the only man with a higher education in the group and a white collar employee with less working hours than the rest of the oldest generation of hyper transnational men, is an exception. He views women's employment as an important factor in having a meaningful life and role in the public arena, in addition to her role as a mother. Abu Ahmad, Um Ahmad's husband who died last year and was a teacher and a published author, was supportive of his wife's and daughters' decisions to be employed. Even though Um Ahmad's (53) employment did not last for a long time, she has been very active in the public life in Beit Hanina, including being a voluntary active member of the local organisation of Beit Hanina. In her case, although this employment did not bring monetary capital it brought her and the family social capital in the village.

The middle generation of men have two opposing attitudes. Akram(49), a hyper transnational returnee and a high school teacher in Beit Hanina, is supportive of women's

employment both in Beit Hanina and in the US, not only due to financial needs, but also because it helps women establish some form of independence, which he thinks is important especially when talking about his own daughters. On the other hand is, Kassem (44) whose wife has a university degree, and Moe (55) who are both blue collar employees with long working hours. Whereas Kassem (44) is located in Beit Hanina, and Moe (55) as a second generation immigrant is located in the US, both men expressed absolute rejection of women's employment, as they hold the view that women's employment only stems out of financial need, while disregarding women's desire for gainful employment. As they view husbands as sole breadwinners, a role built on wives being stay-at-home mothers.

The youngest generation of men's attitudes toward women's employment is similar to the youngest generation of women's attitude; as they both expressed conditional acceptance. While Musatafa (25) and his wife (24) are both university graduates, he strongly views employment for household provision as the man's responsibility, while women's employment should only stem out of her personal desire. Nonetheless, in the case of women with young children, he suggests that her role as a mother should come first. His attitude of a young fixed transnational man is similar to that of the second and third generation of hyper transnational men according to the interviewees.

III.   *Women as mothers and wives*

Across the generations and genders regardless of their migration history, the individuals in the study all assign women as being primarily bearers of reproductive roles, within the private sphere, which is defined by childbearing and rearing (Moser, 1993). Men were perceived as primarily responsible for productive roles in the public sphere, as income earners (Moser, 1993). The emphasis on this division is reflected on the interviewee's employment preferences across

genders, generations and transnational experiences. However, men's higher education, the type of job they do, their amount of working hours, white or blue collar jobs, and having employed spouses is associated with their willingness to play a larger role in child raising activities in the private sphere as well as creating more flexible attitudes towards women crossing over into productive roles.

Both men and women are expected to have certain roles in the household. The women from the youngest generation group expressed that, as fixed transnational single women in Beit Hanina, they are expected to help their mothers with household chores, while their brothers are expected to help their fathers in their work. This divide of labour is introduced during childhood and persists through adulthood. There is no clear understanding of the division of labour experienced by the youngest generation of hyper transnational women and men as opposed to the fixed transnational youngest generation due to the unavailability of this generation of hyper transnational at the time of conducting the research. But in terms of gender roles, it is clear that across all generations, the women are brought up to be mothers, while the men are brought up to be providers.

According to the interviewees, when married women's role as mothers is the most important one. However, according to both the oldest and middle generation groups of women and the oldest generation group of men; what is different in the US, is that women's roles as mothers includes a prime responsibility to be cultural gatekeepers and transmitters of traditional values to the younger generation of immigrants. This provides a basis for explaining the first generations' affinity towards marrying from the fixed population and their effort to ensure that their children also marry members from the original community/fixed population because wives from the village will play cultural gate-keepers in the US.

Akram (49) -a teacher and Najla's husband- of the middle generation of men, is the only hyper transnational who decided to return to Beit Hanina partially because of dissatisfaction with this divide. The divide between the mainstream American culture and the Arab culture, in addition to the clear cut gender division between productive and reproductive roles, leads to not only placing a large burden on women –as the cultural gatekeepers- but also deprives men of having a role in child raising. The gap between women confined to the private sphere and men confined to the public sphere; results in the migrant context, in a system of dichotomized dual burdens, with little overlap, symmetry or balance in family life. Although from the same middle generation, both Kassem (44), from the fixed transnational group and Moe (55) from the hyper transnational group approve of the clear-cut division of labour and believe that it is the most beneficial for both men and women.

Sami (71) from the oldest generation group, shares Akram's (49) critique of the extent of the division of labour between men and women; as he was involved in raising his children in addition to providing for the household along with his wife. What these two men have in common are higher education degrees. Higher education, in addition to having white collar jobs, might have provided these two men with additional sources of masculine social capital other than simply being breadwinners, as in the case of Kassem (44) and Moe (55) who as blue collar workers strongly support the gender roles dichotomy. In contrast, Sami and Akram have more than breadwinning as a source of male social capital – thus allowing them to transgress the gender roles dichotomy without feeling that their masculine identity might be weakened.

The oldest generation of women, who are both hyper transnational women, emphasised their mothering role as the most important role of women. Interestingly, of the middle generation of women, the hyper transnational women, such as Suha (46) also insisted on the importance of

women's role as mothers, while in comparison, the fixed transnational women were not as insistent on this point. For example, Suha (46) was outspoken about her daughter-in-law's role as primarily being a mother, and not allowing her to work until the children are fully grown. This indicates that transnationalism heightened the women's sense of their mothering role over several generations; mainly in the form of cultural gate-keeping; compared to the women in Beit Hanina who featured less emphasis on their role as mothers.

V. Gender relations and the expressions of masculinity as affected by transnationalism in different generations

Through the interviews, there are certain references to gendered generational power hierarchies. While transnationalism had empowering effects on some of the women, especially the "left behind" whose husbands immigrated to the US in the past and left them to raise the children on their own in Beit Hanina, such as the mothers and mothers in the law of the older and middle generation women's groups. These women were not only able to renegotiate more power for themselves within the household, they also achieved a greater status in their community; in general, widening their power beyond the confines of the private to the community level. Additionally, these women such as Dalia's (19) and Salma's (17) grandmothers were seen as the matriarchs of the household, who controlled the household and made decisions for its members both in Beit Hanina and beyond.

For other women, transnationalism had the opposite effect, especially among the first generation of women emigrants, who due to living with their husband's family upon marriage and emigration, had to subordinate to their in-laws without having the countervailing protection and support of their kin relatives as they were alone with them in the US. In some cases, such as Um Rami's (63) (a hyper-transnational from oldest generation of women), women's

subordination and oppression by the in-laws was severe, for example, they controlled her outings, her spending, and her use of time. Najla (46) (from the middle generation of women)-could not handle the oppressive ways of her in-laws in the US and came back as soon as she could. Although her mother-in-law moved in with her in Beit Hanina, she feels comfortable and much less oppressed in Beit Hanina than in the US. Yet, the older these women get, the more power and reverence they attain for themselves within the gender/ generational hierarchy.

Transnationalism has had fewer effects on the younger generation of fixed transnational women. Especially as single women, they are at the bottom of the gender/ generational hierarchy. Although, Salma (17) and Dalia (19) both claim that their brothers at some points do exert forms of control over them, but the girls reject this control. Moreover, married women ascend in the hierarchy both in the US and in Beit Hanina as opposed to single women of the same age, as the married women are seen to have fully transitioned into womanhood.

It should be noted that the women "left behind" who have control and power are very active in reproducing gendered generational hierarchies; not only by oppressing younger women themselves but also by displaying favouritism of boys and giving more power to young males than young females within the household. Najla (46), explains that her sons are spoiled by their grandmother (a woman 'left behind') and are given power over their sisters who are sometimes older than them, and Najla is unable to reprehend their behaviour due to their grandmother's interference.

Men also ascend the gendered generational hierarchy as they age. Older men with old children and grandchildren are at the top of the gendered generational power hierarchy acting as the patrons of the household, with major decision-making power. They are followed by their wives, or are equalled to the women "left behind". Married males are followed by married

females in the household -such as daughters-in-law-, and lastly, single young males are of a higher standing than that of single young females in this hierarchy.

Transnationalism has played a role in the expressions of masculinity in Beit Hanina. For the past generations -such as Jamil's father, Hassan's father, Sami's father; dominant masculinity was that of an emigrant who fought poverty to arrive at the US and succeed in providing for his family and returning to Beit Hanina with a small fortune as an older man. While for the oldest and middle generations, transnationalism became a rite of passage into manhood, with the men of the middle generation mostly following their fathers' footsteps, and emigrating between the ages of 16-21and successfully starting families in the US with women from Beit Hanina and being able to provide for them (while at the same time making sure not to 'lose' their children). The youngest generation of men is the least affected by transnationalism. Transition into manhood is not related to emigration for the young men of the fixed transnational group anymore. Their masculinity is expressed through locally providing for their families, and their professional and educational achievements.

Chapter Five: Discussion Conclusion

I.   *Beit Hanina As A Transnational Village*

Transnationalism is defined differently by different scholars, essentially the notion of transnationalism entails constant cross boundary, cross generational activities and relations, whether economic, political or socio cultural, between immigrants in a host society, referred to as transmigrants, and their home communities (Portes et. al, 1999; Guaninzo, 1997; Basch et. al, 1994 cited in Levitt 2001). Transnational communities are defined as "groups whose identity is not primarily based on attachment to a specific territory […] and, therefore, present a powerful challenge to traditional ideas of nation-state belonging" (Castles, 2002, 1157) the creation of transnational communities has been attributed to "migration networks" and their development, as links between communities in sending and receiving countries (Castles, 2002).

While Castles (2002), Levitt (2001), and Vertovec (2004) discuss transnational communities; Levitt (2001) points out certain characteristics of transnational villages. including the formation of home town associations in the receiving society, and the participation of the emigrants in their home town communities.

Beit Hanina, as a village, has been largely shaped by the act of emigration. "Migration networks" in the US have been established within the village community through two waves of migration to the US. the first wave in the early 20th century, a mainly male migration; and a second wave in the 1950s and 1960s (Seif Eldin, 1993). All of the hyper transnational interviewees fall within the second wave of emigration, with their emigration being made easier due to the first wave of emigration by the older generation -their parents generation- who created the migration network. Beit Hanina exhibits several characteristics of a transnational village.

Beit Hanina associations were established in several cities in the US. All of the hyper transnational Hanayna respondents admitted to taking part in these associations that connect the Hanayna together in the US and in Beit Hanina and facilitate their contributions to Beit Hanina. According to Seif Eldin (1993) these associations played key roles in contributing to the village's education infrastructure, by building new schools in the past, in addition to building local mosques. While the male hyper transnational interviewees explained that the associations' key roles -before the Oslo accord- included advocating for Palestinian rights, and contributing financially to Palestinian political parties and resistance movements. However, after the peace process, and in response to the deterioration of resistance movements in Palestine; political activism in these associations have narrowed down to organizing and taking part in rallies and demonstrations in favor of the Palestinian cause. Female hyper transnational interviewees admitted that their role within these associations is mainly to organize social gatherings between the Hanayna in the US.

II.   *Types of Assimilation:*

As an established transnational community in the US; assimilation and incorporation processes took place in the US among the Hyper transnational Hanayna - immigrants in the US. While according to Castles (2002) the three main types of incorporation of first generation immigrants are assimilation, differential exclusion and multiculturalism. Portes and Zhou (1993) introduced the term segmented assimilation to denote assimilation to different ethnic and socio economic sub groups within the society, such as Hanayna immigrants assimilating into the Arab American community, or Hanayna immigrants assimilating into inner-city communities and so on.

Incorporation and assimilation in the receiving country for first generation immigrants, depends on the characteristics of the immigrants themselves. Levitt (1998) categorized the immigrants in the US in three main categories; "the recipient observers", those who do not interact directly with the mainstream society; who in the case of Beit Hanina mostly represent first generation women emigrants to the US, whose levels of interactions with the mainstream society were very limited. Secondly, "purposeful innovators", who absorb everything in the new society; a characteristic not found amongst hyper transnational group of Beit Hanina. Thirdly, the "instrumental adapters", who are forced to interact with the main stream thus leading to gaining practices from host community or abandoning certain practices from home community, this can be attributed to first generation men who due to their work had to interact with the mainstream society, as in the case of Hassan (66) who speaks about "forced interaction", while this interaction might have changed certain values, it had little effects on gender roles, and norms carried from Beit Hanina.

In segmented assimilation theory, Portes and Rumbault (2006) define three main forms of acculturation to the American society (Americanization), "dissonant acculturation", "consonant acculturation" and "selective acculturation". While dissonant acculturation is the form of acculturation where the second generation of immigrants in the US display higher levels of acceptance of the American culture and ways and all the freedoms it entails, with some children lacking knowledge of the parents' language or lack interest in using it, in addition to low parental control over the second generation children and therefore lack of touch with the ethnic community. In this form of acculturation the second generation becomes 100% Americanized.

Consonant acculturation is the form in which parents and children gradually adopt the American ways at the same pace. And lastly; selective acculturation, in which the second

generation keeps the linguistic and cultural relation with the ethnic and religious community of their parents and ethnic community, thus slowing down full immersion in the American culture (Portes and Rumbault, 2006).

All of the interviewees sought the third mode of selective acculturation. Especially when it came to girls and women. While all of the interviewees were verbal about protecting the girls from the surrounding American culture, some of the measures taken to protect the girls include limiting the girls' interactions with American girls from outside the ethnic Arab community, enforcing parental control over the girls' outings, taking the girls back to Beit Hanina, and building strong connections and relations with the surrounding ethnic Arab community. These control measures that are meant to ensure the mode of selective acculturation are also ways to keep girls from adopting a dissonant acculturation mode, as expressed by the interviewees as the "lost girls".

The fear of "losing" children (especially girls) to the American culture; in other words dissonant acculturation, is more noticeable among the men working in close contact with the American population outside the Arab community such as grocery shop owners like Ali and Hassan. While these men fall within Levitt's (1998) category of "instrumental adapters" as they come to close contact with the mainstream American society. The adaptations these men make do not follow the scheme Levitt (1998) specifies of the gaining of values and practices from the host society, or the abandoning of values and practices from the home society. On the contrary these men "instrumental adapters" exaggerate and over emphasize gender norms and practices from their home community in Beit Hanina in an effort to maintain their values and keep their children, especially girls from dissonant acculturation.

It is worth noting that the cultural norms in Beit Hanina (that the first generation emigrants grew up with in Beit Hanina decades ago), attribute different values to men and women's behaviors. Thus the same action that is regarded as a "loss of a girl", for example heterogamous\exogamous marriage is not considered as a loss for men. Sami, 71 for instance, refers to the loss of a male child in terms of drug use and alcohol addiction or disobedience to parents, rather than non-homogamous marriage or premarital relationships. While for the women out-marriage is considered to be the greatest loss of all, and a complete adoption of American mainstream values.

Depending on the place of residence of Hanayna immigrants in the US; two main forms of "segmented assimilation" surface. Firstly, assimilation into the Arab American community. Hanayna immigrants in the US living within the boundaries of ethnic enclaves; Sami (71), Suad (58) and Um Rami (62) residing in Detroit, Michigan, where a large Arab American community resides reported almost complete assimilation into the Arab American community. While others living outside of ethnic enclaves report their close knit connection to the Arab Americans around them, full immersion in the Arab community only occurred in Detroit; for example, none of the interviewees residing outside of Detroit's ethnic enclave reported the marriage of their children to Arab Americans other than Palestinians. The second form, is "partial" segmented assimilation of second generation males into other minority groups in cities; such as African American groups, by adopting certain behaviors and ways of being; while keeping the core identity of an Arab American.

Endogamous\Homogamous marriage has been a key instrument in preserving the values and norms that the Hanayna immigrants carry with them to the US, and in preventing dissonant acculturation and total assimilation into the American mainstream across consecutive generations

of emigrants, and keeping future generations in contact with Beit Hanina. While historically, most Palestinian villagers in the West Bank up until the 1980s preferred endogamous marriages within the immediate community, or within a limited number of other villages nearby. In fact endogamy has been so historically deep-rooted that among Palestinian refugees of peasant background, they continued to prefer inter-marriage among members of their original village communities up through the 1980s as well (Heiberg, 1993). In Beit Hanina historically endogamy included a preference for marriages within the village, as well a few nearby villages. Once Beit Hanina became a transnational community, endogamy did not cease but continued in the form of transnational endogamy, but came to play multiple new roles. On the one hand, endogamous marriage enabled the circulation of community members to both emigrate and return – by providing the necessary immigration and residence documents between the West Bank and the U.S.. On the other, transnational endogamy became a main means to keep reproducing identity and attachment between the American diaspora and the home community, as well as for keeping attachment to the natal family intact.

Furthering the discussion on endogamous transnational marriage. An image of an unchangeable homeland woman who is the embodiment of the Palestinian culture forms as a collective fantasy across the generations of Hyper transnational Hanayna in the US, perpetuated by the first generation of emigrants. However; this fantasy is disrupted through the act of return. For instance, when Suha (46) came for a visit after a long period of time spent in the US, she noticed the changes and developments witnessed by fixed transnational women. On the fixed transnational side; the image of culturally vague\impure women is projected on the women Hanayna in the US, mainly because of the perception that they are surrounded by a culturally different society, that undoubtedly will affect the women's own values and practices. This

projection is not only maintained by the fixed group, but also by the younger generations of Hanayna who returned to Palestine as young children and re-immigrated to the US. A case in point here, is Faten's (50) son, who as a hyper transnational who had moved to Beit Hanina in his early life, before going back to the US, asked to marry a woman "who can milk a cow", meaning that "he wanted a Palestinian village girl who can welcome visitors and knows the proper tradition, and not an Arab American girl", similarly Musatafa (25) who refused to marry an Arab American solely based on his perception of the surrounding environment in the US.

While first generation Hanayna immigrants in the US share a clear binary dichotomous view of American and Arab, American girl and Arab-Muslim girl. The identity formed by the second and third generation of Hanayna immigrants in the US, is that of an "Arab American". Moe (55); who preferred using his "American" name, for example; identified as an "Arab American" rather than a Palestinian, similar to Suha's (46) sons who also identify as "Arab Americans", this self identification is not clear with second and third generation women due to their inaccessibility at the time of conducting the research. Whether this self identification as an Arab American, is a blurring of the dichotomies viewed by the first generation and is a form of hybridity between the Arab and the American, or is a way of distinguishing and contrasting themselves from the mainstream US society remains under question. However, I would argue that in terms of gender norms, it is the second, where they want to contrast themselves, their traditions and values from the mainstream white American society and establish themselves as an ethnically different minority group, like the African Americans and Hispanics, with distinct normative values. Manalansan (2006) suggests that the majority of migrants start to hybridize the gender roles and norms between the host and the sending communities; however in the case of Beit Hanina immigrants in the US, no evidence has been traced of this hybridization, while on

the contrary a more exaggerated prominent exposition of gender norms and roles carried from Beit Hanina has been tracked across the generations.

Religion and religious institutions do play a role in the way the second generation of immigrants assimilates, or how selective acculturation happens (Portes and Rumbault, 2006). The hyper transnational Hanayna interviewees communicated the importance of local mosques in their lives in the US, and the sense of community and belonging mosques and religious centers infers in them especially around Muslim holidays. This sense belonging as Muslim Americans can sometimes be contrasted with their sense of identity as Arab Americans. Moe (55), a self identified Arab American 2nd generation immigrant, for example seems to have adopted a set of Muslim religious values rather than just Arab cultural values. Whereas all of the interviewees from the first generation used the term "*Aib* (Shameful according to tradition)" when referring to girls engaging in what are considered to be shameful activities in the Arab culture, he used the term "*Haram* (unlawful in god's eyes)". He specifically pointed that his only reference to how someone is supposed to act is Islam, he explains "I follow that one line, and that is how I approach anything, is it lawful or is it *Haram*". This indicates that either the Arab becomes Muslim in the minds of the second generation Arab Muslim Americans, or it denotes the subsiding of Arab identity in the US and the advancement of an Islamic religious cultural identity instead. Furthermore, he indicates that Islamic values are the values he tries to instill in his daughters through his actions and through embedding them in the surrounding Muslim community through religious schools. In contrast the previous generations had a different technique to instill Arab values in their children, mainly through relocating them to Beit Hanina during their childhood and early adolescence.

III.   *Transnationalism and Gendered Social Remittances:*

Within the literature on transnationalism that focuses on social remittances, Levitt (1998) defines social remittances as "the ideas, behaviors, identities and capital that flow from receiving to sending country community" (926). Social remittances from migrants to non migrants, are transmitted through return migration and communication between the two groups (Levitt, 1998). These remittances vary according to particular assimilation processes and the socio economic characteristics of the immigrants (Portes, 2008; Levitt, 1998). Social remittances are comprised of several elements including normative structures; the ideas, values and beliefs that influence the norms affecting interpersonal behavior. Systems of practice, which are "the actions shaped by the normative structures" (Levitt, 1998, 934) and finally, social capital accumulated in the host community and transmitted to individuals in the home community. It is argued that social remittances can have transformative effects on the home community (Levitt, 1998).

In terms of gender norms and practices in Beit Hanina, the two transnational groups didn't exhibit a lot of differences in terms of their views and perceptions of normative gender roles. The fixed transnational group however, adopted certain changes with regards to their practices - women's education for example- prior to the hyper transnational group. This in turn suggests that the there was little to no transmission of social remittances of any transformative nature regarding normative gender role behaviors and expectations from the hyper transnational Hanayna to the fixed transnational Hanayna as suggested by the literature. Instead the opposite seems to be the case, with the exchange of certain gender role expectation stemming from the fixed transnational Hanayna directed towards the hyper transnational Hanayna, which I will refer to as "reverse social remittances". Keeping in mind that throughout this period of transnationalism, only some changes occurred in gender role expectations and behaviors in both

groups of Hanayna, which is the most superficial element of cultural and social structures, while the gender norms, and values as deeper elements have hardly changed.

The rest of this section attempts to explain the occurrence of changes in gender role behaviors, and the antecedent acceptance of these behaviors by the fixed transnational Hanayna in comparison with the hyper transnational Hanayna; such as women's education and women's work; in addition to the stability of normative Gender norms and values across borders and generations.

Regarding to women's higher education and employment, and the changes witnessed in Beit Hanina, can be attributed to social and economic factors. Transitioning from an agrarian economy in the village; where women were expected to perform subsistence farming, towards a modern service based economy (Seif Eldin, 1993), where education is an important source of social and human capital. In the latter socio-economic context, education becomes an integral part of her motherhood role; as an educated woman she helps her children with school work and understands the setting of their school. Furthermore, a cause for the acceptance of women's higher education in Beit Hanina, prior to the US, is the accessibly of higher education for women. The proximity of the university campus, the separation of the sexes in some degree programs; such as Shari'a studies, and the context of social control around these women, contributed to the early acceptance of women's higher education for the older generations of Hanayna women, in comparison to the older generations of hyper transnational Hanayna women in the US. Furthermore, employment through education becomes a safety net for women in cases of financial crisis, which is usually referred to by both hyper and fixed transnational respondents as "girl's weapon". Thus, once the move from an agrarian economy; where women were "employed" in agriculture within their extended family, to a service economy occurred, where

access to "respectable jobs" for women outside the realm of the extended family, such as teaching, is gained through higher education; increased access to higher education for the younger generation of women in Beit Hanina took place, in comparison with the older generations of women in Beit Hanina.

Another point is that Hyper transnational Hanayna assimilated into the Arab American community in the US; in what is called segmented assimilation. There are two issues at play here. On the one hand, assimilating into the Arab American community prevented the hyper transnational hanayna from exhibiting differences in terms of gender norms and values across generations compared to the fixed transnational Hanayna; because of the similarity of the set of normative values they share with the Arab American community. Therefore little to no acquired/ new gendered values were transmitted from the hyper transnational group to the fixed transnational group. On the other hand, research on the Arab American community show that although Arab American women have high rates of education they have low rates of employment, especially young mothers (Ghazal Read, 2004). Ghazal Read (2004) explains this contradictory finding by stating that education becomes a form of family human capital, its main goal is to provide women with the education they need to convey traditional and religious values, and at the same time understand their children's world, and be able to help them navigate through American culture without losing their Arab identity. Although the interviewees from the hyper transnational group reflect this idea; the actual acceptance and practice of women's higher education came later for the Hanayna Americans compared to the general Arab American community as well as compared to the fixed transnational Hanayna. The change towards higher education finally happened among hyper transnational Hanayna women through a number of mechanisms, that all show the role played by "reverse social remittances".(Matzucato, 2010).

First the advancement of communication technology, and cheaper travel cost enabled Hanayna Americans to have constant contact with the Hanayna in Beit Hanina, therefore they became aware of the changes occurring among women in Beit Hanina.

Secondly, was the role of endogamous (intra-group) transnational marriage. As second generation men married from the fixed transnational Hanayna, or local Palestinian women in general, the women had more years of education and higher education, thus transmitting their experiences and their enthusiasm for higher education of girls to the hyper transnational community in the US and to their children. This created a change in attitudes and practice regardless of whether it was based on the logic of women's higher education among the Arab American community or not. Furthermore, the returnees especially women returnees sensed the changes in the Palestinian community upon their visits, thus they also helped the transmission process to the rest of the Hyper transnational Hanayna in the US. In other words these women; the young women from Beit Hanina who migrated as wives and the women returnees to Beit Hanina become transmitters of "reverse social remittances" to the community in the US.

Lastly, I would argue the move from traditional village values to religious values in Palestinian society in general and among the fixed transnational Hanayna in particular, also had their impacts on changing gender role attitudes in the transnational community of Beit Hanina. While the wider modern practice of Islam and understanding of Islam can empower women to be educated, and employed if they desire to; it simultaneously doesn't change the fundamental dichotomous gender norms, roles, and relations. Men in Islam are given the role of family provider,, giving them the decision making power as the heads of households, and women are given the role of mothers and wives. Therefore although Islamic norms around gender provide for a wider acceptance of women's education and employment, they do so without actually

changing the foundational gender norms and values. By the transmission of these religious gendered social remittances through increased communication and "the presence of Arab television in the US in recent years" (Um Ahmad, 53) practices by the US Hanayna have changed, therefore they witnessed increased access to higher education and employment for women, without changing the dichotomy between the productive and reproductive roles.

Although reverse social remittances are the main flow of gendered social remittances, there is one area where hyper transnational Hanayna women might seem to have brought new gendered social remittances to Beit Hanina –around gender mixing between non-relatives. Interviewees from the fixed transnational group such as Salma (17) and Kassem (44) criticized the levels of comfort in interaction between the men and women from the hyper transnational group. While these interactions are not acceptable for the fixed transnational group, there seems to be comfortable gender mixing that takes place between individuals from the hyper transnational Hanayna. However; it is indicated that these interactions are largely confined to extended family members, other hyper transnational Hanayna, and the boundaries of the Arab American community in the US.

V. *Concluding observations*

While transnationalism in the case of Beit Hanina hasn't been linked to radical transformations of gender norms and roles, transnationalism has caused gender role disruptions in some cases, foremost in the case of women "left behind" – the oldest generation of fixed transnational women whose gender and social roles expanded in the absence of migrant husbands. This is consistent with Andrews, (2014) and Hondagneu-Sotela and Carnford's, (2006) observations on how transnationalism between the US and Mexico affected the women left behind in Mexico, altering their positions in the civic arena by giving them more public

sphere space, as well as raising their abilities to renegotiate some aspects of normative gender roles. In Beit Hanina similar situations arose in the case of women left behind; who because of their husband's absence, had to take on roles that were not usually assigned to women. Throughout the interviews accounts of such cases have almost always described them as dominant heads of household, not only because of their older ages but because of the power they gained in their experiences of being "left behind".

Interestingly in the case of Beit Hanina transnationalism has been linked with male dominance and exaggerated performance of gender roles. This is most obvious in the accounts of Suha (46) who speaks of the levels of freedom women enjoy in Beit Hanina as opposed to Hanayna women in the US, and in Reem's (36) accounts on second generation hyper transnational women, who enjoy more freedom in Beit Hanina than in the US. While Mahler and Pessar (2006) suggest intensified male control over immigrant women in the US as an outcome of immigration in certain cases; however, they do not deduce the outcomes of immigration on the second generation of immigrant women. In the case of Hanayna women, intensified male control and male dominance, is also accompanied by intensified gendered and generational hierarchal control over women in the US. While this control fortifies male dominance, older women often exert it over younger women in the household.

In a connected issue, Akram(49), considers Beit Hanina as a more egalitarian place for women, because he links mainstream American society with excessive violence against women, his point on male dominance is not linked to the immigrant's community, but rather to the mainstream American community as opposed to the community of Beit Hanina. Scholarship on transnationalism and social remittances have long -and often automatically and without questioning- associated the US society with women's empowerment, and the sending society

with women's subordination (Andrews, 2014). Thus in order to fully understand gender in transnationalism this assumption needs to be questioned, and the specific communities need to be treated according to their particular histories and gendered migration dynamics.

Since the 1950s to the late 1980s and early 1990s, transnationalism has been associated with a rite of passage for the young men to pass from boyhood to manhood. With the majority of the young Hanayna men following the older generation footsteps -who usually returned to Beit Hanina as rich and successful old men with a lot to say about their US experience- and emigrating to the US at that period of time in an attempt to provide for themselves and their families. This is coherent with Aguire-Sulem's (2014) findings on Quilanese Mexican men, where emigration, and the male's ability to provide for himself and his family at a distance becomes the definition of the dominant masculinity and the transition from boyhood to manhood. In Beit Hanina, after the 1990s this rite of passage has diminished as more fixed transnational men are choosing to stay in Beit Hanina. Especially with the diminishing economic benefits of emigration, due to the decreasing opportunities in the US economy, and the better economic opportunities in Beit Hanina, and increased attainment of higher education in Beit Hanina.

To conclude; scholarship on transnationalism largely focuses on trans-migrant experiences and their assimilation into the host society (Portes and Zhou, 1993); theories on migrant assimilation, focusing on segmented assimilation do not take into account "partial segmented assimilation" into migrant ethnic groups, as in the case of young second and third generations trans-migrant male Hanayna in US cities. Thus, although there is a move from viewing the whole of the American society as a "melting pot" where immigrants are fully acculturated and assimilated into the mainstream, to segmented assimilation into ethnic\minority groups (Portes and Zhou, 1993); these theories of segmented assimilation treat ethnic\minority

groups as "melting pots" of their own; with clear cut boundaries separating the different groups. The idea of "partial" segmented assimilation, denoting partial acculturation and assimilation into a minority group while still holding a different ethnic identity and different values; such as the case of young transnational migrant male Hanayna in US cities; in addition to the idea of the interconnectedness of the different ethnic\minority groups and the blurred boundaries between these groups resulting in forms of "partial segmented assimilation" are still missing in theories of transnationalism and assimilation.

The social remittances approach focuses on the social remittances carried by transnational migrants to their home communities (Portes, 2008; Levitt, 1998). Reverse social remittances, denoting social remittances stemming from the home community stayers to the host community transnational migrants (Matzucato, 2010), as revealed in this research in terms of gendered reverse social remittances are virtually inexistent in the literature on transnationalism in the American context. The uneven focus on transnational migrants and their experiences and its effects on stayers, in transnationalism and social remittances theories (Levitt, 1998), treating transnational migrants as the only agents of change in a transnational setting; results in an incomplete and a limited understanding of transnationalism, and the transnational flow of social remittances resulting in social change. A more balanced approach to understanding the flows of social remittances, the experiences of stayers as well as transnational migrants is vital to form a holistic understanding of social remittances and transnationalism. This is in line with new findings on social remittances in the African European Transnational context, specifically the Ghanian immigrants in the Netherlands (Matzucato, 2010); which calls for the treatment of social remittances as a reciprocal flow, rather than a one way flow as it is most common in the literature.

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