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Ana Filisteeni:
Humiliation, Pride, & Hope in the Lives of Palestinian Refugees

by

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* * *

"Out of suffering have emerged the strongest souls; the most massive characters are seared with scars."
-Gibran Khalil Gibran

* * *

Abstract

In the present study, we asked fourteen Palestinian refugees to provide their experiences with the emotions humiliation, pride, and hope. Specifically, we interviewed seven refugees in the West Bank, and seven who reside in refugee camps in the South of Lebanon. I then coded their responses using content analysis and created tables displaying the different response categories. Results showed that while these refugees from the West Bank are more expressive during autobiographical interviews than the participants interviewed in Lebanon, they still feel the same amount of pride for their Palestinian identities.

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Introduction

* * *

Our coffee cups. And birds. And the green trees
with blue shadows. And the sun leaping from
one wall to another like a gazelle…
and the water in clouds with endless shapes
in what is left to us of sky,
and other things of postponed memory
indicate this morning is strong and beautiful,
and that we are eternity's guests.
-Mahmoud Darwish

* *

فناجين فهوتنا. و العصافيرُ. و الشَجَرُ الأَخضَرُ
الأزرقُ الظلِّ. و الشمسُ تقفزُ من
حائط نحو آخَرَ مثلَ الغزالة...
و الماءُ في السُّحُبِ اللانهائيّة الشكلِ
في ما تبقَّى لنا من سماء،
و أشياءُ أخرى مُؤَجَّلَةُ الذكريات
تدلُّ على أن هذا الصباح قويٌّ بهيٌّ،
و أنّا ضيوفُ على الأبديّةْ.
-محمود درويش

* * *

History of Palestine

Prior to 1947, the area that is currently referred to as the State of Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was commonly known as Palestine. The Balfour Declaration of 1917, issued by Great Britain during World War I, promised the Jews a national home in Palestine. This declaration also indicated that while supporting the creation of a Jewish homeland, "nothing shall be done which will prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine…" (Stork, 1972, p. 10). The Jewish population of Palestine more than tripled to approximately 85,000 between 1880 and 1914, however this number only accounted for 12 percent of the total population of Palestine at that time. The overall population grew as well, however between 1922 and 1936, the Jewish population increased by 340 percent, while the general population increased by 78 percent. By 1936, Jews accounted for 28 percent of Palestine, primarily coming from Poland and Germany (Hersch, 1938).

This great influx of Jewish people into Palestine brought escalating tension and violence to the region as the Arabs feared the increasing loss of land and power in Palestine. The Arab Revolt in the late 1930s brought about the need for a serious plan regarding the future of the Jews and Palestinians (Hughes, 2010). Although Jews disagreed among themselves regarding the partition plans proposed by the British, ultimately, "[t]he carefully worded compromise of the solution by the Zionist Congress in 1937 supported the principle of partition in return for a sovereign state" (Galnoor, 2009, p.9).

However, things were less agreeable to the Palestinians. In fact, every faction of the Palestinian national movement rejected the partition principle (Galnoor, 2009).

After several attempts at partition plans, with the publishing of the "White Paper of 1939," Britain essentially abandoned their previous support in favor of a Jewish homeland. The paper outlined a few major changes to the British policy: First, Jewish immigration was to be limited to 15,000 per year for five years; thereafter any new immigration was dependent on Arab approval. Second, Jewish "land acquisition was severely restricted in over 90 percent of the mandated territory." Finally, the British declared their intention (in the so-called constitutional clause) to establish an Arab-Palestinian state in 1949 (Mattar, 2004, pp. 2349-350).

While Hitler and the Nazis were gaining power in Europe trying to eradicate the Jewish population, American Jews took up where Britain left off with regard to supporting a Jewish state in Palestine. At the end of World War II, 80 percent of American Jews felt that "a Jewish state in Palestine is a good thing for the Jews, and every possible effort should be made to establish Palestine as a Jewish state, or commonwealth, for those who want to settle there" (Stork & Rose, 1974, p. 41).

In 1947, after the British handed the mandate of Palestine over to the newly formed United Nations, "the General Assembly voted to partition Palestine into two states, one Arab, one Jewish, in accordance with the majority recommendation of the United Nations Commission on Palestine" (Husain, 2007,

p. 589). While the Arabs unilaterally rejected this proposal and prepared for war, the Jews declared their independence as a nation. May 15, 1948 therefore marks both the creation of the State of Israel for the Jews and simultaneously the *Nakba* (the word for *catastrophe* in Arabic) for the Palestinians.

The Arab-Israeli war of 1948 resulted in three phases of Palestinian exodus, although some of it happened even before the war broke out. In total, approximately 750,000 Palestinians left their homes and their land and became refugees at that time (Gabiam, 2006). While some Israelis purport that Palestinians left of their own volition, John Glubb writes in his book *A Soldier with the Arabs:* "Voluntary emigrants do not leave their homes with only the clothes they stand up in. People who have decided to move house do not do so in such a hurry that they lose other members of their family-husband losing sight of his wife, or parents of their children. The fact is that the majority left in panic flight" (Glubb, 1957, p. 251).

The land also changed following the 1948 war: Israel occupied 78 percent of former Palestine and Jordan annexed 20.7 percent (the West Bank), leaving the remaining 1.3 percent (the Gaza Strip) under Egypt's control. The next major land grab came about in 1967, when the Arabs were again defeated and this time lost control of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Gabiam, 2006). In addition to these new developments, Israel also occupied Sinai and the Golan Heights. It was at this time that construction of Jewish settlements began throughout the West Bank.

The construction of Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories although considered illegal in the eyes of the international community, has continued steadily since their inception after the six-day war in June 1967. Although UN Resolution 242, passed six months after the war ended confirmed the illegality of Israel's land acquisition gained by force during the war and called for Israel to withdraw from the Occupied Territories, the resolution did not affect what was happening on the ground (Schaeftler, 1974).

The position of the Jewish-only settlements was based on climatic, political and strategic locations parallel to the Jordan River, but few believed at the time that these settlements were of a permanent nature. This attitude changed over the years as more and more illegal settlements began filling the land that had once been home to hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. In 1971, there were ten settlements in the Jordan valley and the plan was for there to be an additional 60-75 settlements established by 1986. The total number of Jewish only settlements in the West Bank at that time was 122 (Saleh, 1990).

There are many consequences that have resulted from the growing number of settlements on occupied land, such as decreased natural resources for Palestinians and increased violence against Palestinians by settlers. In addition, different sets of laws for Palestinians and Jewish settlers regarding access to land, roads, water resources, work permits among other things result in the inability for Palestinians to compete with the growing settlement industry. (Saleh, 1990)

Among other things, the undeniable loss of land, economic opportunities and identity were three reasons the Palestinians took to the streets in the two *intifadas* (Arabic word for *uprising*) that took place in 1987 and the early 2000s. As an example, according to the Human Rights Index published by the University of Iowa (2003), between September 2000 and June 2003, the number of Palestinian jobs lost in Israel was 80,000 and in the Occupied Territories reached 60,000. The same report indicates that in 2003, seventy-five percent of the Palestinian population in the Occupied Territories was living under the poverty line and that two-thirds of them were children under the age of 18.

With the violence during the second intifada worse than the first including suicide bombings, Israel began the construction of a "separation barrier" in 2002 describing the barrier as a security measure. Complete with checkpoints, and at a cost of $3.5 billion, the separation barrier is "over 700 km in length and the planned route of the barrier is twice the length of the Green Line between Israel and the West Bank" (Paz-Fuchs & Cohen-Lifshitz, 2010, p. 594).

As evidenced in the length and route, the barrier separates not only Israel from the Occupied Territories, settlers from Palestinian villagers and refugees but also the Palestinians from each other and their land. There also exists a problem for Palestinians who happen to live on the wrong side of the barrier. There is a permit regime that applies to only 8,000 Palestinians who live in the 21 villages that are caught between the barrier and the Green Line--this area is called the "seam zone." These Palestinians require permits to reside in their

own village, and these permits must be renewed every two years. However, to be able to even leave their village for scholastic or medical pursuits, they must obtain another permit, that includes information regarding "destination, exit gate, purpose of travel, and hour of the day for which the permit is valid" (Paz-Fuchs & Cohen-Lifshitz, 2010, p. 594).

The effects of this separation policy include the following: “housing and community developments are restricted. Family life is impaired. Access to workplaces, agricultural land, education, medical services and places of worship is restricted. Economic prosperity is severely impeded." (Paz-Fuchs & Cohen-Lifshitz, 2010, p. 596).

All of these facts, figures, dates and statistics are important in understanding the history of Modern Palestine and especially the struggles of its refugee population. The dichotomy that exists between the Jewish settlers and the Palestinian refugees (as well as the between the Israeli and Arab citizens of Israel) is striking. From the very beginning of the conflict, which resulted in the creation of the State of Israel, Palestinian refugees have been kept in a continual state of expectation that at some future date there will be a return to the territory that was once called Palestine. This is referred to as "The Right of Return" (Holborn, 1967, p. 82). However, although the UN adopted Resolution 194 in 1948, which called for "the return of refugees" (UN General Assembly), Israel has “refused to allow the mass repatriation of Palestinian refugees" (Gabiam, 2006, p. 718). Despite all the attempts to create a just and lasting peace in Palestine, beginning with the intent of the Balfour Declaration of 1917

through the UN Resolutions and the current diplomacy, according to Filippo Grandi[1], the fact remains that "Palestine refugees continue to be living proof of a conflict unresolved across generations" (2003).

Palestinian Refugee Camps

Aida Camp, Bethlehem, West Bank

General History

Aida Camp in North Bethlehem was established in 1950. At that time, there were 1,125 refugees living in 94 green, fabric tents. Currently, the population is over 6,000 refugees, and they live in an area of 0.71 square kilometers. Refugees from this camp have roots in 17 demolished villages, including Ellar, Deiraban, Beit Nattif, Beit Jibreen, Ras Abu Ammar, Al Malha, Ajjour, and Beit Ahab. Most of these villages were in the northwestern area of Jerusalem and south of Hebron (www.key1948.org).

After the Nakba (which means *catastrophe* in Arabic) in 1948 and when the camp was established as a "safe zone," the refugees were promised that they could return to their villages after the conflict ceased. However, in 1956, conditions became progressively worse for Palestinians, with exiles from native villages growing quickly. Hastily trying to think of a solution, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) replaced these tents with modest housing units, made of cinderblock rooms

[1] Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestinian Refugees

measuring only 9x12 meters. Since then, the population in Aida has more than quadrupled, but the area of the camp has not increased (www.UNRWA.org).

First and Second Intifadas

The First Intifada occurred from 1987-1993, and the second from 2000-2005, by which Aida Camp was greatly affected. Invasions and strikes from the Israeli military were frequent, and harsh curfews were often imposed. Even when these curfews were not in place, refugees always faced the risk of Israeli gunfire when moving around the camp (www.key1948.org).

The most extreme curfew was imposed on Aida Camp in March 2002, during which Bethlehem and the Church of the Nativity were occupied for over 40 days. Several Aida refugees, one of whom participated in this study, were in the Church of Nativity while it was occupied for 40 days. They lived off of the oranges from the trees in the courtyard, and the raindrops that were left on the leaves after a storm. After a while, the trees ran out of oranges and they were forced to eat the leaves to avoid starving to death. Some people were unable to survive--others tried to escape to get food but were shot by the Israeli army, who were shooting anyone who left their houses during curfew. Those who survived carved their names on a pillar inside the Church.

Separation Wall

The Israeli Separation Wall has been a major source of hardship for the refugees of Aida Camp. The Wall, built in 2003, borders Aida on two sides, and cuts off the camp from much greenery. While in less populated parts of Palestine, the wall is made of fencing with barbed wire on top, in the more

populated areas of the West Bank, including Aida Camp, it is made of solid concrete and measures eight meters in height. There is no way to leave except through a checkpoint. The refugees used to farm on the land beyond the wall and the youth would play there, however now the camp is 99 percent concrete. The Wall also separates Aida from East Jerusalem, where they are not allowed to enter, even though it is considered Palestinian territory under international law. The Wall has made the Camp virtually an open-air prison (www.UNRWA.org).

Schooling

There are two schools run by UNRWA for Aida Camp residents: one for boys, and one for girls. The schools serve over 1,500 youth from elementary to secondary school; however, they do not offer the final years with exams for high school. The girls' school is located in Aida Camp and operates in shifts, while the boys' school is located outside the camp in an area called Beit Jala (www.UNRWA.org).

Health Services

There are currently no health centers in Aida camp. In order to access UNWRA health services, Aida Camp residents must travel to nearby to Dheisheh camp or Bethlehem where doctors see up to 100 patients per day. Access to health services is often compromised by the inability of doctors to cross checkpoints due to security issues and violence in the area (www.UNRWA.org).

Lajee Center

The *Lajee* Youth Center (*Lajee* means *refugee* in Arabic) is one of the most important organizations in Aida Camp. It was established in 1968, giving the

youth an alternative to succumbing to violence in the streets. It provides activities for children and youths, or *shabaab*, offering them a semblance of normalcy in the Camp, while tear gas grenades thrown by the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) are becoming more and more rampant.

Aside from its engaging and varied programs, one of Lajee's proudest achievements has been creating the largest key in the world, known as the Key of Return. With the subtle message "Not for Sale" painted in bright red, t sits atop "The Gate of Return," a 12-meter high structure serving as the entrance to the camp. It represents the hope that many Palestinians have, symbolizing their strong belief in *The Right of Return*. The key has been forcibly removed from the Gate by the IDF a few times due to the publicity it was garnering while it tried to gain a spot in the Guinness Book of World Records (www.key1948.org).

The Right of Return

When the Nakba occurred in 1948, over one million Palestinians were exiled from their homes and the land of Palestine by force. Today, there are over four million Palestinian refugees, unable to return to the village of their ancestors. Many people, youths and elders alike, are inspired by stories of their original villages, told by their parents or grandparents (Ali, 2013).

Al-Bass Camp, Tyre, Lebanon

General History

Al-Bass camp is located in Tyre (*Sour*) in the south of Lebanon. It was established in 1939 to house Armenian refugees, and after the Nakba in 1948, it became a Palestinian refugee camp. Over 10,000 Palestinian refugees live in the camp, as well as several poor Lebanese families. One of 12 Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, it suffers from unemployment, poverty, and a lack of infrastructure. Like Aida Camp, there is very little open space in the camp and no greenery. Unemployment is rampant, and refugees do not have social or civil rights. Most refugees come from villages near Acre, Nazareth, al-Houla, and Galilee (Harfoush, 2012).

Al-Qasmiyeh Camp, Tyre, Lebanon

General History

An unofficial refugee camp located 13 kilometers north of Tyre, Lebanon, al-Qasmiyeh has a population of about 3,000 Palestinian refugees. It is officially recognized only as a congregation of refugees. The majority of these refugees are Bedouin, from the Safed village of al-Khalis, forced to leave their homes during the Nakba in 1948. Despite its small size, refugees suffer from extreme economic and social hardship.

Initially, many of these refugees lived in small villages in southern Lebanon, such as Marjayoun, al-Nabatiyya, Bint Jibeel. Like most refugees, they believed that this would be temporary, after which they would return home to their original villages in Palestine. However, 66 years later, they are still exiled.

Soon after the refugees started somewhat settling in these southern Lebanese villages, they were uprooted and separated across the country. Many of these refugees were placed in official camps in the south, while others ended up in al-Qasmiyeh. However, like their counterparts in al-Bas or other official camps in the region, they have no social or civil rights in Lebanon. Palestinian refugees are restricted from owning residential property; as such, they are constantly threatened by the danger of eviction. They cling to their homes despite the fact that they are severely crowded and poorly shielded from the vast weather changes in Lebanon. Neither dangerous zinc roofs nor leaking water pipes are permitted to be altered under Lebanese law (Oudeh, 2010).

Schooling

In al-Qasmiyeh, there is a single school established by UNRWA, called al-Manusra. It is a primary and middle school, with 532 male and female students all attending a single morning teaching period. As there is no secondary school in the camp, *shabaab* must travel to high schools in other refugee camps, such as al-Rashidiyyeh. There are two nearby nursery schools run by the Palestinian Woman Union, but many parents are unable to afford the minimal costs (Oudeh, 2010).

One of the biggest problems for high school students and their parents is how far the schools are. Many parents must rent minibuses, but there are several who cannot afford those travel costs. Therefore, their children must travel to school on foot, walking several kilometers with heavy books under the hot sun in the summer or the chilly rainstorms in the winter. The sewage water

floods the main road the school, causing students to fall or be splashed by vehicles that are driving by. Many have fallen into the large sewage drain in the camp, and have even been killed. In addition, students must also cross a crowded highway in order to reach the school (Oudeh, 2010).

Facilities

Refugees in Lebanon must pay for water and electricity like other Lebanese citizens, however the government neither cleans nor repairs their streets. In al-Qasmiyeh, they are dangerous to maneuver both on foot and in a motor vehicle. Additionally, as there is no sewage drain network, the water constantly floods the main road near many houses in the camp. Because there are no public waste bins and no one to collect the garbage, residents are forced to burn large piles of refuse. To the unknowing eye, the burning trash looks like a blazing mountain village from afar.

For sick refugees, there is only one UNRWA medical center in the camp, and it is only open on Mondays or Thursdays. Those who become ill on other days have no choice but to wait until it is open (Oudeh, 2010).

Humiliation

"It has always been a mystery to me how men can feel themselves honoured by the humiliation of their fellow beings. "

-Mahatma Gandhi

Humiliation is a complicated emotion, most often used as a tool of *social control* that undermines the individual's sense of identity (Silver, Conte, Miceli, & Poggi, 1986, as cited in Hartling & Luchetta, 1999). It can refer to an external event or an internal state, defined by Miller (1988) as "an interaction in which one is debased and forced into a degraded position by someone who is, at that moment, more powerful" (as cited in Hartling et al., 1999, p. 6). Klein (1991) elaborates on this definition, claiming that it also involves "some sort of ridicule, scorn, contempt, or other degrading treatment at the hands of others" (p. 2). As summarized by Hartling et al. (1999), humiliation is associated with social control (Silver et al., 1986), discrimination (Griffin, 1991; Kirshbaum, 1991; Swift, 1991), oppression (Klein, 1991), helplessness (Lacey, 2011), and international conflict (Scheff, 1994).

According to Klein (1991), the act of humiliation is comprised of three roles: the humiliator, the victim, and the witness (p. 9). As a result, it is usually an interpersonal emotion rather than entirely internal to the person (Fisk, 2001). The victim may feel degraded, confused, paralyzed, powerless, ostracized, violated, and/or assaulted during a humiliating experience, while the

witness may experience a fear of humiliation that will stop them from helping (Klein, 1991; Silver et al., 1986, as cited in Hartling et al., 1999).

While many may interchange the terms humiliation and shame, shame is an emotion commonly associated with the feelings evoked *during* a humiliating experience. However, the difference between shame and humiliation, according to Klein (1991), is that people believe they deserve their shame, while they do not believe they deserve their humiliation. The act of humiliation can occur anywhere at any time, ranging from commonplace interactions to torture in prisons (Silver et al., 1986, as cited by Hartling et al., 1999, p. 4). The experience of humiliation is an injury to the dignity of its victims (Gilbert, 1997, as cited in Statman, 2000), often alienating and silencing individuals (Hartling, Rosen, Walker, & Jordan, 2000) and therefore harshly affecting self-esteem (Stamm, 1978, as cited by Hartling et al., 1999). This is especially detrimental because the experience of being humiliated generally involves the whole self and is "an attack on the individual's identity that is not readily changeable" (Hartling et al., 1999, p. 6). This could mean, for example, an individual's ethnicity, nationality, religion, appearance, or intelligence.

Pride

O Homeland! O Eagle, / Plunging, through the bars of my cell,

Your fiery beak in my eyes! / All I possess in the presence of death

Is pride and fury.

-Mahmoud Darwish

Pride is a complex human emotion, viewed as both noble and as a deadly sin depending on the circumstances (Williams & DeSteno, 2009). According to a study done by Leary (2007), pride refers to self-esteem, joy, or pleasure derived from achievements. It arises when people believe they are responsible for desirable outcomes (as cited in Takahashi, Matsuura, Koeda, Yahata, Suhara, Kato, & Okubo, 2007). However, it differs from basic emotions in that it is comprised of "two theoretically and conceptually distinct facets that have divergent personality correlates and cognitive antecedents" (Tracy & Robins, 2007b, p. 147). These two types of pride are alpha, or *hubristic* pride, and beta, or *authentic* pride. If one is proud due to an overly positive assessment of self-worth, the pride is *hubristic*. Contrastingly, pride is *authentic* if it comes from an objective success (Lewis, 2000; Tangney, 1999; Tracy & Robins, 2007a, 2007b, as cited in Williams et al., 2009). Importantly, the type of pride that may emerge is not dependent on the *events* that elicit it; rather it is more dependent on the *causes* to which success is attributed (Tracy et al., 2007b).

Hubristic pride is responsible for the sometimes-pompous nature of this emotion, potentially producing poor social outcomes (Williams & DeSteno,

2008). Its primary function is to inspire hedonically costly efforts with the purpose of maximizing value to one's social group, incurring short-term costs for the purpose of reaping longer-term rewards (Williams et al., 2009). For example, a study done by Tracy et al. (2007a) asked participants to think about and list words relevant to pride. The results showed that the participants associated hubristic pride with the words *arrogant* and *conceited*, fitting with the self-aggrandizing nature of alpha pride (as cited in Tracy et al., 2007b). This particular pride is positively associated with narcissism and shame-proneness, and negatively associated with traits such as congeniality or diligence (Tracy et al., 2007a, as cited in Tracy et al., 2007b). Lastly, the study showed that attributing positive events to causes that require *ability* tends to promote *hubristic* pride

Not surprisingly, hubristic pride has been revealed to be a "socially disengaged" emotion, linked to increased distance between self and other (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000; Kitayama, Markus, & Matsumoto, 1995; Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006, as cited in Oveis & Keltner, 2010, p. 619). However, despite the potential disengagement, it could also invite selective comparison, as demonstrated in three studies by Oveis et al. (2010). In the first study, one hundred fifty-eight undergraduate students filled out questionnaire packets measuring emotional traits on different scales. The second study had forty-four undergraduate students rating emotional feeling after seeing certain "compassion slides" depicting helplessness, vulnerability, and physical and emotional pain (Oveis et al., 2010, p. 622). Finally, the third study focused on

whether "compassion and pride influence perceived self-other similarity" when looking at photographs of unfamiliar faces (Oveis et al., 2010, p. 624). The results of these studies showed that pride was associated with "a sense of similarity to strong others, and a decreased sense of similarity to weak others" (p. 618). A sense of pride may indeed create a sense of superiority, as it motivates individuals to demonstrate abilities in order to "increase their status and attractiveness with respect to interaction partners" (Williams et al., 2009, p. 1). Several other studies have pointed to pride functioning as a "social marker of one's value" (Anthony, Holmes, & Wood 2007; Leary et al., 1995, as cited by Williams et al., 2008, p. 1008).

Alternatively, *authentic* pride promotes beneficial behaviors, such as caregiving or achievement (Tracy & Robins, 2004, as cited in Takahashi et al., 2007). The same word-association study discussed above conducted by Tracy et al. (2007a) showed that the participants associated authentic pride with words such as *accomplished* and *confident*, fitting with the "prosocial, achievement-oriented" nature (as cited by Tracy et al., 2007b, p. 149). They also found that authentic pride is associated with *adaptive* traits such as "extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and genuine self-esteem" (Tracy et al., 2007a, as cited by Tracy et al., 2007b, p. 149). Lastly, the study showed that attributing positive events to causes that require *effort* tends to promote *authentic* pride.

One last important type of pride to examine is *heritage pride*. Maldonado, Lazo, & Carranza (2008) describe it as a "positive emotion of worth and dignity for those elements that people inherit as members of a community" (p. 97).

These elements can include a country's language, music, traditions, or religion, and the feeling of heritage pride for these can go beyond the geographical boundaries of a country. According to Gouveia, de Alburquerque, Clemente, & Espinosa (2002), the two key concepts in the definition of heritage pride are "the sense of identification or belonging, and the sense of value about that belonging...belong is one of the most important social values to explain identity" (as cited by Maldonado et al., 2008, p. 99). Phinney, Chavira, and Tate (1993) argued that people with "a strong sense of ethnic identity have developed ways of handling threats to their ethnicity" (as cited in Valk & Karu, 2001, p. 586). As such, heritage pride can be essential for maintaining one's cultural identity.

Hope

Here on the slopes of the hills, facing the dusk and the cannon of time

Close to the gardens of broken shadows,

We do what prisoners do, / And what the jobless do:

We cultivate hope.

-Mahmoud Darwish

Although hope is not usually classified as a basic emotion, it can be considered one if the principle for classification is "importance for human survival" (Averill, 1994, as cited in Bruininks & Malle, 2006, p. 328). A line of research (Snyder, Harris, Anderson, Holleran, Irving, & Sigmon, 1991) defines

hope as a "two-dimensional construct that involves a person's determination to pursue goal-directed behavior (i.e., agency) and one's ability to meet those goals (i.e. pathways) (as cited in Bruinink et al., 2006, p. 328). Based on this theory, hope exists only when an individual has the motivation "to remain engaged with a future outcome and can anticipate a way to reach that goal" (Bruinink et al., 2006, p. 328). However, a second line of research done by Averill, Catlin, & Chon (1990) investigated hope by exploring its relation to individual behavior and social systems (as cited in Bruinink et al., 2006, p.328). In this study, Averill et al. (1990) asked individuals directly about what they considered to be hope; as a result, they established four "rules" of hope. First, hope is appropriate only when the possible outcome is realistically attainable (prudential rule). Second, people hope only for what they consider socially or personally acceptable (moralistic rule). Third, only events and outcomes that are deemed as important are hoped for (priority rule). In fact, the prudential and moralistic rules may be set aside if the object of hope is of sufficient importance. Finally, if action is possible, people should be willing to take the steps to achieve what they hope for (action rule). Averill et al. (1990) also found that hope is nonrational, difficult to control, and also motivates behavior, playing a primary role in keeping an individual engaged with a potential outcome (as cited in Bruininks et al., 2006).

The paper by Bruininks et al. (2006) juxtaposes hope with other similar emotions, specifically optimism, wanting, and desire. According to Scheier & Carver (1985), optimism is "the generalized expectancy that the future will be positive" (as cited in Bruinink et al., 2006, p. 330). It is similar to hope in that it

is a positive anticipatory state. However, these two concepts differ in that optimism is adopted when the probability of a desired outcome occurring is high, whereas people will hope for things that are important to them "despite a low likelihood of realizing that outcome" (Bruinink et al., 2006, p. 330). Hope also applies to more personally relevant circumstances, while people will be optimistic for a broader range of outcomes.

Wanting and desire are also emotions commonly compared to hope. According to Roseman et al. (1990), wanting and desire are elicited when conditions for a successful outcome are favorable, whereas hope is adopted when conditions are considered difficult, but the outcome is still attainable (as cited in Bruininks et al., 2006, p. 330). The study by Averill et al. (1990) also examined the different types of these possible outcomes. The researchers found that outcomes associated with hope were described as "less materialistic, socially more acceptable, more enduring and/or in the future, and more abstract...than objects of wants or desire" (as cited in Bruininks et al., 2006, p. 331).

Previous Psychological Studies on Palestinian Refugees

As for me, I say to my name:

Give me back what's been lost of my freedom!

-Mahmoud Darwish

Humiliation: the invisible trauma of war for Palestinian youth (2005)

According to the Giacaman, Abu-Remeileh, Husseini, Saab, & Boyce (2005), humiliation is usually employed by dominant groups, and is defined as an "internal experience where the victim has feelings of having been unjustly treated and debased" (p. 564). The researchers relate this to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, where Palestinians have been subjected to a vast range of traumatic experiences over time, perhaps most significantly, "witnessing the destruction of a social world embodying their history, identity, and living values" (Summerfield, 2000, as cited in Giacaman et al., 2005, p. 564). Humiliation is also often cited by the Israeli press as one of the daily experiences that Palestinians must withstand by the Israeli Defense Army (IDF), ensuring that the IDF is always in control (Levi, 2004; Laor, 2004, as cited in Giacaman et al., 2005, p. 564).

The study by Giacaman et al. surveys Palestinian students living in Ramallah and the effects of humiliation. Specifically, it focuses on 10th- and 11th-grade students, examining whether humiliation is associated with reported health outcomes, *regardless* of exposure to other types of violent/traumatic events. 3415 students participated in a survey questionnaire compiled by the

researchers. The survey items were derived from subjective health complaint (SHC) questions "of the World Health Organization's Health Behavior in School-aged Children (HBSC) Survey and the Gaza Community Mental Health Programme Traumatic Event Checklist" (p. 565). Participants were asked how often they had experienced traumatic events (e.g., exposure to tear gas, shelling in the neighborhood) during the past year. Descriptive analyses were performed to inspect the frequency distribution of each variable.

The research concluded that humiliation experiences should be included as "predictors of mental health status in research that investigates the consequences of war and conflict on the health of populations" (p. 565). Additionally, the study found that conflict-induced humiliation constitutes an *independent* traumatic event that is indeed associated with negative health outcomes, for example, social anxiety disorder.

The type of humiliation they studied was *intentional humiliation*, a "central tactic of war. . . often deployed deliberately as an instrument of political and other forms of control, and presents a potent force in domestic politics and international affairs with intense consequences" (p. 564). Unfortunately, while this type of humiliation is quite common and usually experienced both individually and collectively by communities, it has remained relatively unexamined by psychological research (p. 564).

Humiliation and the Inertia Effect: Implications for Understanding Violence and Compromise in Intractable Intergroup Conflicts (2008)

A study by Ginges & Atran (2008) investigated the influence of humiliation on *inter-group conflict* in three studies of Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza. The researchers carried out two surveys; one in December 2005 of Muslim Palestinians, and one in May 2006 of university students. Their findings showed that experiencing humiliation produces an *inertia effect*, "a tendency towards inaction that suppresses rebellious or violent action, but which paradoxically also suppresses support for acts of inter-group compromise" (p. 281).

In the first study that they conducted, they found that Palestinians who felt *more* humiliated by the Israeli occupation were *less* likely to support suicide attacks against Israelis. The second study showed that priming Palestinians with a humiliating experience caused fewer expressions of joy when subsequently hearing about suicide attacks. Finally, the third study revealed that Palestinians who felt *more* humiliated by peace deals were *less* likely to support those deals, while Israeli symbolic compromises that *decreased* feelings of humiliation *increased* support for the same deals. Overall, the study concluded that while the experience of humiliation does not seem to contribute to political violence, it does seem to suppress support for conflict resolution (p. 281).

Overview of Present Study

The present study investigated Palestinian refugees and the emotions humiliation, pride, and hope. The goal was to examine the similarities and differences in the interview responses given among the refugees, looking closely at gender, age, and camp residence. The research was carried out in Aida Camp in Bethlehem in the West Bank, and in Tyre, Lebanon, in Al-Bas and Al-Qasmiyeh Camps. Questions were asked in Arabic in interview format, with certain questions dependent on camp location. Initial questions were straightforward and basic, with later questions encouraging deeper thought and prompting anecdotes. Interviews were transcribed and translated by fluent Arabic speakers, and promptly coded. Results were compared, contrasted, and analyzed.

Methods

Participants

Fourteen participants were interviewed overall. Of these 14 participants, 8 were men and 6 were women. The men ranged in age from 19-86 and the mean age was 59.5. The women ranged in age from 23-73 and the mean age was 49.67. The range of ages for all participants was 19-86 and the mean age was 55.29. All participants were interviewed in Arabic and were over the age of 18.

Seven participants were interviewed in Aida Refugee Camp in Bethlehem in the West Bank. Of these 7 participants, 4 were men and 3 were women. The men ranged in age from 19-81 and the mean age was 62.67. The women ranged in age from 23-43 and the mean age was 32.67. The range of ages for all participants was 19-81 and the mean age was 40.86. All participants were interviewed in Arabic and were over the age of 18.

Three participants were interviewed in Al-Bas Refugee Camp in Tyre in Lebanon. Everyone interviewed was male. The men ranged in age from 64-69 and the mean age was 67. All participants were interviewed in Arabic and were over the age of 18.

Four participants were interviewed in Al-Qasmiyeh Refugee Camp in Tyre in Lebanon. Of these 4 participants, 1 was male and 3 were female. The man was 86 years old. The women ranged in age from 62-73 and the mean age was

67. The range of ages for all participants was 62-86 and the mean age was 71.75. All participants were interviewed in Arabic and were over the age of 18.

Measures

As these interviews were semi-structured, clarification questions such as "Can you tell me more about this?" were asked. Certain questions differed contextually depending on if the participants lived in the West Bank or in Lebanon. Questions deliberately alternated between positive and negative.

The first few questions of the study asked basic information about the participant. These questions were straightforward and rarely required clarification questions.

1. Date of birth/gender
2. From where is your family originally? Which village?
3. Have you ever returned to this village? When?
4. Where were you born? How long have you lived in Aida/Al-Bas? Where did you live before (if applicable)? When did you arrive at the camp?

After these introductory questions, participants in Aida were asked an additional question that differed from ones asked in Lebanon. This question was:

- How do you think your experience would be different if you lived in a refugee camp in a neighboring Arab country, such as Lebanon, Syria, or Jordan?

Participants in Al-Bas and Al-Qasmiyeh were also asked different questions than those in Aida. These questions were:

a. Have you ever lived in Palestine?
b. What is it like living in Lebanon? Would you prefer to live in the West Bank or Gaza if given the choice?
c. How do you think your experience would be different if you lived in a refugee camp in the West Bank or Gaza?

These area specific questions were followed by questions focusing on emotions for the remainder of the interview. The questions purposefully alternated between positive and negative emotions. Some of these were not asked for different reasons--for example, if the interviewer felt the participant would not be comfortable answering the question. Questions with multiple parts were generally answered in paragraph format, with clarification requested as needed.

5. What is the most difficult thing about living in a refugee camp? About being a refugee?
6. If you could live anywhere in the world, where would it be?
7. Have you ever gone through a checkpoint? How do you feel when you go through a checkpoint? How long does it take?
8. What is your hope for the future for you/your family/Palestine?

9. What are the emotions that come to mind when you think about living in the camp? About family in general? About neighbors?
10. Have you ever experienced feeling devalued? Are there any experiences you've had where you've felt disrespected? Please tell me what happened.
11. What has been your proudest moment as a Palestinian?
12. Any other instances of pride as a Palestinian? *(included in #11)*
13. What do you enjoy doing in your free time? How many of your family members are here? Where are most of your family members that don't live here?
14. Is there anything you would like the world to know?
15. What is your favorite word in Arabic?
16. How has the camp changed throughout the years? What were the most significant changes? What was the political situation when you arrived? What were the conditions of the camp?

For the participants in the West Bank, questions 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, and 14 were coded via content analysis and subsequently tabled. These tables can be seen in the *Results* section. Questions 10, 13, and 16 were not tabled as few answers were given.

For the participants in Lebanon, questions b, c, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 14 were coded via content analysis and subsequently tabled. Questions 9, 10, 13, and 16 were either not asked or no responses were given. These tables can be seen in the *Results* section.

The answers for question 15 for both the West Bank and Lebanon are shown in the final section of this thesis.

Procedure

Aida Camp, Bethlehem, West Bank

I received a grant for $1700 from the Tölölyan Fund for the Study of Diasporas and Transnationalism. I wanted to interview Palestinian refugees in the West Bank and Lebanon on the emotions humiliation, pride, and hope. I had originally planned to fly to Israel, travel to the West Bank, and do interviews at Aida Refugee Camp where my family and I have been before. I commissioned Layan Al-Azzeh, a director at the community center from Aida who had helped my family before, to arrange interviews and come with me to translate. I chose her because she knows many people in the camp and has experience with translation and transcription. She recruited several participants. She planned to ask the questions that were carefully translated into Arabic, and I had planned to record the audio. The interviews were set to be either in the community center of the camp, called the Lajee center, or in their own homes. After that, I had planned go over the interviews with Ms. Al-Azzeh, transcribe them, and translate them.

Unfortunately, I was unable to collect the data in the West Bank myself (*see personal relevance section for explanation*). I had to think quickly in order to still make sure the interviews would be done. I contacted my thesis advisor, Dr. Patricia Rodriguez Mosquera, informed her of my situation, and asked if it would

be all right if my mother, Gina Kurban, could take my place alongside Ms. Al-Azzeh. She agreed on the condition that Ms. Kurban be carefully briefed on the procedure. Mrs. Kurban fulfilled the same role I would have, and the interviews were successfully completed. Ms. Al-Azzeh transcribed the interviews and then emailed them to me. I asked a family friend who grew up in Aida Refugee Camp, Nidal Al-Azraq, to translate the transcribed interviews. Mr. Al-Azraq has worked for several years as a translator and transcriber inside and outside of Palestine, and knows the vast majority of the Aida Camp refugees. Six interviews were completed, and each participant consented to the procedure.

Al-Bas Camp, Tyre, Lebanon

The situation for the Al-Bas Refugee Camp was different as I did not have very many contacts, and there was not a lot of time to schedule interviews due to my deportation from Israel. The Lebanese army guards al-Bas Refugee Camp, located in the south of Lebanon in Tyre. If one is not a Lebanese citizen, it is very difficult to acquire a pass to the camp. Our family friend, Dr. Mustafa Jradi, was able to arrange entry to the camp for me, which is difficult to do as Americans. Dr. Jradi is an orthopedic surgeon who is well known and well-liked in Al-Bas as he often performs surgeries at the only hospital in the Camp. He set up multiple interviews for my project.

I arranged for his son, Dany Jradi, to accompany me as a translator, as he lives close by and speaks the dialect. He was also briefed on the proper procedure and was given the same translation and consent introduction.

We interviewed the two people Dr. Jradi had set up for us, and then the first interviewee took us around the camp to find other people to interview. Mr. Jradi and I interviewed two more people together in the streets of the camp. Four people total were interviewed in Al-Bas. These interviews were transcribed and translated by Mr. Al-Azraq and my father, Dr. Andrew Kurban, both of whom are fluent in Levantine dialect, which is the dialect spoken by Palestinians.

Al-Qasmiyeh Camp, Tyre, Lebanon

After the first day, we planned to return to Al-Bas, however due to the political situation, we were advised by Dr. Jradi not to go. Instead, the Jradis' Palestinian Housekeeper, Jamal, took us to the refugee camp where she lives: Al-Qasmiyeh. Because it was last minute, we could not schedule interviews beforehand--instead, we asked people sitting outside their homes if they would not mind being interviewed. A few people refused, but most said yes. We completed 4 interviews in Al-Qasmiyeh, one of them being a large group interview. These interviews were also transcribed and translated by Mr. Al-Azraq and Dr. Andrew Kurban.

Skype

I conducted one Skype interview with a resident of Aida Camp while I was in Lebanon. He is fluent in English, so the interview was conducted in English. I audio recorded the interview and transcribed it.

Summary

Interviews were conducted by Ms. Layan Al-Azzeh in Aida Camp alongside Mrs. Gina Kurban. Only one person was interviewed at a time. In Al-Bas and Al-Qasmiyeh, interviews were conducted by Mr. Dany Jradi and myself. All but two of the interviews were individual; certain interviews were with two or more people answering the same questions. The questions and consent form were translated into Arabic by Ms. Al-Azzeh and were used for all interviews. Participants first listened to the consent agreement, and once they verbally agreed, the interview began. All participants were presented with informed consent and my study was given ethical approval by the Psychology Department Ethics Committee.

Results

Content Analysis of Narratives

There were fifteen narratives of life in Palestinian refugee camps (i.e., one narrative per participant). The goal of the content analysis was to identify similarities and differences between the emotions that the refugees in the West Bank and Lebanon felt. As all the interviews in the West Bank were translated but not the ones in Lebanon, I focused first on the former group. Questions were chosen for coding based on subjectivity of the responses (i.e., some questions simply asked date of birth and original village), and also the specificity of response categories (i.e., some answers were better suited as case studies).

Different themes were drawn from each participant's response of a single question, and similar themes were grouped together. For example, when asked about the difficulties of being a refugee, one participant stated, "Life is not personal because it's combined with all the rest of the folks of the camp in a communal way." This narrative was coded as a *lack of privacy*, as the individual expressed the difficulty of having a personal life inside the camp. Another participant said, "You don't feel you live alone, you feel you live with the neighbors," which was also coded under *lack of privacy*. This same process was repeated for the interviews from Lebanon once they were translated.

Aida Refugee Camp

Each table is organized by gender and age. Starting from left to right, it is males (M), youngest to oldest, and then females (F), youngest to oldest. They are be labeled as M1, M2, F1, F2, and so on. The villages that these participants and/or their ancestors are from include: Beit Jibreen, Ajoor, Ras Abu Ammar, Ellar, and Beit Nattif.

Table 1a. What is the Most Difficult Thing about Being a Refugee?

	M1	M2	M3	M4	F1	F2	F3	TOTAL
Camp is small			x				x	2
Houses stuck together			x	x	x		x	4
No privacy, camp is communal (negative)			x		x	x		3
No open space in the camp			x	x		x	x	4
Everyday needs (water)	x						x	2
Land that doesn't belong to you	x	x						2
No stability	x							1
No safety	x	x						2
Bad economic situation			x					1
Occupation		x	x					2
But there are still positives							x	1

In Table 1a, there are 12 different response categories for the question "What is the most difficult thing about being a refugee?" There was heterogeneity for the responses for this particular question, and the participants

generally cited a lot of problems. A few response categories, such as "Camp is small," and "Houses stuck together," are self-explanatory, but others require more explanation:

- "Camp is communal (negative)": Participants elaborated by explaining that everything in the camp is communal -- space, facilities, and life in general . There is no privacy or personal space. They expressed a specific dislike for this.
- "No open space in the camp": The participants referenced that the camp is entirely concrete, as the Separation Wall cuts them off from the only greenery in the area. F2 (age 31) specifically stated that there are no places for girls, like a club, and that if you want to do any leisure activities, you must leave the camp and go into Bethlehem.
- "Everyday needs (water)": The participants stated that everyday needs are a problem for everyone, and gave the example that there is a lack of regular access to water.
- "Land that doesn't belong to you": The participants that mentioned this meant that they lament the fact that they are refugees and not in their home villages, as most of these villages have been overtaken by Israeli settlers.
- "No stability": The participant specified that for the refugees of Aida camp, the future is not clear. They do not know if tomorrow they will stay or they will have to leave.

- "No safety": Both participants stated Israeli soldiers and the Separation Wall as reasons why they do not feel safe.
- "But there are still positives": This participant simply stated, "Life in the camp is beautiful."

The most common response categories were "Houses are stuck together," and "There is no open space," with four participants mentioning them. Three participants said that there is "No personal space/privacy." Interestingly, none of the females cited "Land that doesn't belong to you," "No stability," "No safety," "Bad economic situation," or "Occupation" as specific problems. Only one female, the oldest, F3 (age 43), mentioned that there are still positives. The oldest male, M4 (age 81), emphasized many times that there is no open space, and reminisced about his time in his home village. The youngest male, M1 (age 19), immediately focused on how Israelis specifically affect life in Aida camp.

Regarding this particular issue, it seems that males, especially younger ones, are more vehement about how the camp is affected by the Israeli army and occupation, while the females focused more on life as a refugee.

Table 2a. If you could live anywhere in the world, where would it be?

	M1	M2	M3	M4	F1	F2	F3	TOTAL
Palestine/original village	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7
Elsewhere					x			1
Stay in camp until opportunity, even over other countries	x				x	x	x	4

Table 2a shows more homogeneous responses than Table 1, with only three response categories. Every participant mentioned that they would stay in Palestine if given the choice, citing that in an ideal world, they would be able to return to the village from where their ancestors are. Many of their ancestors were exiled from these villages in 1948 or 1967, and M4 (age 81) grew up in his original village of Ellar. The majority of participants have never been to the village where their ancestors grew up as Israeli settlers have overtaken most of these villages. However, some villages, such as Ajoor, are empty. F2 (age 31) expressed a desire to go back to her village of Ajoor and build a house, but even though there are no people who live there, she is only allowed to visit a few times a year. This, however, is rare, as many refugees are never permitted to see their original village.

Four participants relayed that the camp is their home, and they will stay there as it is still in Palestine. They each stated that they would rather stay as refugees in the camp than leave their homeland. By opportunity, they elaborated that this meant if they were given the chance to return to their original villages, they would leave the camp. F1 (age 23), felt conflicted and expressed a desire to live somewhere quiet outside of Aida, but also said that she felt like she belonged to the camp and that it would be difficult to leave.

Table 3a. How do you feel when you go through a checkpoint?

	M1	M2	M3	M4	F1	F2	F3	TOTAL
Not normal/can't describe/uncomfortable			x		x	x	x	4
Hard to be searched in our own country	x	x	x		x	x		5
Not their rights/country; ours	x	x	x		x			4
Judged for being Palestinian					x			1
Scared	x							1
Humiliated			x	x		x	x	4
Guards have all the power	x	x	x	x		x	x	6
Takes a long time/crowded	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7
Confused		x						1
Checkpoints are everywhere	x	x	x		x	x		5

Table 3a also shows a variety of response categories. All of these frequencies involve negative feelings, and all participants cited at least three or more problems. A few categories require additional explanation, which is provided below:

- "Not normal/can't describe/uncomfortable": These were put in the same category because all participants emphasized a feeling of uncertainty when they go through checkpoints.
- "Hard to be searched in our own country": The participants expressed that it is especially difficult because they are treated as criminals on their own territory of the West Bank.

- "Not their rights/country; ours": Similar to the previous response category, participants felt it unfair that they are automatically searched because they are Palestinian, even though they are in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT).
- "Guards have all the power": Checkpoint guards in the OPT are notorious for being arbitrary. Many participants elaborated on this by explaining that sometimes the same person is allowed through a checkpoint one day but not another; that it all depends on the guard's mood.
- "Checkpoints are everywhere": To get from one village to another, Palestinians usually have to go through checkpoints. There is a checkpoint between Bethlehem (where Aida Camp is located) and Jerusalem. It is 7km away, yet the Aida refugees are forbidden to go.

All seven participants mentioned that checkpoints take a very long time to go through. According to them, it can vary from half an hour to three hours each way. All but one participant elaborated on this, emphasizing that entry is random, depending on the guard's mood. Five participants expressed the emotional difficulty they have being searched at checkpoints in their own country as well as the fact that checkpoints are everywhere. Four participants mentioned that they feel humiliated when going through, with M4 (age 81) specifying that he is often forced to take off his clothes when he is searched. Most participants had difficulty describing what they feel at the checkpoints, but F2 explained further, saying that she sees checkpoints as a big prison.

There does not seem to be any correlation between age, gender, and responses, with most participants citing the same issues.

Table 4a. What is your hope for the future for you/your family/Palestine?

	M1	M2	M3	M4	F1	F2	F3	TOTAL
We have a lot of hope		x			x			2
Peaceful area without occupation		x		x			x	3
Educate children		x						1
Move without checkpoints		x		x		x		3
We don't expect a lot/nothing			x					1
Stable life w/family, just like anyone	x		x				x	3
No future because of occupation	x		x		x			3
Only God knows the future				x				1
Things to back to like they were before				x				1
Return to original village						x	x	2

Table 4a also had several response categories, however there were not many common answers. At most, three participants cited the same feelings when talking about their hope for Palestine. These four categories are:

- "Peaceful area without occupation"
- "Move without checkpoints"
- "Stable life w/family, just like anyone"
- "No future because of occupation"

Participants who stated they wish for a peaceful area with military control also said they want a stable family life. These participants specifically mentioned their children in their responses. The younger participants said that Palestine has no future because it is under occupation, perhaps because occupation is all they know. M1 specifically stated that Palestine has no future because "We are following a group of people--we don't know where we are going." The oldest refugee that was interviewed, M4 (age 81), reminisced and said he wished that life would go back to the way it was before, specifically saying that Jews and Arabs lived in peace without much conflict. The youngest female, F1 (age 23), had interesting responses, saying that she felt hopeful for herself on a personal level, but she felt that the occupation will always be around. F3 (age 43) elaborated that she wishes to return to her original village, but without Israelis there, as the village is near Hebron, one of the largest illegal Israeli settlements in the West Bank. She mentioned having visited several decades earlier, before Hebron became a large Israeli settlement, and said she enjoyed the peacefulness of the village.

Overall, answers differed greatly depending on age and if they had children, with older participants eliciting more nostalgic responses, and parents expressing more hope for Palestine as a country.

Table 5a. What are the emotions that come to mind when you think about living in the camp?

	M1	M2	M3	M4	F1	F2	F3	TOTAL
Strength/close to people	x	x			x			3
Active/want to help		x						1
Big family, sharing the same life (good and bad)	x	x						2
Occupation is difficult		x	x					2
Dismissed/kicked out	x		x	x	x		x	5
"There is nothing more"			x					1
Everyone is a refugee	x							1
Humiliated				x				1
Nostalgic			x	x	x		x	4
Uncomfortable						x		1
Sad					x			1
That it is temporary							x	1
Still trying to hold onto hope							x	1
Not in my original homeland							x	1

The many emotions expressed in Table 5a were mixed between positive and negative. The most frequent response category was feeling "Dismissed/kicked out," with many participants specifically expressing that living in the camp reminds them every day that they are refugees in their own home. Similarly, another frequent emotion displayed was nostalgia--nostalgia for a Palestine free of conflict and prejudice. Other than those two response categories, participants listed many different emotions when answering this

particular question. These emotions differed from person to person, but there was no correlation between gender and age.

Table 6a. What has been your proudest moment as a Palestinian?

	M1	M2	M3	M4	F1	F2 *(n/a)*	F3	TOTAL
Being Palestinian/we are strong	x	x	x	x	x		x	6
Talking about Palestine	x				x			2
Happy that someone is listening	x				x			2
That I am still living as a Palestinian			x				x	2
Proud of everyone and their accomplishments	x		x					2
Being in Palestine, holding onto the Right of Return		x					x	2

Table 6a shows results for a popular question during the interview. Every single participant that was interviewed (for reasons unknown, F2 was not asked this question) cited that they are proud *because* they are Palestinian. Many participants cited their ancestors' or their own fights for their homeland as reasons for their pride. The youngest participants, M1 (age 19) and F1 (age 23), spoke specifically of a conference the two of them attended in Jordan. The

conference, according to them, was for Arabs of Palestinian ancestry in the Levant, and they (M1 and F1) were two of the few Palestinians who were actually living in the West Bank. They expressed many times how happy they were that people were listening to their stories and were interested in them. M1 also demonstrated pride when talking about a film award that a friend of his in Aida had won, specifically saying, "It was great to see such a young person from the camp with limited resources winning something like that without having higher studies."

Table 7a. Is there anything that you would like the world to know?

	M1	M2	M3	M4	F1	F2	F3	TOTAL
Need to know the truth	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7
We are human/media doesn't portray us as such		x	x			x		3
There is only occupation here	x		x					2
We will never give up the Right to Return	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7

Table 7a shows only four response categories, as all participants shared the same view for the question. They all vehemently expressed that the world needs to know the truth about Palestine and about the occupation, with some elaborating that they are only human and the media portrays them only as terrorists. F1 and F2 specifically implored people to come to Palestine and see

the truth for themselves. M1 stated he wants people to know that Palestinians were forced to leave their homes and now live in a big prison. Regardless of age or gender, every participant finished with the same thought: That they will never give up the Right of Return. They will never give up their homeland.

Al-Bas Camp and Al-Qasmiyeh Camp

Each table is organized by gender and age. Starting from left to right, it is males (M), youngest to oldest, and then females (F), youngest to oldest. They are be labeled as M1, M2, F1, F2, and so on. If the second letter is a B, it signifies that the participant is from Al-Bas Camp. If the second letter is a Q, it signifies that the participant is from Al-Qasmiyeh Camp. The villages that these participants and/or their ancestors are from include: Khalsa, Al-Houla, Al-Naher, Acre, and Darl el Kheil.

Table 1b. What is it like living in Lebanon? What is the most difficult thing about being a refugee?

	MB1	MB2	MB3	MQ1	FQ1	FQ2	FQ3	TOTAL
Horrible/ humiliating		x	x			x	x	3
Restrictions	x	x		x			x	4
Lack of resources	x	x					x	3
Want to go back to Palestine	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7

Table 1b shows four response categories for a two-part question. Participants who claimed that living in the camp was "horrible/humiliating" gave more specific examples, with MB2 (age 68) explaining that it feels like they "live in a cage." FQ3 (age 73) stated that living in the camp was "like shit," explaining that her husband spent 14 years in prison while she was raising six children.

The restrictions that four of the participants mentioned include jobs, construction, and permits. Each one stated that Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are prohibited from working in 27 different occupations. FQ3 remarked that even Palestinian refugees who have jobs are paid even less now because of the influx of Syrian refugees. MB2 gave an example of how specific their restrictions can be, pointing to a lemon tree and explaining that under Lebanese law, Palestinian refugees are not allowed to pick the fruit from the tree. They must wait for it to fall down first. Many also stated that they are not allowed to own property, and are therefore prohibited fixing any facilities in their homes. Although they are forbidden from applying for home repair permits, they must get a permit to bring anything large into the camp, such as a motorcycle.

Participants who cited lack of resources emphasized that there are too many people in the camps and not enough land, and that space in hospitals is scarce. FQ3 explained that in Al-Qasmiyeh, there is one medical facility, and it is only open on Mondays and Thursdays.

All seven participants said they wish to return to Palestine, with six participants having lived there before the expulsion of 1948. Even the only participant who had never been to Palestine, MB1 (age 63), expressed nostalgia for wanting to return, saying in his interview, "There's no place like home. Our home is from stone." MB3 (age 69) explained that for Palestinians, earth is more important than blood, and that land was home for centuries before the Israelis arrived. MQ1 (age 86) looked back fondly on his years in Palestine, having lived there for 20 years before the *Nakba*. He referred to life in Palestine as heaven and paradise. FQ2 (age 66) emphatically said, "Even if we had an inch, we would live on that inch in Palestine. We'd set up a tent and live there. Even a tent in Palestine is better than a palace in this country."

Overall, participants expressed unhappiness at their situation in Lebanon, often resigning themselves to the idea that their lives will remain this way. This is understandable as all of them are over the age of 60 and have lived the vast majority of their lives in refugee camps in Lebanon. However, when discussing Palestine, the attitudes of all but one participant improved significantly. The exception was FQ1 (age 62), who did not speak much at all during the interview.

Table 2b: If you could live anywhere in the world, where would it be?

	MB1	MB2	MB3	MQ1	FQ1	FQ2	FQ3	TOTAL
Palestine	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7
Europe	x							1

Every participant answered that they wish to return to their village in Palestine above all else. MB1 (age 63) added that Europe is also a viable option, explaining that many Palestinians, including his children, live there and they have dignity. He elaborated, saying that in Europe, no one asks for identification of origin or a list of material possessions. He finished by saying that he appreciated how in the Western world, hard work is rewarded, whereas in the Arab world, social advancement comes only from nepotism.

Table 3b. Have you ever gone through a checkpoint? How do you feel when you go through a checkpoint?

	MB1	MB2	MB3	MQ1	FQ1	FQ2	FQ3	TOTAL
The army is bad	x		x			x	x	4
The army is okay		x		x	x			3

Table 3b has just two response categories, as participants only spoke of the Lebanese army. Sentiments were divided with no apparent correlation. Those who said that the army is okay expressed understanding that most of the soldiers are simply following orders, and that it is the Lebanese government to blame. The participants who claimed that the army is bad gave examples for

their experiences at checkpoints. MB1 (age 63) explained that whenever he goes through a checkpoint, he feels that the situation is "tyrannical." Both he and FQ3 elaborated that oftentimes it is very difficult to pass through a checkpoint in a medical emergency. FQ3 stated that this is how her husband passed away.

Table 4b: What is your hope for the future for you/your family/Palestine?

	MB1 *n/a*	MB2	MB3	MQ1 *n/a*	FQ1	FQ2 *n/a*	FQ3	TOTAL
To return		x	x		x		x	4

All participants who were asked this question answered that they wish to return to their original villages, echoing the responses given for Tables 1b and 2b. MB2 (age 68) also said that he hopes the Palestinian National Authority[2] works in the best interest of the Palestinian people. FQ1 added that someday she hopes Palestinian refugees can live once again as simple human beings.

Table 5b. What has been your proudest moment as a Palestinian?

	MB1	MB2	MB3	MQ1	FQ1 *n/a*	FQ2	FQ3	TOTAL
Palestinian identity	x	x	x	x		x	x	6

Every participant who was asked this question responded that they are proud of their Palestinian identity. MB1 elaborated by saying that Palestinians

[2] The Palestinian Authority is the interim self-government body established to govern certain areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Gabiam, 2006).

as a whole are a proud race, and that he is proud of his identity because of the many hardships refugees endure. MQ1 and FQ3, the oldest male and female participants, stated that they always feel proud of Palestine. FQ2 exclaimed that no matter what Palestinians did, she would always love them.

Table 6b. Is there anything that you would like the world to know?

	MB1	MB2	MB3	MQ1	FQ1 *n/a*	FQ2	FQ3	TOTAL
Give us our rights	x	x	x	x				4
We want to go home	x	x	x	x		x	x	6
Peace						x*	x	2

Table 6b is very clearly divided by gender. The males all stated that refugees should have rights like Lebanese citizens and they should be treated fairly and equally. MB3 (age 69) explained further, saying that anyone who has a conscience and morals would give them their rights. He says that above all else, Palestinians are "a people with a land that has been taken away." The two females that were asked this question said they send their *salaam* (the word for *peace* in Arabic) to "everyone who is free." With the exception of FQ1, who was not asked this question, all participants declared that the world should know that Palestinian refugees want to go home, back to their original villages.

Discussion

The main objective of the present study was to investigate Palestinian refugees and the emotions humiliation, pride, and hope. We interviewed refugees in the West Bank and in Lebanon. A comparison between the sets of participants showed that those in Aida were more willing to talk during the interviews. This could be attributed to a number of reasons, for example, in the camps in Lebanon, we were unfamiliar to the participants, the appointments were made spontaneously, or simply the fact that they reside in Lebanon instead of the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT). Participants in Aida overall had longer interviews with more in-depth answers, while most individuals in Lebanon gave simpler responses. Although the same questions were asked and the answers were tabled in the same way, the interviews from refugees in the West Bank yielded far more response categories than those in Lebanon. Additionally, the participants in the West Bank were more descriptive with their answers and emotions.

Table 3a had five times as many response categories as table 3b. During their interviews, the refugees from Aida were once again more expressive with their words than were the residents of Al-Bas and Al-Qasmiyeh. The categories in Table 3b were very straightforward, and the participants only mentioned how they felt about the guards. This is understandable, as checkpoints in Lebanon are not nearly as frequent or as unpleasant as those in the OPT. Accordingly,

Aida participants gave a slew of negative responses, everyone citing at least three particular feelings.

Checkpoints in the West Bank and Gaza are often highlighted as one of the most humiliating aspects of the occupation. Every definition of humiliation in the introduction describes Aida refugees' experiences perfectly. Going through checkpoints is indeed "an injury to the dignity of its victims" (Gilbert, 1997, as cited in Statman, 2000) and it is definitely "an interaction in which one is debased and forced into a degraded position by someone who is...more powerful" (Miller, 1988, as cited in Hartling et al., 1999, p. 6). Indeed, one of the most common response categories for table 3a was that "guards have all the power." Above all, however, checkpoints serve as "an attack on the individual's identity that is not readily changeable" (Hartling et al., 1999, p. 6). Of course, the identity in this case is the Palestinian identity.

Palestinians as a people have an enormous amount of *heritage pride*. This includes the Palestinian diaspora, as the feelings of heritage pride can go "beyond the geographical boundaries of a country" (Maldonado et al., 2008, p. 97). One of the two key concepts of heritage pride, as described by Gouveia et al. (2002), is the sense of identification. Every single participant who answered the question for Table 5a and 5b[3] answered that they are proudest of simply being Palestinian. Almost all participants added that they feel proud of being Palestinian *refugees* because they have endured much hardship as "eternity's guests" (Darwish).

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[3] Question: What has been your proudest moment as a Palestinian?

The response categories in tables 2a and 2b[4] were almost identical: every participant answered that they would live in Palestine, specifically their village of origin, and one of the participants in each country added that even someplace outside of the Middle East would be an option. The difference, however, between the answers given by each country's refugees, is that those in the West Bank expressed somewhat of a loyalty to their camp. Four participants in Aida said that they would rather stay in the refugee camp over other countries, specifying that for them, the camp is the closest thing they will have to home. It is unclear why the participants in Lebanon did not mention this as well, but perhaps it is because they are refugees in a foreign country, whereas those in Aida still live on the original land of Palestine. The *literature review on hope* at the beginning of this thesis gives a possible explanation for this.

Although the refugees in Aida, Al-Bas, and Al-Qasmiyeh are all exiled from their ancestral villages, the fact remains that those in Aida are in the same land as their roots. Refugees in Aida are very aware of their proximity to these villages, and many have tried breaking through the Separation Wall in order to see them. Almost all who escape are captured, but every time a piece of the Separation Wall is chipped away, a ray of hope shines down on Aida Camp. Despite the occupation, the Aida refugees are able to experience a little bit of change every day because they can fight it from within. Small victories, such as a hole in the Separation Wall, remind Aida refugees that change is possible. The participants from refugee camps in Lebanon described their lives as unchanging

[4] Question: *If you could live anywhere in the world, where would it be?*

and "no different" from when they first arrived in Lebanon several decades ago. These stagnant years caused many of them to become jaded and unconvinced that their situation is ever going to change.

Daily progress, whether big or small, makes a hoped-for outcome (in this case, the Right of Return) more attainable than if circumstances are unchanging. Thus, according to Averill et al.'s (1990) *prudential rule of hope* described in the introduction, the residents of Aida view the Return as more realistically attainable than do the refugees in Lebanon. The *action rule of hope* also applies to Aida refugees, as many people have demonstrated their willingness to take action against the occupation, the overwhelming obstacle that stands in the way of their goal. At the end of their interviews, all the participants from Aida, from age 19 to age 81, said they want the world to know that they will never give up their Right of Return.

Personal Relevance

My connection to Palestine began in the 1940s, before I was born. My grandfather, Amal Kalim Kurban, lived in Haifa with his parents and sisters while he was growing up. The summer before he died in October of 2011, I had the privilege of doing video interviews with him and was able to learn more about his childhood in Palestine.

My grandfather was born in Jdeidet Marjayoun in the South of Lebanon in the late 1920s, in a house located 2 kilometers away from the Israeli border.

This house still belongs to my family. When he was five years old, his family moved to Haifa, Palestine, where many others in the Jdeideh community worked. My grandfather told me stories of his youth: his walking route to his British elementary school atop Mount Carmel, his afternoons spent at the movies and on the beach with friends who were both Arab and Jewish. He spoke of Palestine with such pride, and even though his blood was technically only Lebanese, he felt himself Palestinian as well.

He lived in Haifa until he was 17, when he returned to Lebanon for University. His family remained in the seaside city during his studies. In 1946, his mother died suddenly, and is still buried in Haifa today, her tombstone adorned with Arabic script of a beautiful Biblical verse.

When the Nakba occurred in 1948, his family was exiled, and they fled to their homeland of Lebanon. They were never able to return, even to visit the grave of their matriarch, and my grandfather rarely spoke of Palestine until decades later.

However, after doing video biographies with my grandfather and learning about his childhood and adolescence, I was inspired to co-found the Wesleyan Chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine (WeSJP) my sophomore year of college. The group works to educate the Wesleyan campus on what is really going on in the Occupied Palestinian Territories in many different ways. We have had lecturers, dance troupes, film screenings, and nonviolent protests and demonstrations.

Additionally, my family has a nonprofit organization called 1for3.org that works to bring clean water to underdeveloped areas. After working in Rwanda, Kenya, and Nepal, our sights shifted to the West Bank--specifically, Aida Refugee Camp in Bethlehem. My parents, sister, and I first went to the camp in January of 2011, accompanied by a team of water experts and engineers. We were in the West Bank for a week, and I spent my time interviewing different refugees about the difficulties they face about the inconsistent water supply. I got to know many individuals in the camp in and out of interviews, and keep in touch with them regularly, intending on returning that summer.

In August of 2013, when I was supposed to go back to to Aida to collect my thesis data, I was denied entry to Israel. Upon arrival at Ben Gurion airport, I was interrogated for 8 hours and denied entry. I was inappropriately searched and was jailed until my deportation flight. After the end of the horrific experience, I learned that I was also banned for ten years, but according to one of the guards, I would never be allowed back in. This means I will never be allowed to return to my grandfather's homeland, and pay my respects to my great-grandmother's grave. However, although what I faced was traumatizing, it was nothing compared to what so many Palestinians go through every single day, and their experiences are hardly ever circulated. I hope that by writing this thesis, the stories of those whom I interviewed are shared, and people open their heart to Palestine.

Limitations and Future Studies

The present study was based on interview narratives of the emotions humiliation, pride, and hope. An important limitation to note is that I was not able to attend the interviews in the West Bank myself as I was banned upon entering the country. Because of this, plans had to be quickly rearranged for Aida Camp, Al-Bas Camp, and Al-Qasmiyeh Camp. An additional limitation is that because I am not fully fluent in Levantine Arabic, I was not able to transcribe or translate the interviews myself. Instead, it went through several people, and perhaps meanings or words were changed along the way.

Future studies should aim to examine more emotions across more refugee camps. It would be interesting to get a large group of participants and see how results would differ if data was collected in survey form.

Conclusion

Viewing the Palestinian Refugee Crisis through the lens of such powerful emotions as humiliation, pride, and hope has been an eye-opening and thought-provoking experience. The main objective of this study was to investigate these emotions among Palestinians living within the Occupied Palestinian Territories and compare them to Palestinian refugees living in camps in Lebanon.

The two perspectives provided a number of similarities among both groups and as well as several differences. The main differences shown in the narratives seem to stem from difference in gender, age, and camp location. The main theme throughout, however, was never giving up hope of the refugees' Right of Return.

Favorite Words & Phrases in Arabic

At the end of each interview, participants were asked to share their favorite words or phrases in Arabic. Each one was said with a smile.

"على هذه الأرض يستحق الحياة" -محمود درويش

"There is something worth living for on this land."
-Mahmoud Darwish

فلسطيني

Palestinian

الحرية

Freedom

العودة

Return

احنا للاجئين راجعين على بالادنا. ارجعوا على بلدكم من تاريخ اليوم أو بكرة.

We the refugees are going back to our original homeland.
Go back to your country either today or tomorrow.

البركات

Blessings

داني

To come close to something

أهلا و سهلا

Welcome

نحن

We, us

الاستعانة بالله بكل المآسي

Asking God for help and support during all tragedies.

جاهدوا بمالكم و أنفسكم في سبيلكم

Strive with your wealth and lives for your sake.

أنا أعيش

I am living

الحمدلله

Thank God

وطني

My homeland

فلسطين

Palestine

الأمل

Hope

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