

# Traumatic Experiences of the Nakba: A Case Study of the First Generation

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## Abstract

The current study examined the traumatic experiences associated with the Nakba for the first generation of the Palestinian refugees. A purposive sampling design consisting of 45 Palestinians from the first generation of people that experienced the Nakba in Palestine was employed. Data was collected using a 46-item questionnaire developed by the research team. The findings demonstrate that the traumatic experiences of the Nakba are prevalent among the first generation of Palestinian refugees. Of the Palestinian refugees surveyed, 77% reported going through traumatic experiences. The findings revealed that gender and household members were significant predictors of traumatic experiences among the first generation of the Nakba. The study confirmed that the traumatic experiences of the Nakba have become firm in the collective memory of the Palestinian refugees.

**Keywords:** Traumatic experiences, Nakba, Palestine, first generation.

## 1. Introduction

The tragedy of the Palestinian refugees began over the period of half a century and continues to deepen, especially following the establishment of the Jewish state on top of the ruins of Palestine. The citizens of Palestine were later displaced to refugee camps in the diaspora. Historical resources present an agreement that Nakba, which occurred in 1948, forced more than 900,000 Palestinians to migrate out of their cities and villages immediately after the Jews and their underground militias destroyed 20 cities and more than 520 Palestinian villages, especially those located on the Palestinian coast that stretches from Nakoura to Gaza; these places were turned into ruins or Jewish settlements upon which colonies were built (Abu Sitteh, 2001).

This represented the complete deterioration of the Palestinian society along with all its components and bases; it led to the emergence of a new phenomenon in the Palestinian society—the Palestinian Refugees Camps. Even now, after 70 years, more than seven million Palestinians are still

living in exile, mostly in neighboring countries, such as Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, and elsewhere around the world as well (Allan, 2005; Chatty & Hundt, 2005; Masalha, 2009; Banat, 2014).

In times of disasters and wars, nations are exposed to the most heinous forms of trauma and stress, which leave their traces on most aspects of their lives. Such conditions cause a shakeup of confidence in oneself as well as in others. The wars and disasters have negative impacts on the physical, psychological, and social aspects of their lives (Najib et al., 2015).

Traumatic experiences have their significance in social contexts. They express the structure of the individual's subconscious and vision towards a topic similar to the emerging situation, which was formed as a result of such experiences; it also controls their imagination within a framework that is disrupted by emotions and feelings. Further, it creates conflicts between what was and what is to the extent that the individual might experience alienation.

Within the folds of accumulated actions and reactions that resemble previous traumatic experiences, their memory becomes active, and the picture becomes clearer in a way that it accepts different interpretations. However, it reflects the authenticity of the approach and sublimation of the vision. This applies to the case of the first generation of the Nakba, which exhausted both historians and politicians. History and its events have found their place in the time structure, which can only be measured through a scale that lacks statutory justice.

## **2. Background and Literature Review**

Historically, trauma occurs when human beings are exposed to sudden and unexpected overwhelming negative events, including natural phenomena such as earthquakes or man-made phenomena, such as wars, domestic violence, and forced migration (Altawil et al., 2008).

The American Psychiatric Association (APA) (2000) specifically defines trauma as the direct personal experience of an event that involves actual or threatened death, serious injury, any other threat to one's physical integrity, witnessing an event that involves death, injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of another person, or learning about an unexpected or violent death, serious harm, or threat of death or injury that was experienced by a family member or other close associates.

A traumatic event may involve migration to a new location, anxiety, death of a friend, family member, separation from parents, terrorism or mass disaster, war etc. (Levetown, 2008).

During the Nakba, the Palestinian population was exposed to a wide range of stress factors; the massacres and loss of relatives, extreme violence, serious threats to their lives, and being uprooted from their villages and being disempowered exposed them to numerous traumatic experiences. They suffered great losses of family members and personal resources, the separation of family and community relationships, and existential, economic, and social hardship that has endured for many years since and has led to feelings of grief, hopelessness, and helplessness (Hija, 2018). Hajjeh Zainab Salem from I'rak Al-Manshiyeh said, "Oh God, the dearest person went away, Israel have shattered us, what can we do? Each one of us is in a separated area, the enjoyable nights have gone, away to be replaced by painful and parting ones." She added, "My family consists of my brother and I, our father has died when I was one year old, I am here in Arroub refugee camp and my brother in Amman, I can't see him nor he does, I can't reach nor he does." She continued further, "There is no dignity for Palestinians, and nothing they have, there is no a parallel for Palestinians in the humiliation and the insult they live in". Along the same lines, Haj Mahmoud Kednawi from the village of Kudna said, "Death but not humiliation, either an honorable life or death." He added, "Death is better than being humiliated. [A] Palestinian refugee was not created to be insulted".

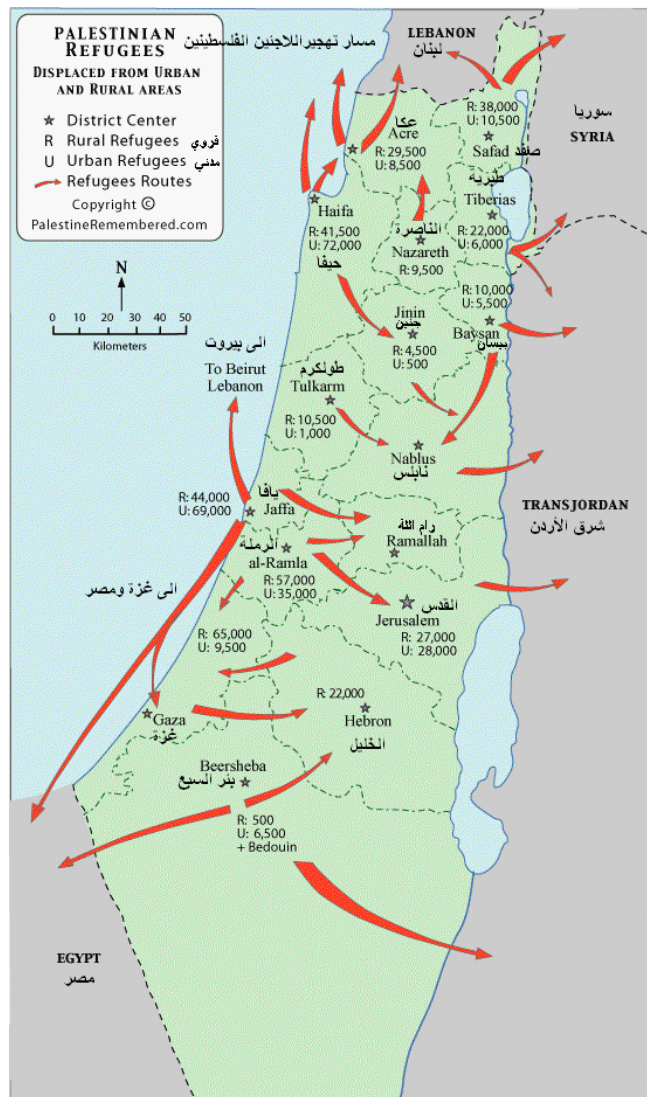
This generation experienced agonizing and traumatic experiences that influenced their life, leaving marks on the situation through its various elements (action and reaction). Such traumatic experiences stemmed from a bloody action, resulting in massacres committed by Zionist militias against the Palestinians. These massacres have different psychological implications for them. The high and systematic number of massacres imposed a compulsory reality on the first generation of Nakba,

which was represented in the mobilization outside the domains of the place. This produced accumulated internal memories within the Palestinian refugees, making them capable of recalling the situation when it is polluted by fake claims that are untraceable in the different layers of Palestinian history. The number of documented massacres reached 25, of which 19 were committed in Galilee, three in the center and three in the south. The Zionist militias committed 11 massacres under the nose of the British forces, with no action taken on their part. Moreover, four massacres were executed following the end of mandate. The most well-known massacre was that of Deir Yassin, while the largest was that of Duwaimah. Certain villages, such as Sa'sa', were exposed to more than one massacre. This does not include the individual killings and air raids on civilians as well as the killing of war prisoners (Abu Sitteh, 1997: 51; Banat, 2002).

The pain and killing witnessed by the first generation do not end there; in fact, these were accompanied by displacement from their homes and ending up in a different geographical region, but their memory could not absorb this. This generation was forced out of their 520 villages. Further, 317 villages were under direct military invasion. The Zionist militias supervised the expulsion of residents from 116 villages. In addition, the residents of 44 villages had to leave following the fall of neighboring villages into the hands of Zionist militias. Owing to their fear of an eminent attack, residents of 33 villages escaped. The residents of 10 villages escaped due to the Zionist propaganda (Abu Sitteh, 1997: 52).

This generation's suffering was deepened because of these conditions as a result of displacement. The refugees of this generation found themselves in the shade of tents that did not protect them from the heat of summer and the cold of winter. The catastrophe intensified in light of the fact that this generation was widely spread in various locations of the world. They entered the stage of being a refugee that they originally thought would last for seven days, only to find out that their story lasted for 70 years (Banat, 2002). In this context, Haj Mahmoud Kednawi from Kudna said, "Is there any country in the world [that] doesn't have Palestinian refugee? In America, Britain, Sweden... etc., we were scattered; who has his brothers or his uncle or his cousin near to him? Each one of us is in a separated area". The following figure illustrates the diaspora of the first generation in the Palestinian Nakba in 1948.

Figure 1: Palestinian refugees: displaced from urban and rural areas.



The tent represents another chapter of the wretchedness which, to most of this generation, existed in an emergency geographical location, which has always exhausted them. The fabric of these tents was transformed into a home built by the sponsor of the first refuge (United Nations Agency for the Relief and Work of Palestinian Refugees). This generation has been through experiences that are not less traumatic than the catastrophe itself. The injustice exhibited by other Arabs was clearly noted. Some looked suspiciously at them; others besieged them using laws issued by their government in order to not settle refugees. Above all, this generation faced poverty, illiteracy, disease, and the lack of space, which produced social and economic diseases that would have almost killed them if it were not for the serenity of the memory that was inspired from their return; a compass that made them form a society that consisted of several villages in a narrow geographical region.

It is the symbolism, suffering, and supremacy of the camp over the poor place. It was inspired by the original past, which maintained and sustained it. All of this produced a memory that defeated the opponent, making the refugees capable of facing humiliation or submission. The state of conflict between them and others made them pay a high price, effectively making Palestine the focus of memory along with its agony, pain, and hopes. In this context, Haj Khaled Abu Tama from Beersheba said, “We here in the camp are considered as dead, people [who are] not alive. We are in detention; we always call for returning back to our home”. He added, “Our honor is our home; it is in gathering our families, our shattered Palestinian people from the diaspora”.

A substantial number of researchers have surveyed the traumatic experiences of the Nakba among Palestinians through several methods. A recent study by Zidan (2018) concluded that the residents of the Deir Yassin village were exposed to the trauma of asylum, displacement, loss of security and stability in their sense of defeat, frustration, and denial, and they entered into a state of mental mourning.

The findings of Banat et al. (2018) confirm the traumatic events of the Nakba, which have become firm in the collective memory of the Palestinian refugees in general and in that of the youth in particular. In another study, Hija (2018) indicated that the Nakba is the most significant crisis in the history of the Palestinian people and was experienced as a traumatic event, where Palestinians were suddenly and forcefully removed from their homes, often using inhumane methods, and exposed to a new, harsh reality.

Moreover, the study of Katalo (2018) indicated that Palestinian refugees return to the past (recalling the family, land ownership, lifestyle and nature of work) in order to maintain a socio-psychological balance, which was disturbed by the traumatic experience of the displacement at the individual and collective level.

Peddle (2015) concluded that the Nakba events of 1948 tore not only into the political, economic, geographical, and social fabrics of Palestine but also deep into the heart of every Palestinian; the incredibly personal experiences of the Nakba reverberate inside each Palestinian alive today. Moreover, Masalha (2009) found that the year of the Nakba changed the lives of the Palestinians at the individual and national levels drastically and irreversibly; memory accounts of the painful events of 1948 are central to both the Palestinian society of today and the Palestinian social history and collective identity.

### **3. Aims and Scope**

The Palestinian Nakba occupies a powerful position in numerous fields of social sciences, but it is almost totally absent from traumatic experiences studies. The aim of the current study is to explore the traumatic experiences of the Nakba among the first generation of Palestinian refugees after 70 years. A measure for the topic of the study with demographic variables is presented, and the differences of the traumatic experiences among the surveyed population were also assessed.

The significance of the study is based on two elements: the vitality of the subject we are dealing with and the sample that is being studied. These two aspects are reflected in the study by addressing one of the important topics, which is relating to the traumatic experiences of the Nakba, while the second aspect is embodied in the surveyed population of the first generation of the Nakba following a period of 70 years. The study is a reference for researchers in the topic of traumatic experiences of the Nakba as perceived by the first generation, especially given that there is a scarcity of empirical studies that address this topic, as per the knowledge of the research team.

## **4. Definition of Terms**

### **4.1. Trauma**

The exposure to sudden or unexpected overwhelming negative events (Altawil et al., 2008).

### **4.2. Traumatic Experience**

It is an event that causes physical, emotional, and psychological distress or harm. It is an event that is perceived and experienced as a threat to one's safety or to the stability of one's world (Levetown, 2008).

### **4.3. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder or PTSD**

It is an anxiety disorder that is caused by a traumatic event (Reichert & Bostwick, 2010).

### **4.4. Refugee**

A refugee is any Palestinian who was expelled from their natural place of residence in Palestine in 1948 or after or had to leave for any reason, and the occupying government disallowed them to return to their former homeland. The refugee continues to carry this label until they or their offspring return to their native country (UN, 1948; Banat, 2002; Masri, 2008). This is also after 70 years of being exposed to all sorts of psychological, social, political, and economic suffering have elapsed.

### **4.5. Nakba (Catastrophe, Disaster)**

This occurred when more than 900,000 Palestinian people—about half of prewar Palestine's Arab population—fled or were expelled from their homes during the 1948 Palestine war (Abu Sitteh, 1997; Banat, 2002; Masri, 2008).

## **5. Hypothesis**

Taking into consideration the set objectives, questions, and variables of the study, the following hypothesis is proposed:

There are no statistically significant differences at  $\alpha \leq 0.05$  in the traumatic experiences of the Nakba among the first generation of Palestinian refugees as per age, gender, region, and household members.

## **6. Methods and Design**

This study is both quantitative and qualitative in nature. It used convenient research instruments, such as a questionnaire and interview, to explore the traumatic experiences caused by Nakba for the first generation.

### **6.1 Population and Sampling**

The target population consists of the first generation of the Nakba in Palestine. The sample of the study was eventually composed of 45 Palestinian refugees who were selected on purpose.

### **6.2 Instrumentation**

To assess the traumatic experiences of the Nakba, the study used a 45-item questionnaire that was developed by the research team using the Checklist of Traumatic Experiences (CTE) worldwide, taking into consideration cultural appropriateness in the Palestinian society. Participants were interviewed in their household to complete the questionnaire. The sampling survey instrument sought background information regarding the participants' age, gender, region, marital status, household members, and educational level.

### **6.3 Instrument Validity**

Validation of the instrument was conducted in two distinct phases. The initial phase involved a group of referees and expert arbitrators, who provided some comments on the tool. The second phase involved the implementation of a pilot study (N = 10) to validate the survey using an exploratory factor analysis. Factor loading for all items exceeded 0.75 (0.78 to 0.98), which means that those items are suitable for measuring every aspect of the traumatic experiences of the Nakba among the Palestinians.

#### **6.4 Instrument Reliability**

The reliability was tested using Cronbach's alpha and split-half coefficients in order to ascertain the reliability and consistency of the survey. Cronbach's alpha and the split-half reliability for the survey instrument was 0.89 and 0.85, respectively, indicating excellent reliability and consistency.

#### **6.5 Sample Characteristics**

The socio-demographic component of the interview contained questions about age, gender, region, marital status, educational level, and household members. A total of 45 interviews were completed. The respondents were between the age of 80 and 98 (M 89.24, SD 6.28). Males represented 51.1% of the participants, while the remaining 48.9% were females; the vast majority were married (75.6%) and were less educated (86.7% of the participants had basic education). Half (50.6%) of the participants were living in villages in the north of Palestine in 1948; 25.6% were living in the center, and the remaining 23.8% resided in the south. The vast majority (82.2%) of their household had over nine members.

#### **6.6 Data Analysis**

The questionnaire items were rated on a 1–5 Likert scale: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree. The highest score indicated a stronger level of traumatic experiences of the Nakba. Descriptive statistics gauged the traumatic experiences of the Nakba scores of the sampled population. The following statistical techniques were measured: regression, T-test, Cronbach's alpha, split-half coefficient and factor analysis, using SPSS.

### **7. Findings**

The mean score of traumatic experiences of the Nakba among the first generation for the sample of 45 Palestinian refugees was high (M 3.85, SD 0.47). The total score of the traumatic experiences demonstrated that 77% of the Palestinians who had been frequently exposed to 46 traumatic stressors related to the Nakba ranked the following in a descending order they will never forget the Nakba event (M 4.93, SD 0.25), the images of the Nakba have not disappeared from their memories (M 4.80, SD 0.40), they think of the Nakba event with great pessimism year after year, taking into consideration the fact that the refugees are denied their right to return to their original villages and towns (M 4.73, SD 0.68).

The participants emphasized that they recall the Nakba event (M 4.72, SD 0.64), are angered when they remember issues related to the Nakba (M 4.71, SD 0.62), as there are many things that remind them of the Nakba (M 4.70, SD 0.58), and feel that the Nakba will happen again under the ongoing Israeli occupation (M 4.67, SD 0.60).

Additionally, Palestinian refugees indicated that they cannot express their feelings toward the Nakba (M 4.58, SD 0.81), claiming that they have trouble sleeping because they cannot shake off the images and thoughts of the Nakba (M 4.51, SD 0.78) and they have disturbing dreams related to the Nakba (M 4.47, SD 0.72), and remembering the Nakba event induces physical reactions—mostly difficulty breathing, increased heartbeat, dizziness (M 4.46, SD 0.82), and unconsciousness (M 4.45, SD 0.81).

Furthermore, participants emphasized that they witnessed the massacres committed against the unarmed Palestinian people (M 4.38, SD 0.88) and were at the risk of dying (M 4.33, SD 0.79); they were exposed to extreme cold (M 4.31, SD 0.87) and hot weather (M 4.29, SD 0.94), tortured in different forms (M 4.27, SD 0.93), and witnessed the destruction of their houses (M 4.26, SD 0.86) and the devastation of their villages and towns (M 4.24, SD 0.85).

The study investigated the demographic breakdown of the traumatic experiences of the Nakba among the first generation of Palestinian refugees in order to determine whether there were significant

differences. The findings revealed that age and region made no difference to the traumatic experiences faced by the Nakba among the first generation of Palestinian refugees. However, it was found that gender and household members are significant variables.

In relation to gender, the differences favored females (M 4.20, SD 0.23), the T-test value was (-7.115, P = 0.000). As for the household members, findings indicate that there are statistically significant inverse correlations between the number of household members and the traumatic experiences of the Nakba among the first generation of Palestinian refugees, the Beta-value was (-0.674, P = 0.000).

## **8. Discussion**

The findings of the study demonstrate that traumatic experiences of the Nakba are prevalent among the first generation of Palestinian refugees. In fact, this generation of the Nakba experienced interpersonal trauma at higher frequencies as compared to other generations in the Palestinian family. According to Morina et al. (2010), civilian war survivors seeking treatment reported multiple war-related traumatic events and high levels of psychiatric morbidity. Moreover, individuals assessed during follow-ups reported no change in post-traumatic stress symptoms or psychological well-being.

This is the first generation of the Palestinian Nakba that geography persisted in their memory. It is the generation who rejected the dictations of history. The authenticity of the place is steadfast in their memory and narration; thus, it ended their dreams and delusions that the hegemony of history is capable of being restricted within the place in this memory. This memory was able to exceed the parameters of geography and pass on to generations who were impregnable barriers against those new settlers. In this context, Haj Abdel Majeed Abu Srour from the destroyed village of Beit Natif in 1948 said that he could not forget the scene of the bodies of martyrs who tried to infiltrate back to their homes following displacement and were killed by the Zionist militias. Abu Srour, who now lives in the Aida Refugee Camp added, “I saw at least six bodies thrown on the ground. I used to smell the strange odor. They destroyed the entire village, including the main mosque, shrines and homes”.

As for Haj Mahmoud Abu Hashhash from the village of I’rak Al-Manshiyeh, which was under a six-month siege, narrated the story of when the wife of Abdel Rahman Al-Tit was martyred. She was carrying food to her husband when the Jews shot her on the right side of her head, and the bullet came out from the other side. Additionally, Haj Abdallah Najjar from the village of Faloja said, “Jews in principle... they are the ones who brought about hatred and detestation to the Palestinian lands; they are the ones who are committing massacres one after the other since the Nakba and before”.

Moreover, Hajjeh Amena Ajarma from Ajjur narrates the great trauma she underwent after witnessing the horrific and catastrophic scenes. She said, “Most Palestinian families escaped while they were still in their pajamas; mothers forgot their children at home and left the place. Others mistakenly took bed pillows instead of their babies; they woke up to more horrible catastrophes larger than what they could absorb, aside from other tragedies which I myself am incapable of describing [happened] at my young age, when I was 10 years old”.

Women from the first generation of the Nakba reported a higher level of Nakba traumatic experiences than men. Palestinian women have also been subjected to Israeli crimes, to the disintegration of the economic and social structure, and to the uprooting of thousands of Palestinians from their homes. The archetypical woman was the mother, the captive, the activist, and the martyr; she also bears witness to the suffering of the Palestinian people and their Nakba tragedy. It follows that women would likely experience a higher level of traumatic experiences of the Nakba. In this context, Hajjeh Wadha Al-Titi from I’rak Al-Manshiyeh said, “The harshest moments that I ever lived were when I escaped with my breast-feeding brother and little sister from I’rak Al-Manshiyeh village at night and headed to the field. Their father was looking for them all night for fear of attacks carried out by the Jews from nearby settlement[s]”. She added that later attacks forced them to immigrate for good, and “Our family took a road that lead to Tarqumiya West of Hebron, and we ended up in



Fawwar Refugee Camp, and we still live there”. In the same context, Hajjeh Fatima Sarabta from Ajjur said, “I feel sorry for what happened to the Palestinians in the Nakba of displacement and loss; that day, I felt that life stopped the moment when Palestinians were uprooted from their villages, towns, and cities”.

In fact, the expulsion of Palestinian refugees has turned into a factor of strength for the Palestinian people in the struggle against occupation. Palestinian refugees are more determined to resist until they return to their original villages, towns, and cities. The female suicide martyr (Istishhadiya), Fatima Najjar, is a woman who experienced the Nakba of Palestine. She saw the exodus of the Palestinians from their lands in 1948. Her days were blended with grief and sorrow. That woman, whose face would illustrate the pitfalls of the bitter time, had no hesitation, not for a moment, in carrying out a martyrdom operation amid a large group of Israeli soldiers at Gaza Strip on the 23rd of November 2006, confirming that the Nakba generation—the generation of the 1948 Palestinian exodus—marks the beginning of the martyrdom and repatriation generation (Banat, 2010). In the same token, Punamäki (1986) concluded that the previous experiences caused by occupation create more tension and stress than the problems of everyday life. Women with the highest scores of shocking experiences associated with occupation tended to evaluate all life events as stressful compared to women who were less exposed to the shock, representing a statistically significant difference.

The findings of the study also revealed that age and region did not entail any significant difference to the traumatic experiences of the Nakba among the first generation of Palestinian refugees. This indicates that traumatic experiences of the Nakba are not quite influenced by these variables and are more likely to be affected by factors other than age and region.

Finally, the traumatic experiences of the Nakba are less widespread in extended refugee families than nuclear families. History of any trauma in the Palestinian society was associated with upper social support scores, taking into consideration their most tragic experience under the Israeli occupation, after 70 years of the Nakba. In this regard, the study of Altawil et al. (2008) revealed that the support of family, friends, relatives, teachers, and spiritual leaders can be of great help.

Historically, the Palestinian community is based on patrilineal kinship in an extended family, and they care for each other in times of need. The Palestinian family has played, and still continues to play, a distinctive role in the preservation of the social, cultural, political, and economic identity in the Palestinian society, especially if we consider the difficult conditions and the events that the Palestinian society has been exposed to in the 70 years since the Nakba and even before. The family concentration on the land means that there are face-to-face social relationships among individuals; they focus on the father and kinship based on blood bond. Family solidarity is often considered one of the main features of the Palestinian family wherein the child is raised on family solidarity at different levels, including responsibility for children care and guidance (Banat, 2010). The father, mother, brothers, sisters, some aunts, uncles, and cousins participate in this, which decreases the level of traumatic experiences among the Palestinian refugees.

## **9. Conclusion and Recommendations**

In human history, there is no crime as brutal as the one of Zionist gangsters forcing Palestinians out of their lands in 1948; this was later called the Palestinian Nakba (catastrophe). The contemporary history of Palestinians took a turn during a key year—1948.

That year, a country and its people disappeared from the map of the world. Palestinians suffered traumatic experiences that cannot be erased from their collective memory (Sanbar, 2001). Going through the essence of the Palestinian collective memory and its documented historical events requires an in-depth insight into its vocabulary. There should be an examination of its data. The size of the memory is represented by the size of the homeland and its geography. Its details have a beginning. Perhaps the uniqueness of this memory lies in the fact that its events did not

Owing to the steadfastness of the geography of this memory, the history of the new settlers fluctuates, as it tries to eradicate the place and draw borders of an emergency geographical region pronounced by this memory. Anyone who wishes to reshape this geography as per his own vision would eventually fail. The steadfastness of geography will prevail over any statutory logic or any written history, since history is characterized by change and alteration and this does not apply on the place (geography).

The authenticity of Palestinian imagery has added greater nobility and purity to this collective memory through which it was able to evoke the subconscious, which stretched over a period of 7 decades in exile. It aims to draw for the subsequent generations the borders of the geography and present a documentation of a history that was mixed with pains and agonies of the narrations through its vocabulary. These scenes are in need of structural organization that transcribes to the successive generations that such memory was inspired from the place and time of the occurrence of this event. This memory is neither mythical nor deformed.

Palestinians are still steadfast, even after 70 years of the Nakba; stories are multiplying and agonies both big and small are scattered; all would remain deeply rooted in the Palestinian collective memory, which will never be forgotten by the old or the young. The road ahead is still long; the story of the Palestinians is one of preserving land, the humans as well as regaining the stolen homeland. We used to be Palestinians, we are still Palestinians, and we will remain Palestinians forever. We are here to stay and to watch over the fig and olive trees one generation after the other. These findings confirmed that the Nakba traumatic experiences have become firm in the collective memory of the Palestinian refugees. Recommendations have been presented as follows:

1. Socio-psychological support programs are required to take care of the traumatic experiences of the Nakba among Palestinian refugees.
2. Further research is essential to expand the understanding of the traumatic experiences of the Nakba among the Palestinian refugee generations.
3. A comparative study of the traumatic experiences of the Nakba among Palestinian in the diaspora is also recommended.

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