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Maisa Siag, Palestine

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"Who Am I? I Am From There"

**Social Representations of the Self among Adolescent Palestinian
Refugees Living in Diaspora**

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*“What about identity? I asked.
He said: It's self-defence...
Identity is the child of birth, but
at the end, it's self-invention, and not
an inheritance of the past. I am multiple...
Within me an ever new exterior. And
I belong to the question of the victim. Were I not
from there, I would have trained my heart
to nurture there deers of metaphor...
So carry your homeland wherever you go, and be
a narcissist if need be
The outside world is exile,
exile is the world inside.
And what are you between the two?
Myself, I do not know
so that I shall not lose it. I am what I am.”*

Mahmoud Darwish

Theoretical premises

Having the social identity of adolescent Palestinian refugees and the emotions associated with it as my main interest to be studied under the social representations theory paradigm, it was soon realized that it was an area which remained understudied and was highly complex. Therefore it was decided to set this doctoral journey of research in an explorative way, where I started with general descriptions and analysis that resulted in gaining answers for some questions but more questions were rising in search of answers and need for understanding, more analysis and tools were used to achieve answers for the questions rising at each level.

Relevance and complexity of this study: the main theoretical issues

First of all, I will briefly refer to the issue of adolescence, as a stage in the individual's life when the elaboration of an original identity may be considered as a crucial developmental task.

Second, bearing in mind the particular context of the adolescent Palestinian refugees, an even summary discussion has to be conducted, about the issue of how social identity on the one hand, and social representations of the group in which one happens to be born on the other hand, cannot be severed from one another. Of course, I am aware that theoretical relations between these two constructs remain somehow unexplained (Breakwell, 1993a, 1993b, 2001, 2011) and that they need for further explorations (De Rosa, 1996). But I also agree with the theoretical proposal, advanced by Lamy, Liu and Ward (2011), that an interesting way to embody Breakwell's (1993) effort to find meaningful theoretical links between Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Social Representations Theory (SRT) may be to consider the historical aspects of identity (Lamy, Liu, & Ward, 2011; Leone & Curigliano, 2009; Leone & Mastrovito, 2010; Leone & Sarrica, 2012a; Leone & Sarrica, 2012b; Leone, Siag & Sarrica, in press). I think that, in that respect, the answers offered by the two hundred adolescents Palestinian refugees participating to my study may be seen as a relevant example of how

social representations of past history may weights on present days of these young people and in the way they think to themselves and to their future adult life.

The third theoretical issue to be considered is how the emotional barriers between groups, due to the past violence that divided them in the past times, go down the generations. Of course, all these issues are inextricably intertwined; however, a short elaboration on each issue will be discussed.

Adolescence is a developmental stage shadowed by change and transition, considering that in the earlier stages of childhood the same adolescents were objects in the representational world of others, who anchor those new and unfamiliar beings in a particular classification and give them particular names, and who objectify their representations through the way in which they interact with them (Duveen, 2001). But becoming adolescents they manage to make sense of current beliefs and gradually begin to engage with, contest, and even transform them. Adolescence is the moment in which an identity at a same time personal and social has to be elaborated, as an essential aspect to be able to imagine a first tentative project for one own future, leading to the more advanced stage of first adulthood, and it is during this stage of development when they confront themselves with the question “Who Am I?”(Erikson, 1963). Within this frame I am not presenting developmental stages as if it was clear cut neither universal; as the ethnographic evidence based on Margret Meads (1928) work in Samoa showed that in some societies individuals of the age of twelve or thirteen are expected to take on the roles and responsibilities of adults, marrying, raising families, seeking gainful employment and caring for siblings or the elderly of the household. Similarly, one cannot disregard the Adolescent Palestinian Refugees context and history which was shadowed by war violence and expulsion that they are still living its consequences. It has been known that the children brought up in Palestinian homes cannot help being aware of being Palestinians (Sayigh, 1977), but not with the obligation to take on this identity and to make choices (Mansour, 1977), but it is during adolescence when they are to make choices. There is considerable evidence that Children of elementary school age have a very superficial

grasp of the political world beyond their family and other personal relationships (Gallatin, 1980). An awareness of larger political events and changes does not appear until early adolescence (Sigel and Hoskin 1977).

Considering the ongoing work and the significant contributions made by scholars in the field of **Social identity and social representation**, linking the two theories, and as stated by De Rosa (1996, p.382) “A synthesis of the social identity theory and SRT has so far been neglected in literature, at the level of theoretical formalization if not in research practice”. Social identity is an individual-based perception of what defines the “we-ness” in association with any internalized group membership. This can be differentiated from personal identity, which refers to self-knowledge that derives from the individual’s unique attributes. Social identity explains that individuals tend to identify with perceived in-groups and manifest significant biases towards them including tendencies to allocate more resources to fellow in-group members (Tajfel, 1970). On the other hand, the social representation theory (SRT) understands the social identity in a broader sense as a way of organizing meanings: social representations precede identities and identity pertains to their internalization. SRT is broader in the sense that it considers the content and formation of identities since social identity is not about identifying, but also about being identified; it is constructed and reconstructed internally as well as externally. (Kuzmanic, 2008).

Breakwell (1993) demonstrated that both SIT and SRT theories can benefit from the association, and further discussed how group dynamics might influence representational production and content, and how individual characteristics and personality traits in particular might influence adherence to representations. Breakwell also highlights the power of emotion as a potential intervening variable, whereby identity and social identity processes impact individual affect that in turn motivates behavior.

I consider the contents and value/affective dimensions of identity as the main object of analysis (Breakwell, 1993a, 1993b, 2001, 2011), assuming that the salience and the hierarchical organisation of

the identity elements is organised “by principles that define the desirable states for the structure of identity” (Breakwell, 2001, p. 277) and that these principles are cultural and historical situated: interpersonal networks as well as societal and ideological processes contribute to define the relative salience of the elements as well as the values associated. Based on the work of Breakwell (1993) which outlines a cyclical relationship between SIT and SRT, where an individual’s social identity impacts an individual’s representational repertoire, and vice versa where holding a representation shapes an individual’s social identity by defining the content of a group’s outlook and interests, in addition to the **salience hypothesis** (Lamy, Liu, Ward, 2011), as when investigating the Adolescent Palestinian Refugees Self definitions and the emotions associated with it, we cannot underestimate the fact that these adolescents’ identity is a very complex one. Social identity, in fact, is composed by a multiplicity of interrelated layers (Roccas and Brewer, 2002).

Therefore, as I find it important to benefit from those contributions linking the SIT and SRT, it is also important considering but also considering the particular living context of the participants. Living in a refugee camp and attending a special school means not only that these young people are constantly reminded, day after day, that the **past violence** suffered by their group before their birth has not yet arrived to any acceptable settlement; it means also that these reminders, implicit in multiple features of their everyday life, are fostering at a same time a deep bitterness for past violence and a hope for a better future to be achieved by them, being them the new generation of a group that harshly suffered a collective violence. Therefore the emotions related both to their violent past and their difficult present time may be seen as double-edged: carrying with them, in an avoidable ambivalence, both the negative effects of past sufferings, and the high awareness – deeper for adolescents in this refugee situation than for adolescents living in peaceful situations – of links between individual achievements and in-group advances. When considering intergroup violence, therefore, I agree with the theoretical proposal that a **multi-generational approach** is seriously needed (Liu & Paez, 2011). We need in fact to bear in mind how social and psychological processes elaborating intergroup violence change, when we compare the

study of reactions of the generations directly involved into a “lived History” (Halbwachs, 1950) of war with the exploration of consequences of collective memories passed from these first generations to the subsequent ones (see for instance: Leone & Curigliano, 2009; Leone & Mastrovito, 2010; Leone & Sarrica, 2012a; Leone & Sarrica, 2012b). These memories, at a same time, maintain emotions of past conflicts alive, but also slowly elaborate and change their meaning and impact, from one generation down to another (Ricoeur, 2004; Leone & Curigliano, 2009; Leone & Mastrovito, 2010; Leone & Sarrica, 2012a; Leone & Sarrica, 2012b).

Summing up all these theoretical considerations, it seems to me important to stress that, although much more work is needed, in my work I tried to fulfill the aim suggested by Lamy et al. contribution -- i.e. using history to embody Breakwell’s (1993) theoretical links between Social Identity Theory and Social Representations Theory -- looking at adolescents participating to my study from an inter-generational perspective, as agents who inherited war violence from former generations and whose elaboration of this dramatic memory will influence their and our future.

Research’s aims

My research aimed to explore how two hundred adolescents Palestinian refugees -- born in Diaspora in Jordan, living there in a refugee camp and attending a UNWRA school meant for people in their condition --, describe their social and personal identity. To reach this aim, I decided first of all to let them describe their own identity freely, using a well-known tool, the Twenty Statements Test (TST: Kuhn & McPartland, 1954; Cousins, 1989) asking the participants to answer twenty times to the question “Who-Am- I?” , in order to elicit their self-descriptions in as open a way as possible. Results of this tool are interesting not only for the contents that one chose when describing themselves, but also for the ranking of these statements.

After this first self descriptions, I decided to explore also how these adolescents may change their own self images, when invited to focus only to one of the multiple layer implicit in their identity: asking

them to think to themselves either as a young person, or as an Arab, or as a Muslim, or as a Palestinian, or as a Palestinian refugee. I therefore divided the participants into five groups – assigning randomly each one of them to only one condition--, and asked them to describe again their own identity, using two other tools slightly different from the “Who-Am-I?” TST, but carrying on the same research aim. These tools are two open-ended probes, "Tell us about yourself" and "Tell us what you are not" (McGuire et al, 1978; McGuire,1978). These open-ended probes were advised by McGuire to explore different aspects of the spontaneous self-concept. Specifically, the "Tell me about yourself" probe enables one to assess the affirmative self-concept -- i.e., one's concept of what one is --, whereas the "Tell me what you are not" probe enables one to assess the negative self-concept -- i.e., one's concept of what one is not (check methodological choices).

I expected in fact these adolescents' identities, as well as any other one, to be multifaceted, and organized in different layers of self-reflections (Roccas and Brewer, 2002). However, I expected also that the dramatic history of the group in which these adolescents happened to be born would let them to be more prone to think to themselves according to some specific layers, while other layers would sound more less explored by them, as if they were set in the background of their own identity. More precisely, according to the features of their daily life, I expected the condition of being a Palestinian and a Palestinian refugee to be in the foreground of their own self-definitions, while the condition of being referred to first of all as to a young person to recede somehow in the background.

Both free self-descriptions and self-descriptions guided by the specific layer of identity, suggested according to the condition to which each participant was randomly assigned, were followed by a list of emotions associated to these identity definitions. More than in other situations, I considered important to try to catch not only the contents that these adolescents have in mind, when thinking to themselves and to their lives, but also the emotional reactions linked to these thoughts. As in the classic definition

suggested by Tajfel (1981), in fact, identity cannot be entirely grasped if we miss to consider the emotions related to it.

On the one hand, an emotional arousal linked to some aspect of one's own life may be seen as an implicit signal of the value assigned to it (Frijda, 1986). On the other hand, however, the kind of emotion (anger, fear, happiness, guilt, etc.) associated to different aspects of one's own' life may be informative of motivations that may drive the efforts that can be made either to protect or to change them. Emotions in this research will only be explored as a way to grasp as much as possible of the nuances that these self-declared emotions could add to the social identity of these adolescents. However, I will take from the more recent advances on emotional reactions related to intergroup conflict the basic idea that emotions, inherited by younger generations through narratives on past intergroup violence (Laszlo, 2008), could be conceptualized not only as a negative burden, as in classic social and psychological approaches (see for instance Burton, 1963), but also as a motivational force, that could be used to enhance positive social and psychological processes of coping with intergroup violence (see for instance Bilewicz & Jaworska, 2013).

The research will be divided into three studies:

The first study has to deal with the Adolescent Palestinian refugees spontaneous self definitions and the emotions associated with them.

The second study has to deal with the content and structure of the participants' self definitions, to understand the participants self definitions and its contents not only through the frequency of their occurrence but also from their order of evocation, and will be discussed in terms of how socially shared and accessible to the memory were those contents. The second study will also explore more of the adolescent Palestinian refugees' through collecting their negation of self identities.

The third study will discuss the manipulation carried out through this study by making one layer of social identity salient to the participants to record the changes of the content produced (including

emotions), and not only the content but the structure of that content, and according to each layer of their social identity to make a comparison within participants and in between groups.

Methodological choices

Participants:

200 Palestinian refugee adolescents, ranged in age from 15 to 18 years old (mean age 16 years and 6 months, 50% females, 50% males), who were born in Diaspora and never been to their homeland Palestine, they lived and continue to live in Palestinian Refugee camps in Jordan with their families, and attending UNRWA¹ educational institutions.

The participants are registered Palestinian refugees and holders of Jordanian citizenship.

More than half (56.5%) of our participants' parents were born in Diaspora, and (31.75%) of their parents were born in Palestine.

Tools and instruments:

Data were derived from the administration of a *self-report questionnaire* that was submitted to the participants consisting of five sections, and included a manipulation of the saliency of social identity layers; therefore, I had five different versions of the questionnaires.

The *first section* collected personal data and information on gender, age, nationality, place of living, place of birth, parents' place of birth, where respondents were from, in which year their families left Palestine, and why.

¹ UNRWA (The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East) provides assistance, protection and advocacy since 1950 for some 5 million registered Palestine refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and the occupied Palestinian territory, pending a solution to their plight. In Jordan, UNRWA runs 172 schools providing basic education from first to tenth grade, for more than 122,000 students.

The *second section* collected the participants' spontaneous social identity definitions, and salient layers of their social identity, their representations of the self as they think of themselves and for themselves. The twenty statement test (TST: Kuhn & McPartland, 1954; Cousins, 1989) was used for this purpose. This task is given to the participants before doing any manipulation, to have their representations of the self as they think of themselves and for themselves.

Instructions to the TST in Arabic language were written at the top of the answer sheet as follows:

In the twenty blanks below please make twenty different statements

in response to the simple question (addressed to yourself), "Who Am I?" Answer as if you are giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write your answers in the order they occur to you. Don't worry about logic or importance. Go along fairly fast.

These instructions were followed by 20 blank lines beginning with the words "I am". – "Ana" in Arabic.

The *third section* of the questionnaire aimed at collecting the participants' emotions before the manipulation.

This section using the Differential Emotion Scale (DES: Izard, 1972; Smith, Seger & Mackie, 2007) recorded emotional states on the individual level. Participants were presented with a list of twelve emotions (angry, satisfied, afraid, hopeful, proud, disgusted, uneasy, happy, grateful, guilty, respectful, and irritated) with instructions to rate, on separate 7-point scales anchored by not at all and very much, the extent to which they felt each of these emotions.

The wording was "*to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions?*"

The **manipulation** of the research started in the *fourth section* of the questionnaire and was based on evoking one layer of social identity for the participants, to think of themselves as being a member of that social category.

I presented the participants with five different layers of their own social identity. The five layers of social identity chosen for this manipulation were determined by a pilot study which was made earlier, in which fifty questionnaires were collected from two different schools (both boys and girls), in Wehdat Palestinian Refugee camp in Amman. Using TST, I extracted the main layers of identity emerging from the participants' spontaneous self-definitions.

In the questionnaire, these layers are expressed as follows:

1. Palestinian
2. Palestinian refugee
3. Arab
4. Young person
5. Muslim

The *fourth section* of the questionnaire aimed at collecting the participants' emotions as members of specific groups. This section was a manipulated replica of the Differential Emotion Scale (DES) used in the third section. In this task participants were presented with the same list of the twelve emotions using the Differential Emotion Scale (DES: Izard, 1972; Smith, Seger & Mackie, 2007), only the instructions were different in wording in order to make the social identity evoked in the previous section salient.

The wording was "as a ... (the specific group membership here), to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions?"

Emotions were measured in reference to 5 different layers of social identity (Palestinian, Palestinian Refugee, Arab, young person, Muslim).

The *fifth section* of the questionnaire aimed at collecting the participants "spontaneous" self definitions after the manipulation adopting the open ended probe advised by McGuire "tell us about yourself" (McGuire et al, 1978; McGuire, 1978).

By adopting this open ended probe I am supposedly collecting their most salient features, but having this task after the manipulation we could expect that the participants will self define themselves by one of the

five layers of identity evoked and made salient for them. This task will not only collect their spontaneous self definitions but will also be used as a manipulation check by checking the difference within each participant between the self definitions given in the second section using the TST and before any manipulation and in this section after evoking one social category.

The participants completed the task using the following wording:

“In the following lines, tell us each of the things that you think of in answer to the question "Tell us about yourself." Just go on writing, giving all of the thoughts that you have about yourself. You can use just one word or a couple of words or a whole sentence to tell us each thought about yourself that comes to mind. Say each thing as you think of it.

Tell us about yourself.....”

The *sixth section* collected the participants’ negation self-definitions (what they are not).

The participants completed the task using the following wording:

“In the following lines, tell us each of the things that you think of in answer to the question, "Tell us what you are not." Just go on writing, giving all of the thoughts you have about what you are not. Now start your answer to the question.

Tell us what you are not.....”

Procedure:

The data was collected in two provinces of Jordan: Amman and Baqaa, covering seven Palestinian refugee camps across Jordan. After obtaining the necessary consents, the participants were reached at eight different educational institutions of the UNRWA.

The data collection mission started with a pilot study with the objective of specifying the 5 social categories on which depends the manipulation of the research, and to check the general validity and function of the questionnaire.

In most of the school visits the researcher who is a native Arabic speaker was accompanied with an unrwa staff member who would facilitate the visit, introduce the researcher to the school headmasters and teachers, which helped a lot in gaining the headmasters and teachers trust more than a researcher showing up alone with a written consent.

After discussing briefly the research with the headmasters and thanking them for their collaboration, they learnt that the research criteria for the selection of the participants were:

1. Age: 15-18
2. Living in refugee camps in Jordan.
3. Attending the UNRWA schools and colleges.
4. Never been to their homeland (Palestine).

Participants were randomly selected from the schools' lists of students. Upon gathering the students forming groups of twenty participants maximum, the researcher introduced herself and gave a brief explanation of the investigation, asking for the collaboration of the students. All the students freely agreed to participate in the research.

The researcher then gave the participants a few minutes to read the general instructions. The questionnaire depended on the sequence of the questions, so the researcher read the instructions of each question together with the participants and then gave the participants adequate time to fill out their answers. The completion of the questionnaire took approximately 45-60 minutes. After the questionnaires were collected, a debriefing was conducted in order to give more detailed information about the purposes of the investigation.

❖ Results

The Results of the research will be presented in three separate studies, each one building on the other.

✚ Study One

The first three sections of the questionnaire were used (check Method) to achieve the results discussed below, and will be divided into three parts.

Part: One

This part will demonstrate the different Results collected on various general topics related to the participants' context.

I am from.....

Despite the fact that all of the participants were born in diaspora, answers to the question “Where are you from?” show that 81% of the participants mentioned Palestine (or places in Palestine) as the place where they come from (Table 2). On the other hand, only 9% of the participants mentioned that they are from Jordan, and 8% mentioned the name of the refugee camp where they currently live.

Table (2): “Where are you from?”

I Am From	Frequency
Palestine	69
Name of the exact Place of origin (city/village) in Palestine	93
Host Country (Jordan)	18
Name of the Refugee camp	16
Missing	4
Total	200

Nationality

Similarly, all our participants are Jordanian citizens and granted Jordanian nationality, yet we found that 24.5% of our participants chose “Palestinian” as their nationality. (Table: 3)

Table (3)
Nationality

	Frequency
Jordanian	147
Palestinian	49
missing	4
Total	200

The year in which the families moved to Jordan and the reasons behind their move...

The results on asking about the year in which our participants’ families moved to Jordan showed that 46.5% of our participants mentioned the years of 1948 and 1967, which are the years of the two wars that resulted in the occupation of Palestinian lands and created the two waves of refugees. 42% of our participants didn’t know in which year their families moved to Jordan. (Table 4)

Table 4
“In which year did your family move to Jordan?”

year	Frequency
1948	73
1967	20
I don’t know	84
Other	11
missing	12
Total	200

Whereas (table 5) we found that 84% of our participants mentioned the Nakba in 1948, and the Naksa in 1967, as the reason behind their families moving to Jordan.

This shadows the fact that participants knew that they took refuge in Jordan as a result of the Nakba or the Naksa, while not knowing precisely in which year it occurred.

Table 5
“Why did your family moved to Jordan?”

Reason	Frequency
Nakba/ Naksa	168
Work	7
Study	1
Other	17
missing	7
Total	200

❖ **Part : Two**

Spontaneous self descriptions (Twenty statement test- TST):

The TST collected 3,150 statements from the 200 participants, which indicates that each participant wrote roughly 16 or more statements.

The participant’s responses were translated into English, and the attempts to code the responses with the commonly used coding systems were not inclusive of the participants responses which might be due to the particularity of the respondents’ complex context, or could be the result of the nature of Arabic language, The tool was administrated in Arabic giving the participants 20 spaces starting with the word (Ana) which could literally translated into English as “I” and not “I am” as used in the English version, this could allow the following of verbs, adjectives and nouns.

Therefore a coding system was developed to be as inclusive as possible for the participant’s context respecting their particularity and retaining the mainstream coding system of the instrument. (Cousins, 1989, McPartland et al., 1961, Rhee et al., 1995). (For more details on the coding system, the TST codes, and examples, please refer to the long version of the doctoral thesis).

Table : (7): TST results in frequency percentages				
	Category	%*	Sub-categories	%*
1.	Social Identities	96.5 %		
1.a	Palestinian	75.5%	I am Palestinian	55.5%
			I am from Palestine/ village in Palestine	35%
			Palestinian family	20%
1.b	Student	59.5%	I am a student	23.5%
			Class/ Name of school (e.g. I am in the 10th grade)	17.5%
			Preferences related to school and education	47.5%
1.c	Refugee	58.5%	I am a Refugee	25%
			The Refugee camp	31%
			Forced to refuge	17.5%
			State of refugee	11%
1.d	Muslim	34.5 %	I am Muslim	10%
			Religion : Practices & preferences	31%
1.e	Gender	26.5%		
1.f	Name	18.5%		
1.g	Nationality	12.5%		
1.h	Arab	11.5 %	I am Arab	9%
			Reference to Arab people or arab countries	5%
1.i	Young	8.5%	I am young	
1.j	Denial	6%	Negation/ Accusation/ denial of social identity	
1.k	Jordanian	5.5%	I am Jordanian	
2.	Specific Attributes	67.5%	Preferences, Hobbies, interests, and activities.	43%
			Aspiration and Goals: wishes, wants and future related	49.5%
3.	Social Relationships	67.5%	Family ties and descriptions	61%
			Friends ties and descriptions	23%
			Love relationships	13%
4.	Homeland Palestine	66.5%	Return to Palestine	58%
			Memory	10.5%
			expressing love for a detailed images of Palestine	8%
			Wish to be in Palestine or do things in Palestine	12.5%
			Die in Palestine	3.5%
			The deprivation of a homeland	18%
5.	Personality Traits	62.5%	Hardship and suffering due to not being in homeland or/ and because they are refugees	8.5%

6.	Contextualized emotions 63%			
6.a	Emotions about Palestine	55.5%	love for homeland/ Palestine	45%
			missing (I miss my homeland)	2%
			Sadness (I am sad for Palestine)	5%
			Proud being Palestinian	
			Emotions related to Palestinian people	
			Love	7.5%
			Discontent/ dissatisfaction	5.5%
			Sadness	1%
6.b.	Emotions about Jordan and Jordanian	18.5%	Love	12.5%
			Safety and security	2%
			Discomfort about living in Jordan	3.5%
			Dislike Jordan and Jordanians	1.5%
6.c.	Negative emotions	8%	Negative emotions about Israel, Israelis, and jews	
7.	Victimization	48.5%	I am a victim	1%
			Reference to rights (entitlement)	6.5%
			Reference to deprivation of rights	8%
			Racism and discrimination	6%
			Jordan or Jordanians being racists.	2.5%
			Reference to injustice and oppression	15
			Reference to humiliation	2.5%
			Reference to the occupation and victimhood suffered by Palestinians.	16%
Inability to understand the situation (why?)	14%			
8.	Freedom	31%	Palestine freedom	20.5%
			personal freedom	13.5%
9.	For Palestine	30%	Vocational Aspiration for Palestine	7%
			Study for Palestine	2.5%
			Die for Palestine and reference to martyrdom	8.5%
			Talent for Palestine	2.5%
			Wishing for Palestine	8%
			Fight for Palestine	12.5%
10.	Living place	29%	mentioning the host country	26%

			unwillingness to live in the host country	3%
11.	Peripheral information	21.5%		
12.	Emotional states	21%	Autonomous (Sad 6%, Shy 1%, Happy 10%, Lonely3%, Uncomfortable 0%, Unsatisfied 1 %)	
13	Values	18.5%		
14	Conflict & politics	15%	Peace and war	6 %
			Against terrorism and violence	2%
			Politics (political affiliation and world politics)	7.5%
15	Birth	14.5%		
16	Slogan	10.5%		
17	Safety and security	10.5%		
18	Global	10 %		
19	Irrelevant and unclear	20.5%		

**Percentage of Respondents mentioning the category/ subcategory at least once.*

The results demonstrated in (table 6) shows that on the first Level comes the social identity “Palestinian” which had the highest frequency among the participants and other self descriptions scoring (75.5%); the participants mentioned that they come from Palestine specifying the name of their villages (35%), names of places which don’t exist anymore on the modern maps. They also stressed the fact that not only they are Palestinians but also their Families, whom inhabited, worked, and had properties in Palestine (20%). But mainly 55.5% of the participants used the statement “I am Palestinian” at least once.

On a second Level many categories were inclusive due to similar or near scores and therefore listed within the same level of importance. A tie score was achieved for the categories “Specific Attributes” and “Social Relationships” where both categories scored (67.5%). Also close to that score was the category “Homeland Palestine” (66.5%) and “Personality Traits” (62.5%).

In “Specific Attributes” Category (67.5%), Participants shared their preferences, hobbies, interests, and activities (43%), the topics related were normal topics for adolescents of this age, but with a slight

deprivation of some commodities due to poor living conditions, such as access to computers (e.g. I like to surf the internet and use facebook but I can do that only twice a week because I don't have a computer).

The participants also shared their Aspirations and goals (49.5%), with some having concrete vocational goals (e.g. I want to be an engineer), other having general fantasies (e.g. I want to become important, I want to be rich, or famous), or change their place of living and travel abroad (e.g. I wish to live and work in Europe).

Social Relationships category (67.5%), showed strong ties with the family (61%), making family very central for the participants, family is a form of socialization culturally encouraged in the Arab context, where ties are strong not only with the nuclear family but also with the extended family, and anyone who holds the same family name. Being adolescents they also mentioned their friends (23%). And a limited number of participants shared their Love Relationships (13%), this could be due to their unwillingness and shyness to share them or the cultural restrictions which forbids such relations.

“Homeland Palestine” was very present in the participants self descriptions (66.5%). Despite their young age, and the fact that they have never been in Palestine, them being the 3rd and 4th generation of Refugees and after 65 years of living out of Palestine, more than half of the participants (58%) expressed their will to return to Palestine, as well as expressing the “Deprivation of the homeland” (e.g. I am deprived of my land, I cannot go to my homeland, I don't have a homeland). They wished to be in Palestine and do the things they are currently doing but in Palestine (e.g. I wish to attend a school in Palestine), and described detailed images of Palestine mentioning Palestine's soil, air, streets and trees (8%), stressing that they will never forget their homeland (10.5%), and they somehow related their suffering and hardship to the fact that they are away from their homeland and because they are refugees (8.5%) (e.g. I am not like the rest of the children I never had the chance to feel happy about my country, I am not complete as long as I am a refugee in another country, I live in fear and horror since I left my

country, I am lost without my homeland, I am miserable because I am expelled from my country, my dreams are destroyed out of my country).

“Personality Traits” scored 62.5%, Adolescents in general and not only in the case of our participants, describe themselves in terms of their Personality characteristics and qualities producing a picture of the self that is sharp and unique (e.g. I am moody, I am not selfish, I am generous, I am intelligent).

On a Third Level, more social identities have been salient, such as; “Student” (59.5%) and “Refugee” (58.5%), as well as another 2 different categories: “Contextualized emotions” (55.5%), and “Victimization” (48.5%).

Being adolescents attending School, the category “Student” was very frequent in the participants’ self descriptions (59.5%), also it has been long known that Palestinians after the loss of their homeland they invested consistently in education. the poor living conditions didn’t affect this aspect as the UNRWA provides education free of charge for Palestinian refugees, making the numbers of school enrollments quite high, even higher than the numbers of school enrollments among non refugees living in the same context (Arnerberg,1997).

“Refugee” as a social identity is stigmatized and has been long rejected by Palestinian refugees who preferred to be identified with the term “Returnees” and not “Refugees” (Turki, 1974). Therefore having 25% self descriptions as “I am a refugee” is quite surprising, and needs to be further investigated as only one participant among the 200 participants mentioned “I am a returnee” and only once.

25% of the participants mentioned the refugee camp at least once, they mentioned it as their living place, describing it, and the people living in it, as the Palestinian refugee camps stand as a symbol of the expulsion and a manifestation of their will to return and not to be dispersed in the host countries. The participants mentioned that they and/or their families have been forced to take refuge in other countries upon their expulsion from Palestine (17.5%), (e.g. we were expelled from our homeland, I am a refugee who was forced to leave his country, we came here because of the Nakba).

Within the category “Contextualized emotions”, emotions about the Palestinian context were very frequent (55.5%), it was also observed that the contextualized emotions scores were generally higher than the score of the Participants “emotional States” (21%).

Around half of the participants (48.5%) described different facets of “Victimization”, the most frequent facets were: Injustice and Oppression (e.g. I don’t like injustice, I am oppressed), they mentioned the suffering Palestinian people face under the Israeli occupation, and they questioned the situation and their reality being unable to understand it (e.g. why are we living here in Jordan?, I don’t understand why did the Israelis occupy Palestine?). the participants also listed topics related to Rights, with a slightly higher percentage inclining deprivation of rights (8%), compared to entitlement to rights (6.5%), (e.g. I don’t have the right to live in my country, I don’t have the right to citizenship, I have the right to education).

On the fourth level, two categories related to social identities were frequent in the participants self descriptions, “Muslim” (34.5%) and “Gender” (26.5%), as well as other categories, such as, the things they would do “For Palestine” (30%), “Freedom” (31%), and their “Living Place” (29%).

It was only 10% of the participants who mentioned the statement “I am muslim”, but more (31%) mentioned topics related to Islam as a Religion, they described their religious preferences and practices. (e.g. I like reading Quran, I pray, I follow God’s rules), which might indicate that they didn’t feel the need to stress this social identity.

The participants mentioned “Freedom” (31%) in two ways, one related to their personal freedom (e.g. I want to be free, I am free), but more they mentioned Palestine’s freedom, wishing for Palestine to be liberated from occupation, and longing for its freedom.

Also they were willing to do things “For Palestine” (30%), they expressed their will to have professions to serve Palestine (e.g. I want to be an engineer to reconstruct Palestine, I want to be a doctor to help the children of Palestine), some were ready to sacrifice their lives for Palestine (e.g. I sacrifice my blood for

Palestine, I could die for Palestine) with references to martyrdom in some cases (e.g. I wish to be martyred for Palestine).

“Living place” was present in the participants self descriptions, where (29 %) mentioned it at least once, they mentioned Jordan or Amman its capital as their living place, with some expressing their unwillingness to live in Jordan (3%), and others mentioning that this is their living place but they would’ve liked to be living in Palestine instead. The frequency of the participants mentioning Jordan as their living place was very close to those mentioning the refugee camp as their living place (31%).

The other identity was “Gender” (26.5%), it was observed that females mentioned their gender (38.5%) more than males (15%). A more interesting observation was that females used the word “Girl” to describe themselves in gender terms, where males used the term “man” and never used “boy”. Females never used the term “woman” but some used the term” young woman” and the same was for males who used “young man”.

As *Gender Differences* needed to be explored, a selection of categories were tested for this exploration as demonstrated on Table (7)

Table: (7): TST results according to gender		
Category	Female	Male
Palestinian	67%	84%
Refugee	48%	69%
Arab	12%	11%
Muslim	27%	42%
Student	66%	53%
Emotions about Palestine	22%	55%
Victimization	44%	53%
homeland Palestine	60%	78%
For Palestine	24%	36%
Freedom	34%	28%
Social Relationships	74%	61%
specific attributes	68%	67%

Personality traits	72%	53%
Gender	38%	15%
Living Place	30%	28%
Physical	22%	14%
Name	12%	25%

Table (7) shows that both females and males responded to their self descriptions using the same categories, there were no predominated categories between females or males. But there were slight changes in some categories according to gender. Females preferred to describe themselves in relation to: social relationships, personality traits, and gender more than the males. Whereas males scored higher for social identities such as; Palestinian, refugee and Muslim, females scored higher for “student”.

❖ **Part : Three**

Emotions

The means for the twelve emotions reported by the participants were calculated, in order to have a general overview of how they felt about their identity, prior to the manipulation of layers arranged for the second part of the questionnaire (Table: 8)

Table 8
Participants emotions before the manipulation

	Mean	N
ANGER	4.48	200
SATISFACTION	4.52	200
FEAR	3.46	199
PROUD	4.83	200
OPTIMISM	5.18	198
DISGUST	2.99	199
UNEASENESS	3.81	200
HAPINESS	4.48	200
GRATITUDE	4.64	199
GUILT	3.56	198
RESPECT	6.02	199
IRRITATION	4.49	200

Note: Emotions were rated on a 7 point scale, from 1-not at all to 7-very much.

The participants scored the highest for Positive emotions such as Respect (M=6.02, SD =1.38), Optimism (M=5.18, SD =1.80), Pride (M=4.83, SD=2.10), Gratitude (M=4.64, SD=1.79), and Satisfaction (M=4.52, SD=1.91). The means for the emotions of Anger (M=4.48, SD=1.70), Happiness (M=4.48, SD=1.77), and Irritation (M=4.49, SD=1.98), were very close or nearly the same.

The participants scored the least for negative emotions such as Fear, Uneasiness, Guilt and Disgust, making the participants mostly positive in feeling.

Emotions by gender:

	Female		Male		
	N	Mean	N	Mean	
RESPECT	100	5.99	RESPECT	99	6.04
OPTIMISM	100	5.28	OPTIMISM	98	5.08
PROUD	100	4.84	PROUD	100	4.82
SATISFACTION	100	4.34	SATISFACTION	100	4.69
GRATITUDE	100	4.69	GRATITUDE	99	4.6
ANGER	100	4.49	ANGER	100	4.46
HAPINESS	100	4.54	HAPINESS	100	4.41
IRRITATION	100	4.74	IRRITATION	100	4.24
UNEASE	100	3.79	UNEASE	100	3.83
GUILT	99	3.4	GUILT	99	3.71
DISGUST	99	2.84	DISGUST	100	3.15

FEAR	99	4.23	FEAR	100	2.69
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Table 9: Emotions by gender

As demonstrated in table 9; there were no differences between males and females on the three first positive emotions (Respect, Optimism, and Pride).

However, females were more irritated ($M= 4.74$, $SD= 2.06$) than males ($M=4.24$, $SD= 1.85$). Also males were more satisfied ($M= 4.69$, $SD= 1.95$) than females ($M=4.34$, $SD= 1.86$).

There was a major difference in between males and females when it came to the emotion (Fear), where females scored higher ($M=4.23$, $SD= 2.12$) than males ($M=2.69$, $SD= 1.56$), which could be explained culturally as fear is not a characteristic of a man, men in this culture ought to be strong and courageous and might not admit fear.

✚ Study: Two

This study is intended to deepen the understanding of the previous findings in two ways:

The first is intended to understand the participants self definitions and its contents not only through the frequency of their occurrence but also from their order of evocation. The second way is through exploring the adolescent Palestinian refugees negation of self identities by asking them “*Tell us what you are not...*”. Gender differences will be considered and investigated as well.

❖ Part : One

The Twenty Statement being ranked from 1 to 20 could also be seen as a memory task and could be approached differently, not only by checking frequencies of occurrence of the participants self descriptions but also how accessible were those self descriptions.

Therefore, indicators of frequency and average appearance rank were needed. Regarding frequency, cut-off points to distinguish among high and low were determined through the median split of the total

frequencies. A Mean Rank for each category investigated was computed, and then a median split was computed to separate mean ranks between high and low.

Considering the frequency and the rank, the results will be divided in 4 categories:

1. High frequency– low mean Rank (widely shared, firstly evoked) : are the most frequent categories mentioned by a high number of the participants and also were firstly evoked and positioned in the hierarchy of their statements.
2. High frequency- high mean rank (widely shared, late recalled): are the categories that were very frequent and widely shared by the participants but in the hierarchy of the statements were positioned last.
3. Low frequency – high mean Rank (less shared, late recalled): are the categories that were less frequent and not shared widely and also were positioned last as they were late recalled.
4. Low frequency- low mean Rank (less shared, firstly evoked): are the categories that were shared by a restricted number of the participants but were evoked first and positioned first in the hierarchy of the statements.

As Shown on table 10, The Results are organized in 4 quadrants. The quadrant on the upper right includes the categories with high frequency and high mean rank, and the quadrant on the upper left includes the categories with high frequency and low means Rank. Whereas the lower right quadrant includes the categories with low frequencies and high mean rank. The fourth quadrant on the lower left includes the categories with low frequency and high mean rank.

Table: 10: the structure of categories between high and low frequencies and ranks					
Rank < 9.5				Rank >9.5	
Category	f	Mean Rank	Category	f	Mean Rank
homeland Palestine	354	8.94	Personality traits	500	10.186
Palestinian	317	5.76	specific attributes	396	11.28
Student	283	6.31	Social Relationships	349	10.39
Refugee	200	5.52			

	Victimization	200	9.50			
f <200	Gender	166	8.43	Muslim	128	10.10
	Living Place	69	5.68	Emotions Palestine	127	9.88
	Arab	33	8.90	For Palestine	99	12.09
				Freedom	93	9.70

❖ *Part: Two*

The negation of social identities:

The negative social identities were necessary to explore, where one might define themselves by what they are not rather than what they are, as well as getting an idea of the participants' out-groups.

In the participants' responses to "tell us what you are not..." It was observed that the participants struggled to affirm some social identities through negation, e.g. "I am not but a Palestinian" affirming that they are Palestinians. Some participants disregarded the instructions of writing what they are not and wrote what they are, and it was decided not to disregard any of their responses, therefore, in this study, I collected the same categories that aroused in the previous study, adding the emerged negative social identities.

The categories and their frequency of occurrence are demonstrated below in table 11.

	Category	%
1	Personality traits	46
2	Homeland Palestine	24
3	Specific Attributes	18,5
4	Victimization	15
5	I am not Jordanian	14
6	Social Relationships	13,5
7	Contextualized emotions	11,5
8.a	Emotions about Palestine	5,5

8.b	Emotions about Jordan and Jordanians	2
8.c	Negative emotions about Israel, Israelis, Jews	4,5
8	I am not Jewish, Israeli, Zionist, occupier	10,5
9	Emotional states	10
10	I am not terrorist, aggressor, killer	9,5
11	Muslim	9
12	Palestinian	8
13	Gender	8
14	Living place	8
15	Arab	6,5
16	I am not Christian, Buddhist, atheist, non/believer	6
17	Student	4,5
18	Refugee	3,5
19	Physical	2,5
20	Nationality	1,5
21	Young	.5
22	Jordanian	.5
23	Freedom	3
24	For Palestine	.5
25	I am no traitor, spy, sell my land	5
26	Irrelevant and unclear	27,5

From the demonstrated categories and their frequencies one can see a change in the frequency of categories. Unlike the collected responses in the TST the category “Personality traits” here are the most frequent whereas in the TST the social identity “Palestinian” was the most frequent. This change could be due to the complexity of the cognitive process the participants had to undergo and also because they could not list “I am Palestinian” as a response to what one is not. “Personality traits” were cognitively easier for the participants to list as “I am not lazy”, “I am not stupid”, “I am not selfish” and so on. The participants were eager to communicate what they wanted to say manipulating the instructions of the tool and responding to it even if it was grammatically wrong. It was observed that that participants wanted to talk

about their homeland even in a negative version, e.g. “I am not with a right to return to my homeland”, “I am not a liar when I say I want to return to Palestine”.

Among the negative social identities, the most frequent was “I am not Jordanian”. The participants’ response as not being Jordanian might not be seen as Jordanians being out-group for the young Palestinian refugees. It could be them refusing to disperse in the Jordanian group to become Jordanian which is politically pressured on them, starting by granting them Jordanian citizenship, this right to citizenship on the one hand might be appreciated by them but on the other hand might be conceived as a threat to their Palestinian social identity.

In the second place came “I am not Israeli, Jewish, Zionist, occupier”. The participants rejected being Israeli, a social identity Palestinians feel as an attempt to replace their Palestinian identity, by occupying Palestine and expelling them, which they expressed as an action they also reject by stating “ I am not an occupier”, and referring to Zionism which is the movement which established the state of Israel on their lands.

“I am not a terrorist, aggressor, killer”, are social identities that are surprising to find among participants of such age. This might be explained by the way the media , in some parts of the world labels Muslims especially after the 9/11 attacks, and them being stuck in a conflict with non Muslims (the Palestinian – Israeli conflict) they made point to express that they are not violent.

In the third place, the participants focused on “belief”, stating the beliefs they don’t commit to, and mentioning as well that they are Muslims.

The last emerged negative social identity was “ I am not a traitor, spy, I did not sell my land”, and it was categorized in one category despite the differences that might appear in the statement, the connection between them is loyalty to homeland. In addition, three dimensions are the most despised by the Palestinian in group, and are enough to outcast someone from the in group. “ I did not sell my land” could also be interpreted as a rejection of the political claim of the Israelis that they bought the lands from

Palestinians, the young Palestinian refugees needed to state that they did not sell their lands but rather have been expelled.

It was also worth exploring the differences in gender in the negation of social identities.

Table: 12: Categories frequency of occurrence in response “ <i>tell us what you are not..</i> ” distributed by gender.			
Category		Female %	Male %
1	Personality traits	58	34
2	Homeland Palestine	19	29
3	Specific Attributes	20	17
4	Victimization	13	17
5	I am not Jordanian	15	13
6	Social Relationships	17	10
8	Emotions about Palestine	8	3
9	I am not Jewish, Israeli, Zionist, occupier	3	18
10	I am not terrorist, aggressor, killer	5	14
11	Muslim	5	13
12	Palestinian	6	10
13	Gender	5	11
14	Living place	9	7
15	Arab	7	6
16	I am not Christian, Buddhist, atheist, non/believer	4	8
17	Student	9	0
18	Refugee	5	2
25	I am no traitor, spy, sell my land	1	9

As demonstrated on table 12, the differences in the affirmative self descriptions between males and females were similar to those found earlier in the TST, whereas new emerged differences were found between males and females in the negational social identities.

Males scored higher percentages in all the emerged negation identities, except for the (I am not Jordanian) where no major difference was found between males and females.

Another difference was found when it came to the category Gender, unlike the affirmative version of the TST where females scored higher on gender, males in the negation version scored higher than females by stating “I am not a woman”.

✚ Study: Three

This study will concentrate on the effects of the manipulation and the results will be divided in three parts as below:

Part: One

The first part will demonstrate the frequency of occurrence before and after the manipulation for each layer of identity to record the changes in terms of frequency percentages, whether it increased or decreased.

1. *As a Palestinian*

A median split was computed to have a cut-off point between high and low frequencies for the frequencies before and after the manipulation, to determine the categories that were widely shared by the participants and those that were less shared

Table (13): Frequencies of occurrence in percentages for each category before the manipulation and after the manipulation “As a Palestinian”

Before the manipulation “free self definitions”			After the manipulation “As a Palestinian”		
median	Category	f %	Category	f %	median
f >= 51.20%*	Palestinian	85.7 %	Palestinian	59.5%	f > = 28.60%*
	Homeland Palestine	71%	Homeland Palestine	57.1%	
	Specific Attributes	69%	Refugee	40.5%	
	Social Relations	64.3 %	Emotions Palestine	40.5%	
	Emotions Palestine	61.9%	Living Place	35.7%	
	Student	59.5%	Student	33.3%	
	Personality Traits	57.1 %	Specific Attributes	33.3%	
	Refugee	54.8 %	Muslim/ social Relationships / Gender	28.6%	
	Victimization	47.6 %	Freedom	21.4%	

f < 51.20%	Muslim	42.9%	Personality Traits/ Victimization	16.7%	F > 28.60 %
	Living Place	38.1%	For Palestine	7.1%	
	Freedom/ For Palestin	33.3 %	Freedom	21.4%	
	Gender	26.2%	Young	4.8%	
	Arab	14.3%	Arab	2.4%	
	Young	11.9%			

* Median Split to separate low from high frequencies, and was computed separately for before and after.

As demonstrated on Table (13) when the participants thought of themselves primary as Palestinians, many of their social identity components remained stable. But thinking of themselves as Palestinians made the idea of their living place more salient and more frequent than before in their spontaneous self definitions, as if when they think of themselves as Palestinians they think that although they are Palestinians they are not living in Palestine but in Jordan. Also and as demonstrated on table (13) a change occurred in the category “personality Traits”, which was highly frequent before the manipulation, but when the participants were assigned to think of themselves as “Palestinians” they might have felt they are not allowed to talk about their individual characteristics, but they dispersed into the group.

In the category “Gender” there was a tendency toward the change, as after the manipulation the category gender was more frequent compared to before the manipulation. Another category and on the same level of frequency came the category “muslim” which was not highly shared before the manipulation but turned to be more frequent after the manipulation, this change will be further explored later when demonstrating the social identity layer “ as a muslim”.

2. As a Palestinian Refugee

Similar to the previous manipulation “as a Palestinian”, here, when the participants were assigned to think of themselves as “Palestinian Refugees”, the category “living place” was more frequent and “personality traits” was less frequent than they were before the manipulation. It could be for the same reasons given before. (Table 14)

Another change that occurred with the manipulation “as a Palestinian Refugee” was with the category “Victimization” which turned to be less frequent after the manipulation. As a matter of fact it is surprising, as it would’ve been assumed that victimization would’ve turned to be more frequent when the participants thought of themselves as refugees, if their status of refugee and exile was the reason behind their victimization.

Table (14): Frequencies of occurrence in percentages for each category before the manipulation and after the manipulation “Palestinian Refugee”

before the manipulation “free self definitions”			After the manipulation “As a Palestinian Refugee”		
median	Category	f %	Category	f %	median
f >= 51.20%	Homeland Palestine	73.2%	Homeland Palestine	63.40%	f >= 20.75%
	Specific Attributes	73.2%	Palestinian	51.2%	
	Palestinian	70.7%	Emotions Palestine	48.80%	
	Personality Traits	70.7 %	Specific Attributes	43.9%	
	Social Relationships	63.4%	Refugee	39%	
	Victimization	58.5%	Student	34.1%	
	Refugee	56.1%	Social Relationships	31.70%	
	Emotions Palestine	51.2%	Living Place	22%	
Student	51.2%				
f < 51.20%	For Palestine	24.40%	Freedom	19.50%	F > 20.75%
	Gender	24.40%	For Palestine	17.10%	
	Freedom	22%	Victimization	14.6%	
	Muslim	22%	Personality Traits	12.2%	
	Living Place	14.6%	Muslim	9.8%	
	Arab	9.80%	Gender	4.90	
	Young	2.40%	Young	4.90%	
			Arab	0%	

3. As an Arab

When the social identity “Arab” was made salient to the participants I observed the highest rate of changes in four categories: Emotions about Palestine, victimization, personality traits, and gender. (Table 15)

Emotions about Palestine and Victimization both were less frequent among the participants responses when they thought of themselves primary as Arabs. This could be seen as the feeling of being a member of a larger group situated in the whole Arab world where Palestine is one of the many countries of this region, and stressing on feelings for one country might be discriminatory against other countries if one felt part of the whole. “Victimization” here was less frequent after the manipulation where the participants might not have regarded Arabs as a victimized group. The other two categories changed in the opposite direction - in the sense that they were more frequent after the manipulation- were: “Personality traits” and “gender”. “Personality traits” and unlike the two previous manipulations (as Palestinian/ as a Palestinian refugee) was more frequent after the manipulation here when the young Palestinian refugees thought of themselves as Arabs. This finding and when compared to the previous manipulations confirms the finding in the previous two manipulations when the participants felt that they couldn’t express their individual characteristic being in a group in conflict but they stressed more on the group. Whereas when it came to a bigger group which is not in a conflict, participants felt they could express their individuality, also in the terms of Gender which here also turned to be more frequent, whereas if one thought of himself as a Palestinian or a refugee being victimized then gender doesn’t matter, as victimization falls on both males and females in the same way. Being Arab allowed even for the gender differences to become salient.

Table (15): Frequencies of occurrence in percentages for each category before the manipulation and after the manipulation “As an Arab”				
Before the manipulation “free self definitions”			After the manipulation “As an Arab”	
	Category	f %	Category	f %
f >= 52.45%	Palestinian	75.6 %	Specific Attributes	48.8%
	Refugee	75.6 %	Palestinian	41.5%
	Homeland Palestine	73.2%	Social Relationships	39%
	Social Relationships	68.3%	Homeland Palestine	39%
	Specific Attributes	61%	Refugee	31.7%
	Student	61%	Student	34.1%
	Emotions Palestine	58.5%	Personality Traits	24.4%
				f > = 23.20%

	Victimization	53.7%	Gender	24.4%	
f < 52.45%	Personality Traits	51.2%	Emotions Palestine	22%	F > 23.20%
	For Palestine	34.1%	Muslim	22%	
	Gender	34.1%	Living Place	17.1%	
	Freedom	36.6%	Victimization	14.6%	
	Muslim	39%	Freedom	12.2%	
	Living Place	39%	Arab	12.2%	
	Arab	14.6 %	For Palestine	7.3%	
	Young	7.3%	Young	7.3%	

Apart from the categories that changed between high and low frequencies in comparison to before the manipulation and after the manipulation, an interesting finding demonstrated here is in the categories that did not change in the manipulation “Arab” but changed in the two previous manipulations “Palestinian” and “Palestinian refugee”. Looking at the category “living place” (Table 15) we find that it was low in frequency both before and after the manipulation “as an arab”, which was not the case when it came to “Palestinian” and “Palestinian refugee” but it changed to become more frequent. This is explained by the fact that when the participants think of themselves as Arabs then their living place is the Arab region, and doesn’t conflict with this identity, where in the other two identities living place was very important as the conflict is mainly on lands.

4. As a Young Person

As young and similarly to as in “Arab”, the personality traits were highly frequent and more than before the manipulation, thinking of their age and this layer as a broad layer of identity allowed them to think of their character. Other changes in the participants self definitions was recorded in the category “for Palestine” which was less frequent than before the manipulation, thinking of themselves as young people might have changed their priorities and made them think what they could do for themselves and their future which is clear in the percentage of the category “Specific Attributes” which is very high (52%) considering the cut-off points of before and after. (Table 16)

“Living place”, when thinking of themselves as young was less frequent than in their spontaneous self definitions. Together with the finding in the manipulation as “arab” this could be an indicator that the larger the group that they belong to is, the less important become the place of living for the adolescent Palestinian refugees.

Table (16): Frequencies of occurrence in percentages for each category before the manipulation and after the manipulation “As a young person”

Before the manipulation “free self definitions”			After the manipulation “As a young person”		
Median	Category	f %	Category	f %	Median
f >= 44.45%	Palestinian	83.3 %	Specific Attributes	52.8%	f > = 19.45%
	Personality Traits	72.2%	Social Relationships	47.2%	
	Social Relationships	66.7%	Student	44.4%	
	Student	63.9%	Homeland Palestine	38.9%	
	Refugee	58.3 %	Palestinian	25%	
	Homeland Palestine	57.5%	Personality Traits	25%	
	Specific Attributes	55.6%	Emotions Palestine	25%	
	Emotions Palestine	50%	Refugee	22.2%	
f < 44.45%	Victimization	38.9%	Victimization	16.7%	f <19.45%
	Muslim	36.1 %	Muslim	13.9%	
	Living Place	33.3%	Gender	13.9	
	For Palestine	27.8%	Freedom	11.1%	
	Gender	27.8%	For Palestine	11.1%	
	Freedom	27.8 %	Living Place	8.3%	
	Young	11.1%	Young	8.3%	
	Arab	5.6%	Arab	0%	

5. As a Muslim

As demonstrated in Table (17) when the social identity “muslim” was made salient, and unlike the other manipulation of social identities, the category “muslim” turned to be more frequent after the manipulation, the participants mentioned being Muslims and their religion practices more than they did before the manipulation.

Another change was in the “refugee” social identity, which turned to be less frequent than before the manipulation which again could be another indicator that the participants when identifying with the Muslim group their refugee identity was not as salient as before.

Table (17): Frequencies of occurrence in percentages for each category before the manipulation and after the manipulation “As a muslim”				
Before the manipulation “free self definitions”			After the manipulation “As a Muslim”	
	Category	f %	Category	f %
f >= 44.45%	Specific Attributes	77.5%	Social Relationships	45%
	Social Relationships	75%	Specific Attributes	42.5%
	Homeland Palestine	69.4%	Student	35%
	Palestinian	62.5%	Homeland Palestine	32.5%
	Personality Traits	62.5%	Palestinian	35%
	Student	62.5%	Muslim	35%
	Emotions Palestine	55%	Personality Traits	30%
	Refugee	47.5%	Emotions Palestine	22.5%
f < 44.45%	Victimization	42.5%	Refugee	15%
	Freedom	35%	Victimization	13%
	Muslim	32.5%	Living Place	10%
	For Palestine	30%	Gender	10%
	Living Place	20%	Freedom	7.5%
	Gender	20%	For Palestine	5%
	Arab	12%	Young	2.5%
	Young	10%	Arab	2.5%

Part: Two

The second part will discuss the young Palestinian Refugees self definitions after the manipulation, through their social availability and memory accessibility in a comparative scope among the five different layers of their social identity, which is a comparison within the same layer of identity before and after the manipulation on one hand, and a comparison in between the layers of social identity after the

manipulation and the changes that occur or doesn't when a specific layer of social identity is made salient to the participants.

- ***Social availability and memory accessibility:***

to explore how accessible some self descriptions were after the manipulation and if this accessibility changed as an effect of evoking one of the participants multi layered social identity, Indicators of frequency and average appearance rank were computed for each sub group separately before the manipulation and after the manipulation depending on the layer of social identity evoked. The findings will be demonstrated in tables categorizing the self descriptions into: 1. widely shared and firstly evoked 2. Widely shared and late recalled 3. Less shared and late recalled 4. Less shared, firstly evoked, for both before and after the manipulation according to each layer of identity.

1. As a Palestinian

When the social identity layer “as a Palestinian” was evoked, as demonstrated in table (19), the most shared and first evoked were to stress the findings earlier , but here it is found to be not only more frequent but also firstly evoked.

Table.19 social availability and evocation ranks for the salient social identity “ Palestinian”				
	Widely shared firstly evoked	Widely shared last recalled	Less shared Firstly evoked	Less shared Last evoked
Before (free self definitions)	Palestinian Refugee <i>Homeland Palestine</i> <i>Personality Traits</i>	<i>Muslim</i> <i>Emotions Palestine</i> Social Relationships Specific Attributes	Arab <i>Student</i> Gender <i>Living Place</i> young	For Palestine Freedom victimization
After (as a Palestinian)	Palestinian Refugee <i>Emotions Palestine</i> <i>Living Place</i>	<i>Student</i> <i>Homeland Palestine</i> Social Relationships Specific Attributes <i>Personality Traits</i>	Arab <i>Muslim</i> Gender young	For Palestine Freedom victimization

Personality Traits was not less shared after the manipulation, it continued to be widely shared but only was recalled later and not in the first place when participants thought of themselves as Palestinians.

The social identity “student” changed to be widely shared but recalled last, which shows relevance between the social identity layer “Palestinian” and the role of student, although it didn’t come first as other representations were more important and relevant but it was among the most shared content after the manipulation.

2. As A Palestinian Refugee

By looking at table (20), it is observed that the firstly evoked and most shared identities were similar to those achieved when the layer of social identity “Palestinian” was evoked, only that here with the manipulation” as a refugee” the social identity student was not only widely shared but also firstly evoked, Palestinian refugees having long invested in education, the identity Palestinian refugee makes the participants think that their compensation is in education and as student.

Table.20 social availability and evocation ranks for the salient social identity “ Palestinian Refugee”				
	Widely shared firstly evoked	Widely shared last recalled	Less shared Firstly evokes	Less shared Last evoked
Before (free self definitions)	Palestinian Refugee <i>Homeland</i> <i>Palestine</i> <i>Personality</i> <i>Traits</i>	<i>Student</i> <i>Victimization</i> Social Relationships Specific Attributes	<i>Arab</i> <i>Freedom</i> Gender <i>Living Place</i>	Muslim <i>Emotions Palestine</i> For Palestine <i>Young</i>
After (as a Palestinian Refugee)	Palestinian Refugee <i>Student</i> <i>Emotions</i> <i>Palestine</i> <i>Living Place</i>	<i>Homeland Palestine</i> <i>Freedom</i> Social Relationships Specific Attributes	<i>Personality Traits</i> Gender <i>Young</i>	Muslim <i>Victimization</i> For Palestine

In the previous part and with the identity component “victimization” was found to be less frequent when the social identity layer “refugee” was evoked, which was surprising then and left unexplained, here

again, it moved from being widely shared and last recalled to be less shared and last recalled, which might indicate that the participants do not feel victimized due to the fact that they are Refugees, or that by suggesting that they are Refugees they felt their victimization is acknowledge and they had no urge to stress it.

The social identity layer “arab” was shared by a restricted number of people but evoked first before the manipulation, but disappeared after the manipulation.

3. As an Arab

Table.21 social availability and evocation ranks for the salient social identity “ Arab”

	Widely shared firstly evoked	Widely shared last recalled	Less shared Firstly evokes	Less shared Last evoked
Before (free self definitions)	Palestinian Refugee Student Gender	Homeland Palestine Social Relationships Specific Attributes <i>Personality Traits</i>	Arab <i>Living Place</i> Young	Muslim Emotions Palestine Victimization For Palestine Freedom
After (as an Arab)	Palestinian Refugee <i>Muslim</i> Student <i>Personality Traits</i>	Homeland Palestine Social Relationships Specific Attributes	Arab Young <i>Gender</i>	Emotions Palestine Victimization For Palestine Freedom <i>Living Place</i>

Evoking the social identity “arab” as highlighted before, had effects mainly on the representations of personality traits, which here turned to be widely shared by the participants and also firstly evoked, also and as found before “living place” turned to be shared by a restricted number of people and last recalled.

“Gender” for some reason was widely shared and firstly evoked by the participant before the manipulation, but after the manipulation it moved to be shared by a restricted number of people and firstly evoked, which is the position that is recorded across the manipulation.

4. As a young Person

Table.22: social availability and evocation ranks for the salient social identity (young person)				
	Widely shared firstly evoked	Widely shared last recalled	Less shared Firstly evokes	Less shared Last evoked
Before (free self definitions)	<i>Palestinian Refugee</i> Student <i>Victimization</i> Homeland Palestine	<i>Social Relationships</i> <i>Specific Attribute</i> Personality Traits	Gender Living Place Young	<i>Arab Muslim</i> <i>Emotions</i> <i>Palestine</i> For Palestine
After (as a young person)	Student Homeland Palestine Social Relationships Specific Attributes	Palestinian Refugee Emotions Palestine Personality Traits	Muslim Gender Living Place Young	Victimization For Palestine

The social identity layer “as a young person” and as demonstrated in table (22) recorded changes on so many different aspects. Indicating that when the participants thought of themselves being young, they were “free” to express their aspirations and preferences (specific attributes), and they could talk about their social relationships, they didn’t feel victimized being young. The social identities Palestinian and Palestinian refugee remained widely shared among the participants but not firstly to be associated with the identity young.

5. As a Muslim

When the manipulation was for Adolescent Palestinian Refugees to think of themselves primary as being Muslims (Table 23), they widely shared it and was the first thing to cross their minds, unlike before the

manipulation when they were free in their self definitions where the social identity layer “muslim” was only shared by a restricted number of people even though was firstly evoked.

Table.24 social availability and evocation ranks for the salient social identity “Muslim”				
	Widely shared firstly evoked	Widely shared last recalled	Less shared Firstly evokes	Less shared Last evoked
Before (free self definitions)	Palestinian <i>Emotions Palestine</i>	<i>Student Victimization</i> Homeland Palestine Social Relationships Specific Attributes Personality Traits	Refugee Arab <i>Muslim</i> Gender Living Place Young	For Palestine Freedom
After (as a muslim)	Palestinian <i>Muslim Student</i>	<i>Emotions Palestine</i> Homeland Palestine Social Relationships Specific Attributes Personality Traits	Refugee Arab Gender Living Place Young	<i>Victimization</i> For Palestine Freedom

Part : Three

Emotions

This third part of the study will demonstrate the young Palestinian refugees’ emotions when assigned to think of themselves as a member of a social group.

A paired-sample t-test was conducted to compare the changes in emotions among participants when they think of themselves before the manipulation and when they think of themselves after the manipulation, where different layers of social identity were made salient.

As Palestinians, there was a significant change in the scores for Pride and Irritation. Pride before the manipulation ($M=4.90$, $SD=2.03$) was significantly lower than pride after the Palestinian categorization was made salient ($M=6.36$, $SD=1.37$); $t(41)=-4.32$, $p < 0.05$; while Irritation before the manipulation ($M=4.64$, $SD=2.10$) was significantly higher than irritation when the Palestinian categorization was made salient ($M=3.67$, $SD=2.57$); $t(41)=-2.13$, $p < .05$.

As Palestinian refugees, there was no significant change in the emotions before and after the manipulation, which may imply that when they indicated their emotions before the manipulations they were already thinking of themselves as Palestinian refugees.

As Arabs, there was a significant change in the scores for Disgust and Irritation before and after the manipulation, and a tendency towards Anger. Disgust before the manipulation ($M=3.68$, $SD=1.98$) was significantly higher than Disgust after the Arab categorization was made salient ($M=2.95$, $SD=2.11$); $t(40)=2.50$, $p < 0.05$, and Irritation before the manipulation ($M=5.24$, $SD=1.68$) was significantly higher than Irritation after the manipulation ($M=3.39$, $SD=2.06$); $t(40)=5.09$, $p < 0.05$. Anger before the manipulation ($M=4.63$, $SD=1.74$) and Anger as an Arab ($M=3.80$, $SD=2.47$); $t(40)=1.97$, $p = .055$, indicates a direction toward feeling less angry when thinking of themselves as Arabs.

As Young people, there was a significant change in the scores for Guilt and Irritation. Guilt before the manipulation ($M=4.11$, $SD=2.10$) was significantly higher than Guilt when the Young person categorization was made salient ($M=3.06$, $SD=1.88$); $t(35)=2.61$, $p < 0.05$, and Irritation before the manipulation ($M=5.11$, $SD=1.89$) was significantly higher than Irritation after the manipulation as a young person ($M=3.58$, $SD=1.93$); $t(35)=3.90$, $p < 0.05$.

The salience of the Muslim categorization scored the highest changes in emotions; there was a significant change in the scores for Anger, Satisfaction, Pride, Uneasiness, Happiness, and Guilt. Anger before the manipulation ($M=4.23$, $SD=1.70$) was significantly higher than Anger when the Muslim categorization was made salient ($M=2.60$, $SD=1.75$); $t(39)=4.59$, $p < 0.05$, Satisfaction before the manipulation

($M=4.70$, $SD=2.05$) was significantly lower than Satisfaction after the manipulations as a Muslim ($M=5.65$, $SD=1.76$); $t(39) = -3.24$, $p < 0.05$, Pride before the manipulation ($M=4.33$, $SD=2.38$) was significantly lower than Pride after the manipulation ($M=5.08$, $SD=2.11$); $t(39) = -2.39$, $p < 0.05$, Uneasiness before the manipulation ($M=3.65$, $SD=2.07$) was significantly higher than Uneasiness after the manipulation ($M=2.80$, $SD=2.03$); $t(39) = 2.23$, $p < 0.05$, Happiness before the manipulation ($M=4.65$, $SD=1.89$) was significantly lower than Happiness as a Muslim after the manipulation ($M=5.68$, $SD=1.74$); $t(39) = 1.97$, $p < 0.05$, Guilt before the manipulation ($M=3.30$, $SD=2.12$) was significantly lower than Guilt after the manipulation ($M=2.25$, $SD=1.84$); $t(39) = 2.63$, $p < 0.05$.

In a word, participants declared feeling more satisfied, proud and happy as Muslims, as well as feeling less guilt and unease as Muslims. In general they felt more positive emotions when their being Muslims was reminded to them.

Finally, for each emotion a new variable was computed named Emotion T1-T2 (which is the difference between before and after the manipulation, before and after a single layer of group membership was made salient, according to the condition to which participants were randomly assigned), in order to compare the degrees of variation for each emotion. On these new variables, a one-way between-subjects ANOVA was conducted, to compare how the difference of emotions varied after different group memberships (Palestinian, Palestinian Refugee, Arab, Young person, and Muslim) were evoked.

The only significant difference found was for Anger [$F(4, 195) = 2.72$, $p = .031$].

Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the variation of the mean score for Anger was significantly different when participants think of themselves as Palestinian Refugees (Anger T1-T2 Mean= 0.00, $SD= 2.84$) and when they think of themselves as Muslims (Anger T1-T2 Mean= 1.63, $SD= 2.24$), so indicating no change in anger when respondents think about themselves as Palestinian Refugees, whereas Anger decreases at the greater extent when the Muslim group membership is evoked.

General Discussion

When it comes to the study of Social identity in synthesis with the social representations theory, it is claimed that the process is not only about shaping but being shaped, not about identification but being identified, constructed internally and externally. All implies a consideration of an interplay on different levels: individual-collective, past- present, internal and external, which might seem broad but as a paradigm it allowed our exploration to achieve its objectives considering the age group of the participants and the particularity and complexity of their context and their social identity.

When studying Adolescent Palestinian refugees, one starts by their present and their current living context; but soon realizes that their present is highly shaped by their collective past, which never had a closure, trapped in an intractable conflict. Their homes are dwellings in the Palestinian Refugee camps, which is standing until today as a symbol and a reminder of past violence and expulsion. The Palestinian refugee camps for the first generation of refugees was once meant to be a temporary shelter, but this “temporary” shelter is welcoming third and fourth generations of refugees, who inherit narratives of violence, a lost homeland, and hope of return. They are handed the responsibility of memory, memorizing and repeating the phrase “we shall not forget”. Their schools are bodies that were created only for them, for the Palestinian refugees’ children, with Palestinian teachers and administration, to assure that the children are not learning mathematics or literature only, but also they are learning their identity. Therefore their identity could not be seen but through the historical lens, considering that their individual and social identities are collective, shaped by collective narratives and collective destiny.

Adolescents were particularly chosen as the participants of this study, as adolescence is generally critical in the developmental stages, where adolescents are to answer the question “ who Am I?” But it was worth exploring how do the adolescent Palestinian refugees answer that question considering their particular situation.

Below I will discuss the empirical findings in 4 general themes:

1. Adolescent Palestinian Refugees' Affirmative and Negative Self Definitions
2. The salience of social identities and their impact on the representational production
3. Emotions
4. The organization of meaning and structure (before and after the manipulation)

❖ **Adolescent Palestinian Refugees' Affirmative and Negative Self Definitions**

The first attempt to grasp the Palestinian adolescent refugees' social identity after collecting their spontaneous self definitions proved that the representational production and content of the self are highly complex and particularly shaped by the complex context they are living in and could be seen as shaped by their collective history. Palestine as a history, land, narratives of violence, belonging, origin, images, and aspiration, was widely shared and very present in the adolescent Palestinian refugees' representational field.

The consensual yet contrasting representations collected, which might not make sense at first actually makes perfect sense for a reality full of tension and conflict. On the one hand, the participants are adolescents, and indeed they shared representations that were in common with participants with the same age category in different cultures; they communicated their role as students, their social relationships and their attachment to their friends and love to their families, their hobbies, preferences, and aspirations for the future. On the other hand, Adolescent Palestinian refugees couldn't feel only adolescence communicating such topics, or else a major part of their reality would be missing and their identities could not be achieved without it. Their reality is highly attached to Palestine, growing up hearing about it, living in a place where they might feel home. after all, this is the only place they are familiar with, but they are taught that their belonging lies somewhere else, and they are striving to leave their familiar to the unknown described as utopia, they are torn between their homeland which they never seen neither inhabited and their current place of living where their childhood memories, experiences, and daily

routines are formed. The participants indeed communicated their love to Jordan as living place and felt grateful for it as a host country offering security and rights, nevertheless they expressed their unwillingness to continue living in it. Contrasting but not surprising, since accepting to live in Jordan would be considered as giving up their right to return to their homeland. Therefore the adolescent Palestinian refugees are forced to reject their reality whether they like it or not. After all, this rejection is shaped by what they communicated in their self definitions about their expulsion from Palestine, and how they and their grandparents were forced to leave Palestine. This history of involuntary actions makes them reject its consequences which is their current reality.

The formation of a Palestinian social identity for the Palestinian refugees living in Diaspora is a process interrupted, their Palestinian social identity is missing one of its contents; the land, and therefore their Palestinian social identity won't be complete and achieved without their homeland. This was expressed in the participants' self definitions which were highly attached to the land, e.g. "I am not complete without my homeland", "I am lost without my land", "my life was over the moment we left Palestine", "I am from there", and "I will never rest until I return to my homeland".

The past violence suffered by their in group and not directly by them -excluding the fact that their exile is a form of violence- appeared in the participants' representational field exposing facets of victimization. As stressed earlier in the study it is not only what has been communicated by the participants what counts but also what was not communicated. It was observed that the Adolescent Palestinian refugees did not mention the violence suffered by their in-group in terms of the massacres, killings, weapons, and torture that the Palestinian history and Palestinians narrate, of the wrongdoings of the Israelis against the Palestinians. This makes one think that they did not have the urge to remember and narrate, as the conflict is ongoing and was never over, they might have felt that they are currently living in the ongoing act of violence. Therefore, they stressed the fact of being expelled from their homeland and living in diaspora as a result of the Israeli occupation of their lands. They also mentioned the suffering of Palestinian people

due to the Israeli occupation nowadays. Their diaspora was their main facet of victimization, and was expressed clearly and in terms of justice and oppression, deprivation of rights, racism and discrimination which sometimes were vague and not specified by whom.

At some point the young Palestinian adolescents felt the adolescence *but...* it was observed that when they allowed themselves to behave like adolescents of their age who dream and aspire, they somehow did it but they had to attach it to Palestine. The adolescent Palestinian refugees felt that their aspiration should be related to serving Palestine, therefore they aspired being Engineers to build Palestine, and Medical Doctors to heal the children of Palestine, and they wanted to become Journalists to tell the world what is happening in Palestine. Even when it came to their hobbies and talents, they invested them for Palestine, where they wrote poems for Palestine, sang for Palestine, drew, and danced for Palestine.

In the attempt of exploring the adolescent Palestinian refugees' social identities and its representational elements, one must consider that realities are composed of what one is and what one is not, what one accepts and what one rejects. Therefore, I was not to miss exploring the adolescent Palestinian refugee negation of social identities. When shifting the participants' minds from what they are to what they are not, they struggled in affirming contents that they already affirmed in their spontaneous self definitions earlier, by disregarding the instruction, or manipulating the instructions even if it was complicated cognitively or grammatically wrong. They felt the need again to stress that they are Palestinians and that they want to return to Palestine in the negation of social identity tool. Aside from that, negation self identities did arise and were shaped around the reject of those social identities for different reasons which varied between threat, out-groups, and imposition (labeled).

The participants rejected the national identity of a Jordanian by stating "I am not Jordanian", this national identity formed a threat for them, as Israel promotes Jordan as an alternative homeland for Palestinians, and by rejecting it they are rejecting political scenarios which intend to keep them away from their homeland. They never mentioned not being Egyptian or Syrian where Palestinian refugees also live, and

it is because those countries are not involved in the political discourse of substituting a homeland for the Palestinians. And that is why this negation of this social identity was equally mentioned by females and males, it is a threat to their identity regardless of their gender.

Among the negation social identities that was mentioned as being an out-group was mainly the participants mentioning “I am not Israeli, Jewish, Zionist, occupier” which are all social identities describing the out-group that occupies their land and expelled them, so it was only natural to see those social identities among their negation of social identities as the thing they mostly reject. The out-groups were also demonstrated in their negational self identities not only as a rejection of it but sometimes it was differential, such as when mentioning not being atheists, Christians, or Buddhists, to affirm that they are Muslims, or denying that they are foreigners to affirm that they are Arabs.

The third type of negational social identities was the identities that were imposed on them and being labeled with in relation to their culture and religion. The participants stated that they were neither terrorists, nor aggressors or violent. And those identities were shared among the males but not the females who are generally not accused of such actions of violence.

This tool was the space for the adolescent Palestinian refugees to easily state “I am not refugee” as was found with the previous generations (Sayigh, 1977, Turki, 1974), who rejected the refugee identity and being labeled with it and chose the “returnee” identity. We find that the Adolescent Palestinian refugee in this generation does not reject the Refugee Identity but came to terms with their reality, accepting, although contesting it, but their struggle and rejection for some elements is stemming from a realistic look at their situation.

❖ *The salience of social identities and their impact on the representational production*

Moving from the general exploration of the adolescent Palestinian refugees, I considered their social identity as well as that of others to be multifaceted, and organized in different layers of self-reflections (Roccas and Brewer, 2002), together with the Salience hypothesis (Lamy, Liu, Ward, 2011), and based on the work of Breakwell (1993) which outlines a cyclical relationship between SIT and SRT, where an individual's social identity impacts an individual's representational repertoire, and vice versa, the study investigated depending on the participants multi-layered identity- the representational production when one layer of social identity is made salient.

The findings in my study, achieved by a manipulation making one layer of social identity salient for the participants did prove that the salience of one layer of social identity impacts the individual's representational repertoire and is highly influenced by the group's collective history. But that's not all; it was also found that the broadness of the social identity plays a role in the produced content of the individual's representational field as well as the security and stability of the social identity vs the threatened identities.

The results demonstrated that some layers of identity produce similar representational repertoire, and in the case of the adolescent Palestinian refugees, the layers of "Palestinian" and "Palestinian refugee" produced similar content, whereas the social identities Arab and Young, have produced similar content but different from the other 2 social identities (Palestinian & Refugee). The third layer of social identity was "Muslim" and it produced content for the representational field which was different from all the above mentioned layers. The other 2 layers of social identity that produced similar representational repertoire were Arab and Young. Unlike the above mentioned social identities discussed, when the adolescent Palestinian refugees thought of themselves being Arab and Young they didn't weight much on their living place as if it didn't matter to them, if it was about being Arab then they are living in security in the Arab world. They talked more about their preferences, wishes, and personality traits, allowing their individuality to appear. This could be a normal reaction due to the broadness of the layers, as well as the

stability of those two social identities, as being Arab or young are not identities under threat such as Palestinian or refugee.

When the adolescent Palestinian refugees were to think of themselves primary as Palestinians or Palestinian refugees, they widely shared content related to their “living place” which is highly shaped by their reality and their status of refugee. Also, by being part of these social groups which are highly burdened by the collective history and the complex situation, the participants felt that they needed to share contents that are primary related to those social identities, such as mentioning that this is who they are, and expressing contents related to homeland. On the other hand their individuality, personality traits and characteristics were not a priority, it did not matter who they personally are. This might be seen and interpreted through the group collective history and experience, refugees reaching Jordan for safety first in 1948, they left everything they had behind, lands, houses, properties and sometimes poverty. And they were coming from various towns in Palestine, but when at the place of refuge they all turned to one with no differences, there were no poor or rich, educated or illiterate, privileged and non privileged, young or old...etc. At some moment in time they turned to be Palestinian Refugees, each one holding a refugee identity card with a number that guarantees services. At that moment, the individual disappeared and a group facing one destiny emerged. This is a common behavioral tendency, when dominated groups express collectively, and dominant groups stress the individuality (Iorenzi-Cioldi, 1988).

The social identity layer, produced different reactions, the main was that the participants widely shared the social identity of a Muslim when the same identity was made salient for them. The other layers of social identities remained stable before and after the manipulations but it was the content that was changing. For example, the social identities Palestinian and Palestinian refugee were widely shared before the manipulation and remained so after those same social identities were made salient. Similarly, the identities young and Arab were not as shared before the manipulation and remained less shared after making them salient, as if they were taken for granted, and there was no need to stress them. When it

came to the social identity “muslim” to be salient, the participants who didn’t include it in their representational repertoire had the urge to include it after. It is not definite why this change happened but considering this social identity as highly related to a belief where one is judged by good deeds and bad deeds, not mentioning it in the spontaneous self definitions might made the participants feel bad about themselves, so they felt the need to stress this part of their identity which is positive for them by writing it down.

❖ *Emotions*

A social identity in its basic formula consists of ideas and emotions. Exploring the adolescent Palestinian refugees’ social identity could not be complete without an exploration of the emotional side. Breakwell (1993) also highlights the power of emotion as a potential intervening variable, whereby identity and social identity processes impact individual affect that in turn motivates behavior.

The Palestinian and Arab culture in general is a culture that doesn’t weight much on emotions, and when it comes to feelings people are generally reserved and unexpressive, and this was proven in the spontaneous self description of the participants where they were not open to share their personal emotions, but they were more expressive when it came to contextualized emotions; they expressed their love for Palestine and for Jordan, to the Palestinian peopleetc. Also they expressed their negative emotions toward Israel and the occupation. As it was our interest to describe their personal emotions I administrated the Differential Emotion Scale (DES: Izard, 1972; Smith, Seger & Mackie, 2007) which recorded the emotional state on the individual level, and in another version making one layer of social identity salient and asking them how they feel being particularly part of that group (check method).

On the personal level, the young Palestinian refugees felt generally positive, and scored lower for the negative with no unusual tendencies. The main difference was when it came to gender as females felt fear more that the males, which is normal for a female but could be shameful for a male to feel fear.

As it was important to check the representational repertoire produced when one social identity is made salient, it is also important to check how the emotions change when one social identity was made salient.

In short, it was proven and clear that by comparing the participants' emotions scores on the personal level with their emotions when one layer of social identity was made salient we found that emotions are a production of group membership as it changes from personal to social and it also differs as the social identities differ.

In the case of the adolescent Palestinian refugees, as Palestinians, they felt more proud and less irritated than they were on the personal level. As Palestinian refugees, there was no significant change in the emotions before and after the manipulation, which may imply that when they indicated their emotions before the manipulations they were already thinking of themselves as Palestinian refugees. As Arabs, they were less disgusted and irritated, but with a tendency toward anger. As Young people, they felt less guilt and much less irritated. The salience of the Muslim categorization scored the highest changes in emotions; there was a significant change in the scores for Anger, Satisfaction, Pride, Uneasiness, Happiness, and Guilt.

Participants declared feeling more satisfied, proud and happy as Muslims, as well as feeling less guilt and unease as Muslims. In general, they felt more positive emotions when their being Muslims was reminded to them.

In a general overview of all the manipulations, a more positive emotional reaction seems to be elicited any time a broader social label is suggested to participants. These results, coming from a between subjects comparison, may be integrated with those coming from a within subjects comparison. Interestingly, in this case only the social label referring to the fact of being Muslim is related to a significant change, making participants decrease their scores when referring to their emotions of anger.

❖ *The organization of meaning and structure*

In line with the cyclical relationship between SIT and SRT discussed earlier, it is important to highlight the findings on the salience of social representations, their exposure and acceptance on the individual level and on the group level when one layer of social identity is made salient. The findings showed that not only the content of the representational field changes when a social identity changes, but also the organization of meanings and structure changes as well.

It was found that the firstly evoked content and how shared it is, changed according to the social identity layer made salient, showing that there are some sort of expectations, in terms of action, behaviour and emotions. This implies that there is a general agreement between the participants and organized meanings for each of the social identities, where memory serves in providing first the most relevant contents.

As Palestinians, they mostly shared and firstly evoked contents relevant to: Palestinian, Palestinian Refugee, emotions Palestine, and living Place. And despite the fact that other contents were widely shared such as their personality traits, it was not structured to be among the first and most relevant content. The social identity: "Palestinian Refugee" didn't change much in terms of contents accessibility and evocation, only that the representation of a student and education was not only highly shared but also among the first contents evoked. This shows that a social identity produces representations related also to action, where as a dominated group who lost their land and strive for achievement, education as an investment is one of the first and most shared contents of their representational field.

When it came to making the social identity "Arab" salient, and as discussed earlier being a broad layer, the participants firstly evoked their personality traits. Also the content related to gender turned to be less shared and less evoked, as this layer of social identity is considered to be too broad taking diversities that gender differences are not among the first to evoke.

The social identity "young person" considered the broadest among the other layers of social identity, showed a significant change that was not recorded among the other layers. The content related to the two

social identities Palestinian and Palestinian refugees were not among the first content to be evoked although it remained to be widely shared. On the other hand, their will to return to Palestine was among the first thing to evoke and was shared widely.

For the Muslim social identity, as found earlier, when made salient the frequency of occurrence was higher. Also it was found to be among the first contents to evoke.

Conclusions

This study was set out to explore and describe the social identity of the Adolescent Palestinian Refugees, living in Palestinian Refugee camps in Jordan, and attending the UNRWA schools and colleges which serves exclusively the Palestinian refugees. As an explorative study it was designed in 3 steps, aiming first at exploring the Adolescent Palestinian Refugees spontaneous self definitions and the representations adherent and produced by them, in addition to the emotions they associate with them. Second it aimed at exploring their social identity as a structure of organized meanings, checking how their identity elements and representations are situated in terms of acceptance and exposure; to define the hierarchy of their identity elements in relation to the most salient identity, accessible to their memory and evoked first. Also what are the elements that are widely shared and socially available. The third step sets out to investigate the salience of social identities –through a manipulation of layers of social identity- making one of the participants layers of social identities salient, to record the representational production and content for each layer of social identity (as either being a Palestinian, a Palestinian Refugee, a Young Person, an Arab, or a Muslim), and check if was different from those produced on the individual level –the spontaneous self definitions-. In addition, it aimed at investigating the structure and organization of the content and representations produced when one layer of social identity was salient. Finally, the third step aims at recording the change in emotions comparing the emotion descriptions and score for each layer of identity made salient and if different from the participants' general states of emotion.

The data was collected from 200 adolescent Palestinian Refugees living in refugee camps in Jordan and attending UNRWA schools. The data was collected by administering a self report questionnaire, in Arabic language. The questionnaires collected were translated into English and when coding was needed, two independent coders cooperated to code the data.

The main findings on adolescent Palestinian refugees were that the formation of a Palestinian social identity for the Palestinian adolescents living in Diaspora is a process interrupted, their Palestinian social identity is missing one of its contents: the land, and therefore their Palestinian social identity won't be complete and achieved without their homeland.

The influence of the past violence suffered by the in-group was not evident in terms of narratives and images of war and violence, as the participants did not share such images or stories which might entail that the participants didn't feel the need to remember, as if they were currently living in the ongoing act of violence. This could also be explained as a closure, the past violence is past and as young people they are living the present and aspiring the future.

The study found three motives for rejecting identities; the participants rejected identities that: (1) imply a threat for them, (2) describes the out-group, (3) related to negative identities they are labeled with.

The findings related to the manipulations making one layer of social identity salient for the participants did prove that the salience of one layer of social identity impacts the individual's representational repertoire and is highly influenced by the group's collective history. But that's not all; it was also found that the broadness of the social identity plays a role in the produced content of the individual's representational field as well as the security and stability of the social identity vs. the threatened identities. In addition to the findings concerning the saliency of a social identity and their structure it was proven that the firstly evoked content and how shared it is, changes according to the social identity layer made salient, showing that there are some sort of expectations, in terms of action, behaviour and emotions.

Those findings implied that there is a general agreement between the participants and organized meanings for each of the social identities, where memory serves in providing first the most relevant contents.

Despite the significant empirical findings of this study, I am aware of the limitations of the study.

Therefore, a multi method approach could be applied to deepen the areas that were left under explored in the study.

A similar approach should be applied on adolescent refugees living in another context in diaspora, such as in Lebanon, which could explore more the host country influence on the formation of the Palestinian social identity.

In the same way and in a similar approach, the study should be replicated with young adults Palestinian refugees to check for the age differences and the contents which are related to developmental tasks, the mobile and stable representations across ages and within the society.

Gender aspects were explored in the research, and there were differences between males and females, but those differences need to be further investigated, especially when considering the contributions of Lorenzi-Cioldi (1988, 2008), which turns to be of high importance and interesting to explore when considering the whole group being dominated, but also females which could be seen as a dominated subgroup within the same dominated group.

The Social Representations of homeland -and after carrying out this research- seem to be an interesting and important area to explore, especially after finding that the adolescent Palestinian refugees' identity is highly attached to homeland. This attachment to homeland which was also expressed in the Palestinian literature of the exile, which demonstrates the attachment to the homeland, the plurality of the identity, and the tear created living in one place and belonging to another, such as in the poems of the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish (quoted below), which the participants quoted in their self definitions.

“I am from there. I am from here...I am not there and I am not here.”

"I come from there and remember, I was born like everyone is born, I have a mother and a house with many windows.....I have learned and dismantled all the words to construct a single one: Homeland".

"Identity is the daughter of birth, but in the end she's what her owner creates, not an inheritance of a past. I am the plural".

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