Intergenerational Psychosocial Effects of Nakbah on Internally Displaced Palestinians in Israel: Narratives of trauma and resilience.

Mustafa Qossoqsi

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in Refugee Care

Department of Psychoanalytic Studies

University of Essex

January 2017

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors Prof. Renos Papadopoulos and Prof. Colin Samson for their wonderful and critical supervision, and for their inputs to this study. The association of their high scientific stature and high ethical commitment to justice and dignity for the displaced and the discarded has reinforced my faith in social sciences. Their intellectually and emotionally stimulating presence and guidance have been of incommensurable help to me. The discipline of compassion and the freedom of thought they generously provided has rendered this demanding process tremendously enjoyable and transformative.

I'm heartfetly thankful to all participants who shared with me their private resourceful and sorrowful memories, their inspiring live stories, and most of all, their resilient humanity.

Special thanks to my wife, Marta. Without her kind support and assistance this dissertation could not have been written. The research process has benefitted greatly from our personal and professional dialogue on refugees throughout the years. I've learned that love could be a shelter and haven for heart and mind.

The sweetest thanks of all go to Sofia, our little daughter, who joined us in the midst of this walk and infused it with light, wonder and optimistic look on the world. Her favorite song has been the perfect symbolic soundtrack: "fly, fly little bird".

Abstract

The present qualitative research investigates a wide range of psychosocial responses to nakbah across 3 generations of internally displaced Palestinian families living in Israel through intergenerational narratives. Situated in a context of political violence and internal colonialism, the research was conducted with a mixed method design bringing together Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis and Grounded Theory, and informed by a constructionist-systemic perspective that better accounts for the complexity of refugees' experience (Papadopoulos, 2002), and for the social and cultural differences imbedded in resilience and trauma constructs as performed by individuals, families, and communities. The theory expands the "trauma grid" model (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2006, 2007) and shows its intergenerational validity and applicability to internally colonized native populations exposed to a historical trauma and subjected to attacks on their survivance (Vizenor, 1999) and cultural diversity (Samson, 2003, 2008, 2013).

The analysis of retrospective and present time narratives of 3 generations of nakbah-related internally displaced Palestinian families within Israel led to the emergence of a theory of complex intergenerational resilience composed of 3 dimensions of AAD (Adversity-activated Development), 2 main dimensions of resilience and 2 additional trauma-spectrum negative responses which were identified as subordinate and unpervasive.

The outcome of this research may inform a more culturally sensitive and resilience-oriented understanding, intervention and prevention in the field of mental health among Palestinians in Israel. On the collective level, such a comprehensive approach may produce new insights on Palestinian national identity and its connections with experiences of victimhood and resilience due to past and present conditions of political conflict and social adversity. Limitations and implications for future research, professional practice and policy initiatives are discussed.

Table of contents

Introduction

Introduction

Background

Trauma is a key word of our time. Its powerful web of emotions and meanings has infiltrated each and every sphere of individual and collective lives. However, in the last decade a growing literature has been scrutinizing critically the domain of trauma and suggesting a more complex understanding of the human reactions to individual and collective experiences of adversity and loss. Cultural and personal variables were factored in a constructionist, resilience–oriented and culturally-sensitive definition of the ways people cope with extremely distressful life events, physically and psychologically (Papadopoulos, 2004, 2006, 2007; Ungar, 2008).

Particularly, on the collective level, forcible dislocation was pointed out as a cause of both suffering and resourcing; it is well known that following a difficult experience people may respond in ways that emphasize the renewing rather than the injurious effects of that experience (Papadopoulos, 2004, 2006, 2007; Vizenor, 1998; Crawford, 2014).

In a fascinating etymological analysis of the term trauma, Papadopoulos (2007) brings to light its ambivalent meanings and connections with resilience, and even more revealingly with the concept of Adversity-Activated Development (AAD) (Papadopoulos,

2004, 2006, 2007) that will be discussed further later due to its heuristic centrality to the present study.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the present qualitative study is to investigate the nakbah intergenerational psychosocial effects on internally displaced Palestinians in Israel, through the narratives of 3 family generations. The study, of descriptive-interpretive qualitative approach, employs mixed method design (Morse, 2010) bringing together two methodologies: Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) (Charmaz, 2006; Lambert & Lambert, 2012) and Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith and Osborn, 2003; Larkin, Watts and Clifton, 2006), with the principal goal of analyzing intergenerational narratives of the nakbah experience of Palestinian IDPs.

Qualitative research offers theoretical and methodological means to psychosocially explore an emblematic yet unexamined aspect of the Palestinian colonized reality in Israel, that is the Nakba IDP's, from a postcolonial perspective (Fanon, 1963; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988) where they can, from their subaltern position, speak (Spivak, 1988) and possibly be heard (Maggio, 2007).

Statement of the problem

The problem is the lack of a complex psychosocial narrative of the collective historical and continuing adversity represented by the Palestinian nakbah and its intergenerational vicissitudes among Palestinian IDP's in Israel.

Psychosocial effects of nakbah across generations have been overlooked by a growing and significant body of research focusing on historical and memory studies (Sa'di and Abu Lughod, 2007; Slyomovics, 2013).

The very few yet important studies on the psychological repercussions of nakbah (Ghnadra-Naser, 2013; Daoud et al., 2012) seemed to tap into the increasingly contested hegemony of the Western "trauma discourse" concerning individual and collective reaction to adversities (Summerfield, 2001; Papadopoulos, 2007; Fassin and Rechtman, 2007). In fact, "trauma discourse" refers to the well documented tendency among mental health professionals and researchers to view the effects of adverse events on people through the shortsighted, pathologizing and victimizing lens of PTSD, ignoring a wide range of human reactions and experiences of normally negative, neutral and positive qualities (Papadopoulos, 2007).

If the scant psychological literature on nakbah is exclusively concerned with its traumatic and other negative repercussions on individuals, families and communities across different generational, geographical and political locations, a psychosocial research addressing nakbah positive and resilience-enhancing psychosocial effects is simply inexistent.

The research is informed by a constructionist theoretical framework favoring a dynamic and complex approach to adversities, and situated in a perpetuated reality of internal colonialism (Zureik, 1979; Yiftachel, 2009).

A differentiation between "refugee trauma" and "psychological trauma" is strongly suggested, insisting on diversified and mostly resilient psychosocial responses to the onerous experience of refugeedom and displacement (Papadopoulos, 2007) within or out the borders of one's own country. At variance with most research focused on isolated adverse events, a psychosocial research on Palestinians in Israel, and Israeli citizen Palestinian IDPs in particular, is compounded by the otherwise challenging socio-political setting. The concrete and symbolic internal displacement of Palestinians in Israel took and takes place under the aegis of a protracted and occasionally escalating conflict that sees them treated as enemies and strangers within their own colonized homeland. An unended and essentially continuing event of nakbah (Masalha, 2012; Pappe, 2011) is lived simultaneously in past, present and future tense.

Chapters

The dissertation is composed of 9 chapters. The first chapter will set the historical and the political context of the topic at issue.

The second will focus on the intricate debate on nakbah and the relative discourses, arguing for the need of a third integrative psychosocial discourse that should overcome the unhelpful dichotomy between historical discourse and psychological discourse. The

third chapter illustrates the theoretical framework emerging from the relevant

literature review.

The forth chapter introduces the methodological approach including sampling and data

collection along with some reflections on researcher's positionality. The sixth chapter

proposes the results of the analysis of intergenerational narratives and their discussion.

Finally, conclusions are made in the seventh chapter addressing also limitations and

recommendations for future research.

Chapter 1

Historical context of Nakbah and Palestinian IDPs in Israel

The Nakbah

The nakbah, literally the "immense catastrophe", is the Palestinian term denoting the geographical and social undoing of Palestine the 1948 war being its canonical moment of deflagration. The nakbah is both a major "devastating event" (Papadopoulos, 2007) in the recent Palestinian history and an ongoing colonial process that some historians date its onset back to 1881 with the start of the colonization of Palestine by European Jews (Said, 1979; Litvak, 2009; Adwan, 2011).

Short chronology of the conflict

The origins and the developments of the conflict have been extensively studied by a large number of scholars and authors (Said, 1979; Kimmerling and Migdal, 1993; Flapan 1979, 1987; Pappe, 1999, 2006, 2011). A comprehensive review of the history of the conflict goes beyond the scope of the present research; however an essential historical contextualization will be briefly and schematically introduced here. A main argument will be that the Palestinian refugee question is deeply rooted in the vision of the Jewish state as it was delineated by its founders and forefathers.

Two national movements

A main common analysis among historians privileges the view of the Palestinian - Israeli conflict as a clash between two national movements, envisaged and fueled by European colonial ambitions. While the first wave of European Jewish immigrants to Palestine took place in the 1880s, the birth of the Zionist movement is commonly associated with the first Zionist Congress held in Basel in 1897, and headed by Theodor Herzl. In his visionary book, "The state of the Jews", Herzl reframes the "plight of the Jews" who endured "oppression and persecution" in Europe, as a national question (Herzl, 1896, 1947, p.5); the quest for statehood is launched in the wake of the vain attempt "to merge in the national communities where we live" while "in countries where we have lived for centuries we are still cried down as strangers" (ibid.). Palestine was neither the only nor the favorite option for the realization of the Herzl's vision of "The state of the Jews". In fact, "Herzl negotiated with the British regarding the possibility of settling the Jews on the island of Cyprus, the Sinai Peninsula, the El Arish region and Uganda"

(Isseroff, 2007, p.2). Interestingly, bearing in mind the plight of the Palestinian refugees the tragic seeds of which were sawed then, Herzl, with almost shocking candor, "largely ignored the presence of Arabs or other minorities in the prospective Jewish State. He wrote in his diary however, that the natives of whatever land was allotted to the Jews would be gently persuaded to move to other countries" (Isseroff, 2007, p.2).

The Balfour declaration

The Balfour declaration in 1917, namely a memorandum issued by the United Kingdom's Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to Baron Rothschild, a leader of the British Jewish community, for transmission to the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland (Schneer, 2010), pledged for the first time "a national home for Jewish people", injecting a prodigious political legitimization into the Zionist project. While controversially favoring and advancing the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and (Yapp, 1987), the "Balfour Declaration" failed to consider the indigenous Palestinians as a national group with the right of self-determination in their homeland. A recent initiative of the National Palestinian Authority announced at the Arab League Summit aims at suing the British Government over a 1917 declaration that paved the way for the creation of Israel (Dearden, 2016).

The British mandate

In 1922, given the Mandatory authority in Palestine by the League of Nations, Great Britain had to face two national movements: a colonial - Zionist and a native-Palestinian

striving for self-determination. The failure or the unwillingness of the British government to reconcile the national aspirations of the Jewish colonists and the native Palestinians eventually brought about the mandate for Palestine to its abrupt end in 1948. The British position was perceived by the Palestinians as Jewish-leaning and ideologically identified with Zionism. In his seminal book: "The Question of Palestine", Edward Said analyses the ideological affinity between the British colonialism and Zionism:

"For all their differences (and they were numerous), both the British imperialist and the Zionist vision are united in playing down and even canceling out the Arabs in Palestine as somehow secondary and negligible. Both raise the moral importance of the visions far above the mere presence of natives on a piece of immensely significant territory. And both visions belong fundamentally to the ethos of the European mission civilisatrice – nineteenth-century, colonialist, racist even – built on notions about the inequality of men, races and civilizations, an inequality allowing the most extreme form of self-aggrandizing projections, and the most extreme forms of punitive disciplines towards the unfortunate natives whose existence, paradoxically, was denied" (Said, 1979, p.18).

Zionism and anti-colonialist struggle contributed, amidst the historian upheavals of the post-World War 1' Arab region, to the intensification and demarcation of the Palestinian nationalism (Khalidi, 1997). Emerging from the slow yet inexorable collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the seeds of the Palestinian nationalist discourse are planted in the expanding terrain of modern nation-state nationalism in Europe, and subsequently, in the Middle East.

However, this contribution shouldn't be overstated; the Palestinian national identity is mirrored and shaped by a culturally heterogeneous and multilayered history of successive dominions: Biblical, Roman, Byzantine, Umayyad, Fatimid, Crusader,

Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman periods, along with elements of with local patriotism, Arab nationalism and Islam (ibid.)

The chronology of the conflict has displayed since 1922 a complex sequence of events, revolving around the Palestinians attempting to prevent the loss of their land, the disintegration of their community and the ill-ominous prospect of the disappearance from history as a nation. The 1936–1939 Arab insurgencies represented a first act of collective Palestinian resistance against the British mandate in demand of independence and opposition to the mass Jewish immigration (Hughes, 2009). The holocaust played a catalyst role in the founding of the State of Israel by motivating large numbers of Jewish immigrants to move to the new country, providing the necessary population, molding Jewish consciousness of a "just struggle", and swaying world opinion into the approval by United Nations of the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 (Kleinman, 2002; Auron, 2013).

The partition plan of 1947

Few months earlier, in November 1947, the newly formed United Nations passed the Resolution 181 calling for the partition of Palestine into an Arab state and a Jewish state, and for the enforcement of a Special International Regime for the city of Jerusalem. The native Palestinian majority rejected the resolution considering it "unjust" and an unacceptable act of colonial occupation. In numerical terms, by 1914 the population in Palestine counted 738000 Arabs (92%) and 59,000 (less than 10%) Jews (McCarthy, 1990). By 1947, according to the UNSCOP report, the population

numbered 1,900,000, of whom 68% were Arabs (1. 292000), and 32% were Jews (608000) (UNSCOP Report, 1947).

The 1948 war

The fighting erupted in the same year between Palestinians, later joined by Arab forces, and the Jewish militias, ended with an indisputable Arab defeat and the displacement of 85% of the Palestinian population at the time, 750000 – 800000 refugees who fled or were forced out of their homes to the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and to the countries of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan (Morris, 2001; Pappe, 2006; Dumper, 2006).

Moreover, the war resulted in the foundation of the state of Israel on 78% of the Palestinian land, much beyond than the area accorded to the Jewish state by partition plan devised by UN Resolution 181. The remaining 22% of Palestine was kept under Jordanian and Egyptian control.

Land and property of Palestinian refugees, IDP's and many of the 156000 Arab Palestinians who remained in Israel were confiscated (the situation of Palestinians in Israel will be addressed more in detail in the next paragraphs). On 11 December 1948, the UN General Assembly issued Resolution 194, Article 11 in support the right of return of Palestinian refugees to their homes resolving " that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity" (Resolution, 194, UNRWA website).

The resolution remained unenforced, except few thousands of individual cases. The Israeli military rule over its native Palestinian minority was lifted in 1966, though a thorough surveillance continued to be imposed for many years to come (Sa'di, 2013).

The 1967 war

19 years of relative stalemate were interrupted by the 1967 war that resulted in the Israeli occupation of the remaining parts of historic Palestine: West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem (in addition to Egyptian Sinai Peninsula and Syrian Golan heights).

The first 20 years of Israeli occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza were characterized by an alternating high and low intensity mainly underground Palestinian resistance, in parallel with armed struggle and international diplomatic activities of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

The first Lebanon war (1982)

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, known as the first Lebanon war, resulted, alongside tens of thousands of killed and injured combatants and civilians on the Palestinian-Lebanese side (Race and Class, 1983), and few thousands of killed and wounded Israeli soldiers and civilians (Barzilai, 1996), in new civil and political displacement of the many thousands of Palestinians to new Arab and European countries.

The first Intifada (1987-1991)

The first Intifada (uprising) in the 1967 Palestinian territories (1987-1991), a mixed resistance action of civilian disobedience and throwing of stones and Molotov cocktails,

dramatized the occupation at the distracted eyes of the world, and redirected its attention to the aggressive colonization of Palestinian land and the de-Palestinization of Palestinian national identity (Meghdessian, 1998). In the wake of the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991, a secret negotiation channel between the Israeli Government and the PLO led to the transitional Oslo peace agreement in 1993 and the creation of the Palestinian National Authority granting Palestinian a partial control on limited part of the West Bank and Gaza. However, the negotiations over the final stage solution collapsed in 2000 amidst a second Palestinian, partly armed, Intifada, violently repressed by the Israeli military resorting in 2002 to the "re-occupation" of the West Bank (Beitler, 2004). Presently, the fragile status quo is dominated by the Palestinian low intensity resistance and resumption of the long-term option of one democratic secular state for Palestinians and Jews, endorsed by the Palestinian acknowledgment of the actual unrealizability of the two states solution rendered virtually obsolete by the intensification of the Israeli colonization activities. The periodic Israeli attacks on the Israel-besieged Gaza, described by Israel as retaliations against the Hamas missile launches on Israeli towns, target, among others, refugees originally displaced in 1948, coming a full yet unfinished circle.

Zionism and the Palestinian refugees Issue

A growing scholarly body (Abu Lughod, 1972, 1982; Said, 1979; Khalidi, 2001; Masalha, 1992, 1997, 2007, 2012; Morris, 2004; Pappe, 2006, Abu-Saad, 2008) shows that the Zionist movement envisioned and practiced the removal of the indigenous Palestinians as a cornerstone of the settler-colonial project of the "state of the Jews". Thus, the Palestinian refugee issue, though a direct result of 1948 war, has its incubation and birth in the cultural premises and perceptions by a settler-colonial movement of the native community regarded as an "entity of absence", or "civilization barrenness" (Massalha, 1997). Theodor Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement, advised to "spirit the penniless population across the border", carrying out a "discreet and circumspect" removal of "the poor" (Prior, 2004), i.e. to transform them in refugees, in order to enable the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine.

The refugee issue thus was a built-in "problem" across the conceptive and the realizative phases of the colonially rationalized Zionist project, though minimized and downplayed as minor and even non existing due to a historical representation of Palestinians in the Zionist colonial mind as absentees and uncivilized . In fact, "the denial and total disregard of Palestinians *in situ* by early Zionist settlers shocked well-meaning but rather ineffectual European intellectuals at the time" (Abu Lughod, 1977, p.19). For instance, Ahad Haam (Ginsberg, 1856–1927) and Yitzhak Epstein were among few Jewish intellectuals who, early on, "had warned against committing injustice against Palestine's indigenous population" (Rabkin, 2009, p. 22). Few decades later, Hanna Arendt defended a federated, pluralistic, democratic, secular vision of Palestine as "a homeland for Palestinians and Jews coexisting peacefully as neighbors without an

14

official state religion" (Maier-Katkin, 2010, website). Conversely, leaders of the Zionist movement, on the left (Arlosoroff) and on the right (Jabotinsky), made neither secret nor shame of finding inspiration and authoritative cultural and political reference in the settler colonialism tradition (Degani, 2016). In 1927 Arlosoroff wrote "I think it is worth trying to find an equivalent to our problem in the annals of settlement of other countries" dismissing, however, the cases of historical colonial powers such US, Australia and New Zealand as inappropriate, and affirming instead that South Africa was "almost the only case in which there is similarity in the objective conditions and problems so as to allow us an analogy" (ibid.).

Jabotinsky, on his part, paid an ideological tribute to American colonists, "the Pilgrim Fathers, the first real pioneers of North America", as models for the Zionists struggling with their own, in his words, "Sioux and their rolling prairies.", i.e. the native Palestinians. Jabotinsky was also politically pessimist regarding the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the conflict as "all natives resist colonists" (ibid.).

The slogan "a land without a people for a people without a land" was common among Zionists at the end of the nineteenth, and the beginning of the twentieth century" (Shapira, 1992, p. 41). The statement, famously attributed to Chaim Weizmann (Litvinoff, 1983), later president of the World Zionist Congress and the first president of the state of Israel, encapsulated a misrepresentation of Palestine as uninhabited and Palestinians as backward transitory strangers undermining the redemption of the promised land. The statement conveyed an explicit adherence to the paradigmatic colonial concept of *Terra Nullius,* a Latin expression meaning "nobody's land" that was

harnessed by the European colonial powers to occupy and claim sovereignty over an empty" territory as the case of the Americas and Australia (Connor, 2005). "More than a century later the descendants of these Palestinians are citizens of the Jewish State, but this status does not protect them from being regarded and treated as a dangerous threat in their own homeland" (Pappe, 2011, p.2).

Along what is deemed as one of the most protracted and intractable conflicts (Kriesberg, 1993; Bar-Tal, 2000) in modern history, and in presence of a hugely asymmetrical military, political and discursive power imbalance, in favor of, nakbah has been repeatedly reified as an infinite and open-ended event generating complex ramifications, and inexorably activated by an unpassed past and ever adversarial and threatening present. In other words, "The history of the nakbah has never been a history of the past but decidedly a history of the present" (Massad, 2008, para. 5) to be framed with the colonial nature of the Zionist movement. The establishment of the state of Israel on the 78 % of the land of historic Palestine has determined the destruction of the Palestinian society and the ensuing refugeedom of the vast majority of Palestinians who were expelled or forced to flee by the Jewish forces to the neighboring Arab countries and to the West Bank and Gaza. Following the UN Partition Plan in November 1947 the Zionist forces started drafting a massive plan of "ethnic cleansing" of native Palestinians from Palestine (Pappe, 2006); Known as Plan Dalet, it was officially launched in 31 march 1948. The cleansing operations resulted in the expulsion of half of the Palestinian population from historic Palestine and 85% of the Palestinians who were living in what was to become the State of Israel by the end of the

war (Pappe, 2006). "Over 750000 Palestinians had been uprooted, 531 villages had been destroyed, and eleven urban neighborhoods emptied of their inhabitants" (ibid. p.7).Towns that were formerly inhabited by mixed Palestinian majorities and Jewish minorities, such as Safad, Jaffa, Haifa, and Tiberias, became after 1948 largely Jewish towns with small Palestinian minorities. Only two Palestinian towns in Israel, Nazareth and Shafamer, retained their Palestinian population and character (Fischbach, 2010).

"The gradual destruction of the abandoned Arab villages, the cultivation and/or destruction of Arab fields and the share-out of the Arab lands to Jewish settlements, the establishment of new settlements on abandoned lands and sites... taken together, they assured that the refugees would have nowhere, and nothing, to return to" (Morris, 2004, p. 341).

The notion of "ethnic cleansing" in Palestine, suggested by Pappe and others has been debated in recent years. Martin Shaw contested it suggesting its "genocidal" characterization, arguing that "genocide" is a general sociological concept involving forced deportation, destruction of community and the way of life of a people (Naimark, 2001, p. 3-4) regardless the premeditation and the intentionality of these acts.

The policy of removal or transfer, in Morris words, has been present in the minds of Zionist leaders before 1948, and was discussed and pondered by the Israeli establishment at least up to 1957.

Successive bellicose rounds of the conflict and other related and unrelated regional wars in and between Arab and Islamic host countries of Palestinian refugees (1956 war, 1967 war, black September 1970 in Jordan, the Lebanese civil war 1975-1990 including Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and the consequent Gulf war in 1991, the 2003 Iraq war, and more recently the bloody war in Syria starting from 2011), will see produced and reproduced new waves of Palestinian refugees and internally displaced persons. In the 1967 war, known as the six days war, initiated and won by Israel, the respectively Jordan and Egypt administered Palestinian land (West Bank and East Jerusalem, and Gaza) were occupied along with the Egyptian peninsula of Sinai, and the Syrian Golan heights. In geographical terms, the West Bank and East Jerusalem cover an area of 5,640 km^2, and constitutes the major part of the 1967 Palestinian occupied territories; their western, northern and southern borders are shared with Israel, while their eastern border, across the Jordan River, is shared with Jordan. Approximately new 280,000 to 325,000 Palestinians were catapulted into refugee condition after having being expelled or forced to leave the territories won by Israel, with further Palestinian villages (such Imwas, Yalo, Bayt Nuba) demolished and two refugee camps, Aqabat Jabr and ʿEin as-Sultan, evacuated and depopulated (Bowker, 2003).

On the other hand, the disastrous results of 1967 war provided momentum to the Palestinian revolution formally launched in 1964 in coincidence of the foundation of Fatah Palestinian guerrilla groups (Sayigh, 2004).

The Palestinians in Israel

Though recognized as citizens under the Israeli law, they had to endure continuing violations of their basic human rights such as land dispossession, imprisonments and house demolitions (Pappe, 2006).

Military government

For 19 years (1947-1966), an invasive and heavy-handed military government was imposed on Palestinian minority in Israel with all-encompassing measures of restrictive "thorough surveillance" (Sa'di, 2013). A powerful and relentless military and bureaucratic machine was put in place to minimize the number and the livelihood of Palestinians, reduced to "citizen strangers" (Robinson, 2013). "The Palestinians faced quite an elaborate system of control and oppression" (Pappe, 2011, p.48). Draconian and widespread, this system of "security supervision", as it was officially named,

"had practical and daily manifestations, focusing on the restriction or prevention of movement, whether from one area to another or from one village to another; on access to farmland and freedom of occupation; accessibility to employment, health, education, shopping and trade; freedom to organize for public or political purposes; economic freedom; freedom regarding educational curricula; and freedom of any independent act

19

of the Arab citizens. Arab citizens were subject to a tight regime of permits, almost every action that an Arab contemplated taking outside his or her neighborhood required a permit from the Military Governor" (Bäuml, 2011, p.49).

The military government was politically sustained and justified by the unquestioned theory and perception of Palestinians in Israel as an "existential security threat" and "fifth column". The military rule allowed an intricate system of seclusion and exclusion of Palestinians in Israel, with an institutionalized policy of displacement: expulsion, land confiscation, house demolition, accommodation of Jewish immigrants in houses of refugees, and building Jewish towns on the land of destroyed towns and villages (Kamen, 1987). The military rule was meant to deny Palestinians access to resources (Robinson, 2013), to facilitate the transfer of remaining Palestinians and to bar the return of the refugees. Ilan Pappe divides the 19 year military rule on Palestinians in Israel in two phases:

"During the first, up to 1957, the very existence of the community was in question. Their presence was regarded by important figures in the Israeli regime as 'unfinished business', and quite a few of the politicians and heads of the security services still contemplated the removal of the Palestinian citizens from the Jewish state. The second phase saw a relaxation in this expulsionist impulse and a general reconciliation with the bi-national nature of the newly founded Jewish state" (Pappe, 2011, p.47).

Israel's policy toward the Arabs in the military rule years displayed a web of colonizing practices:

"• expropriating 60% of Arab land;
• preventing the internal refugees from returning to their villages;
• preventing farmers from reaching their farmland;
• establishing Jewish communities in the heart of Arab population centers;
• preventing organized and independent public, social, and cultural activity;
• preventing free internal Arab political activity;
• deepening the division among Arabs or tearing the Arab community apart;
• regulating the flow of Arab workers to employment centers in the Jewish

sector (depending on the level of unemployment there);
• recruiting collaborators and granting favors toward this end;
• training government and General Federation of Labor (*Histadrut*) officials
  operating among the Arab population;
• assisting the political party in power, *Mapai*, to garner votes at election time;
• enabling the expulsion of Arabs from the state, to the extent
  that it became possible to do so within the context of another war" (Bäuml, 2011, p. 50-51).

Interestingly, the first generation of Nakba survivors, though overwhelmed by incommensurable losses and a persistent strategy of delegitimization and transfer that often exceeded the rhetoric to action, showed "steadfastness and stubborn determination not to fall prey to the Israeli policies" (Pappe, 2011, p. 48) that fell short of success, being criticized as well by some liberal exponents inside the Israeli establishment.

Except a short parenthesis in the 1990`, coinciding with the Oslo peace process, the Zionist discourse regarding Palestinians in Israel as a "security and demographic threat" and "second-class citizens", has not substantially changed. In a recent landmark episode, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu publicly alerted his potential Jewish voters of the danger of Palestinians massively taking part in the elections. "Israel's prime minister has made a last-ditch attempt to rally his supporters as the country went to the polls, with an incendiary warning that a high turnout of Israeli Arab voters could threaten his party's hold on power" (Zonszein, 2015, para. 1). His call "Arab voters are heading to the polling stations in droves" (ibid., para.2) was described as "incitement to racism" by center-left politicians and public commentators.

Netanyahu warning came amidst sustained legislative efforts, throughout the last decade, targeting the fragile principle of egalitarian co-existence between Palestinians and Jews.

Discriminatory laws against Palestinians in Israel

"Adalah", the legal centre for Arab minority rights in Israel, enumerates in its database 50 discriminatory laws against Palestinians. To mention the most recent: "Ban on Family Unification" - Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law that bans family unification where one spouse is an Israeli citizen (in practice almost all of whom are Palestinian citizens) and the other a resident of the OPT (excluding Jewish settler living in the OPT); "Increased Governance and Raising the Qualifying Election Threshold Bill to Amend Basic Law" that undermines the parliamentary representation of the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel in particular, more than other groups of citizens; the "Admissions Committees Law" that gives Admission Committees, bodies that select applicants for housing units and plots of land, almost full discretion to accept or reject individuals i.e. not to accept Palestinians as residents; The "Nakba Law" that authorizes the Finance Minister to reduce state funding or support to an institution if it holds an activity that rejects the existence of Israel as a "Jewish and democratic state" or commemorates "Israel's Independence Day or the day on which the state was established as a day of mourning, "Israel Land Administration Law" that institutes broad land privatization, especially of land owned by Palestinian refugees and internally displaced persons, as well as land on which settlements are built in the occupied East Jerusalem and the

Golan Heights; permits land exchanges between the state and the JNF (Jewish National Fund), emphasizing the discriminatory nature of Basic Law.

This aggressive legislative drift against Palestinians in Israel is denounced by minor and uninfluential sectors in the Israeli society and in the political sphere. The land remains a principal concern among Palestinians haunted by confiscation, house demolitions, and different forms of displacement.

The ongoing internal displacement of Palestinian Bedouins

The case of Arab Palestinian Bedouin citizens in Israel epitomizes most dramatically perhaps the ongoing struggle against what Ilan Pappe refers to as "ethnic cleansing by other means".

"While the internal refugees' phenomenon dates to 1948, the unrecognized villages are a post-statehood phenomenon. In other words, what distinguishes the internally displaced from the unrecognized villages is essentially timing: the former were dispossessed during the events of 1948, while the latter are under continuous—and ongoing—processes of dispossession and internal displacement, the unrecognized villages are further distinguished by the peacetime context in which the efforts to evict them are carried out" (Schechla, 2001, p.22).

The Palestinian Bedouin village Al-'Araqeeb has been demolished over fifty times in the last three years (Amara, 2013) for discriminatory land and planning policies have made it virtually impossible for the Bedouin people to build legally (Human Rights Watch, 2008). For over 60 years, the indigenous Arab Bedouin have faced a state policy of displacement, home demolitions and violations of their ancestral land and way of life.

23

Abu-Saad (2008) discusses the "experience of the indigenous Palestinian Bedouin community in southern Israel, whose traditional lifestyle of land-based semi nomadic pastoralism is being replaced by landless, labor force, government-planned urbanization" (ibid. p. 1713). Reviewing the cases of Native Americans in the United States, First Nations Peoples in Canada, Aboriginal Peoples in Australia, Abu-Saad draws striking parallels with the situation of Palestinian Bedouins of the Negev desert in southern Israel. "Removal and alienation from traditional lands, through extermination and then assimilation programs (including urbanization) were undoubtedly major factors leading to Native economic and cultural decline" (Abu-Saad, 2008, p. 1723). Almost identical colonial strategies were carried out by settler states against indigenous people. In his unsettling book on the Native Innu in Labrador Canada, "A way of life that does not exist", Colin Samson (2003) analyses thoroughly similar mechanisms and practices of disfranchisement by the Canadian government. Relaying on notions of European superiority and right of "civilized" people to seize areas they regard as devoid of meaningful ownership, "natives could only legitimately claim Aboriginal titles if they demonstrated that they and their ancestors belonged to an 'organized society' " (Samson, 2003, p.48), thus enshrining sovereignty on "Terra nullius" English legal doctrine, according to which prior to colonization the land was empty of people who had any rights worthy of consideration in part because their land was deemed to be "wasted" (Asch, 1996) and unclaimed, and therefore must be redeemed.

 "Inhabitants of the Naqab (Negev) desert since the seventh century, they are the most vulnerable community in Israel" (Adalah, 2013, website).Furthermore, the military

regulations imposed on the Bedouin isolated them from the Palestinian Arab population in other parts of Israel, and required them to obtain special permits to leave their designated sections of the restricted area to access jobs, education, markets, health care services, etc. (Marx, 1967). "These restrictions represented a form of forced sedentarization, which virtually ended their traditional way of life"(Abu-Saad, 2008, p. 1726).

Today, 70,000 Arab Bedouin citizens live in 35 villages that either predate the establishment of the State in 1948, or were created by Israeli military order in the early 1950s. The State of Israel considers the villages "unrecognized" and the inhabitants "trespassers on State land," so it denies the citizens access to state infrastructure like water, electricity, sewage, education, health care and roads. The state deliberately withholds basic services from these villages to "encourage" the Arab Bedouin citizens to give up their ancestral land. "If Israel applied the same criteria for planning and development that exist in the Jewish rural sector, all 35 unrecognized villages would be recognized where they are" (Adalah, 2013, website). An aggressive plan of forced displacement of up to 70000 Palestinian Bedouin citizens, known as the Prawer Plan, was approved in a first reading in 2013, but was suspended before the last elections and it is expected to be resumed as part by the new government coalition. "This plan was completed without consultation of the local community, and is a gross violation of the constitutional rights of the Arab Bedouin citizens to property, dignity, equality, adequate housing, and freedom to choose their own residence" (Adalah, 2013, website).

In May 2015 the Israeli Supreme Court approved the destruction of the Naqab/Negev Bedouin town of Umm al-Hiran, unrecognized village, and the ri-displacement of its residents, who have been displaced once by the military government in 1956, so that a Jewish town, to be called Hiran, can be built on the site. Reporting the news, Haaretz newspaper called for the Israeli government "to adopt an egalitarian planning policy that will take into account both the needs of Arab residents and the injustice that has been done to them and deal with them justly" (Haaretz, 2015, website).

The concomitant order to destroy the West Bank village Susya, and to expel its residents who had been expelled from their lands in the past, seemed to reproduce a similar injustice and to suggest a link of cause and fate.

The Palestinian Refugees

The great majority, estimated around 70%, of the Palestinian people are refugees and IDPs (BADIL, 2014). A more accurate estimation is compounded by a chaotic map of wars, exiles, shifting borders, legal and political definitions, and objectively technical difficulties. In the aftermath of the 1948 Nakba, special regime assistance, protection and reparations was set up for Palestinian refugees. The regime was initially composed of the UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP) and the UN Relief and Works Agency in the Near East (UNRWA) and eventually included the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (BADIL).

26

The term 'refugees' applies to all persons, Arabs, Jews and others who have been displaced from their homes in Palestine. This would include Arabs in Israel who have been shifted from their normal places of residence. It would also include Jews who had their homes in Arab Palestine, such as the inhabitants of the Jewish quarter of the Old City. It would not include Arabs who lost their lands but not their houses, such as the inhabitants of Tulkarm.

UNRWA defines Palestinian refugees as: "People whose normal place of residence was Palestine between June 1946 and May 1948, who lost both their homes and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict". UNRWA definition excludes post-1948 displaced Palestinians. When the Agency began operations in 1950, it was responding to the needs of about 750,000 Palestine refugees. Today, some 5 million Palestinian refugees are eligible for UNRWA services. More than one million refugees whose displacement dates back to 1947-1948 are not registered with UNRWA, 340,016 Palestinians are registered with UNHCR (BADIL, 2011; UNHCR, UNRWA 2007). According to the most recent Special Statistical Bulletin issued by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS, 2015) on the 67th Anniversary of the Palestinian Nakba (May 2015), the estimated Palestinian population in the world totaled 12.1 million by the end of 2014. This indicates that the number of Palestinians worldwide has multiplied 8.6-fold in the 67 years since the Nakba. According to statistics, the total number of Palestinians living in historic Palestine by the end of 2014 was 6.1 million and this number is expected to rise to 7.1 million by the end of 2020 based on current growth rates. The number of Palestinians in State of Palestine (1967 Occupied Palestinian Territories) was estimated

at 4.6 million at the end of 2014: 2.8 million in the West Bank and 1.8 million in Gaza Strip. The number of Palestinians in Jerusalem governorate at the end of 2014 was around 415 thousand, of whom 62.1% lives in the areas of Jerusalem illegally annexed by Israel in 1967 (PCBS, 2015).

Statistical data also show that refugees constitute 43.1 % of the total Palestinian population in the State of Palestine. UNRWA records showed that there were 5.49 million Palestinian refugees registered in mid- 2014. Around 29.0% of Palestinian registered refugees live in 58 refugee camps, of which 10 are in Jordan, 9 in Syria, 12 in Lebanon, 19 in the West Bank, and 8 in Gaza Strip. These estimates represent the minimum number of Palestinian refugees, given the presence of nonregistered refugees. These estimates also do not include Palestinians who were displaced between 1949 and the 1967 war, according to the UNRWA definition, and do not include the non-refugees who left or were forced to leave in the aftermath of the war in 1967.

According to Badil survey from 2007, the total number of displaced Palestinians was 7.1 million, including 6.6 million refugees, 4,766,670 of whom were registered with the UNRWA, and 427,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs). Generally, the term IDPs refers to Palestinians displaced within Israel and 1967-occupied Palestinians territories (OPT). According to these figures, 67 percent of all Palestinians worldwide were refugees or IDP's. These figures don't reflect the complexity of the refugee's situation, as tens of thousands of them were subject to repeated displacements within and out of host countries. More than 17000 Palestinian refugees had to leave Iraq in the aftermath of 2003 occupation. In 2007, the number of displaced Palestinian Refugees

from Nahr Al-bared camp in Lebanon exceeded 31000, most them weren't able to go back. The most recent episode of displacement of refugees of the Palestinian Diaspora took place in the Yarmuk camp near Damascus within the context of the raging civil war in Syria, with IDPs representing around 10%. Significantly, IDPs represent 50% of the Palestinian population In Israel (Badil, Survey 2013-2015).

The escalating dynamic of the conflict is set to generate new refugees and displaced people on regular basis due to policies of the Israeli settler-colonialism. Occupation, land confiscation, Judaization of Arab regions, construction of settlements, ongoing plans of displacement of Palestinian Bedouins in south of Israel (Prawer plan), and official transfer scenarios overstepped the academic debate and the inflammatory political rhetoric to actual operative policies.

"In October 2010, the Israeli police simulated a scenario whereby parts of Israel in which Palestinians lived were appended to the West Bank – while the illegal Jewish settlements in the West Bank were incorporated into the Jewish state. For that maneuver the army and police were ordered to use excessive force of the kind they had used in October 2000, when the Palestinians in Israel protested against the Israeli policy in the occupied territories; an event that ended with the killing of thirteen Palestinian citizens by the Israeli police" (Pappe, 2011, p. 5).

Today, refugees and repatriation are the most critical issues in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians (Dumper, 2006).

The process of becoming refugees

For most Palestinian the gradual awareness of becoming refugees presented itself with a very disorganized, unpredictable and even deceitful manner; becoming refugees "certainly did not produce a clear trajectory from home to place of exile" (Feldman, 2006:, p.4). In some cases the geographical border defining their condition of refugees was marked only after they left their villages to nearby one fleeing war.

Some have been expelled from their home more than one time. In some cases people were allowed to return to their homes to be expelled later. Others have been deported to neighboring countries, and returned illegally to the newly founded state of Israel Isarel but not to their own villages and homes.

For most Palestinians who remained in Israel, the condition of refugees was imposed on them by the mere transformation of the geographical landscape. Their particular situation probably requires a wider and more sophisticated definition of refugees that is not bounded to territorialization but rather inclusive of the cultural and political dimensions.

Palestinian refugees and IDPs in Israel

While the vast majority of Palestinians were displaced and dispersed throughout the region and the world, up to 156000 Palestinians (W. Khalidi, 1992, p. 581), came under

the rule of the newly established state of Israel. In 2014 they were estimated to be 1.5 million. In the 1948 territories, the sex ratio is 102.2 males per 100 females, while 35.4% of the population is below 15 years of age and 4.3% are aged 65 years and over, based on available statistics relating to Palestinians living in Israel in 2013. This illustrates that the composition of the Palestinian population in the 1948 territory is young, as it is in Palestinian society as a whole (Khalidi, 1992).

45000 of the remaining Palestinian minority, according to UNRWA estimate in 1950 (Wakim, 2001), were considered IDPs. In one of the most comprehensive papers to date on this issue (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2011), Sabbagh-Khoury analyses the history, demographic and legal aspects of the IDPs situation. The category "internally displaced in Israel" includes Palestinians who were driven out from their homes by the Jewish forces (subsequently Israeli) prior to the foundation of the State of Israel, or by institutions under the authority of the State of Israel following its establishment, and who remained within the borders of the State of Israel (Sabbagh-Khoury, 2011). Two groups of IDPs emerge from this definition: a majority group of 1948 IDPs, (i.e. displaced during 1948 war) classified as "present absentees" under Israeli law they are and post-1948 IDPs, and group of post-1948 IDPs expelled from their homes in different Israeli operations between 1948 and 1952.

Chapter 2

Debate on Nakbah

"We've succeeded in introducing the term nakbah to the Zionist lexicon"

A., first generation participant

A nakbah tale of resourcefulness and trauma

"With the dispersal, no one knew what had happened to their friends and acquaintances. Still not far from school days, I started asking about my old classmates, my friends, and their families. One day when I was on a bus in Damascus, I saw Dahoudiyya, an old classmate of mine at Schmidt's Girls College, who came from one of Jerusalem's biggest and most affluent families, walking in the Salhiyya center. She was wearing an untidy black scarf, a look of abandonment on her face, carrying a child on one arm and dragging another miserable-looking little girl by the hand. I jumped off at the next stop and ran back, looking for her. She had disappeared. That image was to haunt me all my life. But I have another image, a happier one, of resourcefulness under adversity. Yusra Hamou, the daughter of my father's former secretary in Acre, a beautiful and aristocratic-looking young woman, refused to remain a poor and bitter refugee. Her husband had been a teacher in Palestine, but so soon after the influx of such numbers of refugees he could not find work in Damascus. With her large family living on the meager refugee allowance, she decided to do something to change their lot, and there followed a story from the pages of the Arabian Nights. From a Damascene neighbor with whom she had forged a friendship she borrowed a stylish dress; from my mother she borrowed a handbag, some makeup, and perfume. She then made the rounds of my mother's friends until she was impeccably attired, including an expensive fur jacket. Borrowing taxi money from my mother, she went straight to the presidential

32

mansion on the official day the president's wife received guests without appointments; arriving in such elegance, the porters could not bar her entrance. With her charm and wit, she endeared herself to the president's wife and was able to obtain an audience with President Quwwatli himself. As a result, not only were packages of food and clothing from the presidency delivered to the family, but her husband was invited for an interview at the Ministry of Education and was offered a teaching post" (Khadra Al Jayyusi, 1998, p.29).

In one of his last poems, "At the Station of a Train Which Fell off the Map", Mahmoud

Darwish, the national Palestinian poet, writes:

"I stood at the station, not to wait for the train, or for my hidden feelings in the aesthetics of some distant object,
But to know how the sea went mad and how the place broke like a porcelain jar,
To know when I was born, where I lived, how birds migrated South or North, Is what is left of me still enough for the light imaginary to triumph over the decay of the real?" (Darwish, 2009, p.26).

At the sixtieth anniversary of Nakba, Mahmoud Darwish, the Palestinian national poet

contemplates the debris left by the war in the vanishing landscape of his place of birth

and in his inner world. He relives the "gone mad" scenery of his childhood, the falling

apart of a familiar small universe, and the ungraspable moment of becoming a refugee

and homeless. Displaced as child, and politically persecuted and self-exiled as an adult,

he repeatedly evokes the "devastating event" (Papadopoulos, 2007), the shattering loss

of home and homeland in their basic physical/psychological duality (Papadopoulos,

2002).

The personal narrative of the poet, his repeated poeticized attempt to understand,

organize and give meaning to a traumatic event is deeply embedded in the national

narrative. "Human life has always been deeply embedded in a web of narratives which

in turn allow individuals, communities, cultures and nations to express who they are,

where they have been, how they have lived and what they aspire to" (Goodson and Gill, 2011, p.6). Poets in general, and national poets in particular, play a fundamental role in shaping collective narratives, i.e. social constructions of interrelated sequences of past and present, personal and collective events merged into a belief system and a shared group identity (Bruner, 1990).

The individual in-verse narratives of poets expose, name and question fractures and silences interspersed in the specific fabric of collective narratives of their community, performing a mitigating function of collective conflictual emotions (Arlow, 1985), while helping themselves and their community to change and transform both their stories and, consequently, their lived experiences (Goodson and Gill, 2011).

The poem ends with a dramatic flow of insights and "lost-and-found-and-renewed" validation of aliveness and identity, where intuition counteracts "objective" historical facts:

"For my eternal wound there is a tribunal without a neutral judge
Tired of truth, the judges tell me: It is just that traffic accidents are common.
The train fell off the map
and you were burned by the past's ember
It was not an invasion!
But I say: It's just that I only trust my intuition.
I'm still alive!"
(Darwish, 2009, p.26)

For many decades, the Palestinian shared conventional narrative of the nakbah has been, in the first place, the telling of the geo-political and socio-cultural undoing of Palestine in 1948, directly experienced or recalled in the form of personal memories by the first generation, or received post-memories (Hirsch, 2012) by the second and third

generation, all encapsulated in the grimly definitive Arabic term, the nakbah, the immense disaster of unimaginable proportions, the unprecedented and almost unpreventable calamity, the cataclysmic event. But it is conceptualized, more insistently in the last two decades, as a continuing predicament and unyielding "Sumud" (steadfastness) of Palestinians in their different locations inside and outside of historic Palestine; suffering and struggling for freedom and return of refugees, for individual and collective rights, and against occupation and ethnic cleansing that amounts, in recent sociological writings, to genocide (Shaw, 2010; Levene, 2005, 2007; Rashed, Short, 2012; Rashed, 2014), or "sociocide" (Galtung, 2012). Shaw (2010), contesting the "international historical perspective" on genocide that defines genocide by its aims rather by its means, argues that disintegration of Palestinian society and the massive displacement of Indigenous Palestinians propelled by the dynamic of war, are genocidal in part, despite the absence of a master plan of a total extermination of Palestinians. Galtung (1969) argues, with regards to Palestine, for the need of introducing the concept of "sociocide" intended as the structural and direct violence, and the planned wounding-killing of a society by preventing it from meeting its survival needs: security, economic sustainability, cultural identity and political autonomy (Galtung, 2012). The international scholarship and associated debates and discourses on the nature and effects of the nakbah are still far from being brought to a conclusion, as the reality of the nakbah itself, though changing in content and signification is still operating and periodically escalating. The narrative of the nakbah has been going, as collective narratives usually do, through various, non-linear tides, shifts and adjustments (Bruner,

35

1990; Goodson and Gill, 2011), as consequence of many internal and external factors that will be examined in the next paragraphs. The term nakbah was coined by Qunstantin Zurayk, a Lebanese pan-Arabist intellectual in his pamphlet Ma'na al-Nakbah (The Meaning of the Catastrophe), published in Beirut in August 1948, while the war was still raging; it was retrospectively appreciated as the first serious and polemic effort to make sense of a what was progressively conceived as a chronicle of a manmade calamity foretold. For Zurayk, the nakbah has been a revealing symptomatic manifestation of the deep-seated cultural crisis of the Arab world, and thus its reversal demanded an "all-encompassing revolution" (Zurayk, 1994[1948], p. 221) and radical modernization of the ways of thinking, working and living of Arabs. In his clear-cut and premonitory phrasing, the 1948 war led to "a catastrophe in the full sense of the word" (ibid. 11) where Arab responsibilities conjured with a colonially crafted Zionist design to control Arab resources. Though of great importance, the articulation of the meaning of the nakbah in a more Arab and pan-Arab cultural terms and its long-standing effects on the political system of the Arab world are not at the centre of the present debate mainly concerned with the Palestinian historicization and experience. The 1948 war aftermath displayed a dark disaster scene: "A society disintegrated, a people dispersed, and a complex and historically changing but taken for granted communal life was ended violently" (Abu-Lughod and Sa'adi, 2007, p.3). The word nakbah conveys the tragic magnitude and inconceivability of a defeat that has permanently and irreversibly affected the lives of Palestinians in historic and diasporic Palestine; they were physically and culturally dispossessed of their country, expelled out of their homes to unknown

destination *(*Zurayk, (1994[1948])*)*, "many by psychological warfare and/or military pressure and a very large number at gun-point" (Masalha, 2009, p. 1). A whole world of experiences and understandings dissolved in the murkiness of diaspora. The place was, in the poetic language of the above-cited Mahmoud Darwish, broken like "a porcelain jar", the land was occupied and de-arabized, the native Palestinian population was either forcibly exiled or internally displaced, or oppressively placed under a military government. Home was lost: "The first loss which the rightless suffered was the loss of their homes, and this meant the loss of the entire social texture into which they were born and in which they established for themselves a distinct place in the world" (Arendt, 1949, p. 26).

Large portions of private properties were destroyed and/or confiscated, the sovereignty of native Palestinians over their land was ceased and their existence subjected to meticulous colonial practices staged in full compliance with the spirit of a determined yet conflicted settler project (Robinson, 2013; Sa'di, 2013; Massad, 2005, 2006). Similarly to other colonialisms (Hechter, 1975; Samson 2003), the Israeli internal colonialism against the native Palestinians of Israel (Zureik, 1979; Zureik, Lyon, Abu-Laban, 2010; Yiftachel, 2012) performed "the conscious destruction of the relationships of a people to a land that historically gave meaning, purpose, and order to their existence as a society" (Samson, 2003, p.9), transforming them into citizen strangers (Robinson, 2013) and marginalized and racially discriminated second-class residents in their homeland (Pappe, 2011). Indeed, the "continuing nakbah" in historic Palestine encompasses a multitude of political, bureaucratic, and security practices of

displacement (Pappe, 2011), "sociocide" (Galtung, 2012), "culturecide" (Stein, 2003)

that are at the core of settler colonialism. In fact, these assaults on Palestinian culture

fully respond to the criteria of cultural genocide (Chehata, 2010). Nersessian (2005)

formulates a comprehensive definition of cultural genocide:

"Cultural genocide extends beyond attacks upon the physical and/or biological elements of a group and seeks to eliminate its wider institutions. This is done in a variety of ways, and often includes the abolition of a group's language, restrictions upon its traditional practices and ways, the destruction of religious institutions and objects, the persecution of clergy members, and attacks on academics and intellectuals. Elements of cultural genocide are manifested when artistic, literary, and cultural activities are restricted or outlawed and when national treasures, libraries, archives, museums, artifacts, and art galleries are destroyed or confiscated" (Nersessian, 2005, para.3).

 In his report "cultural genocide in Palestine", Chehata (2010) surveys the Israeli policies

in historic Palestine:

"In the context of the situation in Palestine, however one chooses to define culture, every aspect of Palestinian culture has in some way been subject to desecration or destruction by Israel. There is no element of Palestinian society that has been left unspoiled by the acts of the Israeli government. When it is not Israeli tanks doing the destroying, then it is the Israeli government's policies. Aspects of Palestinian society that have been decimated by Israel include, inter alia, houses, historical sites, ancient artefacts, places of worship, agricultural land, educational infrastructure, medical and healthcare facilities, economic institutions and so on. The list is almost endless and all such destruction is, without doubt, in breach of international laws and conventions" (Chehata, 2010, para. 11).

Relatedly, an extensive process of "memoricide" (Masalha, 2012; Pappe, 2011) and

"symbolic genocide" targeted the Palestinian cultural heritage, including written and

printed cultural archives, public libraries, and the records of educational institutions

which was, for the large part, looted or lost (Ghanem, 2009); additional acts of

memoricide were perpetrated against the urban and rural landscape where streets,

neighborhoods and towns were renamed with new biblical, Zionist and Jewish names (Sa'di, 2006; Benvenisti, 2000).

The nakbah, the unmaking of Palestine (Abboushi, 1985), is the consequence and realization of a colonial view of the world whose devastating forms of structural and direct violence (Galtung, 1969), psychosocial intergenerational effects, and ensuing acts of resistance, are central to the Palestinian social history, collective identity, and political present and future (Masalha, 2008; Sa'di, 2001).

In the Palestinian narrative, the nakbah has been carried out under the colonial auspices of the Zionist movement, preceding and exceeding the course of the 1948 war itself to cover more than one century of destructive colonizing practices in Palestine still in action until this very day. According to this narrative, "Zionism is also a colonial movement made possible by a European colonizing world, which Zionism hoped it could both assist and extend" (Massad, 2005, p.16), animated as it has been by religiously-laden nationalist aspirations, and located within the context of imperialism and capitalism (Galtung, 1972; Touma, 1973). Whereas, the Israeli Zionist narrative emphasizes the idea of national rebirth after a long diaspora and painful history of mainly European anti-Semitic persecution, the 1948 war as a "war of independence" against aggressive Arab countries, and the dismissal of responsibility for the Palestinian refugee plight deemed as an Arab problem to be resolved within Arab countries with help of the international community (Morris, 2004; Manna`, 2015), i.e. practically denying any possibility of Palestinian refugees returning to their homes. The Israeli rejection of the right of return of Palestinian refugees is accentuated by the Israeli "Law

of return" that exclusively grants all Jews anywhere in the world to immigrate and settle permanently in Israel on the Palestinian land. The Jewish "ingathering of exiles", or "ingathering of the Jewish diaspora", a core idea of the Zionist narrative, is achieved at the expense of protracted Palestinian diaspora.

Right of Return: UN and other international organizations' Resolutions

The Palestinian right of return is denied by Israel despite a number of resolutions of the UN general assembly and other relevant organizations recognizing its legality, applicability and inalienability:

United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194 passed on December 11, 1948, article 11: "refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date".

United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3236 adopted November 22, 1974, article 2: "reaffirms also the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes".

United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 on November 22, 1967, affirms the necessity for "achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem".

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10 December 1948, article 13.2:"Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country".

The Geneva Conventions of 1949, article 45: "Protected persons shall not be transferred to a Power which is not a party to the Convention. This provision shall in no way constitute an obstacle to the repatriation of protected persons or to their return to their country of residence after the cessation of hostilities" (ICRC, p. 51).

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (23 March 1976), article 12.4: "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country" (www.ohchr.org).

The Israeli government, on his part, has adamantly contested these arguments principally on the basis of the non-bindingness and the different interpretation of most of the abovementioned resolutions (Bowker, 2003).

The nakbah file

Nevertheless, providing an indication to the burning political relevancy of the narrative struggle around the Palestinian refugee issue, just recently Haaretz (2016) newspaper reported that "Israeli government is likely to keep classified the so called "nakbah file":

"one of the main files in the Israel Defense Forces archives that concerns the creation of the Palestinian refugee problem in 1948…the file, whose number is 681-922/1975, includes material commissioned by then prime minister David Ben-Gurion in the early 1960s to prove that nearly a million Palestinians who lived in cities and villages in what became Israeli territory in 1948 fled of their own accord during the War of Independence, and weren't expelled by the IDF… the Foreign Ministry noted that releasing it could affect Israel's ability to deal with future negotiations with the Palestinians or decisions by the UN Security Council on core issues of a permanent arrangement like the refugee issue" (Ravid, 2006, website).

Dr. Shay Hazkani, an Israeli historian at the Meyerhoff Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Maryland, who submitted a request to the IDF archive to release the classified file to the public, is quoted by the newspaper: "both the state and IDF archives were preventing researchers from Israel and the world from telling the story of 1948 in its entirety" (Ravid, 2016, para. 13).

Four narratives of Zionism

However, Zionism wasn't a mono narrative Ideology; despite its hegemonic revisionist narrative, it has displayed other three narratives: Jewish antizionism, culturally diverse wright-wing ideological Zionism, former Zionists (first embraced and later repudiated Zionism), and Cristian Zionism (Rabkin, 2009). Azulai (2011) rejects the Zionist narrativization of nakbah transformed by the Israeli regime into "what they (Palestinians) see as a disaster", whereas constituent violence of this disaster became an essential component in the foundation of the Israeli regime.

This clash of identities (Kimmerling, 2008) and narratives over the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Rouhana, Bar Tal, 1998), with the respective ethos of conflict, i.e. conflict supportive cognitive schema (Bar Tal, 2004, 2013) and the Nakbah/Independence as its salient semantic rift, invests the root causes of the conflict, the meaning of the historical developments, and the role played by the in-group and the out-group during the various stages of the conflict. Nevertheless, it is also joined by common and conflicting

components of victimhood, perception of exclusive entitlement legitimacy, growing politicization of religion, holy land and Jerusalem (Bar Tal, Rouhana, 1998). Exposing his concept of conflict-supporting narratives, Bar Tal places, in an article on the liberal Israeli newspaper "Haaretz", much of the responsibility of the political stalemate on the Israeli politicians (Haaretz, 9/9/2016).

The launch of a recent book, edit by a Jewish Israeli historian and a Palestinian Israeli political theorist, "The Holocaust and the Nakbah: memory, national identity and Jewish-Arab Partnership" (Bashir, Goldberg, 2015), stirred a public controversy and a heated debate especially on the Israeli side vehemently contesting the mere juxtaposition of the holocaust and the nakbah. Critics argued for the incomparability of the two experiences and for the uniqueness of the Holocaust, whereas the Palestinian coauthor, Bashir, states in an interview with "Nakba files" website (2016): "We need to put the Holocaust and the Nakba together in a historical context tied to phenomena such as colonialism, nationalism, state-building, and ethnic cleansing" (The Nakbah Files, 2006, para 5).

In an earlier article, product of the same experience of a Jewish-Arab dialogue group on the holocaust and the nakbah hosted by the Van Leer institute in 2008 that gave inspiration to the book, the both authors refer to the centrality of the experience of refugeeism in both holocaust and nakbah narratives:

"We claim that the figure of the refugee, a product and victim of the ethnically homogenizing modern nation-state, who is intimately connected to both the Holocaust and the Nakbah, serves as a herald of disruptive politics; politics that challenges the rigidity and dichotomy of identity politics and favours empathy, partnership, joint

dwelling and integration instead of separation, segregation, and oppressive assimilation in Israel/Palestine" (Bashir, Goldberg, 2014, p.79).

Drawing on LaCapra's concept "empathic unsettlement" (La Capra, 2001, p.214-16) intended as an empathically affective openness to and recognition of the other's traumatized otherness, the authors consider the refugee "a major political and cultural figure who, despite all the differences, links the Jewish Holocaust to the Palestinian Nakbah and stands as a figure of radical critique of the exclusionary ethnic model of the nation-state" (Bashir, Goldberg, 2014, p. 92).

Nakbah in the Palestinian literature

Fiction works in both Palestinian and Israeli literatures achieved fine artistic renderings addressing the intertwinings between holocaust, nakbah and the refugee issue. Ghassan Kanafani, a refugee himself, depicts in his iconic novella, "Return to Haifa", the coming back, after the 1967 war, of a couple of Palestinian refugees to their abandoned home in Haifa, now inhabited by a couple of Jewish holocaust survivors and their child, who is actually the Palestinian couple's son they had lost in the panicked frenzy of the war and the displacement. Few decades later, a Jewish Israeli writer, Sami Micheal, published a sequel of Kanafani's novella, "doves in Trafalgar", where the two brothers divided by history and politics, meet again though with a tragic note.

The more recent award-winning "Destinies: concerto of the holocaust and the nakbah", of the Palestinian refugee author Rabai al-Madhoun (2015) traces the concerted destinies of nakbah exodus, the holocaust and the Palestinian right of return.

Elias Khoury, a Lebanese novelist, while elevating the Palestinian plight to a metaphor of modern human injustice, explores in two his well-known novels, "The gate of the sun" (1998), and "The children of the Ghetto: my name is Adam" (2016), the tragic twists of the Jewish and Palestinian narratives, bound to diasporic identities and caught in an inescapable bind.

Most of these novels focus on the foundational dimension of refugeeism of the Palestinian modern identity and on the paradoxical yet resilient existence of the Palestinians in Israel variously impacted by the refugee psychosocial experience.

A research through personal narratives on the Palestinian subjectivity and identity affected by the continuing nakbah-related various forms of exile, fits in a wider decolonizing approach (Smith, 1991) to understanding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and its psychosocial effects.

In conclusion, one cannot overstate the centrality of the Palestinian refugees' issue to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: "The Palestinian refugee issue is the most difficult of the outstanding problems in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. With a growth rate of approximately 3.1 per cent, the registered refugee population of over 4 million is increasing at approximately 124,000 per annum" (UNRWA, 2004). It is therefore an issue that will not fade away over time and delay only increases the magnitude of the

problems to be solved. The personal suffering and political instability in the Middle East caused by the non-resolution of this issue is plain to see" (Dumper, 2006, p.2)

The main narratives of the Nakbah

In more than 68 years of protracted and unresolved conflict the nakbah has become the key site of Palestinian collective memory and national identity (Sa'di, 2002; Sa'di and Abu-Lughod, 2007), in historic and diasporic Palestine. Though the identity formation of the Palestinians was not exclusively ignited and catalyzed by the loss of their homes and country during *the* nakbah (1948), it is crucially shaped by these catastrophic losses and their abidingness and open-endedness (Falah, 1996). Significantly, recent sociological research testifies to the lasting centrality and relevance of the nakbah to the collective memory and national identity of the Palestinians citizens of Israel, emblematically known as 1948 Palestinians (Sorek, 2011; Koldas, 2011).

The early attempts to understand its reasons and meanings, gave place to a historical political nakbah discourse which was influenced by the emerging Arab nationalism in the early 1950's. The unsparingly investigative books of Zurayk, George Hanna (1948), Musa Al-'Alami (1949) and others, mostly historical and lacking psychological insights, signaled an intellectual courage to deal publically and early on with the momentous fallouts of a virtually unparalleled collective adversity.

Though unsystematic and constrained by the volatile political reality of the Arab world, and by a general fatalistic sense of defeat in its immediate wake, the Palestinian and Arab debate on nakbah has not abstained from a lucid analysis and poignant self-critique (Zurayk, (1994[1948]; Masalha, 2005; Abdel Jawad, 2006; Pappe, 2006, 2011, Abu-Lughod and Sa'adi, 2007; Ghanem, 2011). Besides the analytical convergence on the grave responsibilities and the crucial collusions of the Superpowers of the time (Great Britain, USA and the Soviet Union) in causing the Palestinian plight, and on the quantitative and qualitative military superiority of the Jewish factions in Palestine, several authors have also highlighted internal responsibilities and autogenous factors that contributed decisively to the shocking collapse of the Palestinian society in 1948. The early historical and political analyses focused on the contradictions and vulnerabilities inside the Arab world and the Palestinian society, the military confusion and unpreparedness for the war, the underestimation of the strength of the enemy and the lack of collective sense of responsibility among Palestinians and Arabs. Summarizing the early Arab and Palestinian political narratives of the nakbah, Al-Hardan (2015) affirms that "as early as 1956, the nakbah had already encapsulated various and competing significations: the pan-Arab nationalist catastrophe, the catastrophe brought about by Zionist and imperial collusion, the catastrophe brought upon the Palestinians by their own leadership or by the people themselves, and the catastrophe wrought on the Palestinians in particular, and the Arabs in general, in Palestine" (Al- Hardan, 2015, p. 627).

Vibrant calls urging a deep social and political reform in the Arab world were a leitmotiv in the abovementioned analyses (Manna`, 2015). However, inextricably implicated in a historical moment of an anti-colonial Arab discourse and at times directly involved political protagonists of the 1948 defeat, "what the pre- 1948 generation of men did not produce was a thorough analysis of the failures of the Palestinian national movement during its brief thirty-years leadership under British colonial rule in Palestine" (Al-Hardan, 2015, p.626).

The Palestinian historical narratives of the nakbah were inevitably disposed in the fierce historical and political discursive struggle against the powerful and influential Zionist narrative (Pappe, 2006; Lentin, 2010; Manna' and Golani, 2011). This historiographical dispute represents a pivotal element in the structure and dynamic of the conflict, placing refugees and right of return at its very epicenter (Azulai, 2011; Brynen & El-Rifai, 2007, 2013; Dumper, 2006; Morris, 2004; Rouhana, Bar Tal, 1998). Relatedly, the right of return of Palestinian refugees still plays up till this very moment a major role in both Palestinian and Jewish Israeli ethos of conflict (Rouhana, Bar Tal, 1998; Bar Tal, 2004). The right of return movement gained more visibility and endorsement after the 1993 Oslo peace accords perceived by Palestinian refugees as a political ritual of renunciation of the promised and believed return. The narrative strategies have been deployed as political weapons:

"To set the Palestinian narrative against the Zionist one is not an abstruse academic exercise; it is a historiographical confrontation with immediate implications and stark outcomes. Vocabulary deployed by professional historians speaks to battles about past historical events that possess powerful legal and political force in the present to influence core issues, for example, the status of Palestinian refugees, their right of

return, and their claims for restitution and reparation. To debate why Palestinians left in 1948, the terms espoused by historians presuppose widely divergent ideological, and hence policy, conclusions: expulsion versus self-expulsion, abandonment, flight, exodus, evacuation, uprooting, displacement, dispersion, exile, depopulation, population transfer, ethnic cleansing, sociocide and politicide" (Slyomovics, 2007, p.28).

As highlighted by Slyomovics, the unwavering debate around the issue of the Palestinian refugees, with its armamentarium of mutually contested facts and semantics, is indicative to its cardinality and indispensability for understanding and dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict both politically and psychologically (Rouhana, Bar Tal, 1998). It epitomizes the Palestinian major adversity developing along various trajectories in space and time. In fact, the experience of becoming refugees has been following many routes (Manna', 2015), including alternating experiences of exile and return, repeated internal displacements, successive deportations from one exile country to another due to wars, socioeconomic adversities, and the predicament of the Palestinian refugees in the long bloody civil war in Syria is only the most recent example of double and triple exiles since 1948 (Al-Hardan, 2016), following the big expulsion of Palestinians from Lebanon, Kuwait, Iraq and other Arab countries. Palestinian refugees in the Al Yarmouk refugee camp caught in the crossfire of the Syrian conflict, and forced yet again to leave a place they learned in many years of refugeedom to call home, relate to their new forcible dislocation as a second nakbah (ibid.).

As exemplified earlier, the Palestinian literature preoccupied itself with the refugee experience and destiny. Other two Palestinian iconic novels, narrate powerfully the story of those who were forced to leave and those who succeeded, against all odds, in

remaining, in a state of internal displacement e/or exile not completely in line with formal definitions.

Ghassan Kanafani's "Men in the sun" (1962) features the tragic fate of three diasporic Palestinian refugees travelling clandestinely through the Iraqi desert in search for better life chances. The Palestinian novelist follows with autobiographical insights their modern odyssey concluded with a silent death of asphyxiation (before arriving at their destination) in the tanker truck that transported them and with desperate cry of the driver ("Why didn't they knock on the tank").

On the other geopolitical internal side of the Palestinian predicament, Emile Habibi's "The secret life of said the pessoptimist" ("pessoptimist": a neologism binding together in one paradoxical survival way of life in a suddenly unrecognizable and unpredictable world and pessimist and optimist) portrays the kafkaesaeque and "adventurous" existence of a first generation refugee then internally displaced Palestinian in the newly established state of Israel. The writer himself was an author and politician Palestinian citizen of Israel who remained in in Haifa in the newly established state of Israel, while others of his family members including his mother became refugees.

The "pessoptimist" investigates, through the eyes of intelligibly symbolic characters, the secret and silenced psychological life of the Palestinians in Israel who, though increasingly more eloquent and communicative, have not told their whole story yet. Indeed Manaa` (2015) points to an important gap in the historiographical confrontation between Israelis and Palestinians embodied by the silence of the Palestinians who remained in the state of Israel. The silence assumes also the form of the generic and

homogenizing description and understanding of the nakbah and refugee experiences. The appreciation of the differential psychosocial impact of the nakbah on Palestinian individuals and groups is a *conditio sine qua non* for any comprehensive and more complex approach for the study of the Palestinian narrative. The Palestinians in Israel became and were made refugees in different ways, times and circumstances related to the pre-1948 and post-1948 history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Manna`, 2015) part of which do not comply with the legal definition of refugee; their refugee experience were triggered by expulsion in 1948 outside of historic Palestine, by displacement to the then-still-unoccupied 1967 Palestinian territories, by internal displacement during and after 1948 war within the newly established state of Israel, by "temporary administrative" displacement transmuted in a permanent one (see the case of Iqrit, Birim and other Palestinian villages) remaining as undisplaced "citizen strangers" (Robinson, 2013) in their geographically and culturally transfigured and increasingly unrecognizable country, and enduring 19 years of military rule the lifting of which in 1965 didn't end the deep-rooted policy of discrimination, by experiencing various ongoing forms of direct and indirect displacement, i.e. relocation, development initiatives, and process of urbanization carried out especially among the Palestinian Bedouins in southern area of the country (Abu-Saad, 2008), by facing a growing existential uncertainty due to restrictive and repressive political measures, by belonging to different generations of refugee's descendants born and raised Israel, in the west Bank and Gaza.

Recently, namely after the 1993 Oslo peace accords signed between the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Israeli government, a psychological nakbah discourse appeared to gain an expanding ground in the nakbah debate among Palestinians in general and Palestinians citizens of Israel in particular. The historical peace process, perceived by the Palestinians as a threat to the right of return and doomed to failure (Said, 1995; Usher, 1999; Shlaim, 2005), crushed ultimately undermined by the right of return, inter alia. In the following paragraphs I will review and address critically both nakbah narratives and suggest from a psychosocial perspective what I will argue to be a more comprehensive and balanced psychosocially informed narrative.

Historical political Nakbah narratives

Definition of historical narrative

Historical narratives constitute a dynamic and handy archive of representations and theories of a history of a group, providing it with foundations for the group identity, values, norms, myths, and political agenda and intergroup relations (Hammack and Pilecki, 2014). Historical narratives are usually dominated by a masternarrative, i.e. a sociocultural construction that represents a shared mental ideological point of reference for analyzing and making sense and judgements of a specific social reality,

(Bamberg & Andrews, 2004). Narratives and group identity are so deeply intertwined that any threat to one can perceived as a threat to the other (Hammack & Pilecki, 2014; Liu, Fisher, Onar, & Woodward, 2014).

The counter-memory of nakbah

"A solid and comprehensive narrative about the 1948 war is still lacking" (Abdel Jawad, 2006). Facing the threat of "memoricide" (Pappe, 2011), i.e. a state-enforced cancellation of Palestinian presence on the land, an oral Palestinian counter-memory asked to be written. More eloquently in recent decades, the nakbah narrative has been increasingly challenging a pervasive yet increasingly fustigated Zionist narrative of civilizational endeavor in the name of Western values and Jewish nationalist ethos (Abu-Lughod and Sa'adi 2007; Aarnoson, 1996; Penslar, 2007; Masaad, 2007). According to this Independence and post-holocaust national resurrection narrative, "the plight of the Palestinian refugees was neither the fault nor the responsibility of the Zionist leaders" (Lentin, 2010). Consequently, "the struggle of Palestinian citizens of Israel today... is not a normal anti-colonial struggle or one that demands national or ethnic or civil rights, but rather an "abnormal" struggle to reverse the nakbah" (Masaad, 2008).

In subsequent decades the study of nakbah was dominated by a historical approach, starting with often frustrating efforts to transform raw, fragmented and inarticulate memories into historical materials of public interest. The massive expulsion of Palestinians from Palestine and the fear of disappearance from history have determined the burgeoning of historical and commemorative practices and rituals of oral history. History and memory, and to the extent that served as a buffer to guard against disappearance, became an 'emergency science' (Sanbar, 2007) among Palestinians, consolidating their collective identity and confronting the mechanisms of forgetting put

53

into effect by Zionist narrative. The Palestinian fear of disappearance and oblivion was intensified and justified by three Israeli mechanisms of forgetting and erasure of pre-1948 Palestine: 1- *narrative forgetting:* the formation and dissemination of an historical narrative; 2- *physical forgetting:* the destruction of physical remains; and 3- *symbolic forgetting:* the creation of a new symbolic geography of new places *and street names (*Ram, 2009).

A sustained work of memory and oral history in the different Palestinian communities has been progressively produced and discussed by different scholars (Slyomovics, 2013, 1998; Sa'adi, 2002; Allan, 2005; Khalili, L., 2005; Peteet, 2005; Masalha, 2012; Kabaha, 2014). "Thus, while 1948 has remained crucial to collective memory and identity, as the quintessential symbol of collective dispossession, exile and the moment of national loss, its relevance as a political and cultural tool has changed over time - alternately employed to signify victimization and political resistance" (Allan, 2005, p. 49).

"These activities (including the collection of oral testimonies, demonstrations, plays and films re-enacting the experience of expulsion, art exhibits, village histories) have sought to symbolically reclaim and reify the past as a constituting factor of refugee identity, while re-affirming the right of return". Although this cultural politics of commemoration shows the continuing relevance of the idea of return among second- and third-generation refugees, it also highlights the sense that for Diaspora Palestinians membership within the Palestinian polity is becoming increasingly metaphoric" (Allan, 2005, p.50).

But what has been missing in theses Arab and Palestinian historical accounts are paradoxically the voices of the Palestinians who for various reasons and, sometimes, coincidences, remained or returned after a relatively short displacement experience, in the newly established state of Israel (Manna', 2015). The Palestinian narrative of nakbah remained in so far unheard and unrecognized by the outside world, whereas the Zionist narrative found its way to the hearts and mind of the Western public. Similarly, "until very recently, the dominant discourse about the nakbah in Israel at the civil and political societal levels has either neglected or suppressed the Palestinian perspective" (Koldas, 2011, p. 947), culminating in the Israeli government resorting to draconian legislative tools to discursively remove and indeed sanction and outlaw the Palestinian perspective from the historical representation of the 1948 war.

"The questions that need to be asked are why it has taken so long to listen to nakbah memories and testimonies in an alleged age of "never again," and why this alleged listening is taking place without the moral and ethical implications enshrined in international humanitarian law" (Al-Hardan, 2015, p.634).

Psychological nakbah discourse

The dominant historical political discourse of nakbah eventuated in a still incipient essentially trauma-oriented psychological nakbah discourse, i.e. a growing interest in

exploring the psychological understandings and mental health implications of the nakbah on direct and indirect victims.

Trauma discourse

Trauma discourse refers to the positivistic, medically shaped, Western approach to theorizing and understanding trauma in a linear pathologizing fashion oblivious to or insufficiently aware of the complexity and cultural and the political implications of the phenomena, especially in the case of war, refugees, and asylum seekers (Summerfield, 2001; Papadopoulos, 2002, Afuape, 2011).

The nakbah trauma discourse

For many years, the trauma discourse of nakbah seeped into the personal and collective fabrics of the Palestinian narrative, tinting it with its colors, visible and invisible, vivid and blurred, without allowing its complexity to be captured or its various facets to be known. And despite the accumulated efforts of research and documentation, the experience of nakbah continues to be immersed in these shadows thereby preventing the deconstruction and reconstruction of its significance.

While the harrowing suffering caused and still being caused by nakbah amounts to major human miseries, its story is recounted in a partial and truncated manner. The incohesiveness and occasional incoherence of the story can be attributed to the

fragmentary nature of traumatic memories (Van der Kolk, Fisler, 1995), as well as to "politics of trauma" (Kaplan, 2004). The enduring tension between its tragic and celebratory-revolutionary tones could be an indication of its role shaped and stereotyped by media and politics, at the service of a nationalist agenda and a romanticized and pastoral past (Abu-Lughod and Sa'adi, 2007). It is impossible, according to Kaplan, to differentiate the dynamics of memory and forgetting borne of collective trauma from the socio-cultural context of a given group or from the complexity of the relationship between the victim and the victimizer. The nakbah has been transformed into an exclusive and restrictive interpretive reference for the events and collective experiences that preceded and followed it. Moreover, it has become a violent, aching womb of collective identity, transmitting its traumatic heritage to the successive generations by means of politics and postmemory narratives. "Postmemory describes the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic, experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right…Postmemory is distinguished from memory by generational distance and from history by deep personal connection"(Hirsch, 2008, p.5). As the nakbah is remembered by its fourth generation, the concept of postmemory allows for an investigation of the intergenerational interplay of trauma and resilience. The revolutionary ad nationalist narrative in the aftermath of nakbah 1950's has conflicted with latent meaning of nakbah. The term does not name its passive subject becoming the unnamed source of the trauma. With its semantic derivation of "natural disaster", it is an early ad subtle reification of a

57

passivizing and decontextualized trauma discourse. The "complexity, totality and uniqueness" (Papadopoulos, 2004) of the experience is concealed and not-rendered justice. By way of digression, one can argue that trauma discourse of the nakbah has taken complete hold of the Palestinian story and identity in recent years without producing additional knowledge or broadening its horizons in light of new developments in Palestinian life over the past sixty years. The ongoing event has succumbed – starting with the definitive designation of its meaning – to being a one-sided account, one that absolves the Palestinians of their subjectivity and complexity as victims. It seems the Palestinian national identity is an exclusive product of a trauma stripped of its historicity or objectivity. In this sense the trauma of nakbah could be a "chosen trauma". According to Volkan (1998, 2004), the history of national groups is replete with major traumatic events; however, they usually tend to "choose" a specific traumatic event through psychological representations of that event. "A chosen trauma reflects the traumatized past generation's incapacity for or difficulty with mourning losses connected to the shared traumatic event as well as its failure to reverse the narcissistic injury and humiliation inflicted by another large group, usually a geographical neighbor" (Volkan,1998, 2004, website). Accordingly, the national identity of a group is seen as the product of traumatic experience alone, the psychological content inherited mostly unconsciously by individuals from generation to generation. Presumably, the ongoing Israeli policy of surveillance and discrimination against Palestinians in Israel weigh heavily on the fate of Palestinian national identity and its possible unburdening from haunting traumatic psychological legacy. The neglected

58

situation of IDPs, exacerbated by advanced plans of news displacements, represents an eclatant expression of the nakbah-related political practices effected by the Israeli government. If Palestinian identity is more than the product of a traumatic loss, then it can constantly develop through the dialectic between history, historiography, memory, life, literature and art; between the nakbah and the subsequent representations thereof. There must, then, be a dynamic story that is able to accommodate this movement, to rationalize and enrich it as a creative energy of identity that does not ally itself with the past, be it traumatic or glorious, at the expense of both the present and the future.

Psychological research on nakbah

Most research on nakbah has addressed, as noted earlier, its historical and political aspects with focus on memory and identity formation, whereas the psychosocial experience of the nakbah and especially its long-term effects remain ignored and unexplored. In the last three decades a relative flourishing of psychosocial interest has addressed the wellbeing of Palestinian children, adolescents and families under occupation in the West bank and Gaza (Punamaki R.L. & Suleiman, R., 1989, Baker, 1990, Abu Hein, F., Quota, S., Thabet, A, & El-Sarraj, E, 1993, Barber, B.K., 2001). The first Intifada, 1987-1992, the subsequent post-Oslo accord brief period of relative peace, and the second Intifada erupted in 2000, have drawn the attention to the traumatizing and strengthening effects of occupation-related violence on Palestinian

adolescents and children (Neguyen-Gillham, V., Giacaman, R., Naser, G. & Boyce, W.,2008) mainly refugees, of third generation of 1948 Nakba. However, significantly exiguous literature exists on the psychological repercussions of the nakbah as a "traumatizing experience" on individuals, families and community across different generations and geographical and political locations. Far lesser research addressed it in terms of its positive and transformative effects, especially within the context of the Palestinians in Israel.

Essentially positioned within the boundaries of the trauma discourse (Ghnadra-Nasr, 2013, Qossoqsi, 2010), Abu El Heija (2016) research on the second generation of the nakbah shows that nakbah trauma is transmitted to the second generation with detrimental impact on mental health and adjustment, including more negative world assumptions and more feelings of hatred, anger and desire for revenge towards Jews and state of Israel.

In her research on the nakbah first generation of internally displaced Palestinians in Israel (IDPI), Ghnadra-Nasr (2013) relates to several significant correlations between reported level of exposure to potentially traumatic and loss of resources during the nakbah and respectively feelings of anger and vengeance, and feelings of caution and alertness in expressing feelings and thoughts in the present. The most significant correlation was registered between feelings of humiliation and psychological distress and well-being in the present, feelings of anger and vengeance and feelings of caution

and alertness. Interestingly, there were no clear correlations with post-traumatic symptoms.

On the resilient side and following the model of conservation of resources (Hobfoll, 2001), Ghnadra-Nasr indicates 4 main coping strategies among IDPI:

1) Social and community support, 2) active handling of the practical challenges of daily life after the nakbah, 3) emotional deflection and avoidance of internal distress, 4) resorting to religion and faith for reframing of the events they had gone through. Nonetheless, Ghnadrah-Nasr argues that the split between internal and external realities left IDPI with lasting effects of unprocessed nakbah-related traumas, giving place to a ruptured view of their life before and after nakbah, where an idealized, peaceful and secure pre-nakbah life would be starkly juxtaposed with the post-nakbah, uncertain and arduous times of exile and displacement.

Exploration of silence

"The term "silenced narratives" is, indeed, charged with several layers of colonization" (Vaudrin-Charette, 2015, p. 151). The psychological nakbah discourse stems from the "theory of memory as a moral, therapeutic practice" and from critical exploration of the silence that for many decades engulfed and objectified the human personal experiences of nakbah survivors" (Sa'adi and Abu Lughod, 2007; Lentin, 2010).

Despite the dissemination of memory studies in the last three decades, the notion of self-silenced Palestinians (Lentin, 2010) proved hard to interpellate or contest. Different scholars (Azulai, 2011 (2009); Sa'adi and Abu-Lughod, 2007; Allan, 2007; Sanbar, 2007; Koldas, 2011) emphasized 4 main reasons for the long silence of Palestinians over their tragedy: 1) a reaction to an overwhelming traumatic experience and the need for a detachment from the event that can be granted by time, the private silence being translated into discursive silence (Koldas, 2011), 2) the dominance of the Israeli counter narrative claiming that Palestinians were ordered to leave their country by Arab and Palestinian leaders.

3) The daunting impact of the "thorough surveillance" and political control (Sa'adi, 2013) operated by the Israeli political establishment to mold collective identity of the native Palestinian minority and to ensure their passive loyalty to the Israeli state and their disengagement from the diasporic, West Bank and Gaza Palestinians.

4) The lack of national research institutions and state academic apparatus stimulating and investing in sound memory and historical studies.

Another possible explanation of the delayed unveiling of the nakbah narrative is embedded in the nexus of trauma and time. Belated unsilencing of memories, individually and collectively, is an extensively examined phenomenon in trauma psychological studies, where severe post-traumatic suffering is often accompanied by dissociated and unverbalized memories. The failed processing of traumatic information is central to the pathological development of PTSD (Van der Kolk, Fisler, 1995). Thus, a collective remembering of collective adversities requires a historical distance and an

enabling present political context. "Memories of catastrophe take up to one generation to surface – due to survivors and perpetrators being silenced and silencing themselves, often so as to be able to go on living after the catastrophe, and due to histories most often being written by the victors, at least initially" (Lentin, 2010, p.31). Literature, Art, folklore and fictions were invested of the "working-through" function of unbearable collective grief allowing for some distance and temporary forgetfulness from the events of the nakbah and setting research agenda for historians and anthropologists (Slyomovics, 2007).

Sa'adi and Abu-Lughod (2007) impute this silence mainly to the unwillingness of the Western world, Israel and the world Jewry to listen to the Palestinian narrative and its demand for a moral accountability on the part of the West. According to this view, the alleged "elective mutism" of the Palestinians is reframed in terms of the "continuing avoidance and ignorance" of the world (Said, 1979, p. 5), that is an elective emotional and moral deafness to the Palestinians words of suffering and their quest for justice. In a more general sense, silence and silencing are byproducts if not synonyms of the orientalistic hegemonic representation of the other so inherent to the Zionist and western-liberal discourse when it comes to colonial "civilizational" ambitions (ibid). Consequently, the authors argue, the advent of the Israeli "new historians" that has shaken the "foundational myths" of the Zionist narrative of collective denial around nakbah and refugees helped Palestinians to reclaim their repressed voice and reengage with collective and public remembering. Therefore, "It has been possible to partly reconstruct the past and regain some of its representations because enough material

63

and fertile memories managed to elude the shattering experience of the society's disintegration and the stifling international silence (Sa'di, 2002, p.176).

In insisting on the "moral imperative" of narrating nakbah, Masalha (2012) emphasizes its value of political resistance: "the struggles of the ordinary refugees to publicise the truth about the nakbah is a vital way of protecting the refugees rights and keeping the hope for peace with justice alive" (Masalha, 2012). Similarly, Sa'adi and Abu Lughod affirm: "we also see strong evidence that making memories public affirms identity, tames trauma, and asserts Palestinian political and moral claims to justice, redress, and the right to return" (Sa'adi and Abu Lughod, 2007, p.3).

The surge of memory studies in the 1990's, following the first wave of "new historians" (Morris,1987, 1994, 2004; Flappan, 1987; Pappe, 1988; Shlaim, 1988), and coinciding with the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, seems to reflect and benefit from that specific political and cultural conjuncture, to counter-narrate the nakbah and the refugees' problem and affirm Palestinian oral history as scientifically and ethically valid against the distortions and omissions of official Israeli archive (Slyomovics, 2007). Attending to a psychological function, "an oral tradition that memorializes 1948 and restores Palestine through local narratives has thus become an assumed part of everyday practice, merging personal memory with pedagogical commemoration to the point where the past so thoroughly permeates intersubjective relations that even generations who did not experience these events are, in some sense, expected to claim them as their own" (Allan, 2005, p. 48).

Additionally, the Palestinian memory culture has been informed by a rising therapeutic culture (Illouz, 2007) professionally assertive in reclaiming an overshadowed Palestinian subjectivity, humiliated and traumatized, contributing to the "restoration of the individual's subjectivity" (Camargo, de Rocha Lima, and Hippolito, 1985) of Palestinians in Israel and constituting them a marginal emotional community, i.e. a minority group whose emotional behaviors and needs with regard to its seminal disaster are unacknowledged or even confined into illegal narrow realm. Ultimately, the nakbah is "about the tragic fate of the men and women whose lives had been shattered, and about their descendants, who continue to suffer its consequence" (Sa'adi, 2002, p. 176). Suggesting a bottom-up construction of national narrative of nakbah, revived and shaped by individual life stories, Sa'di argues that Nora's concept of "site of memory", i.e. a temporal and spatial point of reference for personal and national narratives, is fundamental to the understanding of the transformative impact of nakbah on the Palestinian collective identity after 1948. Nora sustains that the primary function of the "sites of memory" is "to stop the time, to block the work of forgetting" (Nora, 1989, p.19). Nevertheless he highlights their metamorphic nature susceptible to "endless recycling of their meanings and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications" (ibid). Crucially, the concept "site of memory" challenges the dominant traumatic psychological of nakbah and implies a "narrative framework for historical trauma" and provides the endeavor of psychosocial analysis of the experience of nakbah direct and indirect survivors of different generation with a valuable theoretical tool.

Psychosocial nakbah discourse

Decolonizing nakbah

The nakbah-ridden Palestinian subjectivity hardly received an academic recognition, not to mention the social and political ones. "The dominant political discourse in Israel has attempted to provide the discursive grounds for promoting a sense of loyalty to Israel among the Palestinian community by disassociating it at a discursive level from the Palestinian collective memory and collective identity in general" (Koldas, 2011, p. 947). Beside its removal from the dominant Israeli discourse (Dalsheim,, 2004) the Palestinian perspective on nakbah was notably denied and sanctioned by law prohibiting institutional memorial rituals of Palestinians in Israel, with the Israeli academic establishment readily abiding and generally accommodating the rather bizarre political rules on the subject, with few praiseworthy individual exceptions (Hadar, 2013).

Addressing nakbah by the mental health community in Israel

In 2010, I was, on behalf of the Arab Psychological Association in Israel and "Psychoactive, Mental health for Human Rights" group, among the co-organizers, Palestinian and Jews in Israel, of a conference on the nakbah. The enlightening conceptualizational and organizational process and the pursuit of hospitality by one of the Israeli universities proved to be indicative of the limits and demerits of the Israeli academy when it comes to addressing the nakbah. Even when one the of centres of study within the a major university accepted to sponsor the conference it posed the problematicity of using the word nakbah, though the effective ban was not enforced by the government yet as the proposed bill ban was still in discussion at the Knesset. A solution presented itself in the most paradigmatic and funny of censure-skipping ploys, relying on the title of the bill for sanctioning the conference: "In response to the proposed bill prohibiting commemoration of the nakbah: discourse on trauma, remembrance and forgetting".

The shadow of memory

One year earlier, in 2009, I took part in an international conference on trauma in Tel-Aviv, "The shadow of memory: Relational Perspectives on Remembering and Forgetting", organized by the International Association for Relational Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy (IARPP). Leading psychoanalysts and psychotherapists lectured and conducted workshops on various aspects of individual and collective trauma and memory in different realities and

historical periods, focusing on topics like the ethics of memory, dynamics of remembering and forgetting, mourning and melancholia, traumatized memory and dissociation, and memory and hope. None the slightest reference to nakbah was to be found or hinted. The most significant and victimized other of the trauma-delineated Israeli society, the Palestinians, was fadingly present as a mere muted shadow. Interestingly enough, the official prospect of the conference featured a picture of juxtaposed yet physically and historically asymmetric building, one impressive modern tower in Tel-Aviv overriding a ruined arched wall, a remnant part of an apparently Palestinian architecture style house. The Palestinian presence was reduced to desubjectified traces, though mournfully acknowledged in their old aestheticized and ahistoricized physicality devoided of any sign of life and psychic or moral reality, in a double failure of witnessing by the Israeli Jewish and by the external, international "moral third" (Benjamin, 2014).

Psychosocial research on nakbah among Palestinians in Israel

Struck by an overwhelming multiple losses, dispersion and political isolation, Palestinians in Israel focused on surviving (Abu Bakr and Rabinovich, 2004), while their psychosocial experience went for many decades unsaid and unexplored. Though many authors refers to nakbah as an ongoing volatile reality presenting psychosocial threats and mental health risks (Litvak, M., 2009; Adwan, S., 2011), only recently, more

psychologists, mainly Palestinians of Israel, addressed this issue (Dwairy, 2010; Qossoqsi, 2010, Ghanadra – Naser, 2013).

Reduced to an aggrieved and threatened minority, cut-off from their vital Arab surroundings, and relegated to a peripheral and thoroughly controlled existence (Sa'adi, 2013) under the new dominant group, they became invisible (Grossman, 2003) in various ways, overlooked by the public and academic eye. Lentin (2010) points to the uniqueness of their conditions, of dispossessed and largely internally displaced forced, as one of the consequence of nakbah, to "live side by side with those who expelled them, took over their lands and properties, reconceptualised them as 'Israeli Arabs', and continue to deprive them of their rights by the prohibition of land ownership on all but three per cent of publicly owned lands" (Lentin, 2010, p. 21). Though subjected to various forms of political violence the Palestinians within Israel remained for long years opaque (for the most part), even invisible, and forgotten (Pappe, 2001) not merely as actual persons, but as intelligible moral and psychosocial beings (Jayyusi, 2007).

Their double marginality in the Israeli society and in the Palestinian National Movement, translated in a limited academic interest on both sides. A strong Ideological mark, of hegemonic and mainly security-driven concern, characterized for many decades the approach towards the Palestinian minority by the Israeli academy, forming, as typically in settlers societies, as "an apparatus of colonization" (Morgensen, 2102) which, though "limited in scope and in its theoretical and intellectual premises, it has been–until very recently–the main source of knowledge and analysis of the history, society, and politics of this group" (Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury, 2011, p. 7). However, psychosocial

repercussions of past and ongoing nakbah on the Palestinians in Israel were shadowed by a long disinterest, amplified by the wide and deep research in the Israeli academy on psychosocial effects of Holocaust on survivors and their descendants.

The epistemic coloniality of the production of knowledge by the Israeli academic centres on the Palestinians in Israel reproduces a similar distorted or absent representation of the Palestinian subjectivity in the Western academy. "The absence of nakbah from the many volumes on social suffering cannot be attributed to lack of qualified researchers… Not only is the nakbah a case of colonial expropriation and displacement, which the 'trauma genre' needs to embrace more fully, but it is rich with evidence supporting one of the genre's principle points, that how we suffer, and how we bear suffering, is mediated by culture" (Sayigh, 2012, p.13). Consequently, decolonizing the research (Smith, 2012) on Nakba in the Palestinian refugees' communities (Al-Hardan, 2012) is an urgent epistemological need calling for a "critical awareness that the knowledge produced on Palestinian refugees is a diffraction of the coloniality of the world" (Al-Hardan, 2012, p.69).

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework

The refugee era

Individual and collective suffering generated by wars and group conflicts is immanent in the afflictively troubled human history, ever marked by involuntary dislocation (Papadopoulos, 2013) of persons and communities fleeing all kinds of prisons in their homeland: war, slavery, colonialism, poverty, despotism, and "willful ignorance" of the world. However, "our age-with its modern warfare, imperialism, and the quasi-theologian ambitions of totalitarian rulers- is indeed the age of the refugee, the displaced person, mass immigration" (Said, 2002, p.137). The psychosocial research on the impact of mass violence has increased in recent decades, escalating its endeavor to provide a thicker and deeper analysis of the adverse effects of trauma on displaced populations, refugees and asylum seekers (Papadopoulos, 2007; Nickerson et al., 2011). Though insightful and conducted in different cultural realities, earlier research on the psychosocial effects of war on individuals and collectivities lacked a broad historical perspective and focused on the most recent arrivals of refugees with the resulting lacunar conceptualization and understanding of their experience (Stein, 1981). Furthermore, the scientific debate on refugees has been dominated for many years by

71

the dark and pathologizing language of trauma, obfuscating the resilient-imbued

narratives of the refugee experience. Though universally adopted as conceptual code

to decipher and to share individual grievances resulting from adversities and change,

language of trauma has been repeatedly employed by people to "to explain what

happens, not only to themselves, but to the collectivities to which they belong as well"

(Alexander, 2012, p. 7).

Internal colonialism

Historically, settler-colonial violence against indigenous peoples included displacement,

segregation of society, confiscation of lands, undervaluing and undermining attacks on

cultural diversity (Samson, 2014). In fact, "the concept of indigenous peoples emerged

from the colonial experience, whereby the aboriginal peoples of a given land were

marginalized after being invaded by colonial powers, whose peoples are now dominant

over the earlier occupants" (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2010, p. 6).

"Indigenous populations are composed of the existing descendants of the peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them and, by conquest, settlement or other means, reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial condition; who today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions than with the institutions of the country of which they now form part, under a state structure which incorporates mainly the national, social and cultural characteristics of other segments of the population which are predominant." (Martinez Cobo, 1986/7).

The colonial and post-colonial structural violence (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffinis, 1995) has been acted both manifestly and latently (Galtung, 1969) against the indigenous peoples who "suffer from the consequences of historic injustice, including colonization, territories and resources, oppression and discrimination as well as lack of control over their own ways of life" (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2010, p.32). The colonial paradigm (Yiftachel, 2008) is particularly relevant to the analysis of the intergenerational narratives of psychosocial effects of nakbah-related internal displacement that will be discussed later. Yiftachel (ibid.) articulates it while suggesting a theoretical framework for studying the psychosocial experience of the Palestinian Bedouins in Naqab/Negev in southern Israel often displaced or threatened of displacement. The three components emphasized by him apply for the situation of all IDPI: settler society, indigeneity and "gray spaces" of geographically and politically suspended existence.

Refugees

The term "refugee" lends its self to various definitions shaped by the intersection between the interests of specific disciplines and political and historical realms. From the legal perspective of the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is person who: "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his

nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (UNHCR, 2011, p. 46). Relatedly, an "asylum seeker" is a person engaged in legal process of becoming or trying to become a refugee in a foreign country. However, the definition of the UNCHR is not inclusive of the migrants, because "a migrant, in comparison, may leave his or her country for many reasons that are not related to persecution, such as for the purposes of employment, family reunification or study. A migrant continues to enjoy the protection of his or her own government, even when abroad (UNHCR, 2011).

Internally displaced people IDP's

Internally displaced people (IDP's) represent a specific category of refugees. "Unlike refugees, IDPs have not crossed an international border to find sanctuary but have remained inside their home countries. Even if they have fled for similar reasons as refugees (armed conflict, generalized violence, human rights violations), IDPs remain legally under the protection of their own government – even though that government might be the cause of their flight" (UNHCR, 2013). According to UNCHR, by the end of 2011 the estimated number of refugees was around 26.4 million people around the world. Other 14.9 million people became internally displaced due to natural disasters (UNHCR, 2013). The estimated number by 2015 has rocketed to new sad and alarming record of 38.2 million, mainly as a result of the raging conflicts in the Middle East and

Africa (UNHCR, 2015). The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, underpinned by existing human rights and humanitarian law standards, constitute a more practical translation of the abstract international convention on the matter. Presented for the first time to the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1998 and recognized by the heads of state in 2005, they make for a strategic and exhaustive statement. The detailed document states that "while those displaced within their own country remain entitled to the full protection of rights available to the population in general, displacement gives rise to particular vulnerabilities on the part of those affected. Therefore, and in order to ensure that the displaced are not deprived of their human rights, states are obligated to provide special measures of protection and assistance to IDPs that correspond to these vulnerabilities in order to ensure that IDPs are treated equally with respect to non-displaced citizens" (Brookings Institution—University of Bern, 2008, p.4). In addition, guarantees available to internally displaced persons are specified in their function of both preventing arbitrary displacement and mitigating and ending it when it occurs.

Home

Critical of the narrowness of the essentially legal definition of "refugee", Papadopoulos suggests a broader and a more comprehensive term: "Involuntary Dislocation" (Papadopoulos, 2013) to cover different categories of displacement whose common foundational feature is the loss or the forcible abandonment of home, regardless the political, socio-economic, environmental, and climatic circumstances (Papadopoulos,

2002). Building on this critique, the definition of refugees is urged to grant hospitality to the overlooked realities where changing socio-political, cultural, demographic and geographical landscapes generated and enforced by new hegemonic colonizers could translate into an experience of refugeedom and exile of native people in their own land. For instance, the Innu of Labrador-Quebec (Samson, 2003, 2013), the Aboriginals in Australia and the Palestinians, including the Palestinians in Israel, tender a conceptualization challenge for a more nuanced understanding of losing home and being a refugee. The challenge stems from the layered and multidimensional concept of home and its intersection with homeland. In fact, different disciplines were interested in the relationship existing between individuals and their homes. Home is a concept shared by humanity; all human beings have a sense of home, and grapple with its almost ungraspable duality of tangible/intangible, psychological/physical (Papadopoulos, 2002). Similarly, the critical geographical studies emphasize the duality of the meaning of home. Different authors suggest a "spatialized understanding of home" including: material and imaginative dimensions; place/physical location and set of feelings (Blunt, Dowling, 2006); geographical location and emotional space (Rubenstein, 2001). "Home is not just a house which offers shelter, or a repository that contains materials objects. Apart from its physical protection and marked value, a home is a place where personal and social meaning are grounded" (Papastergiadis, 1996, p.2). It is the personal relationship with home that the environmental psychology is concerned with suggesting the term "place attachment". The place attachment is determined by "a reciprocal relationship between behaviour and experiences" (Rollero,

De Piccoli, 2010). This approach focuses the attention on the affective relationship that individuals establish with a specific territory and the cognitive factor of self-concept as developed in relation to the belonging to a physical space (Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplce, Hess, 2007). Individual and collective identities are shaped and inhabited by, and attached to places and landscapes. Consequently, the loss of a relationship with land can be interpreted as a "loss of personhood" (Samson, 2008). Analyzing the social and historical contexts of the taxed mental health of Canada's native Innu Samson highlights the significant historical, cultural and personal associations the forcibly relocated Innu have with their land, and the collapse of existential meaning and purposefulness that "the conscious destruction of the relationship of a people to the lands that historically gave meaning, purpose and order to their existence as a society" (Samson, 2003, p.9).

In the psychoanalytic field, from attachment theory (Bowlby, 1973) to Winnicott (1982) and Bion (1961) theorization, what is emphasized is the primary relationship between the child and his parents and the space within which the relationship is created. In Jungian psychology we find the Home archetype that combines the Mother archetype and the Father archetype, where the physical and psychological dimension allows, out of an archaic potentiality, the differentiation of individuality.

These different approaches underscore crucial issues with regard to the understanding of the importance of home in man's psychological life. While useful in understanding the refugee experience they tend to partially address the complexity of the phenomenon of home, an imbrication of physical and psychological, of individual and communal.

77

The massive losses suffered in the different phases of involuntary dislocation process (devastating event, survival and adjustment) described by Papadopoulos (2007), tend to cast their shadows on the refugee experience, establishing a disputed link, in theory and in the practice of care, between refugees and trauma (Papadopoulos, 2006).

Trauma

Trauma is a defining marker of our time. Departing from its original meaning as a medical injury, trauma makes its entry in 1980 (DSM 3rd ed.) as a psychiatric syndrome, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), reflecting a "fully psychologised" (Rose, 2003, p.35) concept.

The diagnosis of PTSD is contingent upon an exposure to an event experienced with an extreme sense of fear and helplessness, and associated with: 1. persistent re-experiencing symptoms, intrusive thoughts and images, 2. evident avoidance symptoms of trauma-related thoughts and usual activities, and 3. symptoms of increased arousal. The required minimum duration of symptoms is one month with significant disruption normal activities.

Strongly mainstreamed within the mental health and the popular culture (Kaplan, 2005), trauma retains a controversial theoretical and clinical status that is invested by discordant scientific passions. Victim of its success, the concept of trauma has been

popularized to the extent of exposing it to the risk of banalization if not distortion. There has been a growing debate on PTSD as a diagnostic category (Atkinson, 2008; Papadopoulos, 2007), increasingly described as reductionistic and failing to capture the variety of comorbidities and complexities witnessed in multiple prolonged trauma, or to manage the challenges of its applicability in non-western cultures (Steel, 2001; Silove, Steel, Bauman, 2010). While, with respect to indigenous people, namely Native Americans, "hegemonic constructions" of trauma effects do not adequately explain and understand their experience where current discrimination and poverty are added to cumulative acts and effects of historical colonization are (Wiechelt, Gryczynski, Johnson and Caldwell, 2012). Furthermore, this restrictive approach tends to minimize dimensions of resilience and positive responses to adversity or Adversity-Activated Development (AAD) on the individual and collective level (Papadopoulos, 2007; Crawford, 2014).

Young (1995) reframes PTSD as a one phase in a dynamic process of individual adaptation to adversities. Other authors argue that the focus on PTSD is determined by a western medicalizing and pathologizing approach to human suffering imposed on post-war non-western populations, potentially disguising realities of political repression hence preventing political solutions for post-conflict situations (Bracken, Giller, Summerfield, 1995). Cultures and contexts in general are often pinpointed as mediators of the ways individual, family, and larger systems cope with and adapt to consequences of trauma, and as diagnostic and therapeutic factors (Drozdek, Wilson, 2007).

It is important to emphasize again that the bulk of research inspired and informed by the "trauma discourse" has contributed significantly to the recognition of the suffering and violations of human rights due to war and political violence (Zur, 1996). Nevertheless, the hegemony of the "trauma culture" (Fassin and Rechtman, 2009) or the "trauma discourse" has relegated the responses to all adversities to an all-inclusive "traumatization", at the service of a "particular moral and political agenda" (Bracken, Giller, Summerfield, 1995; Papadopoulos, 2007).

Subsequently, the discourse of trauma was embraced by the various practitioners in the fields of migrations, refugees' emergency, asylum seekers and humanitarian aid.

However, new studies in these fields highlight the inadequacy of mainly single-traumatic-event-concept to capturing the complexity of migrants and refugees, where "the cumulative and continuous nature of multiple traumas refugee people experience means that neither the beginning nor the end of a traumatic process can be clearly determined" (Afuape, 2011, p.53).

Refugee trauma

"War and armed conflicts can lead to a range of severely traumatic experiences among civilian populations" (Johnson & Thompson, 2008, p.37), and millions of people around the world are forced each year to fleeing their homes and their countries away from violence and destruction (UNHCR, 2007). However, "prior to the 1980s, the term

'trauma' was not widely used in literature on refugees and refugee mental health"

(Eades, 2013 para. 2), and more recent evidence shows that direct or indirect exposure

to war and violence can also unearth known and unknown resources and even facilitate

a further individual and collective development mediated by both negative and

protective factors (Papadopoulos, 2007; Werner, 2007) Comprehensive reviews of the

literature on war-affected children, in particular on refugee children, identify elevated

symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety, somatic

complaints, sleep problems, and behavioral problems in these children (American

Psychological Association, 2010). Focusing on children, Werner (2012), argues that:

"a number of protective factors appear to moderate the impact of war-related adversities in children ...among them are a strong bond between the primary caregiver and the child; the mother's mental health; the availability of additional caregivers, such as grandparents and older siblings; the social support of members in the community who are exposed to the same hardships, especially teachers and peers, a shared sense of values; a religious belief that finds meaning in suffering; the assumption of responsibility for the protection and welfare of others; an internal locus of control, and the use of humor and altruism as defense mechanisms" (Werner, 2012, p.555".

These children and their families also demonstrate profound strength and resilience in

their survival strategies, coping mechanisms, and abilities to adapt within what are

often completely unfamiliar environments" (APA, 2010). Recent research (Forstmeier,

Kuwert, Spitzer, Freyberger, & Maerckler, 2009; Werner, 2007) provides evidence of

post-war positive effects reported by a number of child survivors who were studied in

late adulthood. "They include Americans who had enlisted before age 18 and were

combat veterans in Europe and the Pacific and Germans who were among the 200,000

boys (ages 9–17 years) who had been drafted and deployed as antiaircraft auxiliaries.

One of the boys would later be elected Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, and another would become Pope Benedict XVI. Although they had been enemies, these former child soldiers shared an affirmation and appreciation of the value of life. They believed that their world was meaningful, and they were committed to alleviate the suffering of others. The processing of their traumatic war experiences, although painful, contributed to their personal growth and their strong sense of coherence in later life (Werner, 2012, p.555). A recent study (Docena, 2015), examined the effects of the Super Typhoon Haiyan among Pilipino internally displaced survivors living in a resettlement area in Tacloban City in the Philippines 15 months after they were displaced from their homes. Shifting focus from trauma to "a more resilient-oriented and agency-driven approach in line with the theoretical framework of the conservation of resources model, the research results highlighted a significant relationship between adaptive coping and individual resilience, adaptive coping and community resilience, and individual resilience and community resilience" (Docena, 2015, p. 27). In summary, a differentiation between refugee trauma and psychological trauma is required: the former is a general term that covers the whole spectrum of phenomena connected with the specific refugee reality and range of experiences; the latter refers to the psychological effect of being traumatized regardless of the external causes (Papadopoulos, 2007).

This differentiation will be a conceptual thread running through this research, and delineating the debate on trauma and resilience in their collective manifestations.

Historical Trauma

Different notions and terms have emerged in the last two decades to describe mass trauma: "Collective trauma", "Societal Trauma", "Cultural Trauma", "Chosen Trauma", "Historical trauma", "Intergenerational Trauma" and "Post-memory" (Hobfoll & Watson, 2007; Papadopoulos, 2007; Wiechelt, Gryczynski, Johnson, and Caldwell, 2012; Danieli, Y., 1998; Brave Heart, 2003; Hirsch, 2012, Mohatt, N. A., Thompson, A. B., Thai, N. D., and Tebes, J. K., 2014). All seem to imply, though with varying emphases, two common features: 1. multiple injuries, deaths, disabilities, and emotional stresses caused by a catastrophic event, such as large-scale natural or human disasters, and shared by a group or a cultural community (American Psychiatric Association, 2005); 2. persistence and transmission of traumatic effects across generations. Accordingly, "Historical trauma" (LaCapra, 2001) is defined as the subjective experiencing and remembering of events in the mind of an individual or the life of a community, passed from adults to children in cyclic processes as "collective emotional and psychological injury over the life span and across generations" (Muid, 2006). Originated in a past event, it is repeatedly enacted and actualized by acculturation stress, after-effects of racism, oppression and genocide (Danieli, 1998), including a "less murderous genocide in the native community sometimes labeled cultural genocide" (Duran et al., 1998).

Volkan (2004) suggests that selected traumatic events are unconsciously selected by national groups and elevated to the mythologized mentally represented status of "chosen

trauma". The concept of chosen trauma "refers to the shared mental representation of a large group's massive trauma experienced by its ancestors at the hands of an enemy group, and the images of heroes, victims, or both connected with it" (Volkan, 2004, p.2). "A chosen trauma, is a form of shared trauma that reflects the traumatized past generation's incapacity for or difficulty with mourning losses connected to the shared traumatic event as well as its failure to reverse the narcissistic injury and humiliation inflicted by another large group, usually a geographical neighbor" (Volkan, 2004, p. 2).

Despite its persuasive conceptual appeal, the theory of "chosen trauma" downplays the diversified responses to a major collective adversity, namely historical trauma, and deemphasizes the prominence of resilience in intergenerational processes of transmission, being "critical to consider historical trauma as a potential source of both distress and resilience" (Mohatt, Thompson, Thai, and Tebes, 2014, p.13), as it will be discussed later on.

The rise of the concept of "historical trauma" has dramatized the urge expressed by scholars to expand and variegate trauma models so to include historical and current adverse and complex experiences of indigenous people (Fast and Collin-Vezina, 2010).

The notion of historical trauma among Native Americans in particular is imbued with the oppressive effects of colonization and postcolonization (Duran & Duran, 1995) across hundreds of years, as well as ongoing discrimination and microaggressions (Chai & Walters, 2009). The concept of historical trauma has been employed, in different disciplines and with varying terminological nuances, to describe and analyze the psychosocial experience of "numerous colonized indigenous groups throughout the

84

world, as well as African Americans, Armenian refugees, Japanese American survivors of internment camps, Swedish immigrant children whose parents were torture victims, Palestinian youth, the people of Cyprus, Belgians, Cambodians, Israelis, Mexicans and Mexican Americans, Russians, and many other cultural groups and communities that share a history of oppression, victimization, or massive group trauma exposure" (Mohatt, N. A., Thompson, A. B., Thai, N. D., and Tebes, J. K., 2014, p. 2). The authors point to some differences between collective, historical and intergenerational trauma, where collective trauma may lack historical dimension, while intergenerational trauma is restricted to the trauma experience running across familial generations, without necessarily flowing into a shared group trauma.

At all events, the circular and cross-generational interplay between individual and collective suffering in the context of adversities and injustices remains a crucial area of investigation, especially when engaging with silenced narratives or narratives of silence that are equated with "denial and unrecognized presences in history, languages, land, identity" (Vaudrin-Charette, 2015, p.158). Social theories of trauma emphasize the cultural work that has to take place in order for individual suffering to be transformed into collective trauma (Alexander, 2012): "Cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (Alexander, 2012, p.6). Along similar lines, Eisenbruch (1991) suggests the concept of "Cultural Bereavement" of refugees implying the loss of home, material possessions, social networks, and the

sense of social and spiritual belonging and connection to a land, its symbols, and its people. Cultural factors can also play a vital role in mediating, moderating and shaping the transgenerational effects of trauma, and its trauma or resilient narratives.

Intergenerational effects of trauma

The concept of multigenerational family systems was originally elaborated in the field of family by Murray Bowen therapy (Bowen, 1976, 1978; Andolfi, 2016). It is highlighted as one of the 8 main working concepts of Bowen theoretical model, including triangles, differentiation of self, nuclear family emotional processes, family projection process, sibling position, emotional cutoff, emotional processes in society (Kerr, 2000; Rabstejnek, 2012). According to Bowen, family repeated patterns, myths and secrets are repeated and perpetuated across generations (ibid.). A similar emotional process is theorized to be observed in the larger community (Kerr, 2000). Both family and society play a fundamental role in intergenerationally shaping their members' levels of differentiation, psychosocial identity, psychosocial functioning, leading values and languages of suffering and coping, of trauma and resilience (ibid.).

"To be a member of a family is to share in a community stretched across generations"(Booth, 2006, p. 23). The intergenerational perspective on trauma highlights the impact of adverse experiences on succeeding generations of a given family in terms of transmitted sentiments and habits, behaviors and symptoms, roles

and values, vulnerability and resilience. It draws on a broad framework of psychoanalytic and family therapy traditions concerned with historical, contextual and constitutional factors predisposing family members to adopt particular belief system or set of memories or to engage in particular interactions, of healthy or pathological nature (Carr, 2006) transferred from one generation to the next (Hirsch, 2012; Bowen, 1978; Boszormenyi-Nagy, 1987, Andolfi, 1987). However, families vary culturally in terms of their function as a vehicle of intergenerational transmission of core issues and adaptive and maladaptive ways of coping with life events (Danieli, 1998).

Within the field of traumatic stress, Intergenerational transmission of trauma is a relatively recent focus, but with solid clinical, theoretical and empirical basis (Danieli, 1998). Pioneered and inspired by Holocaust studies, the transmission of trauma effects from first to second and further generations has been under academic scrutiny in recent years, suggesting a "secondary traumatization" (Rosenheck & Nathan, 1985), or "secondary traumatic stress" (Figley, 1995), though not necessarily full PTSD, of children and grandchildren of traumatized parents.

A major contribution to the clarification of the transgenerational transmission of trauma came from the psychoanalytic research on holocaust. "The psychoanalytic literature on the offspring of holocaust survivors states that the holocaust is transmitted to them through early, unconscious identifications which carry their parents' perceptions of an everlasting, life threatening inner and outer reality" (Kogan, 2012, p. 5). These children, whose minds have been impregnated with mental representations of the atrocities of

the holocaust, carry within themselves powerful feelings of loss and humiliation, of guilt and aggression.

Similarly, Hirsch (2012) coined the term "postmemory" to explain the intergenerational traumatic bond that "describes the relationships that the "generations after" bears to the personal, collective and cultural trauma of those who came before, to experiences they "remember" only by means of stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to *seem* to constitute memories in their own right. A postmemory connection to the past is thus actually mediated not by recall but by imaginative investment, projection and creation. To grow up with overwhelming inherited memories, to be dominated by narratives that preceded one's birth or one's consciousness, is to risk having one's own life stories displaced, even evacuated, by our ancestors. It is to be shaped, however indirectly, by traumatic fragments of events that still defy the native reconstruction and exceed comprehension. These events happened in the past, but their effects continue into the present. Recently, a psychobiological dimension to the explanation of transgenerational transmission of trauma, in terms of general vulnerability and resilience to stress, is being advanced in new research on Holocaust survivors' integrating both hereditary and environmental factors (Kellermann, 2013).

To summarize, intergenerational trauma is a trauma that is transmitted across generations through mechanism of identifications, dissociations and mutations of

psychobiological, cognitive and social and processes (Fraiberg, Adelson, Shapiro, 1975; Bretherton, 1990, Kellermann, 2013).

Transgenerational transmission of the effects of trauma may include many processes at the level of parent-child interaction within the family (Palosaari, Punamäki, Qouta, Diab, 2013; Kirmayer, Lemelson, Barad, 2007; Buchanan, 1998), under form of projection and identification (Srour&Srour, 2005), difficulties in distance/closeness regulation (Laible, Carlo & Raffaeli, 2000), interpersonal violence (Taft et al. 2005), dysfunctional communication patterns (Danieli, 1998), or genetically determined mechanisms (O'Brien, 2004). The transgenerational effects of trauma, visited on whole communities, still more complex, because massive trauma on a collective level disrupts the fabric of communal life, challenging core social institutions and cultural values (Kirmayer, Lemelson, Barad, 2007). Milroy (2005) gave a comprehensive explanation of how trauma is transmitted across generations and the role of community networks in this transmission, indicating 4 major mechanisms:

"The impact on the attachment relationship with caregivers;

The impact on parenting and family functioning;

The association with parental physical and mental illness;

The disconnection and alienation from extended family, culture and society".(Milroy, 2005, p. 21).

Danieli (1998) noted that massive trauma causes such diverse and complex destruction that only a multidimensional, multidisciplinary integrative framework is adequate to describe it.

Intergenerational trauma among indigenous peoples

A whole area of research has emerged in recent years with particular focus on indigenous peoples exposed to different situations of ongoing or chronic traumatic stress (Atkinson, 2008, Cameron, 1998, O'Shane, 1993, Milroy, 2005, Raphael, Swank and Martinek, 1998, Duran, Duran, Yellow Horse, Brave Heart, Yellow Horse-Davis, 1998, Gagne 1998) and intergenerational traumatization where children are directly or indirectly affected by the on-going effect of the original trauma which a parent or other family member has experienced. Models of multigenerational transmission were developed by Atkinson (2008) in Australia and Blanco (in Levine & Kline, 2007) in South America. Both models describe a multigenerational cycle linking colonization and displacement of indigenous people with high rate of family violence, alcoholism and drug abuse, mental health illness.

Atkinson (2002) addressed the cumulative impacts violence-generated trauma on individual, families and community within the context of colonization of Australia, asserting that the layered trauma that results from colonization is likely to be expressed

in dysfunctional and sometimes violent, behavior at both individual and large-scale level of human interaction and these are re-traumatizing.

The Palestinian case

Political violence is also a predominant contributing factor in the development of mental health problems among Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), most commonly post-traumatic stress symptoms. Although post-traumatic reactions arise as direct result of the experience of political traumas among afflicted family members, the chronicity and severity of reactions are also a function of other psychosocial factors (Khamis, 2002). Khamis explains that intense psychological distress and psychological mal-adjustment may persist for many years following extreme forms of political violence (Khamis, 1993). Many of the afflicted family members had trauma-induced stress within the various dimensions of their lives, particularly strains in health, work, marriage, and family relationship. In addition, a variety of role strains have been experienced by family members as a result of the traumatic events, such as strains that are generated by the occupancy of multiple roles, role reversals, inter role conflict, increased role demands regarding finances and supply, parenting, and care for those who were injured and sustained a disability. The most obvious strains are increased role obligations in parenting, homemaking, satisfying spousal needs, and helping children with schoolwork. The colonial context of the long Israeli occupation of Palestine seems to produce psychological intergenerational effects (Palosaari, Punamäki, Qouta, Diab,

91

2013). Examining the mediating role of psychological maltreatment in the intergenerational transmission of war trauma in Palestinian families, the authors found that father's past war trauma lead to more psychological maltreatment whereas mother's past and current war trauma lead to less psychological maltreatment experienced by the child.

The Palestinians in Israel

The life of Palestinians in Israel is characterized by various forms of majority-minority political tensions amounting to "internal colonialism" (Zureik, 1979; Yiftachel, 2012), including socioeconomic conditions rendered ever more adverse by the persistence and the periodic escalations of the conflict. The Palestinian family in Israel is characterized by an authoritarian and patriarchal structure typical of a collectivistic society (Al-Haj, 1989; Haj-Yahia, 1995; Sharabi, 1975; Haj-Yahia, 2003; Sagy, Orr, Bar-on, & Awwad, 2001). Relatedly, Identitarian and cultural dissonance present individuals with extreme psychosocial and political challenges (Al- Haj, 1989; Lavi & Slone, 2011; Rouhana, 1997).

The experience of displacement during the Nakba of 1948 is associated in the present with lower self-rated health, poorer socio-economic status, and higher stress was among Palestinian IDPI's their descendants in comparison to families who were not displaced (Daoud, Shankardass, O'Campo, Anderson, and Agbaria, 2012).

92

Analyzing the moderating effects of resilience factors on relations between political violence and children difficulties, Lavi & Slone (2011) conclude that Arab children in Israel must negotiate non only the major normative developmental tasks of personal, familial and academic challenges, but also the social, psychological and behavioral consequences of life in an environment of continues conflict as well as social marginalization and discrimination of a minority group. As the Israeli-Palestinian conflict continues, these children are placed in a considerable risk of developing long-term difficulties (ibid).

Resilience

Originated in the ecological systems theory (Holling, 1973), the notion of resilience has gone a long and winding road, across different disciplines, to psychology and social sciences in general (Keck and Sakdapolrak , 2013) exposed, as some scholars argue, to the potential risk of depoliticization of social structures and power relations (Pelling and Manuel-Navarrete 2011). In a recent literature review, three principles constituting the resilience concept were underscored: persist ability, adaptability, and transform ability (Keck, Sakdapolrak, 2013). The transfer of the concept to the realm of social sciences is related to different threats faced by social entities - individuals, organizations or communities- such as natural disasters, natural resource management, resource

scarcity and social change and development (ibid.). However, a contentious debate has accompanied the usefulness of such a transposition. "As such, the concept bears the risk of "depoliticizing" social structures and unconsciously reinforcing the status-quo of society by overlooking those mechanisms that put people at risk in the first place" (Pelling and Manuel-Navarrete 2011, in Keck, Sakdapolrak, 2013, p. 6).

The earliest research on resilience can be tracked down around the mid 1970's, carrier of a novel and revolutionary attention to its shielding presence in children at risk for psychopathology and hurdled development (Masten, 2001).

Borrowed from Physics, where it is intended as the ability of a substance or object to spring back into shape, resilience refers to the capacity of individuals, families or communities to withstand pressures and keep their basic values, skills or abilities unaltered (Papadopoulos, 2006). Accentuating its physics-inspired metaphor, it can also be deemed as a protective armor enabling individuals and communities to, at best, cope successfully with potential challenges and achieve hoped-for outcomes (Wilson, Arvanitakis, 2013).

Masten offers a widely accepted ecological definition of resilience emphasizes "good outcomes in spite of serious threats to adaptation or development" (Masten, 2001, p.228). An opposing constructionist definition implies "a postmodern interpretation of the construct and defines resilience as the outcome from negotiations between individuals and their environments for the resources to define themselves as healthy amidst conditions collectively viewed as adverse" (Ungar, 2004, p.342).

Consistent and increasingly sophisticated efforts have been made in the recent two decades or so to define "resilience", yet researchers are only "marginally closer to understanding this captivating but ultimately elusive concept" (Wilson, Arvanitakis, 2013). Some researchers defend the usefulness ad the relevance of the term, despite its shortcoming in doing justice to the complexity of the phenomenon it strives to describe and understand. It is this "salutogenic" approach, at variance with a more typically pathogenic one, that Ungar has in mind when urging for detecting signs of healthy functioning irrespective of the presence or absence of a diagnosable disease (Ungar, 2004).

A deeper attention should be paid to the heterogeneity of experiences that people, in different cultural contexts, may have of their resilience. A research on trauma and resilience cannot be decontextualized or unaware of the risks of imposing foreign variables and hypotheses when approaching a non-western context.

Reclaiming and recognizing resilience and health of war-torn non-Western realities, different authors, (Summerfield, 2001) challenge the western medical vision of PTSD, which has transformed a social problem -warfare- into an individual pathology, ascribing dysfunction to individuals while taking the context only into a minor account. Furthermore, as sustained by a pilot study carried out by UNICEF (2011) on projects of psychosocial intervention in the Palestinian territories, the bio-medical approach toward PTSD, presumes that the population is equally traumatized and pathological, thus ignoring the inter-individual differences.

Similarly, and more specifically, Gillham, Giacaman, Naser (2008), in a study on resilience among Palestinian adolescents affirm that the western model of resilience, usually used by local and international organizations, is scarcely adaptable to contexts such as the Palestinian one.

Introducing their disaster resilience of place (DROP), Cutter et al. (2008) define social resilience as "the ability of a social system to respond and recover from disasters" including the ability to "absorb impacts and cope with an event, as well as post-event" and the "adaptive processes that facilitate the ability of the social system to re-organize, change, and learn in response to a threat" (Cutter et al., 2008, p. 599).

If what unifies resilience researchers is the practical promotion of resilience, then the next task is to find the factors contributing to resilience (Desjardins, Barker, Lindo, Dieleman, Dussault, 2015).

Intergenerational resilience

A central part of the debate on resilience has been concerned with the individual versus relational notion of resilience, in addition to the culturally-determined nature of some of its features. Studies on Intergenerational trauma have generally adopted a narrow trauma-oriented perspective ignoring the examination of the positive aspects of the transmission and factors that reduce the possibility of transmitting distress (Dekel & Goldblatt, 2008). "It is important to study not only the father's psychological state, but

also to explore the contribution of the child, mother and social system at large to intergenerational transmission of trauma" (Dekel & Goldblatt, 2008, p. 277).

From a modern evolutionary perspective, Simpson & Belsky (2008) argue that mental-health negative effects on adolescent exposed to war and political violence may represent evolutionary adaptations, that is "outcomes that have been selected by evolutionary forces to enhance reproductive fitness" (Simpson, Belsky, 2008, p.62).

Elaborating on the link between historical trauma and group health, Mohatt, Thompson, Thai, and Tebes (2014) introduce a "narrative framework for historical trauma" that investigates the processes by the means of which historical traumas are reflected and narrated in contemporary individual and community stories. The authors argue that historical traumas are shaped and conveyed by mutually fueled public and personal narratives, i.e. individually and collectively told sense-making stories that tend to link traumatic past events to contemporary local contexts, instilling trauma, or, conversely, resilience, in the contemporary cultural narrative. The public narrative of trauma doesn't question or contest historical facts of a given event, but is concerned with the effects of that event whether traumatically or resiliently displayed. What is suggested by the authors is a complex narrative of historical trauma, un-monopolized by the trauma narratives and equally receptive of resilience narratives.

Relevantly, Denham (2008) questions the theory of historical trauma, and its confusing conceptualization, that tends to rule out individual and community resilience responses to historical trauma. He presents the case of American Indian people as exemplary: their individual and collective strengths expressed in the face of realities of historical

and present-day injustice, inequality, and poverty are generally diminished and underrated.

"There is significant variation in how people experience, emplot and intergenerationally transmit trauma experiences. Despite this variation, the literature rarely illustrates alternative manifestations or resilient responses to the construct of historical trauma" (Denham, 2008, p.391).

Within the holocaust studies, an intergenerational framework is invoked to "provide essential insights into the intricate balance between resilience and vulnerability in the long-term aftereffects of massive trauma" (Shmotkin, Shrira, Goldberg & Yuval Palgi, 2011, p. 18). Attempting to bridge this theoretical gap, Sotero (2006) suggests three governing theoretical frameworks that theories of historical trauma must adhere to and be compatible with if they were to explain the link between contemporary health outcomes and past trauma experienced by a particular group:

1) Psychosocial theory linking between social and psychological stress and disease.

2) Political/economic theory studying structural determinants of health and disease (e.g., power relations, social inequities);

3) Social/ecological systems theory, taking into consideration multi-level and circular influences on health and illness (Sotero, 2006).

The theory of "Trauma Grid" (Papadopoulos, 2004, 2006, 2007) seems to offer a comprehensive and useful theoretical model to disentangle the various individual and collective responses to adversity or collective trauma such refugeedom and internal displacement. Carefully and effectively applied to the slippery theoretical and

interventional landscape concerning the refugee experience and assistance (Papadopoulos, 2006), a distinction is made between resilience, defined as a neutral response to adversity, and positive response, namely Adversity-Activated-Development (AAD). A third category covers three possible negative effects: ordinary human suffering (OHS), distressful psychological reaction (DPR) and psychiatric disorder (PD), principally PTSD.

The Trauma Grid

Levels	Negative Effects			Neutral effects	Positive effects
	INJURY, WOUND			RESILIENCE	ADVERSITYACTIVATED DEVELOPMENT (AAD)
	Psychiatric Disorder	Distressful Psychological Reactions	Ordinary Human Suffering		
Individual					
Family					
Community					
Society/ Culture					

(Papadopoulos, 2006, p.6)

The "Trauma Grid" reflects the variability and complexity of responses among individuals and groups, where concomitant e/o asynchronous display of different reactions to refugeedom and exile is governed by many factors:

- "Personal: history, psychological characteristics, coping mechanisms, strengths/weaknesses, status, education

- Relational – supporting systems ('social capital'): family (nuclear and extended), community (local as well as wider, international)

- Gender

- Power position: degrees of helplessness and humiliation

- Circumstances of the actual devastating events: predictability, isolation, duration, lasting effects

- Meaning given to the events and the experience of these events: political, religious, ideological

- Hope or the lack of hope" (Papadopoulos, 2006, p. 3).

Each one of these factors can influence the way that each individual responds to the experiences and events that have led them into exile.

The research investigates the cumulative and inter-generational effects of the nakbah-related internal displacement experience of Palestinian families in Israel, and tries to capture its complex, total and unique quality (Papadopoulos, 2004) through an intergenerational "trauma grid" (Papadopoulos, 2006) theoretical framework.

100

The research intent is contextualized within the unprecedented situation of the internally displaced Palestinians in Israel. Their physical and psychological loss of home, common denominator of involuntary dislocated people's experience (Papadopoulos, 2002), seems to be enveloped by both pervasive sense of "ambiguous loss" (Boss, 1999, 2006) and almost permanent "nostalgic disorientation" (Papadopoulos, 2002) the former being a loss pierced by a tormenting chasm between "physical presence" and "psychological absence" of the lost object. Palestinians in Israel, whether internally displaced or unremoved from their land after the establishment of the state of Israel, experience the loss as an unhealed injury, a tormenting cut-off from a homeland they are physically and psychosocially attached to. Furthermore, the experiences of displacement took place and continue to unfold in an escalating reality of injustice, ongoing structural violence, discrimination and microaggressions (Sue, 2010), loaded with possibly traumatic stressors and triggers. In fact, these experiences could be better described by the term "post-colonial distress" proposed by Kirmayer, Gone, Moses (2014) as "technically more encompassing than the concept of historical trauma insofar as postcolonial refers to the contemporary as much as to the historical, and distress refers to broad forms of suffering that can be much less circumscribed, persistent, and debilitating than trauma" (Kirmayer, Gone, Moses, 2014, p.301).

Similarly, exploring the "trauma grid" (Papadopoulos, 2006, 2007) responses to this complex adversity is contingent upon the acknowledgment of its concatenation of many events occurred, current, and expected or dreaded, rather than a single historical devastating event. The different stages, of anticipation, devastating event and

adjustment (Ibid.) repeated over and over again in the course of an open-ended adversity of becoming a Palestinian refugee, collapse or feed into each other, thus exposing individual and collective resilience to unequaled strains.

"The psychological consequences of these devastating events affect individuals both in ways that are highly personal (based on each one's psychological make-up and personal history) and in ways that are impersonal, transpersonal, collective and social. Ultimately, the specific meaning that individuals and communities bestow on their suffering, as a result of political upheaval and having to go into exile, is dependent on a wide variety of factors that can best be addressed by perspectives that inter-relate the individual with his or her wider socio-political and other dimensions within which individuals are defined" (Papadopoulos, 2006, p.6).

Studying these factors is of a huge importance for a better psychosocial understanding of the experience of nakbah as a historical trauma of colonization and displacement recursively connected to a contemporary reality of discrimination, marginalization, and continuing displacement, both threatened and enforced. It is equally important to uncover the panoply of resilience responses and Adversity-Activated Development (AAD) as a part of the "Trauma Grid" responses (Papadopoulos, 2004, 2006, 2007). In general, contemporary and intergenerational nakbah narratives of historical loss and resilience will be explored trough their individual, family, and community knitted fabrics, and examined in their culturally contextualized impacts as displayed by the "Trauma Grid" and framed within the constructionist approach, systemic perspective and family therapy.

The outcomes of this research would inform a more culturally sensitive and resilience-oriented intervention, prevention and directions for future research in the field of health of the Palestinians society in Israel.

Chapter 4

Methodology

"At the heart of our review is the conviction that research into historical trauma should remain trained on present-day factors. We believe there are two critical reasons for this. First, we cannot go back in time to document what precisely happened in the past; our knowledge of the past is contained in narrative. And second, as Young (1997) shows, trauma is a present day construct based on contemporary modes of representation and interpretation. Therefore, since we cannot assume that our notions of trauma can be validly projected back through time, our efforts should focus on how the panoply of social science research methods can seek to understand *and* explain how present day historical trauma narratives impact health" (Mohatt et al., 2014, p.13).

Qualitative research

This research is a descriptive-interpretive qualitative research, with mixed method design (Morse, 2010) bringing together two methodologies: Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) (Charmaz, 2006; Lambert & Lambert, 2012) and Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith and Osborn, 2003; Larkin, Watts and Clifton, 2006). The investigation and its interpretive methodologies are framed within the constructionist psychosocial perspective and the socio-constructionist paradigm that, in contrast with the positivist paradigm, deem reality as co-constructed, solidified and changed by actions, interactions and discourses, involving individuals, structures and preexistent social knowledge (Mantovani, 2008).

The topic of this study benefits from the employment of exploratory inductive methods, clearly recommended for the identification of relevant variables in previously unstudied domains (Dumka, Gonzales, Wood, and Formoso, 1998). In fact, "qualitative methods can be used to obtain the intricate details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes, and emotions that are difficult to extract or learn about through more conventional methods"(Liebenberg and Theron, 2015, p. 203). Integrating historical context into interpretation of discourses and texts (Wodak, 2009) qualitative methods "have the potential to provide a more comprehensive picture of lives lived under adversity" (Ungar, 2004, p.358).

Relying on non-statistical procedures for producing findings, qualitative research is acutely attentive to "persons' lives, lived experiences, behaviors, emotions and feelings as well as about organizational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena, and interactions between nations" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p.11). In fact, "to fully understand how culture and resilience are intertwined, the use of innovative qualitative research methods is imperative, irrespective of whether a study is a stand-alone exploration using only qualitative methods or mixed methods design" (Liebenberg and Theron, 2015. p. 203).

With regard to the topic of this research, qualitative exploratory inductive methods allow an effective and in-depth examination of previously unexamined issue related to the intergenerational experience of nakbah on the part of Palestinian IDP's within Israel. Intergenerational memories and narratives, the texts of our current analysis, are treated as the product of a multilayered verbal and non-verbal communication between

children, parents and grandparents (Bowen, 1978; Andolfi, 2016; Erll, 2011). "We not only give sense to our lives through stories, we not only tell the stories of our lives, but our actual lives are the makings of stories, stories that often no one has asked us to tell, stories in the making, stories that are part of other stories, repressed stories, stories untold; stories that can make us mad and stories that can profoundly heal the wounds of the spirit" (Losi, 2002, p.236).

The choice of a combined research design stemmed from the need to attend to the complexity of the phenomenon at issue in this study. A methodologically combined approach to qualitative study is particularly defended when there is little knowledge about a given phenomenon (Wilson and Hutchinson, 1991). Both constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) and phenomenological qualitative research (Starks &Trinidad, 2007) are concerned with describing, understanding and interpreting a specific phenomenon from within the subjective experience of a specific group of individuals (Charmaz, 2006). While both methodologies examine personal lived experiences, they differ in their historical origin and focus of analysis (Starks &Trinidad, 2007).

Constructivist grounded theory

Grounded theory has developed through the years since the foundational book of Glaser and Strauss *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), from an epistemological critique of the then dominant positivistic paradigm in social sciences into a growing

theoretical and practical tension of between positivist (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) and constructivist approaches (Charmaz, 2000, 2001).

While a constructivist grounded theory approach to grounded theory "places priority on phenomena of study and sees both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants….objectivist grounded theory resides in the positivist tradition and thus attends to data as real in and of themselves and does not attend to the processes of their production" Charmaz, 2006, pp. 130-131).

On a technical level, grounded theory operates through coding, categorizing, and theorizing data in three stages: Initial or open coding, focused or axial coding, (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) introduced axial coding which means reassembling data into groupings based on relationships and patterns within and among the categories identified in the data); and theoretical or selective coding (identifying and describing the central phenomenon, or "core category," in the data) (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, Charmaz, 2006).

Phenomenology was founded by the German philosopher Edmund Husserl, preoccupied, in the socially and ideologically fragile aftermath of the World War One (1914 – 1918), with giving a strong certainty to a "disintegrating civilization" (Eagleton, 1983). Truth was confined to the immediate experience of the individuals and their consciousness, and social and psychological phenomena could be understood exclusively from the perspectives of people involved (Welman and Kruge, 1999).

"In a phenomenological or grounded theory study the objective of the interview is to elicit the participant's story" (ibid, p.). Phenomenologists are interested in subjective

and interpretation-free accounts of lived experiences whereas grounded theorists bring to the focus the influence of given social structures and processes on the way things are accomplished and provided with meaning (ibid.). "Qualitative analysis is inherently subjective because the researcher is the instrument for analysis" (Starks &Trinidad, 2007, p. 1376). In both constructivist grounded theory and phenomenological theory authors emphasize the self-reflective function of the researcher, who though aware of his or her pre-assumptions, thoughts and beliefs, remains receptive and unbiasedly open to the participants' stories (Starks &Trinidad, 2007; Charmaz, 2006, Gearing, 2004; Sokolowski, 2000; van Manen, 1990).

Interpretative phenomenological analysis

The aim of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) is to explore in detail how participants are making sense of their personal and social world, and the main currency for an IPA study is the meanings particular experiences, events, states hold for participants. "The approach is phenomenological in that it involves detailed examination of the participant's lifeworld; it attempts to explore personal experience and is concerned with an individual's personal perception or account of an object or event, as opposed to an attempt to produce an objective statement of the object or event itself" (Smith, Osborn, 2003, p.53).

Analyzing memories

The research does not deal with historical accuracy, therefore it doesn't insist on oral history tools, though I studied specific events and place before and after the interview, in addition to my previous knowledge of the historical background.

Analyzing memories of remote event, especially in the case of the first generation, poses several issues. Memories are, a part from questions of historical accuracy, political (Geary, 1994), i.e. they are usually recounted with a purpose and shaped by the present (Feldman 2006). The passing of time, the vicissitudes of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the repeated experienced and witnessed displacements, the uncertainty of both present and future, can all have a deep impact on narratives of one's self in the world. However, it is not the veracity of memories that present research is concerned with, but rather their psychosocial qualities in terms of trauma and resilience, of experiencing one's self in place and time. Paying attention to both contents and modes of remembering can offer a useful methodological handling of this issue.

Qualitative approach to studying resilience

Underscoring their limited and inadequate use in mainstream research, Ungar suggests that resilience is likely to be better understood phenomenologically (Ungar, 2004), i.e. by employing qualitative methods and unsilencing subjective accounts of individual and group resilience, and giving voice to a culturally and politically silenced perspective on

coping experiences with a prolonged exposure to an ingenious system of oppression. Ungar enumerates five aspects and potential abilities in the context of studying health and resilience in children, clearly generalizable to other phenomena : 1- discovering unnamed processes, 2- attending to the contextual specificity of health phenomena, 3- increasing the "volume" of marginalized voices, 4- producing thick enough descriptions of lives lived to allow for the transfer of findings between contexts, 5- challenging researcher standpoint bias that orients findings toward an adult-centric perspective (Ibid.)

Decolonizing methodologies

Situated in a settler-colonial reality (Pappe, 2011; Masalha, 2012), the research is receptive of the landmark debate initiated by Smith's influential book "decolonizing methodologies" (Smith, 2012). Critically discussing research on indigenous peoples, Smith argues that what is key in "decolonizing methodologies" is the acute and knowledgeable awareness of the historical, political and cultural context "in which the research problems are conceptualized and designed, and with implications of the research for its participants and their communities" (Smith, 2012. P.1).

Colonialism, in its violent appropriation and exploitation of native human and material resources (Jasen and Pramod, 2010), is the defining context of experiences of indigenous peoples, who have been "subjected to colonization of their lands and cultures, and the denial of their sovereignty, by a colonizing society that has come to dominate and determine the shape and quality of their lives" (Smith, 2012, p.7).

110

Sharing common experiences of culture and history dismantling, and narrative silencing (Masalha, 2012, p.88), Palestinians in Israel are grappling with an active and pervasive colonial discourse constructing them in stereotyped and reductionist fashion, and marginalizing the Palestinian nakbah narrative, especially in its psychosocial expressions of both suffering and struggling subjectivity.

Qualitative research offers theoretical and methodological means to psychosocially explore an emblematic yet unexamined aspect of the Palestinian colonized reality in Israel, that is the Nakba IDP's, from a postcolonial perspective (Fanon, 1963; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988) where they can, from their subaltern position, speak (Spivak, 1988) and possibly be heard (Maggio, 2007).

Decolonizing the psychosocial research on Nakba, can benefit from a qualified and critical tradition of qualitative inquiry, performing "epistemic reflexivity" (Bourdieu, 1994; Maton, 2003), and bearing in mind the complexity, totality and uniquenes (Papadopoulos, 2007) of the refugees' experience.

Ethics Approval

Ethics approval was given as required by the University's Ethics Committee. "Letter of information for consent" to participate in research (Arksey & Knight, 1999) was developed in collaboration with my supervisor stating the purpose, procedures, risk and benefits and the voluntary nature of the research. In addition, the form addressed the

procedures used to protect confidentiality, to store information and the subject's right to withdraw from the research at any time (ibid). The letter was translated into Arabic and made available to all participants to approve and sign at the beginning of each interview.

Participants

A sample of 10 families whose first generation has experienced displacement during 1948 Nakba was selected; the families were identified through local associations involved in advocacy and educational work with Palestinian IDP's, including the association for the defense of the rights of internally displaced persons in Israel (ADRID) and Baladna association for Arab youth both engaged in various projects with nakbah-related internally displaced families and with larger community. Other families were identified though personal contacts. Participants were all contacted directly by me. The first generation participants' age range was 70-85 years old, and varied from 1 to 15 years in 1948. A total number of 31 individuals belonging to 3 generations were jointly interviewed in different family constellations and settings. 2 first generation participants were individually interviewed as well. During the joint family interviews each generation was represented by at least 1 member. All families live in the North of Israel. All participants welcome the request to be interviewed and video recorded, except one case who reconsidered its initial acceptance, eventually the invitation was

declined by a second generation participant who was anxious of the possible negative impact of the interview on her father (first generation).

Data collection

All interviews were conducted as joint interviews involving two or three generations. Complementary one-to-one interviews were conducted with two representatives of the first generation. Two interviews took part in two sessions; one interview took 3 separate sessions to complete.

A total of 15 interviews were conducted, amounting to 35 hours in addition 60 hours of transcription and translations into English. All interviews were undertaken directly by me and were videotaped and transcribed verbatim. Interview times varied in length from 2 – 3 hours. The interviews were entirely translated to English; some recurrent fundamental words were used also in their Arabic versions, for example, tahjeer (displacement), hajij (forced flight).

As the theory was developing few additional interviews were carried out to attend the requirement for data saturation. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in a conversational manner following the interviewee interests or concerns (Smith, Osborn, 2003) with few opening questions aiming at building rapport and trust. Flexible and unlimited time was allowed giving informants scope to express the way they see things (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Questions and all linguistic interactions were phrased in mainly near-experience spoken Arabic, Some questions had to be reviewed in order to get

them less and more communicative. Interviews took place in the families' homes and were conducted in an empathic way in order to facilitate interviewees' connection with personal and at times painful aspects of their story, allowing room to their need to share sometimes lengthy and associative descriptions of episodes.

The joint interviews seemed to work better in terms of producing "relational" information and activating different family dynamics able to shed a more penetrating light into the intergenerational family history and narrative despite highlighted disadvantages like possible antagonisms collusions (Arksey, Knight, 1999). The process of intergenerational conversation brought about new insights and assessments regarding self and the collectivity, and represented a medium to communicate with self and others, clarifying and solidifying identity, and conveying political messages to one's compatriots and political rivals.

Framed within a constructivist approach, the interviews produced co-constructed narratives and co-created realities, where in addition to the interviewer and the interviewees, other subjects were physically or symbolically present, including the external context displacement, the different members of the family, of 3 generations, the lay or expert audience how are expected to read it. This crowd of relationships may have influenced the construction of the narratives in terms of censoring some ideas or emphasizing others.

In addition, I made use of ethnographic research participating in relevant cultural event like the "march of return" and analyzed video and photographic materials, including movies, documentaries and archival images.

Data analysis

The Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and the comparative method of grounded theory were used to analyze the data. Mixing both methodologies, the following analysis procedures were used: reading the transcript several times, freely analyzing the text, writing down notes and preliminary interpretations, and transformation first notes into themes, listing connecting and clustering themes into a narrative account (Smith and Osborn, 2007), word by word coding, line-by-line coding, coding incident to incident, in vivo codes, focused coding, and theoretical coding, and theoretical sampling by similarities, variations, and differences (Charmaz, 2006). Categories were developed by relying on frequency of the constituting dimensions, their emotional intensity and their capacity of providing theoretical abstraction and understanding (ibid). The theory was developed inductively, by using the model of Charmaz (ibid) that presented major constructivist flexibility in line with the general theoretical and methodological approaches delineating the present research.

Rigor

Requirement of validity and reliability (Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001) were fulfilled by pre-externalizing researcher's reflections and perceptions regarding the topic, and carrying out a selective sampling.

Saturation of data was achieved through further inquiry sessions around universality of the emerging categories among participants. For example, the dimension of "land attachment" was reconfirmed among three generations despite varying nuances. A stronger link between data and categories was established through frequent and extensive memoing, and a sequential theoretical sampling, and feedback form participant.

Notes on positionality, my private Nakbah: in the name of displacement

The constructivist approach to this research brings the researcher to the foreground as co-constructing actor of data and meaning depending on his or her scientific or personal background.

"The researcher is actively reacting to and working with data… experience and knowledge are what sensitize the researcher to significant problems and issues in the data and allows him or her to see alternative explanations and to recognize proprieties and dimensions to emergent concepts" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p.58-59).

I come from a family who carries in its very name the indelible traces of displacement, a family whose name bears witness to the depopulation and destruction of a lost place of origin. The real and imagined existence of Qossqoss, that's the name of the place, is confined to the somewhat bizarre and inarticulate sequence of guttural and hollow sounds that too often compels people to ask "How do you pronounce it?". How can you

116

pronounce a name so material and abstract at the same time? A dead displaced place

that you are one of his fading, time-affected signs of life. It defines you by absence and

distance in time and space, and you define it by emotional presence and memory or,

more accurately, post-memory. A disappeared place that you don't grasp by a firsthand

knowledge lives on through you and your family. And when you pronounce it in foreign

languages, it tends to disappear even more turning into a faceless and estranged entity.

When you introduce yourself through a connection with a locale lost to colonialism, you

learn to measure the burden of the latter on your identity, and the substantiality of that

loss in your life, and to articulate it. 24 years before nakbah, my family was forced to

move out of their village, Qossqoss, on the hill tops between Haifa and Ibn Amer Valley

(today Yemek Israel, in Hebrew). The lands of the village were deceptively purchased

among other lands of adjacent villages from Arab landlords by Jewish Agency for Israel

and other Zionist organizations as a part of their relentless efforts to colonize Palestine

and make room for the Jewish settlers. The ideology of building a homeland for the

Jews in Palestine, reflected the deep disenchantment by European Jews of the

possibility of integration in a growingly anti-Semite Europe, but adopted, at the same,

time the colonial instincts of the European Superpower states of the time starting with

the British Empire. Driving away Palestinian natives, like my grandfather, was a core

strategy of the Western-colonialism inspired Zionist project. My grandfather used to tell

the story of how they woke up one morning to discover they have no right to the land

though they were working and living there for many generations. Since then they were

117

named after their place of origin, Qossoqsi, the people of Qossqoss, a place that does not exist anymore, except in historical and memorial books.

So I hold the name of a place that ceased to exist, the name of a present absence. But it's also a name that defies loss and restores it to life. Qossqoss being a place lost and found lives on through my family and resists forgetfulness. Geography becomes a family, a nostalgic landscape. The inventive lexicon of the Israeli colonial bureaucracy had coined the term present absentees to define those Palestinians who at the time of occupation weren't home, though within the borders of the state, having had left temporarily seeking shelter from the raging war.

The details of the story of the displacement from Qossqoss, and of its aftermath remain unclear even today. Though there were other displaced families from that pastoral place, mine is the only family who bears in its most public identity the mark of a vanished geographic and psychological home. The pre-nakbah internal displacements are overshadowed by the massive displacements during and after the 1948 war, and receive less recognition and a diminished national and moral status of suffering.

My family arrived eventually to Shefamr, my hometown. Shefamr wasn't militarily occupied, as it surrendered without a real fight due to the dynamic of the war that at the time was clearly turning in favor of the Jewish forces. Despite the relatively soft seizure of my hometown the 1948 war impacted heavily on my family. My grandfather fled to the neighboring Lebanon where he stayed for one year, but eventually returned to the newly established state of Israel. In the meanwhile he lost all his livestock, robbed by a man who was working for him. A year later he came back escaping a

118

looming fate of refugee. More than thirty years earlier, during the World War One, he

had deserted the mandatory military drafting for the crumbling Ottoman empire' army.

Then he had saved his life becoming a fugitive.

My father was 6 years when he had to make the entire perilous road from Shefamr to

Nazareth along with his mother fearing the worse. He recalls the panic of those days

around the fall of the town. They reached Nazareth where they found shelter in a

Christian monastery. My mother was only few weeks old when the war arrived in her

hometown on the outskirts of Nazareth. She was given the name of Najiyya (survivor)

expressing an optimistic wish that she and the whole family would make it through the

war and survive its atrocities and life-threatening dangers. I always sensed this nexus of

suffering and surviving in my family, in its gendered shades, where women displayed a

calm resilience and men a noisy and frustrated righteousness. Whereas nakbah

accounts tell often the suffering and the losses of the men, they shy away from plight of

women. The long Palestinian silence regarding the nakbah experience has been more

censoring towards Palestinian women whose stories and memories where disattended

to.

One of my most vivid childhood memories concerns a visit to my hometown of the

president of Israel at Independence Day. He was granted a very celebratory reception,

made even more ceremonious and solemn, though of dubious totalitarian taste, by

many waving flags in the hands of Palestinian school children. I fell ill that day so I

missed it, and was I spared one of the most humiliating and alienating rituals of

celebrating your own community disaster. Growing up I came to appreciate the wisdom of my body resorting to sickness to protect me from a psychological injury.

My realization of nakbah and its visible and invisible effects took form gradually through extra-school readings and unpleasant and sometime really distressing personal experiences, mostly of unmediated encounters with the "other", minor though hurtful-enough episodes of both covert and open institutional or interpersonal racism. I recall, as a child, the sense of burning confusion hearing a Jewish child telling his mother, in a public garden, while pointing at me, worried and amazed, "he is an Arab", and the mother reassuring him and whispering to his ear while moving away from the place. The nakbah continued to insinuate itself through silences, words, half sentences, whispered stories, songs, grandmother's memories, heated political discussions among adults in the family, Palestinian literature largely censored in the school curricula.

Far from being a single event, nakbah remained an elusive and overwhelming domain, grasping its significance was too hard a cognitive and emotional exercise. What added to its elusiveness was the unanalyzable silence of adults. However, some emotions and information managed to filter through the cracks of that rubber wall of silence.

The still dominant perception of that event is of a founding trauma of reduced complexity, despite the myriad of undertones, and meanings. Though I'm a second generation of nakbah, my existence is filled with its emotional and moral and indeed real ticking existential bomb. My research interest stems also from personal and intellectual needs to a more nuanced understanding of collective experience in its historical and present actualizations.

120

My research poses issues of neutrality and objectivity of the researcher as an insider. I'm not a neutral and detached observer of my objects and subjects of research. Epistemologically, I see the nakbah as product of colonialism; locating it in a settler-colonial context is a theoretical choice informed by personal and political sensitivities. My interest in refugees and internally displaced people can't disregard these personal and collective accounts, and what I came to conceive of myself and of my national group of reference. For example, I use the term "Palestinians of Israel", or "Palestinians in Israel", while the official Israeli lexicon insists on the term "Israeli Arabs", which is used to some extent by Palestinians as well. The constructivist qualitative approach to my research is inclusive of my views and biases, my conscious and unconscious thoughts and feelings in relation to the topic of nakbah and displacement. Furthermore, my research on nakbah presented me with a number of academic dilemmas. Nakbah is growingly politicized and pushed to the margins of legality by the Israeli establishment. I reached out to a university out of Israel also because it would have been extremely difficult to deal with nakbah in the Israeli academic setting. Besides the institutional ban, the nakbah is still very much a taboo in Israeli academic terms; the Palestinian narrative and experience of nakbah have been excluded for many decades from the Israeli academic agenda, while the scant research interest served specific political agendas of security and social control, and was considerably shaped and restricted by power relations. I recall the amount of creativity my Jewish colleagues from an organization of mental health for human rights had to harness in order to convince an Israeli university to host a conference on nakbah.

121

How to maintain a critical awareness of one's positionality as an "insider" vis a vis an intellectually and emotionally challenging scenario: a Palestinian Israeli scholar, attending a British university, writing in English on nakbah narratives narrated in Arabic and translated into English, but also a member of an oppressed minority responding to ongoing internal colonialism with hybrid of resistance and victimhood, subversion and fatalism (Bhabha, 1994).

Arksey and Knight, (1999) usefully summarize the advantages of conducting a research from an 'insider' position, including an easier accessibility, an informed knowledge of the cultural and political context, familiarity with social networks, higher confidence by the interviewee leading a richer data. On the other hand, main disadvantages may include possible conflict of interests, and excessive closeness to the subject matter, and difficulty to maintain balance.

Concluding, the crux of the matter is offered by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) in her seminal "Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples", highlighting the crucial questions to be asked: "Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will results be disseminated?" (Twihai-Smith, 2012, p. 10).

As an insider researcher on a colonized Palestinian community, within a Western centre of knowledge, I bear these guiding questions in mind before, during and after the research, keeping open to a continuous exchange on them with my research subjects. Moreover, I make mine the principles of "Charter of Decolonial Research Ethics"

(Decoloniality Europe, 2013), keeping a critical commitment to decolonization, while reporting back to the community and "sharing Knowledge", as an additional balancing measures against to colonizing epistemologies (Al-Hardan, 2013).

Chapter 5

Analysis

Intergenerational Psychosocial effects of Nakba-related internal displacement

<div dir="rtl">

من يكتب حكايته يرث أرض الكلام ويملك المعنى تماماً!"
محمود درويش، لماذا تركت الحصان وحيداً، 1995

</div>

"Whoever succeeds in writing his own story will inherit the land of the story, and will possess the meaning, entirely!"
Mahmoud Darwish, Why did you leave the horse alone?, 1995.

From "historical trauma model" to "complex intergenerational resilience"

Encompassing all the varieties of experiences associated with disaster, refugeedom and exile, the nakbah is the Palestinian emotionally charged collective name for a complex, total and unique collective adversity (Papadopoulos, 2007). Nakbah effects are interwoven into a psychosocially polychromatic fabric of historical trauma, contemporary predicament, resilience, adversity-activated-development (Papadopoulos, 2006, 2007), cultural resistance (Samson, 2003, 2008, 2013) and "survivance" (Vizenor, 1998), the latter being a neologized confection of survival and endurance that runs across generations. In fact, accumulated research evidence indicates that "intergenerational transmission of the trauma…is not an inevitable

consequence of the parents' traumatic past but, rather, an undesirable outcome of futile attempts to cope with the trauma and its aftereffects" (Shmotkin et al., 2011, p.10).

The intergenerational family transmission of resilience and trauma is governed by biological psychological, social, cultural and political factors (Denham, 2008; Yehuda & Bierer, 2009; Danieli, 1998; Alexander, 2012; King et al., 1999; Mohatt et al., 2014). Relevantly, the nakbah-related internal displacement of Palestinian families in Israel amounts, along with other Nakbah-related taxing realities, to an intergenerational adversity underpinned by interdependent personal, family, social and political narratives.

Several factors and variables should be called into question if we to analyze the intergenerational psychosocial impact of the nakbah-related internal displacement on survivor Palestinian families within Israel, including personal history, relational and social context, power, gender, conceptualization of the experience and others (Danieli, 1998; Papadopoulos, 2006, 2007).

In the present study, what further compounds the intergenerational long-term psychosocial effects of nakbah-related displacement on the "emotional community" (Rosenwein, 2006) of survivor Palestinian families is a complex societal emotional process (Bowen, 1978) shaped and shadowed by the continuing   and   potentially traumatic political conflict (Levi and Slone, 2011). In fact, the expanding context of internal colonialism (Zureik, 1979; Zureik, Lyon, Abu-Laban, 2010; Yiftachel, 2012; Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1995; Masalha, 2012), marked by direct and indirect

violence (Galtung, 1969), informs the ways internally displaced Palestinian individuals, families, and communities perceive and relate to the nakbah in all its interconnected tenses, past, present and future.

Retrospectively reported narratives of displacement are bound to diverge and converge on many elements and themes of interpreting and communicating nakbah-related experiences of internal displacement as they are handed over from one generation to another.

While biases of objectivity, memory and forgetfulness may invest first generation adversity-related and retrospectively reported narratives (King et al., 2000; Potts, 1994), the post-memories of the "generations after" (Hirsch, 2012) are largely, though not exclusively, shaped and defined by their families and communities dominating narratives. However, we can see the circularity of this intergenerational family dynamics (Selvini-Palazzoli et al., 1980; Hoffman, 1985; Cecchin, 1987; Andolfi, 2012, 2016) with the third generation opening channels of blocked communication and challenging families' silences, myths and perceptions while integrating others (Andolfi et al., 1989, Shmotkin et al., 2011), while the second generation directly absorbing the first generation' verbalized and unsaid emotional experiences (Hirsch, 2012), and later mediating between grandparents and grandchildren (Bar-On, 1998).

Significantly, narratives of collective colonial adversities are fraught with concerns and reiterations of losses, fragmented identities, times, places, and memories (Vaudrin-Charette, 2015, Nofal et al., 1998), all relevant and central to the whole process of historical and intergenerational trauma and its ensuing modes of perception,

126

interpretation and coping. At the same time, elements of personal and collective sense of healing, renewal, redefined purposefulness, strengthened cultural identity, steadfastness, resistance and reconciliation, are present in these narratives (Kirmayer & Valaskakis, Usborne and Taylor, 2010, Vaudrin-Charette, 2015; Denham, 2008; Longu, Serri, Qossoqsi, 2012).The narratives of Palestinian refugees (Sa'di, 2002; Allan, 2005) and IDP's are no exception in this regard. The following accounts will introduce variations of these ideas.

The intergenerational identity-ridden interplay between past, present and future, brings to the forefront a host of concepts and domains that could illumine the theoretical understanding of the psychosocial effects of the nakbah-related internal displacement of Palestinians in Israel.

Heavily imbedded in a historical trauma discourse (Duran et alt., 1998; La Capra, 2001; Muid, 2006; Danieli, 2010), the nakbah came to assume a form of a hard, inflexible and semantically inflamed word whose derivative psychosocial vocabulary exercises an interpretive authority, both academically and culturally, that is largely borrowed from an overarching victimhood discourse (Qossoqsi, 2010). The qualitative exploration of nakbah narratives carried out in the present study allowed a recuperation of complexity, diversity and fluidity of the intergenerational nakbah experience that is better captured by the constructionist, context-aware, and culture-sensitive "trauma grid" model (Papadopoulos, 2007), than by the pathologizing and universalizing (Bracken, Giller, Summerfield, 1995, Summerfield, 1998 2001, Papadopoulos, 2007, Afuape, 2011),   exceedingly history-focused (Kirmayer, Simpson, and Cargo, 2003,

Papadopoulos, 2002, 2006, 2007) and essentially resilience-oblivious "historical trauma model" (Denham, 2008, Crawford, 2014). Relatedly, qualitative methods are more receptive and culturally sensitive to the multiplicity of voices and lived experiences of individuals and families facing marginalizing and exclusionary political system (Ungar, 20068, 2009; Afuape, 2011).

The three generations of internally displaced Palestinian families in Israel looked at here are, to different extents, involved and, sometimes, distressfully caught in an intricate intergenerational conversation on the nakbah, that is not necessarily systematic (Allan, 2005) neither exclusively verbal, but carried out also through visual and spatial representations, land-oriented common activities and rituals (Crawford, 2013).

This research examines, through qualitative lens, the complex intergenerational narratives of resilience and trauma among nakbah-related internally displaced Palestinian families in Israel. The research endeavors to take a psychosocial investigative look into the emotional multigenerational dialogue (Bowen, 1976, 1978; Andolfi, 2012, 2016) on nakbah-related displacements across three generations negotiating material and symbolic resources of sense-making of the past, the present and the future.

Complex Intergenerational resilience

"Our fathers were fearful, their children are less fearful, the children of their children are courageous..." (A., First generation)

The analysis of the intergenerational narratives brought about the emergence of an organizing metacategory of a "complex intergenerational resilience" best articulated and explicated by the "trauma grid" model (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2004, 2007), composed of 3 dimensions of AAD (Adversity-activated Development), 2 main dimensions of resilience, and 2 additional trauma-spectrum negative responses which were identified as subordinate and unpervasive. All intergenerationally convergent and at times conflicting displacement-related responses seem to be knitted together by visible and invisible threads of meaning, hope, agency and irreducible humanity (Papadopoulos, 2006, 2007).

1- **AAD dimensions:** compass of return, heightened awareness of cultural identity, Inventiveness of loss.

2- **Resilience dimensions:** land and place attachment, social relatedness.

3- **Trauma dimensions**: ambiguous loss, carrying the intergenerational anxiety.

Table 1

Complex Intergenerational resilience

AAD Dimensions

1- The compass of return: pragmatic nostalgia, management of ambivalence, overcoming static aspect of existence, future-oriented attitude to life, origin rituals, recognition, quest for justice, stability, political activism, self-cohesiveness, overcoming frozenness, hope, stability, intergenerational cooperation.

2- Heightened awareness of cultural identity: cultural identity, challenging the Zionist discourse, community heritage, cultural activities, political activities, pride, poetry of resistance, art, books, celebrating heritage, belonging, pride, acting upon values, collective rights.

3- Inventiveness of loss: survival, creativity, the struggling "we", speaking truth to power, rebuilding life, management of ambivalence, political activism, self-confidence, courage, Disconnecting from traditional limits related to typically rural life and opening up to the world, imagination, freedom.

Resilience Dimensions

4- Land and place attachment: poetic of place, identity, intimate knowledge of land, mythologizing, naming places, belonging, memories, caring, origin rituals.

5- *Social relatedness,* solidarity, empathy, familiarity, security, equality, communal love, identity, happiness, cooperation, sense of home, common fate, commitment to collective cause, sense of community, pride.

Trauma dimensions:

1- ambiguous loss: multiple losses, injustice, devastating event, split, trauma of belonging, Fear, denial, suspension, deep sense of precariousness and uncertainty, idealizing and infantilizing of place, existential restlessness, anger, sense of betrayal, disillusionment, comparisons between pre- and post-nakbah, numbness

2- carrying the intergenerational anxiety: silence, shame, blame, anger, self-silencing, regression, desperation, heartache, loneliness, disappointments, frozenness, extreme family distress, pessimism, weakened intergenerational hierarchy, family disunity of the resulting in sense of loneliness of the older generation, a life ruptured, physical illness, painful memories, Silenced women, discrimination by fellow Palestinians in the hosting villages, suspicion

Adversity-Activated-Development

Compass of return

They returned…

from the end of the long tunnel to their mirrors…they returned

when they recovered their brothers' salt, single or in groups, they returned

from the myths of defending citadels to what is simple in speech.

They won't need to raise their hands or banners to miracles anymore, if they choose.

They returned to celebrate the water of their existence, to organize this air

and wed their sons to their daughters; to make a body hidden in marble dance

and to hang from their ceilings onions, okra, and garlic for winter,

to milk their goats and the clouds that flow from the pigeons' feathers.

They returned on the tips of their obsession to the geography of divine magic

and to the banana leaf mat in the land of ancient topography:

a mountain upon a sea;

      two lakes behind the memories,

        a coast for the prophets –

and a street for the scent of lemon. No harm befell the land.

The horse winds blew, the Hyksos blew, and the Tatars blew, masked

or unveiled. All immortalized their names with spear or mangonel . . . and departed.

None of them deprived April of its habits: the flowering out of stones

or the bells of lemon blossoms; no harm befell the sand—

no harm, not harm after they left. And land, like language, is inherited.

The horse winds blew in and blew out, and the wheat burst from the wheat.

It was their choice to return and recover the fire in their flute,

so the far came from afar, bloodied with their clothes

and the fragile crystal, and the anthem rose—

above distance and absence.

Mahmoud Darwish, 2014.

In the spring of 2016 I took part in the annual "march of return" to one of the displaced Palestinians villages in Israel. The displaced village chosen as a destination is still beautifully, heartbreakingly suspended between the Carmel Mountain and the Mediterranean Sea. Marking nakbah anniversary in a sweltering summer day, hundreds of marchers, families and individuals, elders, young and children, made their melancholically vigorous way to the gathering point at the heart of the displaced village. They were holding white paper signs with names of inhabitants of the village who lost their lives during 1948 war. The signs specified the full names, and the ages of the victims, including young children and elders. Posters of displaced people with writings about the unshakable faith in the return were dangling like strange fruits from the branches of the scattered olive trees. The procession stopped next to an abandoned Palestinian house that was transformed in a temporary memorial site displaying fragments of visual narratives of shattered existences. In a corner a small old chair seemed materializing the absence, the void, the frozen time, but also the unresigned and unremoved hope. The time-scratched walls and darkness-injured spaces of the house hosted a chiaroscuro archive of photos, clothing items, artifacts, simple furniture and maps of pre-1948Palestine with original Arabic names of cities, towns, and villages. Images of deportation and desperate flight were mixed with vintage posters of pre-1948 literary and artistic events taking place in the major cities of the mandatory Palestine like Haifa and Jaffa and bearing witness to an animated and optimistic cultural life. The house, a dramatic showing room of vitality and havoc, was dimly lit, as if reluctantly emerging from the hazy shadows of the unpassed past or slowly returning to

incipient cautious life. The photographs featured Images of peasant daily life, town bustling activities, along with somewhat naïve and mysterious family portraits. The thick atmosphere of anticipation and the looming devastation of the "hajij" (the Palestinian term for the forced flight and deportation during the Nakbah) could be sensed hovering in the dense air. All things bore involuntary witness to a chronicle of a displacement (un)foretold, to a dread waiting to materialize. During the memorial ceremony next to the house three and four generations of refugees and internally displaced Palestinian families were mingling, talking, eating, sharing memories, "feeding their ancestors" and taking care of their place of origin and practicing rituals of return. A young girl recited with startling pathos words of empathy to the pain of her grandparents and pledged unshakable commitment to their (and her) dream and right of homecoming. The surrounding valleys echoed the songs of longing and belonging to a beloved, lost, and reclaimed land. The "gone mad" sea from Darwish' poem "at the station of a train which fell off the map" could be fadingly heard not far from the place that "broke like a porcelain jar".

The "march of return" was launched with thousands of participants in 1998 by the *Association for the Defense* of the Rights of Internally *Displaced* Persons in Israel (ADRID), and became throughout the years an annual ritual staged on the ground of displaced and destroyed villages by internally displaced Palestinians and other fellow Palestinians. Before that date internally displaced Palestinian families would visit the ruins of their villages often concealed by new exclusively Jewish towns. Due to military restrictions the visits would be possible, only during the Independence Day of the state

of Israel. Mourning wasn't possible if not in celebratory disguise.   One of first documentaries on internally displaced Palestinian families in Israel, "Ma'loul celebrates its destruction" (Michel Khleifi, 1984), addressed the apparently tragic paradox of returning to your destroyed village and pretending to celebrate its demise. On one hand the disquieting title captures this almost humanly unbearable contradiction, the impossibility of mourning, the cultural violence of denying grievability to one's own personal and collective loss(Butler, 2004). On the other hand, displacement conveyed a resilient allegiance to origin ad return even under grievous circumstances. The claim for the right of return is probably the most crucial demand of the Palestinian refugees and IDPI who install its certainty at the heart of a shared and intergenerational narrative. Receiving me for an interview, A., a first generation participant, said with a proudly confident tone, indicating old keys on the shelf next to my chair: "these keys symbolize the return…" If the Palestinian intergenerational "return narrative" has a deeply resonant tangible access code, this is the key, an acclaimed Palestinian symbol of trauma and resilience, of loss and hope, of displacement and return.

R., a third generation participant describes a nakbah commemorative event held at her university, performed in Hebrew "so they can hear":   "as third generation, I have pictures of that, we were holding the "return key" with the story of each village or town of origin… everyone was speaking about her/his village".

The first generation participants, like A., treat the return as axiomatic and unaffected by the passing of time. It is a principle and a testament whose powerfulness can be neither reduced nor overcome by the immense suffering:

A(FG): "We went through a very bitter experience of "tahjeer", but we have a great hope of returning to S., … I'm certain of the return. But I can't tell when…if not me, my children will, if not my children, then my grandchildren…"

D(FG): "Of course.. I mean things have changed over the years, but the right of return has been always been the compass…"

The idea of inevitable return is intergenerationally transmitted as a narrative navigation-device in midst of the largely uncontrollable psychosocial turmoil created and perpetuated by displacement and internal exile. The firm belief in the return assumes the orienting and stabilizing function of a compass especially for the first generation; an emotional and cognitive compass performing the Adversity-Activated-Development task (Papadopoulos, 2004, 2006, 2007) of governing and reorganizing the internal and external chaos and holding the individual and collective self from falling apart into despair. Return is both a reminder and a confirmation of a subjectivity that can neither be displaced nor annulled. It mobilizes both the retrospective and prospective aspects of home.

"Homecoming is not just a retrospective exercise but also includes a prospective direction. Thus, Homer demonstrates most eloquently that the complete odyssey is not about regression, a passive return to the past, but it includes the totality of the duality of meanings of home—the return and a reintegration, the going back and arrival as well as the achievement of future goals" (Papadopoulos, 2002, p.14)

Return is defended as a personal and collective right, a marker of identity, common fate, and reciprocal loyalty of community members, a quest for justice, and a political statement (Feldman, 2006).

D (FG): "(the return) depends on in what circumstances the return will take place…I don't know how it will happen… I don't disconnect collective return from the return to the village".

D(FG): "The question is whether they will let us go back along with the other village refugees in Lebanon, will they let them back?! If that is the case, you will have to think about it carefully, to think about compensation, but to return alone, without the other refugees, is pointless, it's as if you haven't come back…"

Importantly, the achieved right of return entails an act of recognition of trauma and suffering (Benjamin, 1990; Davoine & Gaudilliere, 2004):

D (FG): "This is very important! Of course! However, if I come back to my home and my land, and I get compensation, I don't care about how they to phrase it! My return and compensation would be an implicit taking responsibility (by Israel)…"

The compass of return is an intergenerational narrative dimension shared by all 3 generations, and transmitted through a variety of rituals.

Rituals of origin and return are very common among internally displaced Palestinian families in Israel. They are repeatedly described by all participants as a common resilience practice.

S(SG) : "I didn't live the "tahjeer" experience.. I was born 4 years after the "Tahjeer"… what I know about Maalool I heard it from my family… my grandmother was reminding us all the time… Our love for the village we perhaps have sucked it with milk…"

DJ(TG): "sometimes I do think about how they were forced out…and that someone took their land…I think that this a our stolen land, and we should take it back…"

R(TG): "There is the annual mass held in the church of the village… and there is the spring parade to the village….It was customary even before the return parades that began in the 90's, after the Oslo accords …even in social or sport activities the organizers used to include political elements to remind ourselves and everybody that we are nakbah survivors, and they (the Israeli Jews) have to recognize it……yes, that there is a link…recently a group of these guys has been trying to establish the "Association of Maalool youth"… they had meetings in the village.

Despite the ambiguities and uncertainties of a life conducted in the shadow of "lost but within reach paradise", the impulse to return is described by the second and third generation' participants as genetic and inscribed in ancestral enactment of the relationship with home (Feldman, 2006).

R(TG): At the University of Tel Aviv, at my third year there.. Then we proposed (and implemented) al the commemoration event (of Nakba) in Hebrew… in Hebrew … so Jews could understand what is being said.. it was done for the very first time…we took the commemoration procedures of the Holocaust survivors.. just the same… we, as third generation, I have pictures of that, we were holding the "return key" with the story of each village or town of origin… everyone was speaking about his village…

In fact, projects of "imagination of return", like "Udna" (we have returned), have been multiplying, in the last 5 years becoming a connection element between generations and a catalyzing factor cultural revitalization (Samson, 2013).

"Udna is a political-educational project started in 2012. This is a joint project from the Arab Association for Human Rights, the Association for the Defense of the Rights of the Internally Displaced, Baladna - Association for Arab Youth, and Zochrot. The aim of the project is to visualize return to the displaced villages through workshops with youth group of internally displaced young people; These workshops include learning sessions on the Palestinian nakbah, refugees, and life in Palestine before the displacement" (Zochrot website). The project page on Zochrot website is equipped with videos documenting various events including visits to the villages, ceremonies, interviews with first generation' displaced and their descendants. A more recent project, "returning women", emphasizes, through direct involvement of women in the movement of return, the gendered roles and sensitivities in the national struggle.

138

By visualizing and practicing return it is argued that "narratives of places are not just told with words; they can be told and heard with senses other than speech and hearing" (Rodman, 1992, p. 649).

 It can be inferred how narratives and practices of return give "some modicum of stability to even the most unstable experience of home" (Feldman, 2006:17). Though it is infused with a sense of unresolved grief, the geographical proximity of most internally displaced Palestinians in places of origin seems to prevent the collapse of the stabilizing relationship between tangible and intangible aspects of experience of home (Papadopoulos, 2002).

SD(SG): "In 1973, when the issue of the return to I., was raised again…I can never forget the happiness of my father that day…he was doing his shaving and was joyful. He told us: that's it children, we are returning to the village. I remember that when he told us that I was very happy. And started imagining how we will build our house and will have a lot of space to play. Then I didn't know the village, it was an imagination based on my parents' stories…though you didn't know the house, you felt like about returning home…"

H(FG) : "I remember my son then 10 years old, during breakfast, saying: Oh mother, why don't they just let us free to go to our village…this uphill road must be leading to our village…"

Heightened awareness of cultural identity: "Museum of Palestinian Heritage is part of

the answer to the statement of Weizmann that Palestinians have non culture..."

"Identity card"

Write down!

I am an Arab

and my identity card number is fifty thousand

I have eight children

And the ninth will come after a summer

Will you be angry?

Write down!

I am an Arab

Employed with fellow workers at a quarry

I have eight children

I get them bread

Garments and books

from the rocks..

I do not supplicate charity at your doors

nor do I belittle myself at the footsteps of your chamber

So will you be angry?

Write down!

I am an Arab

I have a name without a title

Patient in a country

Where people are enraged

My roots

Were entrenched before the birth of time

And before the opening of the eras

Before the pines, and the olive trees

And before the grass grew

My father… descends from the family of the plow

Not from a privileged class

And my grandfather was a farmer

Neither well-bred, nor well-born!

Teaches me the pride of the sun

before teaching me how to read

and my house is like a watchman's hut

made of branches and cane

Are you satisfied with my status?

I have a name without a title!

Write down!

I am an Arab

you have stolen the orchards of my ancestors

and the land which I cultivated

along with my children

and you left nothing for us

Except for these rocks…

So will the State take them

as it has been said?!

Therefore!

Write down on the top of the first page:

I do not hate people

nor do I encroach

But if I become hungry

The usurper's flesh will be my food

Beware..

Beware…

Of my hunger

and my anger!

(Mahmoud Darwish, 1964)

"Identity card" is one of the most iconic examples of Palestinian "Poetry of resistance". Ghassan Kanafani, a celebrated displaced Palestinian writer in his own right, coined and popularized the term "literary of resistance" in the 1960's to introduce ad praise the cultural production and practice of the Palestinians in Israel to the Arab world (Qossoqsi, 2010). The cultural connection to the Arab world saved the Palestinians from political annihilation (Darwish, 1994). Relatedly, heightened awareness of cultural Identity emerges as positive resilient response from the intergenerational narratives of nakbah-related displacement (Fast, Colin-Vezina, 2010).

Nakbah is a component of Palestinian national and cultural identity (Sa'di, 2002). Sa'di argues that it is fundamentally a traumatic "site of memory" for Palestinians, due to the massive losses and sufferings produced by it. However, for internally displaced Palestinian families, strengthened and clarified cultural identity represents an effective coping mechanism with the consequences of nakbah and with the obfuscation of Palestinian subjectivity favored by the dominant historical political narrative (Koldas,

2011.). In fact, "to have an identity is to have a history: the story of the enduringness of something over time, as well as an account of what it would mean to fail to satisfy that criterion" (Booth, 2006, p.8).

The physical and discursive eviction of Palestinians from the land and the history by the Zionist colonizer (Bresheeth, 2007; Lentin, 2010) is faced, both in intergenerational narratives and in literature, with the assertion of unquestioned indigeneity and solid cultural continuity. The discursive hegemony of the Zionist colonial project, presented as a "March of civilization" (Samson, 2013) making bloom the presumed geographical and cultural desert of Palestine, is defied by the persistence in time and space of a visible collective identity displayed through words, prayers, memorial books (Davis, 2010), demonstrations, remembrances (Allan, 2014), acts and objects (Davis, 2007). The "Museum of heritage", individually initiated by A., a first generation participant, in his own house, is a not merely nostalgic "memory site" of a fading time and space, but rather a vibrant identity site of lived and living community experiences preserved and perpetuated in things and their traditional uses (Davis, 2007), a "potential space" (Winnicott, 1971) between the personal and the collective presented through the physical eloquence of cultural symbols and artifacts.

A (FG): we would take all these objects to be exhibited in a garden, and we would organize three nights of cultural and artistic activities, we invited a Palestinian ex-Parliamentarian in the Knesset, second generation of nakbah, we had another activist talking about the Political prisoner in Israel … once we had the play "suhmata" (a play about another displaced village) staged there…

Indicating one of his favorite items in the improvised museum, A., first generation

participant, tells a haunting story:

A(FG): this cradle used to be in Sheikh Saleh Assalim' house... who used to be the Mukhtar (head) of the village... he is our relative, and used to be our neighbor in the village... I went once to visit them, I saw this cradle out in the yard... I asked his wife: why this cradle is out, you don't need it? ... She said: no. I took it and put it in my car... afterwards she told me: You know, this cradle used to pass in the village from house to house... do you know that your brother slept in it?... my brother has died at the age of 80 years, so this cradle is about 100 years old... this piece is the dearest and the most precious to me... (Showing a photo of his brother) recently a play on his poetry was staged in Nazareth... (Indicating a number of old keys) these keys symbolize the return...

The containing and holding qualities of the "cradle" are weaved into a powerful

metaphor of the intergenerational and cultural continuity, where culture gives meaning

and predictability to life (Nathan, 1990).

The collection of objects amount to a counter-memory and counter-history to the

"official history" of the victor and his diligently imposed political amnesia and cultural

forgetting (Shenhav, 2003).

A(FG): in the beginning of the 19th century, Weizmann, who became later the first president of the state of Isarel, said that Palestine was a land without a people for a people without a land, which is the biggest lie in history. A man stood up and said to him: there are people living in Palestine,   there is a civil life, cities, roads, Weizmann replied: yes, there are people but they have no heritage... so I consider this modest collection of objects a part of our heritage, our past, and it's a part of the answer to the statement of Weizmann...

"The Camel of Grievances"

On the guest room' wall, in the house of D., a first generation participant, my eyes were immediately captured by a copy of the iconic piece of Palestinian art (Economist, 2014) by the Palestinian artist Suleiman Mansour "Jamal al mahamel" ("the Camel of Grievances"). The painting realized in 1974, and destined to a huge popularity among Palestinians everywhere, is crowded with motifs of cultural identity and resilience. It depicts a gigantic figure of a first generation Palestinian refugee holding on his burdened shoulders an eye-shaped sack, containing Jerusalem and other relevant symbols of cultural identity. Palestinian refugees keep their cultural identity very close, "as the pupil of the eye", i.e. a metaphor of precious guiding insight and outsight in their repeated forcible wanderings, so they can resist the traumatic effects of their multifaceted exiles. D., himself, recalls his first visits as a child to the emptied and later destroyed village of origin, excitingly recovering books and booklets from the abandoned houses, as if detecting and preserving still enigmatic cultural signs of life:

D(FG): The village was destroyed only in 1956…I remember my father would ask me to take the sheep to the village to graze… I would go there, and wander in the houses… I would collect any think I find in the houses, books, book notes…though I wasn't able yet to read and write…..

Intergenerational narratives attach a great importance to cultural identity as shelter from political erasure:

D(FG): Palestinians had to embrace a big cultural challenge.. you have to come to an escapable conclusion that a human being should be as strong as his cause…we live in an era, but it's a historical fact as well, that the weak are stepped on and crushed, cancelled…you have nations that have been erased from the face of the earth, the weak nations was removed from the world… you have to be strong, there is no alternative..

Strong cultural identity may reflect resilient segments in a historical trauma narrative (Crawford, 2013). Preservation and revitalization of cultural past has been associated with personal and collective well-being of aboriginal peoples (Samson, 2013, Chandler and Lalonde, 1998).

Relatedly, challenging the Zionist narrative and strengthening an indigenous narrative physically rooted in the land and emanating from it appear as emerging pillars of family and community resilience.

A(FG): we managed to introduce the term "nakbah" into the Zionist lexicon…while our fellow Palestinians (in the 1967 occupied territories) succeeded in introducing the term "Intifada"(uprising).

Individual and collective cultural clarity are posited in a strong association with self-esteem and well-being (Usborne and Taylor, 2010). "For samples of undergraduate students, Anglophone Quebecers, Francophone Québécois, Chinese North Americans, and Aboriginal Canadians, cultural identity clarity was positively related to self-concept clarity, self-esteem, and markers of subjective well-being. The relationship between cultural identity clarity and both self-esteem and well-being was consistently mediated by self-concept clarity" (Ibid, 2010:1).

Though first and second generation' participants may express occasional doubts about their descendants' depth of political commitments , the resilient awareness of national and cultural identity (Meari, 1992) of the third generation participants seems to override the more traumatically veined "displaced identity" of the former.

146

R(TG): recently a group of young descendant of our village of origin' displaced families have been trying to establish a "youth association" linked with village… they even had meetings in the village itself… on one hand my approach is a comprehensive national one, without divisions in terms of areas or villages…but, on the other hand, that does not mean that I give up the story of my grandfather…and myself being the granddaughter of this displaced man… I agree with my father on this..

H(TG): I've never thought of myself as descending from S.(displaced village) but as a Palestinian…"on the pledge we remain"…

The assertive words of H., echoes Samson (2003) insight regarding the intensifying cultural resistance of native Innu in Canada: "While authorities act to incorporate the Innu within a larger Canadian whole, the people themselves continually resist, insisting on their right to be Innu" (Samson, 2003, P. 14).

Similarly, "despite the diaspora and ongoing lack of a viable national polity, and facing the theft of land and the failures of leadership and political will, being 'Palestinian' is a forceful and unifying concept, if not a political and geophysical reality" (Gray, 2015, p.166).

With regard to the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Peteet (2009) argues that "where ruptures have been violently imposed, refugees discern continuity rather than irrevocable chasm. Palestinians vividly link past, present, and future in memory and the political imagination (Peteet, 2009, p.19).

Heightened awareness of cultural identity is expressed through and catalyzed by an intensive cultural production of the Palestinian of Israel. Most of the prominent Palestinian writers, poets and artists are themselves internally displaced or come from internally displaced families. Significantly, the Palestinian literature in Israel was called "literature of resistance".

The resistance function of Palestinian culture is still performed with even more global incisiveness. Writing on the "Qalandiya International", a joint contemporary art event founded in 2012 and takes place every two years across Palestinian cities and villages (www.qalandiyainternational.org), Nicola Gray (2015) characterizes it as an inclusive and positive "act of defiant cultural resistance" (P.166) that "reclaims a name from layered histories, overturning connotations of humiliation and aggression and associating it with an event that aims to inscribe Palestine on the global cultural map" (ibid).

M., a third generation participant, resorted to art, in the form of a short documentary about her grandfather, to make a clear identity statement in the midst of what she perceives an identity confusion among her Palestinian peers. M. attributes the clarity and the solidity of her cultural identity (Fast, Collin-Vezina, 2010) to her grandfather, whom she accompanies to their village of origin. The young offspring empathically interviewing her grandfather visualized a symbolic intergenerational and cultural continuity in the name of an "unavoidable return".

"It doesn't matter what other thinks about you, what really counts is how you define yourself, I care about my origin and who I'm because of my displaced grandfather", she concludes.

Inventiveness of loss: "Landless and homeless, we had only ourselves"

They took his food, clothes and the flags
And threw him in the cell of dead
And then they said: You are a thief
They took his little beloved
Then they said: You are a refugee

Oh bloodied eyes and hands
The night is impermanent
The arrest room isn't permanent
Nor the chains
Neron is dead but Rome didn't die
And still fighting
And the seeds are drying
It will fill the valley with seeds

Mahmoud Darwish, 1964

The Nakba has hit internally displaced Palestinians within Israel with Innumerable losses

and catastrophic changes (Bion, 1970). The "intergenerational self" of individuals and

families (Fivush, Bohanek, Duke, 2008) was fundamentally shaken by a strong "nostalgic

disorientation" (Papadopoulos, 2002) that is loss of all qualities of home, tangible and

intangible, physical and psychological, personal and social, concrete and symbolic.

Displacement meant the tearing up of close family ties, the breakdown of interpersonal

relationships, the shattering of personal dreams and ambitions, the collapse of a

familiar and meaningful world, and the loss of land, nationhood, sense of security and

trust in human justice.

While loss is very present in internally displaced Palestinian familes' intergenerational narratives in all its painful shades, it's also associated with affirmative contents of growth, renewal and positively reviewed perceptions of personal and collective intergenerational selves (Bonanno, 2004; Fivush, Bohanek, Duke, 2008). "The person owns his homeland only when he loses it" (Sharabi, 1991, P.15). The intergenerational "emotional community" (Rosenwein, 2006) of internally displaced families turned "cultural bereavement" (Eisenbruch, 1991) into a cultural revitalization (Samson, 2013), and moral status of "suffering and mourning we" into a "struggling loss-empowered we" (Charmaz, 1999; Honneth, 1996), moving from a passive victimhood (Fassin, Didier, Rechtman, 2009) to an assertive and proactive adjustment (Papadopoulos, 2002).

D(FG): No hard and disastrous experience, with all its losses and negative aspects, comes without positive sides… which is the rising of the national human awareness, that I wasn't ready for defending my cause, that I wasn't aware of it, I didn't rise to the challenge posed by it, Palestinians had to embrace a big cultural challenge.. you have to come to an escapable conclusion that a human being should be as strong as his cause…we live in an era, but it's a historical fact as well, that the weak are stepped on and crushed, cancelled…you have nations that have been erased from the face of the earth, the weak nations was removed from the world… you have to be strong, there is no alternative.."

The loss is signified and reinterpreted as a mobilizer of collective political agency and complex political victimhood (Bouris, 2007) that find their expression in political activism and cultural empowerment.

"Resiliency necessarily implies movement" (Boss, 2006. P. 83). Intergenerational narratives of loss ignited a movement from a condition of social confinement to

inevitable strength, from a simple and self-secluded existence to an explorative mode of living embracing education and modernity.

A (First Generation): Sometimes I joke with mother: it's better you left M., otherwise we would not have studied…

S., a second generation participant, describes this apparently paradoxical experience of devastating yet liberating loss:

A(SG): on one hand, the families were torn a apart, on the other hand, we went out of that small and closed place to the outside world, tahjeer forced my family to go out in the world…you had to leave the rural world and to join the modern world…to study…to explore… not to be confined in one place…you could reach places that the first generations couldn't reach..

The experience of "ambiguous loss" and the emotions associated with it appears to be channeled into an exploration of the unknown outside world and the uncharted future territories, going beyond cultural limits and family intergenerational hierarchical boundary and authority (Williamson, 1982).

The intergenerational narrative reflects a dialectical approach to loss integrating "nostalgic disorientation" (Papadopoulos, 2002) and survival meaning and creativity (Frankl, 1963) perceiving one's self and community as the last reliable resource. The painful and developmental qualities of loss are intergenerationally negotiated and transmitted.

A(FG): tahjeer gives you motivation, strong will…we were left landless and homeless…we had only ourselves, we had to rebuild ourselves…to study, to work, to move on..

A(FG): of course, in 65 years the prophecy of Ben Gurion, "the old will die, and the young will forget", has proven wrong… the Palestinian cause is not forgotten… our fathers were fearful, their children are less fearful, the children of their children are courageous… the pressure is pushing to resistance, we have been taken everything, but still persecuted and oppressed… the awareness has developed because we have been stripped of everything…and the oppressor is greedy…it's clear now that the dispute is not about the land, but about my existence…we are not wanted here because we have rights here… because if we don't exist here, our rights won't exist…certainly … I want to tell you something, we were forced out of S., totally destitute… and we rebuilt ourselves… now I challenge them, if they do it again to us, and take everything we have, we would build ourselves one more time…so you are now even more self-confident after having gone through all this… you know yourself better**…**

A similar confident and even more confrontational tone is used by the third generation' participants when they refer to their family loss. They learned to unsilence their own and their parents' pain and transpose it into the colonizer-language, while enhancing their ability to speak truth to power, loudly and defiantly. The following generations' decreasing fearfulness anticipated by the first generation stands out from fellow Palestinians who don't belong to internally-displaced families.

R., a third generation participant, illustrates the relationship between growing up in an internally displaced family, the process of self-unsilencing, and challenging the hegemonic colonizer's narrative:

R(TG): I was raised in a displaced family where I've learned that you shouldn't ignore or stay silent when it comes to injustice and wrong doing… so I've used to express my opinion entirely in every place and in every forum …and I was often criticized by Arab colleagues in the group who were telling me "you don't have to speak like this now"… I remember during the war on Gaza, and my Jewish colleagues were speaking about their sufferings as if they were the real victims…and I couldn't keep silent… on my third year at the University we proposed (and implemented) a commemoration event of nakbah in Hebrew… in Hebrew! …so Jews could understand what is being said… it was organized for the very first time…we took the commemoration procedures of the Holocaust survivors…just the same… we, as third generation, I have pictures of that, we were holding the "return key" with the story of each village or town of origin… everyone was speaking about his village of origin… I, for example, spoke about my village of origin… so the idea was to overcome the barrier of fear among the native Palestinians and to speak the other side (the Jews) in Hebrew… it's enough with the other side not wanting to listen to me, to my narrative, though we've been "giving them the spoon in the mouth" (explaining hard and in details)… so we are continuing in this path…

"Continuing on this path" is an intergenerational code for intergenerational resistance and resilience. This commitment doesn't come at the expense of a self-deception, and self-absolving from Palestinians responsibility, but involves a critical analysis of the nakbah:

D**(FG)**: Yes, people would sit in the Diwan (large guest room) and would read Antara (An iconic pre-Islamic Arab hero and poet), Taghreebet Bani Hilal (an epic popular story), Zeid El Hilali, Ezzeir Salem, Nimr El U'udwan, (epic popular characters), nice legends…but is this real life?....tahjeer was the trauma that Palestinians have to review, to rethink and to reflect on what happened to them...a wakeup call… I wish we have awaken… and that we have risen to the challenge..

Definitive loss is possible only in a state of passivity and in absence of advocacy:

D (SG): I believe that a right it can't get lost as along a there are people who demand it...
(لا يضيع حق وراءه مطالب)

Resilience dimensions

Land and place Attachment

I belong there

> I belong there. I have many memories. I was born as everyone is born.
> I have a mother, a house with many windows, brothers, friends, and a prison cell with a chilly window! I have a wave snatched by seagulls, a panorama of my own.
> I have a saturated meadow. In the deep horizon of my word, I have a moon, a bird's sustenance, and an immortal olive tree.
> I have lived on the land long before swords turned man into prey.
> I belong there. When heaven mourns for her mother, I return heaven to her mother.
> And I cry so that a returning cloud might carry my tears.
> To break the rules, I have learned all the words needed for a trial by blood.
> I have learned and dismantled all the words in order to draw from them a single word: Home.
>
> (Mahmoud Darwish, 2003)

The "emotional bond" between individual and place is what environmental psychologists are concerned with in theorizing "place attachment" (Lewicka, 2011). The concept features a tridimensional structure of 3 interacting variables: person, psychological process and place (Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

The "attached" person is seen as the construction site of individual (experience, realizations) and collective (religious, historical) meanings regarding the place, i.e. the

154

social and physical context (Ibid). "Thus a landscape of places forms a complex structure of social memory" (Fox, 2006, p.17).

The process of place attachment involves 3 psychological dimensions: "affect (happiness, pride, love)", "cognition (memory, knowledge, meaning)", "behavior (reconstruction of place, proximity maintaining)". The constituent dimensions are displayed through various narrative strategies shaping landscapes, defining and attaching significance to a place (ibid).

However, "places are not inert containers. They are politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions" (Rodman, 1992, p.641)

We can say with Pannell (2006, p.165) that "landscape, as a narrated and geographic text…signposts forms of social behaviour, rights, responsibilities and relations". We may add that the narrative or poetic preservation and attachment to place enhance, by contributing to the construction of social identity and social relatedness (ibid), individual and collective sense of resilience (Leykin et al., 2013).

The deep and multidimensional (affective, cognitive and behavioural) sense of attachment to place, and to collective dimensions of home (Papadopoulos, 2002), seems to represent a core element of resilience and cohesiveness of the shattered and grieving self of internally displaced Palestinians in Israel (IDPI) who have lost their homes and have been denied return to them despite their geographical vicinity and citizenship in the state of Israel, transforming their most familiar places into "landscapes of exile are characterized by narratives of belonging" (Offord, 2008, p.12). Exiled at

home, IDPI struggle to come to grips with the "trauma of belonging" (ibid) to a place lost but within physical and emotional reach.

Rodman makes the persuasive argument of the imperative need in anthropology for conceptualizing and understanding places as physical, emotional, and experiential worlds of meanings that are co-produced, co-constructed and embodied by both places and their inhabitants.

Since 1948, the majority of Palestinians has been unable to access the "places they consider home" (Feldman, 2006:10). Home, in the sense of both personal house (Bait) and national homeland (Watan), has been exceedingly vulnerable in the Palestinian experience to the extent that post-1948 Palestinians can be defined a "home-based" community (Feldman, 2006). Longing and belonging to home permeates their narratives and nurture their trauma and resilience discourses of the nakbah. Relatedly, for IDPI reconstructing and anchoring personal and collective identity to lived and subjectified place, in conjunction with a socialized and politicized idea of homeland (Rodman, 1992), seems to fuel both resilient and traumatic narratives. "The narratives serve not only as the means by which emotional and aesthetic roots are attached to place, but they are also important in giving people genealogical connection to that land, and thus rights of ownership and control" (Eves, 2006, p.188).

The process of remembring and recovering the lost home, physical and psychological, is inevitably destructive and reconstructive at the same time, and can't be implemented out of language, of told and retold narratives: "I have learned and dismantled all the words in order to draw from them a single word: *Home"*.

Generally, the concept of home of internally displaced Palestinians in Israel appears to be enveloped with a paradoxical yet consistent distinctiveness, where the tension between its tangible and intangible aspects (Papadopoulos, 2002), between belonging and alienation, between presence and absence, tends to play out in an intense and peculiar fashion.

The first and the second generation' participants describe a primordial (Jolly, 1990), preverbal relationship with the land that is expressed and celebrated via a sentimental rhetoric and a strong "poetics of place" (Mackenna, 2003) suggesting an almost biological knowledge of place and an authenticated undisputed nativeness. Individual and family subjectivity is voiced through ancestral relationship with land and place (Mcwilliams, 2006, p.102). These narratives create and recreate the ambiguously lost (Boss, 1999, 2006) place in the image of its internally exiled inhabitants, where a total identification between subject and object, leaves almost no distance or separateness, and landscapes and inhabitants become, as the case of natives Indians, "virtually one", reciprocally inhabiting each other (Basso, 1988, p.122). The poetics of place of IDPI is expressed through an arsenal of metaphors, spoken images, bodily sensations and gestures and feelings regarding the relationship with the land, and stated in the face of the unsymmetrical and violent politics of place, i.e. the logic of power that governs places and their demarcation, representation, and contestation (Pannell, 2006).

Characterizations of "deep-rootedness", of bodily language and tropes such milk, sweat, water, gestures and movements recurred in the first and second generation narratives.

A(FG): "I think that in my generation, what is left inside us of S. is the deep-rootedness…"

A(FG): this cradle used to be in Sheikh Saleh Assalim' house… who used to be the Mukhtar (head of the village)… he is our relative, and used to be our neighbor in S., … I went once to visit them, I saw this cradle out in the yard.. I asked his wife: why this bed is out, you don't need it? … She said: no… I took it and put it in my car… afterwards she told me: You know, Ameen, this cradle used to pass in S. from house to house… you know that your brother T. slept in it?..... T. has died at the age of 80 years, so this cradle is about 100 years old… this piece is the dearest and the most precious to me…"

The cradle symbolizes here the vividness of a metaphorical narrative (Crawford, 2014) and of   intergenerational place attachment, a chronotope (Bakhtin, 1990), a simultaneous representation of space and historical time.

H (FG): "This earth is mixed with our sweat…"

D(FG): I remember the orchards…Khaled orchard, Saleh orchard…Arnoos orchard… I remember the farmers coming to grub the land… the land was planted with Pepper, eggplant, tomatoes…they were very skillful…grubbing around the plants to allow them to grow well…

S (SG): "Yes…we perhaps have sucked our love for the village with milk.."
F (Second generation): "Personally, when I was hearing the name "M." I used to associate it with love…"

A (SG): Since we were children… we would go always to Ghabsiyye…to see the mosque there…we would go by feet… when we grew up our parents would take us there…and to show us where they used to live…at the time the houses have been demolished …

A (SG): I remember, as my late father told me, our house was at the start of the road to Ghabsiyye, 50 meters after the mosque, on your right, there are few olives trees…my late father would tell me that they had a new but incomplete house, so they didn't really have the time to live in it properly..

D (FG): The village was destroyed only in 1956…I remember my father would ask me to take the sheep to the village to graze… we would go there, and wander in the houses… I personally we would collect any think I find in the houses, books, book notes,…though I wasn't able yet to read and write…

Place and past are idealized and described as almost out of time. Due to a persistent mythologizing the pre-displacement features of the land, the "timeless, traditional, authentic, unmarred past" (Crawford, 2014, p.351) seems to assume, in the minds of second generation participants, disconcerting and hypnotizing qualities of a magical and regressive time typical of fairy tales.

However, in both cases place and land attachment is presented as a powerful identity marker and self-empowering trait of resilience.

A(FG): 100 %...I really dream of the village... I see the houses and the quarters...

D (SG): "But the image that I had about Mjedel in my mind is that its people were good...and my father would mentions names of persons who were educated...and came here to Nazareth... so I would know for example that the school principal is originally from M., ... there were many school principals in Nazareth who were originally from Mjedel>, ... so the idea I had about the village was very good...I would be proud about being originally from there..."

DJ (TG): yes. Of course, I define myself as belonging to the village, because my family is originally from there... when I go with my friends there I would show them where our houses lands used to be...the mosque... I feel that something is mine there... I have a mind typical of the people from the village (smiles), stubbornness...toughness..."

D (FG): For me it's a mission that my son and my grandson should carry...and should continue in the next generations. I don't want them to suspend of life because of it, their life should continue...

DJ (TG): No, it's not that heavy, but sometimes I do think about how they were forced out...and that someone took their land...I think that this a our stolen land, and we should take it back...

D (FG): This demands more responsibility from me, to raise the awareness of this generation about these policies... you have to keep instilling this spirit and this awareness in this third generation...in order to be aware of the land they lives on and of the policies they lives under...to know their place, the importance of their existence on this land...

H (FG): As a man from the village once said: If you ask the embryo in the womb of his mother he would say: I want to return to the village…

The continuity between generations is rendered palpable and indissoluble conveying a "Homeric sense of home (gaia) that accentuates the concreteness, or more precisely, the "earthiness" of the collective and relational nature of space and refers to the actual soil, one's own land in a sense of inclusion rather than exclusion" (Papadopoulos, 2002). Place and land attachment emerges as defining pillar of collective and resilience, as it deeply coincides with native sense of identity. The third generation praises original places, and the importance of knowing from where one comes from, but they are more engaged in a process of renegotiation of identity and belonging.

Social relatedness: "We share blood tie even if we come from different families"

You men!
You women!
You sheiks and rabbis and cardinals!
And, you, nurses and textile workers!
You have waited so long
and the postman has not knocked on your door
bringing you the letters you desire
…
You men!
You women!

160

Do not wait. Do not wait!

Take off your sleeping clothes

and write to yourselves

The letters you desire

(Samih al-Qasim, 1971)

Resilience is a relational process (Walsh, 1993). Community is a major resource in building resilience in individuals and families (Boss, 2006).

Sense of community and social relatedness have being studied as contributing factors to resilience and Adversity-Activated-Development in challenged families and other groups (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2004, 2007; Boss et al., 2003; Boss, 2006; Cutter et al., 2008; Cacioppo, Reis, Zautra, 2011; Leykin, et al., 2013; Docena, 2014), Cacioppo, Reis, Zautra, (2011) provide a comprehensive definition of social resilience: "the capacity to foster, engage in, and sustain positive relationships and to endure and recover from life stressors and social isolation. Its unique signature is the transformation of adversity into personal, relational, and collective growth through strengthening existing social engagements, and developing new relationships, with creative collective actions" (Cacioppo, Reis, Zautra, 2011, p.44). The authors list major personal resources that foster social resilience including feeling connected to other individuals and collectives, the capacity and motivation to perceive others accurately and empathically, communicating caring and trust.

Participants of the second and the third generations relate to the process of being born to a family with a displacement history as characterized by an enduring sense of a "heartfelt communality" inherited from the first generation, where a powerful sense of community was uploaded to their personal and social systems, along with the painful experience of tahjeer. In fact, growing up in an internally displaced family comes with an escapable sense of sensitive "otherness" and agency-laden "we-ness" in which the personal self is immersed from a time immemorial and in the name of which instances of social justice are carried out and fought for.

Values of communal love, solidarity, mutual caring, respect, trust and cooperation for a common goal, are narratively shared and celebrated, sometimes rather emphatically and idealistically.

J (FG): From an early age… when you hear about events, personal or public, even ordinary events, that took place in the village, when you listen to these stories, about how people behaved and reacted, it's like listening to a mythological story, a kind of fairytale for children,…it engenders in you love and affection, that is maybe unexplainable… a deep affection

R (TG): As he was talking I had few persons in mind…as to the political activism I can't say for sure that all are politically aware but there is good percentage of them who are… when I go down to the street I know where all displaced families live, from the village…so I feel immediately at home… and even most my friends and friends of my brothers are from displaced families…

T (SG): Social closeness became even a little bit stronger after the "tahjeer"… although people were dispersed after the "thajeer"…if we take our family…they are scattered in many places…Nazareth, Jaffa of Nazareth, Haifa...and in other countries…Lebanon, Jordan,…which is a common situation of other families…I have a better and more natural common language … and feel more comfortable with persons from our village of origin regardless level of education …

The social relatedness is often instilled with political awareness and inquisitive approach

to life:

F (SG): I think that a main positive influence of displacement is the fact my family is politically active… in terms of political awareness and of understanding the reality we are living…and terms of asking the question: "why is this happening?"… Another positive aspect is social…I don't know if this is common to everybody or it's something characteristic of M. refugees… even among the third generation, when a person mentions the word "M." he has got immediately a special place to me…a special closeness.. something in common… it's an inherited thing about M., …It's known about M.,… a village that was an example of brotherhood… of reciprocal caring among people… maybe because they shared the same problems… as we say in spoken Arabic: "they are reciprocally heartfelt"…and this is something we inherited from the village…

The intergenerational mandate to keep attached to the village and to fellow internally

displaced persons is strongly felt by the successive generations:

F (TG): my grandmother would urge us: don't forget the village, don't forget where you are from… any person from the village is your relative… we have blood ties even if we come from different families…Keep close and brotherly to each other…

A (TG): I remember this message not in these words… but in verses of poetry my grandfather knows by heart and would recite again and again...sometimes I listen to the same story from him for 4 times in a row… it's important for him to repeat it again and again… he feels that he has got a message to get through…to pass to the whole world so he must be telling me not to forget…

Personal suffering is often expressed in a socialized and ritualized within the families

and in the public sphere. The private pain is rather translated into a social and political

discourse that challenges the dominant colonizer discourses, and preform an

educational and socially connecting function guided by values such political activism

and place attachment. J., first generation participant, describes social rituals of

remembrance and storytelling:

J(FG): all the conversations would focus on the village memories…what they would do, eat, even play, funny stories of their daily lives…they left the village, but the village

163

didn't leave them…they kept it inside…I remember myself sitting and listening to their stories…countless times…

R(TG): I grew up in a patriotic family, from an early age we were participating in demonstrations and involved in political organizations… but I can't tell you the precise moment…I don't even recall the first demonstration I went to… my grandfather used always to tell the story (of displacement)… and he used to be interviewed by local and international media… so the subject was discussed all the time…

Few weeks before the interview, H., a first generation participant who was displaced along with her family and all village inhabitants, has met with a group of young descendants of internally displaced families, third generation of nakbah, who realized a symbolic return to their original destroyed village. They pitched saplings and built chickens coop on the village's hills initiating a new form of non-violent struggle for affirming right of return to "a place we call home" (The Guardian, 2013). Their initiative drew ironically and subversively on the outposts' model used by young Jewish settlers in the West Bank, who occupy Palestinian land and build arranged housed before receiving a retroactive approval by the government in the form of a "legalized settlement", though in their case they were reclaiming their own land.

H. refers to the conversation she had had with the group.

H (FG) to S (SG): "When the young came here to me, after erecting the "outpost" on the land of I., I asked them to take a handful of earth and to show it to the soldiers…the soldiers were asking them what are you doing here…I wanted to teach them…I told them to tell the soldiers that this is our homeland, and this is the land of our grandfathers and the grandfathers of our grandfathers, and this earth is mixed with sweat of our ancestors… because this is our homeland…".

A collective somatic experience of symbiosis between self and the lost land, between body and confiscated soil, an intimate and confrontational embodiment of psychosocial

identity, is socialized and presented to the next generation with a mythological quality

to it, and passed on to them as an everlasting indestructible legacy. The act of grasping

and flagging the earth is intended to signify and reify "land as lived, shared and

embodied space" (Samson, 2013), an "emblaced identity", and "home as a conceptual

field that is both semantic and embodied", (Feldman. 2015, p.12) in a naïve and highly

communicative gesture of belonging.

Social relatedness plays out also in context of faith and religious practice:

D (FG): I didn't know that, I was there just recently…the mosque remained after tahjeer
, and since then it was used by the Jews as a barn for animals…and other bad uses….we
founded a committee and decided to clean it…in fact we did clean it…afterwards we
had a meeting ...and I said there, I you want to keep the mosque and keep the people
connected to their cause you have to pray at least once a week there…each Friday…
people were perplexed at first...but finally we decided…and each Friday the mosque
would be packed with prayers…the men inside and the women outside…people would
come from other villages to pray there…in sign of solidarity..

However, there are few intergenerational differences with regard to community

identity that are negotiated and contained. "Importantly, social resilience does not

imply monolithic pressures toward uniformity" (Cacioppo, Reis, Zautra, 2011, p.44).

While first generation participants describe a very strong sense of affiliation and

attachment to their place of origin, the second generation has a more critical view to

history though mainly compliant and allied with the first generation theory of self and

the world. The third generation participants, though keep an empathic connection with

their families' stories, resist exclusive and self-exclusionary "displaced identity" (Pe´rez-

Sales, 2010), i.e. "victim identity" (Brave Heart, 2003), and embrace a wider

psychosocial concept of belonging and commitment to the wider Palestinian community

and its struggle for social justice and equality.

The third generation is invested with both anxiety and suspect by the preceding

generations.

S (SG) speaking to R (TG): "We perhaps have sucked our love for the village with milk...
while other children may have grown up on fairytales like snow white, which we knew
too, we mainly grew up listening to these stories…

For the third generation growing up in a displaced family with a strong sense of

community might restrict personal choices in the name of social political priorities.

R (TG): (interfering with a sense of urge, while looking at her father) but there is an
impact… myself, in this regard, I feel confused and uncertain when I have to make a
decision, like accepting an offer for a governmental job… on one hand you want to
advance in life…on the other hand something takes you back…so it's a dilemma,… so
every decision I take I have to consider if it useful to my cause or to my colonizer… so
where should I go… and often it gives me a feeling of guilt..

The community identity might be perceived as suffocating, the story of displacement is

felt as pervasive regardless its effects, and time is experienced as undivided from a one

moment of genesis, an origin where things take their meanings and come into

existence.

However, in most familes intergenerational social relatedness is expanded to include

distant and refugees and relatives with advanced elements of gender-sensitive

community organization and networking:

D (FG): The "our return" project is the very first attempt to bring together refugees of
the village from different countries… I have my brother and my sister are still in
Lebanon… in the coordination meetings of the project we get to know each other,
maintain relationships and discuss the issues of our village Ghabsiyye…this guy who

called now is a young man form the village who works with us…it's a mixed group of young and old, men and women.. I was one of the promoters…

A line seems to link the pre-nakbah idyllic socially related time and the present attempt of community leaders to think of ways of healing the historic rupture, to foster family and community ties among refugees. A present continually linked to the past. All generations, especially the first and the third seem united in this new project envisaging an action that goes beyond geographical, generational and gender barriers. The first generation gives moral authority while the third generation brings energy and creativity. Sense of generational continuity within the community takes shape bearing in mind that "studies that seek to understand the relation between memory and identity within this community must be more attentive to the fact that different generations should, and do, have distinct relations to the past (Allan, 2005, p.53)

Negative responses: "we feel that when we lost the village we lost everything and had to rebuild ourselves from scratch"

There Was No Farewell

> We did not weep
>
> when we were leaving-
>
> for we had neither
>
> time nor tears,
>
> and there was no farewell.
>
> We did not know
>
> at the moment of parting
>
> that it was a parting,
>
> so where would our weeping
>
> have come from?
>
> We did not stay
>
> awake all night
>
> (and did not doze)
>
> the night of our leaving.
>
> That night we had
>
> neither night nor light,
>
> and no moon rose.

168

That night we lost our star,

our lamp misled us;

we didn't receive our share

of sleeplessness-

so where

would wakefulness have come from?

(Taha Muhammad Ali, 2006)

In his praised novel, "children of the dew", the Palestinian refugee novelist Mohammed Al-Asaad creates an enigmatically autobiographical narrative to bridge the painful gap between his family story and the bare historical "facts" of displacement. "Um ezzeinat", his original village pitched on the southern slopes of Carmel Mountain and erased by the Israelis, is recreated out of a disorganized and fragmented memories of relatives and neighbors. The narrator struggles with memory and history to restore the subjectivity of his family and community, whose names, desires, habits and untold human fates were carefully overlooked by historians and anthropologists. History erased memories and impoverished lived lives details, while memories maintain a dream-like quality of fading places and images.

"The (UN partition) resolution came to erase the details and the details of the details, i.e. even those I picked up being a child as if a person picks up a dream. So he doesn't find in his hands nothing but motionless images…one image from here… and another image from there. But I wake up after all these years to an entire village moving inside

169

of me with its all alleyways aware that the school books describes only or two alleyways, but our parents knew, as it seems, hundreds of alleyways leading to or departing from it" (ibid., p. 7).

That virtually unbridgeable gaps, fractures and silences of the intergenerational narrative uncover the untold suffering and engender different modes of approaching the memory of the disaster in its manifold and abiding effects. Different generations entertain different and changing relations with the traumatic past.

Devastating event

A (FG): There was a terrifying desperation… do you understand what does it mean to lose everything all together? Do you understand what does it mean that you are hungry and want to eat and there is no food… but my biggest loss remains my little sister who died and was buried in Lebanon… and land, home, homeland…and when we came back as "infiltrators" I remember the fear (visibly moved)…

D(FG): I remember, I was little girl, we didn't come along the main street, we took the valley… it was safer, no cars,… in order to avoid to be seen by the Jewish soldiers... we came to Nazareth, we had no house to stay in, we went to a monastery…I was really tiny…frightened…my mother holding my hand, and carrying my younger brother…walking slowly, scared…very scared…I was crying, and she would say: "don't be afraid sweetie, no one on this road", I would look around to see whether there was someone on the road, but there was no one…

The narratives of the first generation participants are fraught with vivid memories of the devastating event of the nakbah-related displacement, the second of the three phases of the refugee trauma: anticipation, devastating event, and adjustment (Papadopoulos, 2007). The narrative of H., first generation participant exemplifies the abovementioned sequence:

170

Anticipation

"Yes... B. village (to the North) was conquered one year before...(6 months before, Bassa was occupied in14 may, 1948, while I. was occupied in November 1948)... we heard also about the occupation of Akka (Acre) (21 April 1948) and Haifa (21 April 1948)...and we could hear the cannons pounding not very distant from here, form a place called "Ellayyat"...an area nearby M. village, a steep ascent... So we had heard that other villages like F. and D. surrendered...but we thought: where can we go... So we decided to stay in our homes"

Devastating event

"… My father suggested to raise a white flag up the church… and not to let anyone leave the village to join the combatants…only few did…it seems they (Jewish combatants) knew we surrendered so they occupied few houses to the west side, by night…the following morning a woman went to get the water from the fountain and they launched a bomb over her…she came back after a while…gasping…"what happened Miryam?"…"the Jews have come, the Jews have come…" (Smiles with bitterness)…
They believed they would go back…I also believed it for a while…but I got very emotional when we got on the lorries…We went westward…I looked back to the village with a sad look…I said: I swear in God we will never come back...and then I burst in tears…(moved, removing invisible tears)…we were the last people to leave…(silence)"

Adjustment

"Waiting to return, we lived like 6 families in one house like this…I was looking for a house…I found an old house where we stayed for few months…the owner of the house came back from Lebanon…so we divided one room using a cupboard".

The negative responses to trauma were addressed by a vast and ever growing literature

(Sack et al.,1995, Langer, 1975; Jaroff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983; Perloff, 1983; Taylor,

1983; Laible, Carlo & Raffaeli, 2000; O'Brien, 2004; Goldenberg & Matheson, 2005; Taft

et al. 2005; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2007; Kirmayer, Robert, Barad, 2007;

Feldman and Kaal; 2007; Lopes, Kaiser, Gotway & Aqani, 2003; Halimi, Dragoti, Halimi, Sylejmani-Hulaj, & Jashari-Ramadani, 2003; Daoud et al, 2012; Ghnadra-Naser, 2013; Dalgaard, Todd, Daniel & Montgomery, 2015). Importantly, a politically critical field of research has addressed the effects on psychosocial effects on natives of different situations of ongoing or chronic traumatic stress (Atkinson, 2008; Cameron, 1997; O'Shane, 1993; Milroy, 2005; Raphael, Swank and Martinek, 1998; Duran, Duran, Yellow Horse Brave Heart, Yellow Horse-Davis, 1998) linking historical trauma, colonization and displacement of indigenous people with negative psychosocial responses.

Narratives of nakbah-related displacement include elements of "historical trauma responses" (Braveheart, 2003) and cultural bereavement (Eisenbruch, 1991) that run a cross generations (Danieli, 1998; Hirsch, 2012). Powerful feelings of loss and humiliation, of guilt and aggression are very common (Kogan, 2012), in the experience of Palestinian internally displaced Palestinians as well (Ghnadrah-Naser, 2013), with multilayered traumatic effects of colonization (Atkinson, 2002)

The psychosocial negative responses conveyed by the present narratives include themes such sense of intergenerational alienation, frozenness, extreme family distress, pessimism, weakened intergenerational hierarchy, family disunity of the resulting in sense of loneliness of the older generation, a life ruptured, physical illness, painful memories, blocked communication, injustice, trauma of belonging, Fear, denial, suspension, deep sense of precariousness and uncertainty, helplessness, diminished parenting skills, excessive idealization of the past, comparisons between pre- and

172

post-nakbah, existential restlessness, anger, sense of betrayal, disillusionment, comparisons between pre- and post-nakbah, numbness, depression, silence, shame, blame, anger, self-silencing, regression, desperation, heartache, loneliness, disappointments.

These and other dimensions emerged out of the analysis of the narratives, and merged into two main intergenerational trauma-spectrum negative dimensions of the "complex intergenerational resilience" model here introduced: "ambiguous loss" and "carrying the intergenerational anxiety".

Ambiguous loss: "my village is only two kilometers from here, I can see it my original from my window, I can't live in it, it's forbidden"

Loss is very pervasive in the intergenerational narratives of internally displaced Palestinian families within Isarel. The adjustment is challenged by the continuous situation of injustice and the physical proximity to the lost home.

A (FG): we were cauterized with something that can't be forgotten, the "tahjeer" (displacement)… my village is only two kilometers from here, it's forbidden… our land is there, our home is there… (Takes a publication on the village and points his finger to an old photograph) this is our house…

R(TG): (interfering with a sense of urge, while looking at her father) but there is an impact… myself, in this regard, I feel confused and uncertain when I have to make a decision, like accepting an offer for a governmental job… on one hand you want to advance in life…on the other hand something takes you back…so it's a dilemma... so every decision I take I have to consider if it useful to my cause or it's useful to my colonizer.. so where should I go… and it often gives me a feeling of guilt...

However second and third generation' participants describe a life full with ambiguities and uncertainties conducted in the shadow of "lost but within reach paradise".

Probably "ambiguous loss" is one the most distinctive aspects of the negative responses to nakbah by the IDPI. Ambiguous loss is a loss that remains unclear (Boss, 2006, 2007). There are two types of ambiguous loss: physical absence with psychological presence, and physical presence with psychological absence. Both types of ambiguous loss have the potential to disturb and traumatize relational boundaries and systemic processes (Boss, 2006).

The psychosocial experience of the internal displacement can be explored and analyzed through the prism of "ambiguous loss" (Boss. 2000).

"The country is still there, thus the loss continues, gets fixated, cannot be mourned and done with, as in the case of death" (Bresheeth, 2007, p. 162), However, "the loss of one's country never ends, it must be even more pronounced when the loss is experienced in situ-while living in the lost country" (ibid).

The second generation participants in particular relate to this of sense of painful inaccessibility of within-reach place of origin.

D(SG): you know, you can see the village from here with a naked-eye, no need for binoculars…there was time we couldn't visit the village except in the day of independence (of Israel)…it was an off-limit military area… and there is still a military base even now…which is very close to the church… so when we go in holidays to prayer…we "take advantage" of the fact all displaced people of the village coming from different parts of Isarel gather there…so we pass by the military camp… and even the dogs of the bass barks at us…it's not a simple feeling…

The dramatically displayed gesture of the first generation participant reported in the "social relatedness" paragraph in the present chapter is particularly instructive. Upholding a handful of earth in face of the soldier can be understood also as a desperate act of tentatively overcoming the gap between being "in place" and "displaced", between be-longing to the land and reclaiming it. Between being in the land and longing to it. The experience of displacement seems to embody the uncanny internal dialectic of absence and presence typical of ambiguous loss (Boss, 2006). "Present absentees" is the official Israeli legal term defining internally displaced Palestinian persons (Pappe, 2006).

Carrying the intergenerational anxiety: "I was in pain for my mother"

The second and the third generations are affected by the first generation suffering in the form of "post-memories" (Hirsch, 2012). "To grow up with overwhelming inherited memories, to be dominated by narratives that preceded one's birth or one's consciousness, is to risk having one's own life stories displaced, even evacuated, by our ancestors. It is to be shaped, however indirectly, by traumatic fragments of events that still defy the native reconstruction and exceed comprehension. These events happened in the past, but their effects continue into the present (Hirsch, 2012, p.5).

D(FG): I can't forget the 1950's and 1960's, my late mother would cry and mourn, singing lamentation songs…songs that would tear my heart apart…I have some heart

problems due to this…I would cry when Faiurz (an iconic Lebanese singer) was singing about the absentees and their desire of return to their homes and normal lives like "take me to Bissan" (a Palestinian displaced town)… I would be in pain for her... I would try to understand her pain…she would say: if only my son Ahmad is here, if only my daughter is here…

S (SG): when you stay with yourself… thinking about it…and when you remember what happened you have the same intensity of feeling…it never fades…maybe everyday life could divert your attention from it a bit…just by a telling a story, or sharing a memory of a certain person…or a certain event that occurred during the nakbah in the village…so that suffices to bring back all memories and intense feelings…

A (FG): This catastrophe has deeply affected my father, in fact he got ill and eventually died young… he died in 1952… and he left the family in my responsibility…

R(TG): it often gives me a feeling of guilt…I feel, maybe because of the nature of our family, and its well-defined political line…but it's also due the fact that I'm grandchild of a displaced person…that makes it more difficult..

DJ (TG): I'm afraid that what happened to my grandfather and to my family could happen to me…

T (SG): Personally, I watched my father coping positively with what all he went through… I have in front of me a successful model…but sometimes I have fears…I fear, now that we have reached a good economic situation, that it could become worse…sometimes I think to myself, if I go through what my parents went through, could I survive? (Smiles, embarrassed)… maybe I say something personal here… It's important to have savings…I would think how much do I need monthly to survive without a house? Do I have enough savings? ... It's the first time I think and talk about that…it's unconscious…I fear the depletion of my financial resources… I don't want that what happened to my mother happen to me…that a time might come and I might not have shoes or clothes…after I got used to a certain living standard… I have that fear…

The following dialogue reflects the Intergenerational traumatic dynamic of Nakba-

related internal displacement:

D (FG): I remember often, after we left Mjedel, we lived under the trees..
T (SG): Tell him about that…
D (FG): on the soil, with nothing to cover ourselves with…I would get up with my body covered with dirt… I recall this very often…

176

T (SG): and the story of the lacerated quilts… (Nervous laugh)

D(FG): Yes, once my father brought us a lacerated quilt (almost crying), and when he would cover us with it, we would all get up crying… you should know that my mother was a very elegant and dignified person who used to have a nice life… I've never forget that quilt, every time I cover myself with a quilt I remember that quilt… I remember the moment my father brought it and covered us with it, we had no pillow, I got up shouting: I don't want it, I don't want it…I'll never forget it…

T (SG): (laughing to D) that's why your mom buy quilts all the time (parents laugh)...

A(FG): A trauma (smiling)..

T (SG): That's why, I think now, my mother like to have a surplus of everything, furniture, quilts, more pillows, maybe it's her unconscious fear…(nervous laugh)..

D (FG): We were left with nothing at all, we had only our clothes…no home, no olive oil,…I remember my mother crying: I can't find even some olive oil… I would cry with her… before, she would get the best olive oil, she would say: I would go to the big oil barrel and take my oil… no one was affected by displacement like my mother…she was sad and painful all the time… we were left with nothing except our clothes…she would feel the need for a drop of olive oil..

While the mother tells her still unprocessed pain, "every time I cover myself with a quilt I remember that quilt", suddenly the daughter realizes, with startling insight, the serpentine movement of trauma: "That's why, I think now, my mother like to have a surplus of everything, furniture, quilts, and more pillows, and maybe it's her unconscious fear…"

T. adds associatively and revealingly: "my mother loves land, she has a land complex…maybe she inherited this from her father…she always regrets not having enough land, she would pressure my father to buy land, she even made me buy a small piece of land (smiles)… it is because of displacement of my family…yes… otherwise why had I to buy a land?...for I hear my mother talking about land all the time…land, land…"

The intergenerational anxiety is empathically suffered and conflictually embraced.

The psychological differentiation (Bowen, 1978), culturally undesirable in the Arab collectivist society (Haj-Yahia, 2000), is a particularly complicated task for descendants, especially for women, of displaced families. They may find themselves caught in the enmeshing emotional process of their families and society, with a frustrating experience of personal unfulfillment tinged with strong sense of guilt and disorientation.

Conclusions

The current research contributes to the understanding of the psychosocial experiences of internally displaced Palestinian families within Israel. The use of a qualitative methodology allowed the unfolding of intergenerational narratives of resilience and trauma. The analysis of retrospective and present time narratives of 3 generations of nakbah-related internally displaced Palestinian families within Israel led to a theory of "complex intergenerational resilience".

Analysis revealed that the emerged theory is powerfully impacted by family, social and cultural identity. Historically and psychosocially contextualizing the interrelation between displacement, resilience and vulnerability (Papadopoulos, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2007, 2008; Losi, 2002; Werner, 2007, 2012; Forstmeier et al., 2009; Pinto, Attwood, Birkeland, Nordbeck, 2014), helped unveil a circular multigenerational family process (Bowen, 1978; Andolfi, 2016) of resilience and resistance to nakbah-related displacements and other repressive colonial practices in the past and in the present.

The complexity is reflected by a resilience-leaning dialectical equilibrium changing over time (Fletcher, Sarkar, 2013) between pre-displacement and post-displacement resilience dimensions and trauma-spectrum vulnerabilities and suffering dimensions. The theory expands the "trauma grid" model (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2006, 2007) by emphasizing its intergenerational validity and applicability to internally colonized native populations exposed to a historical trauma and subjected to attacks on their survivance (Vizenor, 1999) and cultural diversity (Samson, 2003, 2008, 2013). An integrative, unsilenced and intergenerationally negotiated narrative of family experienced or post-

179

remembered adversity (Hirsch, 2012) seem to enhance the overall "intergenerational self" of its members and the family identity as a resilient system (Walsh, 2003; Fivush, Bohanek, Duke, 2008; Pratt and Fiese; 2004).

While most psychological studies have focused on the experimentation and the validation of western model of trauma and resilience, little is known presently with regard to the meaning of these constructs in other cultures, especially in the context of forcible displacement, internal colonialism and political violence in general. As suggested by various authors (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2004, 2007; Ungar, 2008), the western approaches on resilience tend to systematically overlook aspects related to differential cultural and community factors among populations.

The present study supports the findings on resilience and trauma in the context of displacement and political violence, suggesting overlaps with dimensions of place attachment (Tartaglia, 2006; Rollero, De Piccoli, 2010; Carpenter, 2013; Scannell, Cox, Fletcher, Heykoop, 2016), heightened sense of cultural identity (Papadopoulos, 2002; Eggerman and Panter-Brick , 2010; Samson, 2003, 2013; Werner, 2012; Sherwood and Liebling-Kalifani, 2012) and social relatedness (Papadopoulos, 2006; Brennan, 2008; Cutter et al. 2008; Cacioppo, Reis, Zautra, 2011; keck and Sakdapolrak, 2013), ambiguous loss (Boss, 2000, 2006). Two resilience dimensions introduced in this research seem to be less considered in the literature: compass of return and inventiveness of loss.

Compass of return refers to the energizing nature of the unresolved tension between the two poles of the concept of home, the retrospective and prospective: home as a

place you come from, and a place you long to get to (Papadopoulos, 2002). The guiding idea of return to original places provides also a stabilizing sense of identity in a threatening world, of self and collective cohesiveness, of control over unpredictability and chaos over the course of our lives, of humanity (Papadopoulos, 2007), of social justice (Ungar, 2009; Pinto et al., 2014) and of recognition (Thomas et al., 2011).

Inventiveness of loss emphasizes the survival creativity and liveliness epitomized by the iconic Palestinian novel "The pessoptimist" (Habibi, 2003) presenting an AAD dimension (Papadopoulos, 2006) that defies limits and goes beyond one's known threshold to new, unknown transformative, and non-dichotomous perceptions of one's self, relationships and meaning of life (Frankl, 1959): "The sum total of allnew perceptions leads to the acquisition of a new way of understanding, speaking and relating, which amounts to a new epistemology (Papadopoulos, 2006).

Narratives of intergenerational transmission of family resilience don't exclude or minimize the negative responses and the vulnerabilities to war-related internal displacement, but emphasize and exhibit a more balanced perception and interpretation of events and identity, personally and collectively (Denham, 2008).

The findings support the need highlighted in the scientific literature (Papadopoulos, 2002.. 2004, 2007; Ungar, 2008, 2009; Bonanno, 2005; Duran & Duran, 1995) to engage more comprehensively and less dichotomously with the intergenerational psychosocial effects of colonial hegemony on natives. "Narratives do not need to include only ''traumatized'' (passive, speechless, horror-struck) victims in dialectical relation to

181

colonialists, but can themselves be both stories of and vehicles for adaptation and strength" (Crawford, 2014).

Particularly interesting is the intergenerational dynamic investing the nakbah-related displacement. An intergenerationally developed ability to discuss, negotiate and contain narrative differences and nuances seem to provide displaced familes with a major balancing function.

The second generation is absorbed by the fusional anxieties and silences of the first generation while the third generation seems to be more differentiated (Bowen, 1976, 1978) in terms of dealing with previous generations' post-memories and demands of acritical invisible loyalties (Bowen, 1978; Boszormenyi-Nagy, 1987, Andolfi, 1987). The differentiation at the family level can be operated also at the society level of fusion-reinforcing Palestinian post-displaced communities. On a more general note, questioning the disempowering and victimizing "trauma discourse" (Summerfield, 2001) and the "politics of trauma" (Kaplan, 2005)in the context of refugees and colonized should not deflect the attention from the real suffering and vulnerabilities of IDP's, refugees, colonized and marginalized people in the name of socially unaccountable "politics of resilience" (Drury, 2012).

Limitations

The current study presents few limitations. The sample is numerically and geographically limited which poses questions of representativity and generalizability of qualitative findings. Retrospective accounts of a relatively remote event can prove inaccurate and influenced by present experiences and future threats. Gender issues merit a more extensive treatment. Some of the elements can be shared by otherwise nakbah affected non-displaced families. Furthermore the research lacks necessary and inevitably illuminating insights on intergenerational resilience and trauma from a comparative study with non-internally-displaced Palestinian families within Israel.

Implications for future research, professional practice and policy initiatives

The findings highlight the need for more qualitative and quantitative research on the psychosocial effects of nakbah on a wide range Palestinian groups and mental health issues variously influenced by its historical and actual repercussions.

The research support the investigative need to further exploring the underresearched area of interegenetional transmission of resilience in the face of collective adversity (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2006, 2007; Duke et al., 2008; Hirsch, 2008, 2012) in terms of characteristics and process (Fletcher, Sarkar, 2013). A research on trauma and resilience can't be decontextualized or "depoliticized" when approaching a non-western colonized realties (Gillham, Giacaman, Naser, 2008; Denham, 2008; Pelling and Manuel-Navarrete, 2011)

On the professional level, referring to a nakbah-related complex intergenerational resilience should be integrated as an assessment and therapeutic resource in the counselling and psychotherapeutic practice among Palestinians in historic and diasporic Palestine, especially in the context of multigenerational family therapy, considering the right of return elements of dignity, participation, and respect as cardinal elements of an effective individual and community resilience. The capacity of the internally displaced persons to control their own lives are relevant factors coping factors after a catastrophe (Docena, 2015, Papadopoulos, 2002, 2006) Perez-Sales et al, 2005).

At the social level, the research offers some thoughts regarding the usefulness of the transformative cultural work (Alexander, 2012) to be carried out in the expanding the public narrative of nakbah to include resilience and development dimensions in addition to suffering and vulnerabilities. It also highlights the strategic importance, in terms of enhancing psychosocial mental health and community resilience of IDP's and the Palestinian society as a whole, of promoting educational and raising awareness campaigns and intergenerational dialogue programmes on the nakbah.

References

Aaronsohn, R. (1996) Settlement in Eretz Israel –A Colonialist Enterprise? "Critical" Scholarship and Historical Geography. *Israel Studies*, 1(2), pp. 214-229.

Abboushi, W. F. (1985) *The Unmaking of Palestine*. Wisbech, Cambridgeshire: Menas Press.

Abd al-Jawad, S. (2006) The Arab and Palestinian Narratives of the 1948 War. In Rotberg, R.I. *The Intertwined Narratives of Israel-Palestine: History's Double Helix*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 72–113.

Abu Bakr, kh., Rabinovich, D. (2004) *The Upright Generation*. Ramallah: Jeel Muntassib Al Qamah. (Arabic).

Abu Hein, F., Quota, S., Thabet, A, & El-Sarraj, E. (1993) Trauma and Mental Health on Children in Gaza. *British Medical Journal*. 306, 1129.

Abu-Lughod, J. (1971) *The transformation of Palestine: Essays on the Origin and Development of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

185

Abu-Lughod, J. (1971) The Demographic Transformation of Palestine. In Abu Lughod, I. (eds.). *The transformation of Palestine: Essays on the Origin and Development of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Abu Lughod, I. (1977) Review: Palestine Arabs in Israel by Sabri Jiryis, MERIP Reports. 58, p. 19.

Abu Lughod, I. (1982) Palestinian Rights: Affirmation and Denial. *Arab Studies Quarterly*. 5 (8), p.82-85.

Abu Saad, I. (2008) Spatial Transformation and Indigenous Resistance. The Urbanization of the Palestinian Bedouin in Southern Israel. *American Behavioural Scientist.* 51 (12), p. 1713-1754.

Adalah. The Legal Center for Arab Minority in Israel (2013) Demolition and Eviction of Bedouin Citizens of Israel in the Naqab (Negev) - The Prawer Plan. Adalah Campaigns [Online]. Available from: https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/7589#What-is-the-Prawer-Plan. [Accessed: 10 December 2016].

Adwan, S. (2011) Al-Nakba: The Palestinian Catastrophe Continues. In Edwan, S., Ben-Ze've E., Klein M., Saloul, I., Sorek T. and Yazbak, M. *Zoom in Palestinian Refugees of*

1948, Remembrance. p. 197 -202. Netherlands: Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation and Republic of Letters Publishing.

Afuape, T. (2011) *Power, Resistance and Liberation in Therapy with Survivors of Trauma. To Have our hearth broken*. London: Routledge.

Akram, S. et al. (2011). *International law and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict*. *A Rights-Based Approach to Middle East Peace.* London: Taylor & Francis (Routledge).

Al-asaad, M. (1990) *Children of the dew*. London: Riad El-Rayyes publisher. (Arabic).

Alexander, J. C. (2012) *Trauma. A Social Theory.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Al-Haj, M. (1989) Social research on family lifestyle among Arabs in Israel. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies.*20 (2), p.175-195.

Al-Hardan, A. (2013) Decolonizing Research on Palestinians: Towards Critical Epistemologies and Research Practices. *Qualitative Inquiry* (2014). 20(1), p. 61–71.

Al-Hardan, A., (2015) Al- Nakbah in Arab Thought. *The Transformation of a Concept, Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*. 35(3). Duke University Press.

Al-Hardan, A. (2016) *Palestinians in Syria: Nakba Memories of Shattered Communities*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ali, Z. (2013) *A Narration Without an End: Palestine and the Continuing Nakba*. Beir-Zeit University, Palestine.

Al Jayyusi, K. (1998). In Nofal, M. et al. Reflections on Al-Nakba. *Journal of Palestine Studies. 28*(1), p. 29.

Al-Krenawi, A., & Graham, J. (2011) Mental health help-seeking among Arab university students in Israel, differentiated by religion. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture.* 14(2), p. 157-167.

Allan, D. (2005) Mythologizing Al-Nakba: Narratives, Collective Identity and Cultural Practice among Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon. [Online] *Oral History, Re-presenting the Past*. Vol. 33, No. 1, , pp. 47-56. Available from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40179820 [Accessed: 8 July 2015]

Al-Madhoun, R. (2015) *Destinies: concerto of the Holocaust and the Nakbah*. Beirut: Arab Institute for Publication. (Arabic).

Al-Qasim, S. (1971) *The Quran of Death and Jasmine*. Jerusalem. (Arabic).

Amara, A. (2013) The Negev Land Question: Between Denial and Recognition. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. *42*, p.27.

American Psychiatric Association (2005) *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4th Ed., Text Revision). Washington, DC: Hutnor.

American Psychological Association (2010) *Resilience and Recovery after War. Refugee children and families in the United States*. Washington DC. [Online]. Available from: http://www.apa.org/pubs/info/reports/refugees.aspx.

Andolfi, M., Angelo C. (1987) *Tempo e Mito nella Psicoterapia Familiare*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri. (Italian).

Andolfi, M. (2016) *Multi-Generational Family Therapy: Tools and Resources for the Therapist.* London: Routledge

Arafat, C. & Boothby, N. (2003) *A Psychosocial Assessment of Palestinian Children*. U.S. Agency for International Development's Mission. [Online]. Available

from:https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/3d14c9e5cdaa296d85256cbf005aa3e
b/6bb117b13425504685256ea90055c8ab/$FILE/assessment.pdf

Arendt, H. (1949) The Rights of Man: What Are They?. *Modern Review.* 3(1), pp. 24.37.

Arendt, H. (1951) The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man. in
idem, *On Totalitarianism.* P. 293.

Arksey, H. & Knight, P. T. (1999) *Interviewing for Social Scientists: An introductory
resource with examples.* SAGE Publications.

Arlosoroff, H. (1927) *On the Question of Joint Organization* (In Hebrew: *Leshe'eilat
ha'irgun hameshutaf).* Tel Aviv: Hapo'el Hatza'ir.

Arlow, J. (1986) The poet as prophet: a psychoanalytic perspective. PubMed. [Online] 55
(1), pp. 53-68.Available from: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/3952235.

Asch, M. (1996) *First Nations and the Derivation of Canada underlying Title: Comparing
Perspectives on Legal Ideology*. Paper presented at Socio-Legal Studies Association
Conference, Glasgow, July.

Ashcroft, B.; Griffiths, G. and Tiffinis, H. (1995) *The Postcolonial studies reader*. London and New York, Routledge.

Atkinson, J. (2002) Trauma trails, recreating song lines: the trans-generational effects of trauma in Indigenous Australia*. North Melbourne: Spinifex Press. Available from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/23054253*.

Atkinson, C. (2008) The violence continuum: Australian Aboriginal male violence and generational post-traumatic stress. Unpublished PhD thesis. Charles Darwin University, Darwin.

Azoulay, A. (2011) From Palestine to Israel: A photographic record of destruction and state formation, 1947-1950. London: Pluto Press. (English translation of Constituent Violence 1947-1950, published in Hebrew Reslin, 2009).

BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights (2011) *Q & A, What you need to know about Palestinian Refugees and Internally Displaced Person.* [Online]. Available from: www.badil.org/phocadownloadpap/Badil_docs/.../Q&A-en.pdf.

BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights. *Survey of Palestinian Refugees and Internally Displaced Person 2013-1015*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.badil.org/en/publication/survey-of-refugees.html.

Baker, A. M., (1990) The Psychosocial Impact of the Intifada on Palestinian Children in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 60, p. 496-505.

Bakhtin, Mikhail M. (1990) Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics. In Mikhail M. Bakhtin, The *Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press , pp. 84-258.

Bamberg, M. G. V. and Andrews, M. (2004) Considering Counter Narratives: Narrating, Resisting, Making Sense. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Barber, B. K. (2001) Political Violence, Family Relations, and Palestinian Child Functioning: Palestinian Youth from the Intifada. Journal *of Community Psychology*. 29, p. 259-280.

Bar-On, D. (1998) *Hope and fear, three generations of the Holocaust*. Harvard University Press.

Bar-Tal, D. (2000) From intractable conflict trough conflict resolution to reconciliation. *Political Psychology*. 21, p. 351-365.

Bar-Tal, D. (2013) *Intractable conflicts, Socio-psychological foundations and dynamics.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bar-Tal, D. (2016) How Israeli Politicians Took Peace With the Palestinians Off the Table. *Haaretz*. [Online] 9 September. Available from: http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.741016.

Barzilai, G. (1996) Wars, Internal Conflicts, and Political Order: A Jewish Democracy in the Middle East. State University of New York Press.

Bashir, B. & Goldberg, A. (2014) Deliberating the Holocaust and the Nakba: disruptive empathy and binationalism in Israel/Palestine. *Journal of Genocide Research*. 16 (1), pp.77-99. Available from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2014.878114.

Bashir, B., Goldberg, A. (2015) *The Holocaust and the Nakbah: memory, national identity and Jewish-Arab Partnership.* The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Hakibutz hameuchad.

Basso, K. H. (1988) "Speaking with names": language and landscape among the Western Apache. *Cultural Anthropology*. 3(1). p.99-130.

Bäuml, Y. (2011) The Military Government. In Rouhana, N.N., Sabbagh-Khoury, A. (Eds.). *The Palestinians in Israel. Readings in History, Politics and Society.* Mada-Al Carmel, Arab Center for Applied Social Research.

Beitler, R. M. (2004) *The Path to Mass Rebellion: An Analysis of Two Intifadas*. Lanham MD: Lexington Books.

Bell-Fialkoff, A. (1996) *Ethnic Cleansing*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Simpson, J. S.; Belsky J. (2008) Attachment theory within a modern evolutionary framework: Theory, research, and clinical applications. In Cassidy, J., Shaver, P. R. *Handbook of attachment, Theory, research, and clinical applications*. New York: Guilford.

Benvenisti, M. (2000). *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land Since 1948*. The Middle East Quarterly. 7 (2). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ben-Ze'ev, E. (2011) *Remembering Palestine in 1948: Beyond National Narratives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bessell, R. Haake, C. (2009) *Removing Peoples*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bhabha, H. (1994) *The location of culture.* London and New York: Routledge

Bion, W.R. (1961) *Experiences in Groups*. London: Tavistock.

Bion, W. R. (1970) *Attention and interpretation: A scientific approach to insight in psycho-analysis and groups*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Bloxham, D. (2007) *The Great Game of Genocide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bloxham, D. (2008) The Great Unweaving: The Removal of Peoples in Europe, 1875-1949. In Bessell, R. Haake, C. (eds.). *Removing Peoples*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.167-208.

Bloxham, D.(2009) *The Final Solution – A Genocide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blunt, A., Dowling, R. (2006) *Home*. London: Routledge.

Blustein, J. (2008) *The Moral Demands of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

195

Booth, W. J. (2006) *Community of memory on witness, identity, and justice*. New York: University Press.

Boss, P. (2000) *Ambiguous Los: Learning to Live with Unresolved Grief.* Harvard University Press.

Boss, P. (2006) *Loss, Trauma and Resilience. Therapeutic Work with Ambiguous Loss.* New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Boszormenyi-Nagy, I., & Spark, G. (1973; 1984) *Invisible loyalties: Reciprocity in intergenerational family therapy*. New York: Harper & Row. (Second edition, New York: Brunner/Mazel).

Bourdieu, P. (1994) *In other words*. Cambridge UK: Polity Press.

Bourguignon, E. (2005) Memory in an Amnesic World: Holocaust, Exile, and the Return of the Suppressed. Bringing the past into the Present: Family Narratives of Holocaust, Exile, and Diaspora*. Anthropological Quarterly*. [Online] The George Washington University Institute for Ethnographic Research 78 (1). pp. 63-88. Available from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4150890.

Bouris, E. (2007) *Complex Political Victims*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Pr. Inc.

Bowen, M. (1976) Theory in the practice of psychotherapy. In Guerin. P. J. (Ed.) *Family therapy*. New York: Gardner.

Bowen, M. (1978) *Family therapy in clinical practice*. New York: Aronson.

Bowker, R. (2003) *Palestinian Refugees: Mythology, Identity, and the Search for Peace*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Bowlby, J. (1973) *Attachment and loss, Vol. 2: Separation.* New York: Basic Books.

Bracken, P. (2002) *Trauma: Culture, Meaning and Philosophy*. Philadelphia, PA, US: Whurr Publishers.

Bracken, P.J., Giller, G.E., Summerfield. D. (1995) Psychological responses to War and Atrocity. The limitations of current concepts. *Social sciences and medicine*. 40 (8), p.1073-1082.

Brandes, D. (2008) National and International Planning of the "Transfer" of Germans from Czechoslovakia and Poland. In Bessel, R. and Haake, C. (eds). *Removing Peoples*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 286-287.

Brave Heart, M. Y. (2003) The historical trauma response among natives and its relationship with substance abuse: a Lakota illustration. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs.* 35 (1), pp. 7-13.

Brennan, M. (2008) Conceptualizing Resiliency: An Interactional Perspective for Community and Youth Development. *Child Care in Practice* . 14 (1), pp. 55-64.

Bresheeth, H. (2007) The Continuity of Trauma and Struggle: Recent Cinematic Representations of the Nakba. In Abu-Lughod, L. and Sa'di, A. (eds.) *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory* . New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 161–187.

Bretherton, I. (1990) Communication patterns, internal working models and the intergenerational transmission of attachment relationships. *Infant Mental Health Journal*. *11*, pp. 237-251.

Brodsky, A. E. (1999) Making it: The components and process of resilience among urban, African-American, single mothers. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 69(2), p.148-160.

Brookings Institution (2008) *Protecting Internally Displaced Persons: A Manual for Law and Policymakers.* University of Bern.

Bruer, J. (1990) *Acts of meaning*. London: Harvard University Press.

Brynen, R., El-Rifai, R. (2007) Palestinian Refugees Challenges of Repatriation and Development. [Online]. I .B. Tauris, IDRC. Available from: ISBN: 978-1-84511-311-7.

Brynen, R., El-Rifai, R. (2013) Research, Policy and Negotiations and Resolving the Palestinian Refugee Problem. In Brynen R., El-Rifai R. (Eds.). *The Palestinian Refugee Problem: The Search for a Resolution* Pluto Books. [Online] (pp. 1-14). Available from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt183p3m8.8.

B'tselem, (2011) Human Rights in the Occupied Territories. Annual Report. [Online] Available from: http://www.btselem.org/download/2011_annual_report_eng.pdf.

Bubandt , N. (2006) Speaking of Places: Spatial Poesis and Localized Identity in Buli. In Fox, J. (eds.). *The poetic power of place, Comparative Perspectives on Austronesian Ideas of Locality*. ANU Press. p. 131-161.

Buchanan, A. (1998) Intergenerational Child Maltreatment. In Danieli, Y. *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*. New York: Plenum Press, pp. 535-553.

Building Resilience, 4th International Conference (8th – 11th September 2014) Incorporating the 3rd Annual Conference of the ANDROID Disaster Resilience Network. Salford Quays, United Kingdom.

Butler, J. (2004) Precarious life, the Powers of Mourning and Violence. London: Verso.

Camargo, A., de Rocha Lima, V. and Hippolito, L. (1985) The Life Story Approach in Latin America. *Life Stories*. I, p. 41-53.

Cameron, S. (1998) Aboriginal experiences of psychological trauma: Personal, intergenerational and transgenerational. Unpublished Master's thesis, Victoria University, Melbourne.

Carpenter, A.C. (2013) *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad*. Springer Science & Business Media.

Carr, A. (2006) *Family therapy: concepts process and practice.* Ney York: Wiley.

Cesarani, D., Kushner, T., & Shain, M. (2009) *Place and displacement in Jewish history and memory: Zakor v'makor*. London: Vallentine Mitchell.

Chalk, F., Jonassohn, K. (1990) *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Charmaz, K. (1999) *Stories of suffering: Subjective tales and research narratives*. Qualitative Health Research. 9, pp. 362-382.

Charmaz, K. (2000) Constructivist and objectivist grounded theory. In Denzin N. K. & Lincoln Y. (eds.). *Handbook of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. p. 509-535.

Charmaz, K. (2001) Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis. In Gubrium J. F. & Holstein J. A. (eds.). *Handbook of interview research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. p. 675-694.

Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory. A practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis.* London: Sage Publications.

Chehata, H., (2010) *Cultural genocide in Palestine*. London: Middle East Monitor.

Cohen, A. (1999) The Mental Health of Indigenous Peoples: An Overview. WHO Nations for Mental Health. WHO/MNG/NAM/99.1.

Connor, M. (2005) The invention of *terra nullius*. Sydney: Macleay Press.

Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. (1998) *Basics of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage publications.

Crawford, A. (2014) The trauma experienced by generations past having an effect in their descendants'': Narrative and historical trauma among Inuit in Nunavut. *Transcultural Psychiatry.* 51(3), pp. 339–369.

Cutter, S. L. et al. (2008) A place-based model for understanding community resilience to natural disasters. *Global Environmental Change*. 18 (4), pp. 598-606.

Dalsheim, J. (2004) Settler Nationalism, Collective Memories of Violence and the Uncanny Other. *Social Identities*. 10 (2), pp. 151-170.

Danieli, Y. (1998) *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*. New York: Plenum Press.

Daoud, N., Shankardass, K., O'Campo, P., Anderson, K. and Agbaria, A. K. (2012) Internal displacement and health among the Palestinian minority in Israel. *Social Science & Medicine* . 74(8), pp. 1163-71.

Darwish, M., (1964) *Leaves of the olive tree*. Haifa. (Arabic).

Darwish, M. (1986) *Fewer Roses*. Beirut: Arab institute for research and publishing. (Arabic).

Darwish, M. (1994) I sentimenti sono più forti della carta geografica. *Internazionale.* 35, pp. 10-12. (Italian)

Darwish, M. (2013) Unfortunately, It Was Paradise: Selected Poems (Translated and edited by Munir Akash and Carolyn Forché with Sinan Antoon and Amira El-Zein. Regents of the University of California.

Darwish, M., (2014) *If I were another*. (Translated from the Arabic by Fadi Joudah) London: Macmillan.

Davis, R. (2007) Mapping the Past, Recreating the Homeland. In: Sa'di, A. H. and Abu-Lughod, L. (eds.) *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*. New York, NY, USA: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Davis, R. A. (2010) *Palestinian Village Histories: Geographies of the Displaced*. Palo Alto: Stanford University.

Dearden, L. (2016) Palestinian president plans to sue Britain over 1917 Balfour Declaration and support for 'Israeli crimes' . *Indipendent*. [Online] 27 July. Available from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/palestinian-president-plans-to-sue-britain-over-1917-balfour-declaration-and-support-for-israeli-a7157726.html.

Decoloniality Europe (2013) *Charter of Decolonial Research Ethics*. [Online]. Available from: http://decolonialityeurope.wixsite.com/decoloniality/charter-of-decolonial-research-ethics.

Degani, A. (2016) Israel is a Settler Colonial State- and That's Ok. *Haaretz.* [Online] 13 September. Available from: http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.741813.

Dekel, R. & Goldblatt, H. (2008) Is There Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma? The Case of Combat Veterans' Children. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry.* 78 (3), p.281-289*.*

Denham, A. R. (2008) Rethinking historical trauma: narratives of resilience. *Transcultural Psychiatry*. 45(3), pp. 391-414.

Denzin N. K. & Lincoln Y. (eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Desjardins E., Barker G., Lindo Z., Dieleman C., Dussault A. C. (2015) Promoting Resilience. *The Quarterly Review of Biology.* 90(2), pp.147-65.

Docena, P. S. (2015) Adaptive Coping, Resilience, and Absence of Anxiety Among Displaced Disaster Survivors. *Philippine Journal of Psychology*. 48(2), 27-49.

Drozdek, B., Wilson, J. P. (2007) *Voices of Trauma: Treating Psychological Trauma Across Cultures.* New York: Springer Science.

Drury, J. (2012) Collective resilience in mass emergencies and disasters: A social identity model. In Jetten, J., Haslam, C. & Haslam S. A. (eds.). *The social cure: Identity, health, and well-being.* Hove, UK: Psychology Press. pp. 195-215.

Duke M. P., Lazarus A., Fivush R. (2008) Knowledge of family history as a clinically useful index of psychological well-being and prognosis: A brief report. *Psychotherapy (Chicago III).* 45(2), pp. 268-272.

Dumka, L. E. Gonzales, N. A., Wood, J. L. and Formoso, D. (1998) Using qualitative methods to develop contextually relevant measures and preventive interventions: an illustration. *American Journal of Community Psychology*. 26(4), pp. 605-637.

Dumper, M. (2006) *Palestinian Refugee Repatriation: Global Perspectives*. Taylor and Francis.

Duran, E. & Duran, B. (1995) *Native American Post Colonial Psychology*. Albany, NY: State University of New York (Suny Press).

Duran, E., Duran, B., Brave Heart, M. Y. B., & Yellow Horse-Davis, S. Y. (1998) Healing the American Indian soul wound. In Y. Danieli (Ed.) *International handbook of multigenerational legacies of trauma* (pp. 341–54). New York: Plenum Press.

Dwairy, M. (2010) The Human Being, Palestinian Society, and the Nakba. *Jadal.* 7, p. 1-6.

Eades, D. (2013) Resilience and Refugees: From Individualized Trauma to Post Traumatic Growth. *M C Journal. A Journal of Media and Culture*. [Online].16 (5). Available from: http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/700.

Eggerman, M. and Panter-Brick, C. (2010) Suffering, hope, and entrapment: Resilience and cultural values in Afghanistan. *Social Science and Medicine.* 71(1-2), pp. 71–83.

Eisenbruch, M. (1991) From post-traumatic stress disorder to cultural bereavement: diagnosis of Southeast Asian refugees. *Social Science & Medicine.*33 (6), pp. 673-80.

Erll, A. (2011) *Memory in Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eves, R. (2006) Seating the Place: Tropes of body, movement and space for the people of Lelet Plateau, New Ireland (Papua New Guinea). In Fox, J. *The poetic power of place, Comparative Perspectives on Austronesian Ideas of Locality*. ANU Press. p. 173-194.

Fairclough, N. (1995) *Critical Discourse Analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.

Falah, G. (1996) The 1948 Israeli-Palestinian War and its Aftermath: the Transformation and De-Signification of Palestine's Cultural Landscape Annals *of the Association of American Geographers.* 86 (2), p. 256-285.

Fanon, F. (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth*. Farrington, C. (trans.). New York: USA Grove Press.

Fassin, D., & Rechtman, R. (2009). The empire of trauma: An inquiry into the condition of victimhood (R. Gomme, Trans.). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Fast, E. and Collin-Vezina, D. (2010) Historical Trauma, Race-based Trauma and Resilience of Indigenous Peoples: A Literature Review. *The First Peoples Child & Family Review*. [Online]. 5 (1), pp. 126-136. Available from: **http://journals.sfu.ca/fpcfr/index.php/FPCFR/article/view/181/150**.

Fein, H. (1990) Genocide: A Sociological Perspective. *Current Sociology.* (38), p. 1-126.

Feldman, I. (2006) Home as a Refrain: Remembering and Living Displacement in Gaza. *History and Memory. Special Issue: Home and Beyond: Sites of Palestinian Memory*. 18 (2), p. 10-47.

Figley, C. R. Figley, C. R. & McCubbin, H. I. (1983) Stress and the Family, Volume II: Coping with *Catastrophe.* In the *Psychosocial Stress Book Series*. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Figley, C. R. (1995) *Compassion fatigue: Coping with secondary traumatic stress disorder in those who treat the traumatized*. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Finkelstein, N. (2000) *The Holocaust Industry*. London: Verso.

Fischbach**,** M.R. (2010) The Impact of the 1948 Disaster: The Ways that the Nakba has Influenced Palestinian History. Heinrich Boll Stitfung, The green Political Foundation. [Online]. Available from: https://www.boell.de/en/2010/03/04/impact-1948-desaster-ways-nakba-has-influenced-palestinian-history.

Fivush, R., Bohanek, G. J., Duke, M. (2008) The Intergenerational Self Subjective Perspective and Family History. In Sani, F. (ed.), *Self continuity: individual and collective perspectives.* Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Flapan, S. (1979) *Zionism and the Palestinians.* London: Croom Helm.

Flapan, S. (1987)*The Birth of Israel: Myth and Realities*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Fletcher, D., Sarkar, M. (2013) Psychological Resilience A Review and Critique of Definitions, Concepts, and Theory. *European Psychologist*. 18, pp. 12-23.

Forstmeier S, Kuwert P, Spitzer C, Freyberger HJ, Maercker A. (2009) Posttraumatic growth, social acknowledgment as survivors, and sense of coherence in former German child soldiers of World War II. *Am J Geriatr Psychiatry*.17, pp. 1030–1039.

Fox, J. J. (2006) *The Poetic Power of Place. The Comparative Perspectives on Austronasian Ideas of Locality*. Anu Press. [Online] Available from: http://press.anu.edu.au/publications/series/comparative-austronesian-series/poetic-power-place.

Fox, D. (2011) Competing narratives about competing narratives: Psychology and Palestinian–Israeli conflict. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*,5(7), p. 383-392.

Fraiberg, S., Adelson, E. and Shapiro, V. (1975) Ghosts in the Nursery: A Psychoanalytic Approach to the Problems of Impaired Infant-Mother Relationships. *Journal of American Academy of Child Psychiatry*. 14(3), pp. 387-421.

Frankl, V. E. (1963) *Man's search for meaning.* New York, NY: Pocket Books.

Frisch, H. (2003) Ethnicity or Nationalism? Comparing the Nakba Narrative amongst Israeli Arabs and Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. *Israel Affairs*, 9 (1-2), pp. 165-184.

Gagne, M. (1998) The role of dependency and colonialism in generating trauma in First Nations citizens. In Danieli, Y. (Ed.) *International handbook of multigenerational legacies of trauma*. (pp. 355–372). New York: Plenum Press.

Galtung, J. (1969) Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*. [Online]. Sage Publications 6 (3). pp. 167-19. Available from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/422690 [Accessed: 07 April 2016].

Galtung, J. (1972) Conflict theory and the Palestinian question. *Journal of Palestine studies.* 2 (1), pp. 34-63.

Galtung, J. (2012) Sociocide, Palestine and Israel. *Transcend Media Service* [Online] 8 October. Available from: https://www.transcend.org/tms/?p=22073

Galvani, S., Binda, W. (2010) Questioni metodologiche di una ricerca interculturale in contesto post bellico. In Arcidiacono,C., Tuccillo, F., *Ricerca Interculturale e Processi di Cambiamento.* San Felice a Cancello: Edizioni Melagrana pp. 261-271. (Italian).

Geary, P. (1994) *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium.* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.

Ghanadra-Naser, S. (2013) *Effects of the 1948 War on the Mental Health of Palestinians Living in Israel*. PhD Dissertation. University of Haifa, Haifa, Israel.

Ghanim, H. (2009) The Nakba. *Jadal.* 3. Mada Al-Carmel - Arab Center for Applied Social Research.

Gillham, V.N., Giacaman, R., Naser, G., Boyce, W. (2008) Normalizing the abnormal: Palestinian youth and the contradictions of resilience in protracted conflict. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 16 (3), p. 291–298.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967) The discovery of grounded theory. Chicago: Aldine.

Goodson, I. and Gill, S. (2011) The Concept of Narrative. *Narrative Pedagogy: learning from life history*. [Online] Counterpoints, Peter Lang (386), pp. 3-16. Available from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/42981361 .

Gray, N. (2015) Qalandiya International I and II Cultural Resistance. In a *Palestinian Biennale, Third Text*. 29 (3), pp. 165–183.

Grossman, D. (1991) *Present absentees*. Tel Aviv: Dvir. In Hebrew.

Grossman, D. (1993) *Sleeping on a wire: Conversations with Palestinians in Israel*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Habibi, E. (2003) *The secret Life of Saeed. The pessoptimist*. Northampton: Interlink Books.

Hadar, U. (2013) Psychoanalysis and social involvement: interpretation and action. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Haebich, A., Offord, B. (2008) *Landscapes of exile: once perilous, now safe.* Oxford: Peter Lang.

Haj-Yehia, M. M. (1995) Toward culturally sensitive intervention with Arab families in Israel. *Contemporary Family Therapy*. 17 (4), p.429-447.

Haj-Yahia, M. M. (2000). Wife abuse and battering in the sociocultural context of Arab society. *Family Process*. 39, pp. 237–255.

Haj-Yehia, M. M. (2003) Beliefs About Wife Beating Among Arab Men from Israel: The Influence of Their Patriarchal Ideology. *Journal of Family Violence*. 18 (4), pp. 193–206.

Hammack, L. and Pilecki, P. (2014), Negotiating the past, imagining the future: Israeli and Palestinian narratives in intergroup dialogue. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations.* 43, pp.100-113.

Hanna, G. (1948) *The road of salvation: a positivist analysis of Palestine predicament and the Arab questions*. Beirut: Dar Al-Ahad. (Arabic version).

Hechter, M. (1975) *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hernandez, B., Hidalgo, M. C., Salazar-Laplace, M. E., Hess, S. (2007) *Place attachment and place identity in natives and non-natives. Journal of Environmental Psychology.* 27, pp. 310-319.

Prior M. (ed.) (2004), Zionism and the Challenge of Historical Truth and Morality /Speaking the Truth about Zionism and Israel, London: Melisende. 2004, p. 27.

Herzl, T. (1947) *The Jewish State*. [Online] Available from: http://www.MidEastweb.org.

Hirsch, M. (2008) The Generation of Postmemory. *Poetics Today* [Online] Duke University Press 29 (1). p.103-128. Available from: http://poeticstoday.dukejournals.org/content/29/1/103.short.

Hirsch, M. (2012) *The Generation of Postmemory. Writing and Visual Culture after Holocaust.* Columbia University Press.

Hobfoll S. E. et al. (2007) Five Essential Elements of Immediate and Mid-Term Mass Trauma Intervention: Empirical Evidence. *Psychiatry*. 70 (4), p. 283-315.

Holling, C.S. (1973) Resilience and stability of ecological system. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*. 4 (1), 399. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.es.04.110173.000245.

Honneth, A. (1996) *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflict*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Hughes, M. (2009) The banality of brutality: British armed forces and the repression of the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936–39. *English Historical Review*. CXXIV (507), pp. 314–354.

Human Rights Watch, (2008) Off the Map: Land and House Rights Violations in Israel's Unrecognized Bedouin Villages. [Online]. Available from:

https://www.hrw.org/report/2008/03/30/map/land-and-housing-rights-violations-israels-unrecognized-bedouin-villages.

Illouz, E. (2007) *Cold intimacies: The making of emotional capitalism*. Polity.

ICRC International Committee of the Red Cross. *The Geneva Conventions of 1949.* [Online]. Available from: https://www.**icrc**.**org**/eng/assets/files/publications/**icrc**-002-0173.pdf.

Isseroff, A. (2007) The Jewish State: Mideastweb preface. [Online] Available from:

http://www.MidEastweb.org.

215

Jasen, D. A., and Pramod, N. K. (2010) *Guides for the Perplexed: Postcolonialism*. London, GBR: Continuum International Publishing.

Jolly, M. (1990) *Custom and the Way of the Land: The Politics of Tradition in Vanuatu and Fiji*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania. Kauai, Hawaii.

Johnson H., Thompson A. (2008) The development and maintenance of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in civilian adult survivors of war trauma and torture: A review. *Clinical Psychology Review*. 28, p.36–47.

Kabaha, M. (2014) The Necessity of Oral History in Writing Modern Palestinian History. *Jadal* .20. Haifa: Mada al-Carmel.

Kahn, Y. (2007) *The Great Partition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kamen, C. (1987) After the Catastrophe I: The Arabs in Israel, 1948-1951. *Middle East Studies*. 23 (1), p. 453-493.

Kanafani, G. (1962) *Men in the sun. Beirut.*

216

Kaplan, E. A. (2005) Trauma culture: the politics of terror and loss in media and literature. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Katz, S. (1994) *The Holocaust in Historical Context*. Volume 1. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kellermann, N. P. (2013) Epigenetic transmission of Holocaust trauma: can nightmares be inherited? *The Israeli Journal of Psychiatry and related science*. 50(1), pp. 33-9.

Keck, M. and Sakdapolrak, P. (2012) What is Social Resilience? Lessons learned and ways forward. *Erdkunde, Archive for Scientific Geography*. 67 (1), pp. 5-19.

Kerr, M. E. (2000) One Family's Story: A Primer on Bowen Theory. *The Bowen Center for the Study of the Family.* [Online]. Available from: http://www.thebowencenter.org.

Khalidi, R. (1997) *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Khalidi, R. (2001) The Palestinians and 1948: the underlying causes of failure. In Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, (eds.). *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 12-36.

Khalili, L. (2005) Places of Memory and Mourning: Palestinian Commemoration in the Refugee Camps of Lebanon. *Comparative studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* [Online] Duke University Press 25 (1). p. 30-45. Available from: http://cssaame.dukejournals.org/content/25/1/30.citation.

Khamis, V. (1993) Post-traumatic stress disorder among the injured of the intifada. *Journal of Traumatic Stress.* 6 (4). pp 555–559.

Khamis, V. (2000) Political family and the Palestinian family, implications for mental health and well-being. *The Haworth Maltreatment and Trauma Press*. New York N Y: 2000.

Khoury, E. (1998) *The Gate of the Sun.* Beirut: Dar al-Adab.

Khoury, E. (2016) *The Children of the Ghetto. My name is Adam.* Beirut: Dar al-Adab.

Kimmerling, B. (1993) *Palestinians, the Making of a People*. New York: Free Press.

King, D. W., King, L. A., Erickson, D. J., Huang, M. T., Sharkansky, E. J., Wolfe, J. (2000) Posttraumatic Stress Disorder and retrospectively reported stressor exposure: A longitudinal prediction model. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 109 (4),* 624-633.

Kirmayer, J. L., Lemelson R., Barad, M. (2007) *Understanding Trauma: Integrating Biological, Clinical, and Cultural Perspectives.* Cambridge University Press.

Kirmayer, L. & Valaskakis, G. (2009) The *Mental Health of Canadian Aboriginal Peoples: Transformations, Identity, and Community.* University of British Columbia Press.

Kleinman, T. (2003) *Did the Holocaust Play a Role in the Establishment of the State of Israel? UCSB Holocaust Oral History Project*. [Online] Available from: http://www.history.ucsb.edu/projects/holocaust/Research/Proseminar/tomerkleinman

Kogan, I. (2012) The second generation in the shadow of terror. In Fromm, M.G. (Ed.) *Lost in Transmission: Studies of trauma across generations*. London: Karnac Book, pp. 5-20.

Koldas, U. (2011) The "Nakba" in Palestinian Memory in Israel. *Middle Eastern Studies.* [Online] Taylor & Francis, Ltd. 47 (6). p. 947-959.

Kuper, L. (1981) *Genocide*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

La Capra, D. (2001) *Writing History, Writing Trauma.* JHU Press.

Laible D. J., Carlo G., Raffaelli M. (2000) The differential relations of parent and peer attachment to adolescent adjustment. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*. 29, pp. 45-59.

Larkin, M., Watts S. and Clifton E. (2006) Giving voice and making sense in interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. 3 (2), pp. 102-120.

Larkin, C. (2012) *Memory and Conflict in Lebanon: Remembering and Forgetting the Past*. New York: Routledge.

Lavi I., Slone M. (2011) Resilience and political violence: moderating effects in a cross-cultural setting. *Youth Society*. doi 43 845–872. 10.1177/0044118X09353437.

Lemkin, R. (1944) *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Levene, M. (2005) *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State: The Rise of the West.* Volume 2. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

Levine, P. & Kline, M. (2007) *Trauma through a child's eyes*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books.

Lewicka, M. (2011) Place attachment: How far have we come in the last 40 years?. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*. 31 (3), pp. 207–230.

Lewin, K. (1946) Action research and minority problems. *Journal of Social Issues.* 2(4), p. 34-46.

Leykin, D., Lahad, M., Cohen, O., Goldberg, A. & Aharonson-Daniel, L. (2013) Conjoint Community Resilience Assessment Measure: A self-report tool for assessing community resilience. American Journal of Community Psychology. 52. P. 313-323.

Liebenberg, L. and Theron. L. (2015) Innovative qualitative explorations of culture and resilience. In Theron, L., Liebenberg, L. and Ungar M. (eds.). *Youth Resilience and Culture - Commonalities and Complexities*. New York, NY: Springer, pp. 203-216.

Litvak, M. (2009) *Palestinian collective memory and national identity*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Longu, M., Qossoqsi, F., Serri, F. (2013) *Percorsi di formazione e intervento sulla resilienza. Un'esperienza nei Territori Palestinesi*. Report progetto di Cooperazione decentrata:"Supporto e Valorizzazione dei Servizi di Salute Mentale a Favore di Minori e Madri Palestinesi". Regione Autonoma della Sardegna.(Italian).

Losi, N. (2002) Some assumptions on psychological trauma interventions in post-conflict communities. In Papadopoulos, R. K. (ed.) Therapeutic *Care for Refugees. No Place like Home*. London: Karnac.

MacIntyre, A. (1984) *After Virtue. A Study in Moral Theory*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Mackay, R. (2003) Family resilience and good child outcomes: an overview of the research literature. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand.* 20.

Maggio, J. (2007) Can the Subaltern Be Heard? Political Theory, Translation, Representation, and Gaytry Chakravorty Spivak. *Alternatives*. 32, pp. 419.443.

Maier-Katkin, D. (2010) How Hannah Arendt Was Labeled an "Enemy of Israel". *Tikkun.* [Online] 25 (6), p. 11. Available from: http://www.tikkun.org/nextgen/how-hannah-arendt-was-labeled-an-enemy-of-israel-email-article-to-a-friend.

Makdisi, S. (2008) *Palestine Inside Out: An Everyday Occupation.* London: Norton.

Manna`, A. (2015) *Nakbah and survival*. Institute for Palestinian studies, Beirut. (Arabic).

Mantovani, G. (2004) *Intercultura, identità, differenze conflitti e mediazione*. Bologna: il Mulino. (Italian).

Mantovani, G. (2008) *Analisi del discorso e contesto sociale*. Bologna: il Mulino. (Italian).

Markus, H. R. & Kitayama, S. (1991) Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion and motivation. Psychological Review. 98(2), p. 224-253.

Martínez Cobo, J. 1986/7 Study of the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations. [Online] UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7 and Add. 1-4. Available from: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/second.html.

Masalha, N. (1992) *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Washington DC: Institute for Palestinian Studies.

Masalha, N. (1997) *A Land Without a People: Israel, Transfer and the Palestinians 1949-96*. London: Faber and Faber.

Masalha, N. (2000) *Imperial Israel and the Palestinians: The Politics of Expansion*. London: Pluto Press.

Masalha, N. (2003) *The Politics of Denial: Israel and the Palestinian Refugee Problem*. London: Pluto Press.

Masalha, N. (2007) *The Bible and Zionism: Invented Traditions, Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in Palestine-Israel*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Masalha, N. (2009) 60 Years after the Nakba Historical Truth, Collective Memory and Ethical Obligations, Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies, 3 (1), p.37–88.

Masalha, N. (2012) *The Palestine Nakba: Decolonizing History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Masalha, N. (2013) *The Zionist Bible: Biblical Precedent, Colonialism and the Erasure of Memory* . London: Acumen.

Masalha, N. (2014) *Theologies of Liberation in Palestine-Israel: Indigenous, Contextual, and Postcolonial Perspectives*. Pickwick Publications.

Massad, J. (2008) Resisting the Nakba. *The Electronic Intifada* [Online] 16 May. Available from: https://electronicintifada.net/content/resisting-nakba/7518.

Masten, A. S. (2001) Ordinary magic: Resilience processes in development. *American Psychologist*. 56(3), pp. 227-238.

Maton, K. (2003) Reflexivity, relationism and research: Pierre Bourdieu and the epistemic conditions of social scientific knowledge. *Space & Culture*. 6(1), pp. 52-65.

McCarthy, J. (1990) *The population of Palestine: population history and statistics of the late Ottoman period and the mandate*. New York, New York/Oxford, England:Columbia University Press.

McKenna, M. (2003) *Poetics of place*. Griffith Review. 2, p. 185- 194.

McWilliam, A. (2006) Mapping with Metaphor: Cultural topographies in West Timor. In Fox, J. *The poetic power of place, Comparative Perspectives on Austronesian Ideas of Locality*. ANU Press. p. 101-113.

Meari, M. (1992) L'identità dei Palestinesi in Israele: Palestino-Israeliana?. The identity of the Palestinians in Israel: Palestinian-Israeli? Journal of Palestine Studies (*Maajallat Addiressat Al-Falistinyya)*. Beirut. (Arabic).

Meghdessian, S. (1998) The discourse of oppression as expressed in writings of the intifada. *World Literature Today*, 72 (1), p.43.

Milroy, H. (2005) Preface. In Zubrick, S.R. et al. *The Western Australian Aboriginal Child Health Survey: The Social and Emotional Wellbeing of Aboriginal Children and Young People.* Perth: Curtin University of Technology and Telethon Institute for Child Health Research.

Mohapatra, A. K. (2006) The Paradox of Return: Origins, Home and Identity. in Vassanji's, M. G. *The Gunny Sack, Postcolonial Text*. (2) 4.

Mohatt, N. A., Thompson, A. B., Thai, N. D., and Tebes, J. K. (2014) Historical Trauma as Public Narrative: a conceptual review of how history impacts present-day health. *Social Science and Medicine.* 106, pp. 128-136.

Morgensen, S. L. (2012) Destabilizing the Settler Academy: The Decolonial Effects of Indigenous Methodologies. *American Quarterly.* 64 (4), p. 805-808.

Morris, B. (1986) *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morris, B. (2001) *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab conflict, 1881-2001* (1st Vintage Books ed.). New York: Vintage Books.

Morris, B. (2001) Revisiting the Palestinian exodus of 1948. In Rogan and Shlaim (eds.). *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*. 37-59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morris, B. (2004) *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morse, J. (2010) Procedures and practice of mixed method design: maintaining control, rigor, and complexity. In Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C. (Eds), *Sage Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research*. California: Sage, pp. 339-352.

Golani, M., Manna, A. (2011) *Two Sides of the Coin: Independence and Nakba 1948. Two Narratives of the 1948 War and its Outcome* [English-Hebrew edition]. Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation.

Muid, O. (2006) Then I lost my spirit: An analytical essay on transgenerational theory and its application to oppressed people of color nations. Ann Arbor: UMI dissertation Services/ProQuest.

Naimark, N. (2001) *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Nathan,T. (1990) *La follia degli altri.* Firenze: Ponte alle Grazie. (Italian).

Nersessian, D. (2005) Rethinking Cultural Genocide under International Law. Human Rights Dialogue: "Cultural Rights". [Online]. 2, (12), Sect. 1. Available from: http://www.cceia.org/resources/publications/dialogue/2_12/section_1/5139.html.

Nguyen-Gillham, V., Giacaman, R., Naser, G., Boyce, W. (2008) Normalizing the abnormal: Palestinian youth and the contradictions of resilience in protracted conflict. Health Soc Care Community. *PubMed* [Online] 7(3). P. 291–298. Available from: http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/18355248.

Nickerson A. et al. (2011) A critical review of psychological treatments for posttraumatic stress disorder. *Clinical Psychology Review*. 31(3), pp. 399–417.

Nofal, M. et al. (1998). Reflections on Al-Nakba. *Journal of Palestine Studies.* 28(1), p. 5-35.

Nora, P. (1989) Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire. *Representations*. *Special issue Memory and Counter -Memory.* 26, p. 7-24.

O'Brien, K. (2004) The intergenerational transference of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder amongst children and grandchildren of Vietnam veterans in Australia: An argument for a

genetic origin. Review of current literature. *Social Change in the 21st Century Conference*. Centre for Social Change Research, Queensland University of Technology. Queensland, Australia.

O'Shane, P. (1993) Assimilation or acculturation problems of Aboriginal families. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy*.14(4), pp. 196–98.

Palosaari, E., Punamäki, R.L., Qouta, S., Diab, M. (2013) Intergenerational effects of war trauma among Palestinian families mediated via psychological maltreatment. Child abuse & neglect. 37(11), pp. 955-68.

Pannell, S. (2006) From the Poetics of Place to the Politics of Space: Redefining Cultural Landscapes on Damer, Maluku Tenggara. In Fox, J. (2006) *The poetic power of place, Comparative Perspectives on Austronesian Ideas of Locality*. ANU Press. p. 163-172.

Papadopoulos, R., Hildebrand J. (1997) Is home where the heart is? Narratives of oppositional discourses in refugee families. In Byng-Hall J. & Papadopoulos R. (eds). *Multiple Voices: Narrative in Systemic Family Psychotherapy*. London: Duckworth, pp.206-236.

Papadopoulos, R. (2001) Refugee Families: issues of systemic supervision'. *Journal of Family Therapy*. 23 (4), p. 405 - 422.

Papadopoulos, R. (2001)   Refugees, therapists and trauma: systemic reflections'. In Gorell Barnes G. & Papadopoulos R. K. (eds). *Context: the magazine of the association for family therapy. Special issue on refugees.* (54), p. 5-8.

Papadopoulos, R. (2001) Riflessioni su trauma e lavoro psicosociale. *Psicoanalisi e Metodo. L'incontro con l'altro*, pp. 107-124. (Italian).

Papadopoulos, R. (2002) *Therapeutic Care for Refugees: No Place like Home*. London: Karnac Books.

Papadopoulos, R. K. (2004) *Trauma in a systemic perspective: Theoretical, organizational and clinical dimensions*. Paper presented at the XIV Congress of the International Family Therapy Association in Istanbul.

Papadopoulos, R. (2006) *Refugees and psychological trauma: Psychosocial perspectives*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.ncb.org.uk/media/963817/arc_1_10refandpsych.pdf.

Papadopoulos, R. (2007) Refugees, Trauma and Adversity-Activated Development. *European Journal of Psychotherapy and Counselling*. 9 (3), p. 301-312.

Papadopoulos, R. (2008) Systemic Challenges in a Refugee Camp. *Context, the Journal of the Association of Family Therapy*. p 16-19.

Papastergiadis, N. (1996) *Dialogues in the Diaspora: Essays and Conversations on Cultural Identity*. London: Rivers Oram Press.

Pappe, I. (1999) *The Israel/Palestine Question*. London: Routledge.

Pappe, I. (2006) *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications Limited.

Pappe, I. (2007) Review of the Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine. *Journal of Genocide Research*. 9 (4), p. 675–81.

Pappe, I. (2011) *Forgotten Palestinians: A History of the Palestinians in Israel*. New Haven, CT, USA: Yale University Press.

Parsons, L. (2001) The Druze and the birth of Israel, in Rogan E. L. and Shlaim, A. (eds.). *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 60-78.

PCBS Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (2015) Special Statistical Bulletin on the 67th Anniversary of the Palestinian Nakba. [Online]. Available from: http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/site/512/default.aspx?tabID=512&lang=en&ItemID=1391&mid=3171&wversion=Staging.

Patai,

Pelling, M. and Manuel-Navarrete, D. (2011) From resilience to transformation: the adaptive cycle in two Mexican urban centers. *Ecology and Society.* [Online] 16(2). Available from: URL: http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol16/iss2/art11/.

Pennebaker, J. W., Paez, D., Rimè, B. (1997) *Collective memory of political events: social psychological perspectives*. Mahwah, N.J. : Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Penslar, D. (2007) *Israel in History: The Jewish State in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Routledge.

Pérez-Sales, P. (2010) Identity and Trauma in Adolescents within the Context of Political Violence: A Psychosocial and Communitarian View. *Clinical Social Work Journal*. 38, p. 408–417.

Peteet J. (1995) Transforming Trust: Dispossession and Empowerment among Palestinian Refugees. In Daniel E. V. and. Knudsen, J. C. (eds.). *Mis-trusting Refugees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 168-186.

232

Peteet, J. (2009) *The Ethnography of Political Violence: Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps*. Philadelphia, PA, USA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Pinto G. M., Attwood J., Birkelandb , N., Solheim, H. (2014) Exploring the links between displacement, vulnerability and resilience. Procedia Economics and Finance. 18, pp. 849- 856**.**

Potts, M. (1994) Long-term effects of trauma: A post-traumatic stress among civilian internees of the Japanese during World War II. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 50(5),* 681- 698.

Pratt, M. W. and Fiese, B. H. (2004) Family *stories and the life course: across time and generations*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Punamaki, R. L. & Suleiman, R. (1989) Predictors and Effectiveness of Coping with Political Violence among Palestinian Children. *British Journal of Social Psychology.* 29, p. 67-77.

Qossoqsi, M. (2010) The Narrative of the Nakba and the Politics of Trauma. *Jadal*. [Online] 3 (7). Available from: www.mada-research.org

Race and Class (1983) *Israel n Lebanon: excerpts from the McBride report*. XXIV(4), pp. 465-470.

Rabkin, M. Y. (2009) Nakba in Narratives about Zionism. *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Studies*, (3)1, pp. 21-36.

Rabstejnek, C. V. (2012) *Family Systems & Murray Bowen Theory*. [Online]. Available from: [www.houd.info/**bowenTheory**.pdf](www.houd.info/bowenTheory.pdf)*.* [Accessed: 12 July 2015].

Raphael, R., Swan, P. and Martinek, N. (1998) Intergenerational Aspects of Trauma for Australian Aboriginal People. In Danieli, Y. (ed.) *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*. New York: Plenum Press.

Ram, U. (1993) The Colonization Perspective in Israeli Sociology: Internal and External Comparisons. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 6 (1), pp. 327-350.

Rashed, H. (2014) Nakba memoricide: Genocide studies and the Zionist/Israeli genocide of Palestine. *Holy Land Studies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 13, p. 1-23.

Rashed, H., Short, D. (2012) Genocide and settler colonialism: can a Lemkin-inspired genocide perspective aid our understanding of the Palestinian situation? *The International Journal of Human Rights*.Vol. 16 (8), p. 1142– 1169.

Ravid, B. (2016) Citing National Security, Israel Likely to Keep Army File on Palestinian Refugees From 1948 Sealed. *Haaretz* [Online] 20 September. Available from: http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.743055.

Renan, E. (1990) What is a Nation? In Homi Bhabha (eds.). *Nation and Narration* . London: Routledge.

Robinson, S. (2013) *Citizen Strangers: Palestinians and the Birth of Israel's Liberal Settler State.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rodman, M. C. (1992) Empowering place: multilocality and multivocality. *American Anthropologist* .94(3), p.639-656.

Rogan, E. L., Shlaim, A. (2001) *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rouhana, N. (1997) *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State: Identities in conflict*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rouhana, N., Sabbagh-Khoury, A. (2011) *The Palestinians in Israel. Readings in History, Politics and Society.* Mada-Al Carmel, Arab Center for Applied Social Research.

Rollero, C. De Piccoli, N. (2010) Place attachment, identification and environment perception: An empirical study. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*. 30 (2). pp. 198–205.

Rose, N. (2003) Power and psychological techniques. In Bares, Y. and House, R.. *Ethically challenges professions: enabling innovation and diversity in psychoterapy and counseling*. Ross-on-Wye. UK: PCCS Books.

Rosenblatt, P. C. (2000) *Parent Grief, Narratives of Loss and Relationship.* Philadelphia: Taylor and Francis Group.

Rosenheck, R. & Nathan, P. (1985) Secondary traumatization in children of Vietnam veterans. *Hospital & community psychiatry.* 36 (5), pp. 538-539.

Rosenthal, G. (1998) *The Holocaust in Three Generations, Families of Victims and perpetrators of the Nazi-Regime*. London: Cassell.

Rosenwein, B. H. (2006) Emotional *communities in the early middle ages*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Rotberg, R. I. (2006) *Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Rubenstein, R. (2001) *Home Matters: Longing and Belonging, Nostalgia and Mourning in Women's Fiction*. New York: Palgrave.

Sabbagh-Khoury, A. (2011) The Internally Displaced Palestinians in Israel. In Rouhana, N., Sabbagh-Khoury, A. (2011) *The Palestinians in Israel. Readings in History, Politics and Society.* Mada-Al Carmel, Arab Center for Applied Social Research., p. 26-46.

Sa'di, A. (2002) Catastrophe, Memory and Identity: Al-Nakbah as a Component of Palestinian Identity. *Israel Studies* 7 (2), p. 175-198.

Sa'di, A. (2006) Memory and Identity. In Kabha M. (eds.). *Towards a Historical Narrative of the Nakba*. Haifa: Mada al-Carmel – The Arab Center for Applied Social Research. pp57-79.

Sa'di, A. & Abu-Lughod, L. (2007) *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sa'di, A. (2013) *Thorough Surveillance, The genesis of Israeli policies of population management, surveillance and political control towards the Palestinian minority.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Sagi-Schwartz, A., van IJzendoorn, H. M. and Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. (2008) Does intergenerational transmission of trauma skip a generation? No meta-analytic evidence for tertiary traumatization with third generation of Holocaust survivors. *Attachment & Human Development*. 10(2), p. 105-21.

Sagy, S., Orr, E., Bar-on, D., & Awwad, E. (2001) Individualism and collectivism in two conflicted societies: Comparing Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian-Arab high school students. *Youth & Society*. 33, pp. 3-30.

Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books.

Said, E. (1979) *The Question of Palestine*, New York: Times Books.

Said, E. (1995) *Peace and its Discontents: Gaza Jericho, 1993–1995*. London: Vintage Books.

Said, E. (2000) *Reflection on exile and other essays*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Samson, C. (2003) *A Way of Life That Does Not Exist: Canada and the Extinguishment of the Innu.* Iser Books

Samson, C. (2008) A Colonial Double-Bind: Social and Historical Contexts of Innu Mental Health. In Kirmayer, L. J. and Guthrie Valaskakis, G. (eds.) *Healing Traditions The Mental Health of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, pp. 195-244.

Samson, C. (2013) *A World You Do not Know: Settler Societies, Indigenous People and the Attack on Cultural Diversities.* London: Human Right Consortium.

Sanbar, E. (2001) Out of Place, Out of Time. *Mediterranean Historical Review*. 16 (1), p. 87-94 (8).

Sawalha, A. (2011) *Reconstructing Beirut: Memory and Space in a Postwar Arab City* . Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press.

Sayigh, Y. (2004) *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1948 – 1993*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sayigh, R. (2013) On the Exclusion of the Palestinians from the "Trauma genre". *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 43 (1) , p. 51-60.

Sayigh, R. (2012) *Including and remembering the Palestinian people: a call for christian witness*. Middle East Conference.

Scannell, L. & Gifford, R. (2010). Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework. *Journal of Environmental Psychology.* 30*,* p.1-10.

Scannell L., Cox R. S˙, Fletcher S.˙, Heykoop C. (2016) That was the Last Time I Saw my House: The Importance of Place Attachment among Children and Youth in Disaster Contexts. *American Journal of Community Psychology*. 58(1-2), pp. 158-73.

Schabas, W. (2000) *Genocide in International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schechla, J. (2001) The Invisible People Come to Light: Israel's "Internally Displaced" and the "Unrecognized Villages". *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 31 (1), p. 20-31.

Schneer, J. (2010) *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* . London: Bloomsbory.

Shapira, A. (1992) Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881–1948. *Studies in Jewish History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sharabi, H. (1975) *Moq'adimat ledirasat el-mojtamaa' el-Arabi*. Jerusalem: Salah El-Deen (in Arabic).

Sharabi, H. (1991). In Dar Al-Fata Al-'Arabi and Jaffa Research Center (eds), Jaff a, the Perfume of a City (Jaffa, 1991) [Arabic].

Shaw, M. (2003) *War and Genocide.* Cambridge: Polity.

Shaw, M. (2007) *What is Genocide?* Cambridge: Polity.

Shaw, M. (2010) Palestine in an International Historical perspective on Genocide. *Holy Land Studies*. 9 (1), p. 1-24.

Shenhav, Y. (2003) Arab Jews: Nationality, Religion and Ethnicity. Tel Aviv: Am Oved (Hebrew).

Sherwood, K. and Liebling-Kalifani, H. (2012) Grounded Theory Investigation into the Experiences of African Women Refugees: Effects on Resilience and Identity and Implications for Service Provision. *Journal of International Women's Studies*. 13 (1).

Sherwood, H. (2013). Return to Iqrit: how one Palestinian village is being reborn. *The Guardian*. [Online] 15 May. Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/15/return-iqrit-palestinian-village-israel.

Shlaim, A. (2001) Israel and the Arab coalition in 1948. in Eugene L. Rogan E. L. an Shlaim, A. (eds.).*The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 79-103.

Shmotkin, D., Shrira, A., Goldberg, S. C. & Palgi, Y. (2011) Resilience and Vulnerability Among Aging Holocaust Survivors and Their Families: An Intergenerational Overview. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*. 9 (1), p. 7-21.

Shlaim, A. (2005) The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process. In Fawcett, L. (eds.). *International Relations of the Middle East.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 241-61.

Slyomovics, S. (1998) *The object of memory: Arab and Jew narrate the Palestinian village*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Slyomovics, S. (2007) The rape of Qula, a destroyed Palestinian village. In Sa'di A. and Abu-Lughod L. (eds.) *Nakba: Palestine, 1948 and the Claims of Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Slyomovics, S. (2013) Memory studies: Lebanon and Israel/Palestine. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 45 (3), pp.589-601.

Smith, L. T. (2012) *Decolonizing methodologies, Research and Indigenous people*. London & New York: Zed Books.

Smith, J. & Osborn, M. (2003) Interpretive phenomenological analysis. In J.A. Smith (Ed.) *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods*. London: Sage, pp. 51-80.

Sorek, T. (2011) The Quest for Victory: Collective and National Identification among the Arab-Palestinian Citizens of Israel. *Sociology*, 45 (3), p. 464-479.

Sotero, M. (2006) A conceptual model of historical trauma: Implications for public health practice and research. *Journal of Health Disparities Research and Practice*. 1(1), pp. 93–108.

Spivak, G. C. (1988) Can the Subaltern Speak? In Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L. (eds.) ,*Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 271-313.

Srour, R. W. & Srour, A. (2005) Communal and familial war-related stress factors: The case of the Palestinian child. *Journal of Loss and Trauma.* 11, pp. 289–309.

Starks, H., Trinidad, S. B. (2007) Choose your method: a comparison of phenomenology, discourse analysis, and grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research.* 17(10), pp. 1372-80.

Stein, S. D. (2003) Culturecide. [Online]. Available from: http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/genocide/culturecide.htm

Strauss, A., Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Sage Pubblications.

Sue, D. W. (2010) *Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation.* John Wiley & Sons.

Summerfield, D. (1997) The impact of war and atrocity on civilian populations. In Black, D.; Newman, J.; Harris-Hendricks, J. and Mezey, G. *Psychological trauma: A developmental approach* .Glasgow: Royal College of Psychiatrists, pp. 148-155.

Summerfield, D. (2001) The invention of post-traumatic stress disorder and the social usefulness of a psychiatric category. *BMJ*. 13;322(7278), pp. 95-98.

Taft C. T. et al. (2005). Risk Factors for Partner Violence Among a National Sample of Combat Veterans. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*.73(1), pp.151–159.

The Economist (2014) The Return of Jamal Al Mahamel". *The Economist*. [Online] 21 March. Available from: http://www.economist.com/blogs/prospero/2014/03/palestinian-art.

The Nakbah files (2016) *The Nakbah and the Holocaust: A Conversation with Bashir Bashir.* [Online]. Available from: http://nakbafiles.org/2016/06/27/the-nakba-and-the-holocaust-a-conversation-with-bashir-bashir/.

Thomas, C. F., Roberts, B., Luitel, N. P., Upadhaia, N., Tol A. W. (2011) Resilience of refugees displaced in the developing world: a qualitative analysis of strengths and struggles of urban refugees in Nepal. *Conflict and Health.* 5 (20).

Touma, E. (1973) *Juthur al-Qadiyyah Al Filastiniyya (The roots of the Palestinian question)*. Nazareth-Al-Maktabah Al-Sha'biya. (Arabic).

Ungar, M. (2004) A Constructionist Discourse on Resilience: Multiple Contexts, Multiple Realities Among At-risk Children and Youth. *Youth and Society.* 35, (3), p. 341-365.

Ungar, M., Lee, A. W., Callagham, T., Boothroyd, R. (2005) An international collaboration to study resilience in adolescents across cultures. *Journal of Social Work Research and Evaluation.* 6 (1), p. 4-24.

Ungar, M. (2008) Resilience across Cultures. *British Journal of Social Work*. 38, p. 218-235.

UNICEF. (2011) Interagency Psychosocial Evaluation Report. [Online] Available from: http//www.unicef.org. [Accessed: 9 May 2014].

UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency, UNRWA United Nation Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the near east (2007) *The United Nations and Palestinian Refugees.* Available from: https://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/2010011791015.pd.

UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency (2011) *Handbook and Guidelines on Procedures and Criteria for Determinig Refugees Status. Under the 1951 Convention and the 1967*

Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. [Online]. Available from: www.**unhcr**.org/504748069.pd. [Accessed: 7 March 2015]

UNPFII Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, (2010) *State of the World's Indigenous Peoples.* [Online] 14 January ST/ESA/328, available from: http://www.refworld.org/docid/4b6700ed2.html

UNRWA United Nation Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the near east. Palestine Refugees. *Who We Are* [Online]. Available from: http://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees.

UNSCOP (1947) Report of UNSCOP- 1947. MideastWeb. [Online] 1 Settembre. Available from: www.mideastweb.org.

Usher, G. (1999) *Dispatches from Palestine: the rise and fall of the Oslo peace process*. London:Pluto Press.

van Der Kolk, B. A., Fisler, R. (1995) Dissociation and the Fragmentary Nature of Traumatic Memories: Overview and Exploratory Study. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*. 8 (4), p. 505-525.

Vaudrin-Charette, J. (2015) Reading Silenced Narratives: A Curricular Journey Into Innu Poetry and Reconciliation. *In Education.* [Online] (21) 2. Available from: http://ineducation.ca/ineducation/article/view/223.

Vizenor, G. (1999) *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance*. University of Nebraska Press.

Volkan, V. D. (2004) *Chosen Trauma, the Political Ideology of Entitlement and Violence.* Berlin, Germany. [Online]. Available from: http://vamikvolkan.com/Chosen-Trauma,-the-Political-Ideology-of-Entitlement-and-Violence.php.

von Bertalanffy, L. (1968) General System theory: Foundations, development, applications . New York: George Braziller.

Walsh, F. (1998) *Strengthening Family Resilience*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Walsh, F. (2003) Family resilience: A framework for clinical practice. *Family Process*. 42 (1), pp. 1-18.

Walters, K. L., Mohammed, S. A., Evans-Campbell, T., Beltran, R. E., Chae, D. H., & Duran, B. (2011). Bodies don't just tell stories, they tell histories: Embodiment of historical trauma among American Indians and Alaska Natives. *Du Bois Review*. 8(1), p. 179–189.

Weiss, Y. (2011) *A Confiscated Memory: Wadi Salib and Haifa's Lost Heritage*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Weizmann, C. (1983). 28 March 1914. In Litvinoff, B. (eds.).*The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann, Vol.I, Series B.* Jerusalem: Israel University Press, pp.115–6.

Welman, J. C. & Kruger, S. J. (1999) *Research methodology for the business and administrative sciences*. Johannesburg, South Africa: International Thompson.

Werner, E. E. (2012) Children and war: Risk, resilience, and recovery. *Development and Psychopathology.* Cambridge University Press. 24 (2), pp.553-558.

Whittemore, R., Chase, S.H. & Mandle, C. L. (2001) Validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research*. 11(4), pp. 522-537.

Wiechelt, S. A., Gryczynski, J., Johnson, J. L., & Caldwell, D. (2012) Historical trauma among urban American Indians: Impact on substance abuse and family cohesion. *Journal of Loss & Trauma.* 17(4), pp. 319-336.

Williamson, D. S. (1982) Personal Authority in Family Experience via Termination of the Intergenerational Hierarchical Boundary . *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*. 8 (3), pp. 309–323.

Wilson, J. M., Arvanitakis, J. (2013) Resilience Matters. *M/C a Journal of Media and Culture.* [Online] 16(5). Available from: http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/740.

Wilson, H.S. & Hutchinson, S.A. (1991). Triangulation of methods: Heideggerian hermeneutics and grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research.* 1, pp. 263-276.

Wilson, J. P. & So-Kum Tang, C. C. (2010) *Cross-Cultural Assessment of Psychological Trauma and PTSD*. New York: Springer.

Winnicott, D.W. (1971) *Playing and Reality*. London: Routledge.

Wodak, R. (2001) The Discourse Historical Approach, in Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications. pp. 63-93.

Wodak, R. (2009) Critical discourse analysis: history, agenda, theory, and methodology. In Wodak, R. & Meyer. M. (Eds.). *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis.* London: Sage (2nd revised edition), pp. 1-33.

Yapp, M. E. (1987). *The Making of the Modern Near East 1792–1923*. London, New York: Longman.

Yiftachel, O. (2008) Epilogue: Studying Naqab/Negev Bedouins –Toward a colonial paradigm? *HAGAR Studies in Culture, Polity and Identities*. (8) 2, pp. 83–108.

Yiftachel, O. (2012) Naqab Bedouins and the (Internal) Colonial Paradigm. In Amara, Abu-Saad, I. and Yiftachel, O. (eds), Indigenous (In)Justice: Law and Human Rights among the Bedouins in the Naqab/Negev. *Harvard Human Rights Press*, pp: 281-310.

Yung, A. (1995) *The Harmony of Illusions: Inventing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder*. Princeton University Press.

Zonszein, M (2015) Binyamin Netanyahu: 'Arab voters are heading to the polling stations in droves'. *The Guardian*. [Online] 17 March. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/17/binyamin-netanyahu-israel-arab-election.

Zucchermaglio, C. (2007) *Psicologia culturale dei gruppi*. Roma: Carocci. (Italian).

Zur, J. (1996) From PTSD to Voices in Context: From an "Experience-Far to an Experience-Near. Understanding of Responses to War and Atrocity across Cultures. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry.* 42 (4), pp. 305-317.

Zurayk, Q. (1956) *The Meaning of Disaster*. Beirut: Khayat. (Arabic).

Zureik, E.T. (1979) *The Palestinians in Israel: A Study in Internal Colonialism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Zureik, E., Lyon, D., Abu-Laban, Y. (2010) *Surveillance and control in Israel/Palestine: Population, territory and power*. London: Routledge.