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What Does It Mean To Be Muslim / Arab / Young / Palestinian / Palestinian Refugee? Self-Definitions and Emotional Reactions to Social Identity Complexity among Young Palestinian Refugees Living in the Diaspora

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The research that we relate to in this paper focuses on emotions that two hundred Palestinian Refugee adolescents living in refugee camps in Jordan associate with their self-definition of their own identity. To prompt this self-description initially, participants were asked to answer to the Twenty Statement Test. They then scored themselves on a pre-arranged list of emotions, related to their identity as they described it. Adolescents were then confronted with only one of the multiple layers that their complex social identity could offer: they were randomly asked to think of themselves as either being a Palestinian, a Palestinian Refugee, a Young Person, an Arab, or a Muslim. Here again participants were asked to self-define their identity and to declare the emotions they felt. Results showed how these adolescents, although all born in the Diaspora and never having visited Palestine, and in spite of the fact that 56.5% of them had parents born in the Diaspora too, spontaneously thought of themselves as Palestinian, and gave a deep emotional impact to this self-definition. However, many of these emotions changed according to the different layer of identity proposed to each

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group of participants during the second part of the questionnaire, showing how each facet of their complex social identity could lead to different emotional reactions when these adolescents were invited to think of their life. Limitations of this initial exploratory data as well as directions for future research are discussed at the end of the paper.

Keywords: Refugees; Multi-generational approach; Identity Layers; Self-Description; Emotions.

The general aim of our study was to explore how Palestinian adolescents, living in refugee camps in Jordan, describe their own identity and the emotions they associate with it. In particular, we aimed to explore if, and how, the emotions that are generated from spontaneous self-definitions change when these adolescents are confronted with the different layers that are implied in their complex personal and social identity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). More than in other situations, social identities of these adolescents, born in Palestinian Diaspora and living in refugee camps, highlight how self-definitions of their social identity cannot be severed from social representations of their current existential conditions. In dealing with this data, therefore, complexities linked to the controversial issue of how the social representations studies may be linked to the social identity approaches has to be examined (Breakwell, 1993a, 1993b, 2001, 2011). In our paper, we are presenting only a first exploration of these data. However, we hope that this empirical evidence could contribute to the on-going debate between scholars, showing that links between these two approaches are necessary for gaining a deeper understanding to how people negotiate their social identity when living in complex social and psychological conditions, as those characterizing the Diaspora (Wahlbeck, 2002).

If we consider complexities related to the psychological and social needs of adolescent living in today's Palestinian Diaspora, it seems that it is under-studied and under-theorized, compared to studies focusing on previous generations of refugees, especially those living at the end of the 1970's (see for instance Turki, 1974; Mansour, 1977; Sayigh, 1977). Moreover, advances in the social sciences have shown how key concepts, like `identity' and `culture', appear to be used in a confusing way in refugee research; see for instance the position taken by anthropologists like Ann-Belinda Steen (1992) and Liisa Malkki (1995).

Due to the taken for granted complexities in this area, we decided to focus our analysis on contents and value/affective dimensions of identity of our young participants (Breakwell, 2011). We assume that both salience and hierarchical identity elements are organised "by principles that define the desirable states for the structure of identity" (Breakwell, 2001, p. 277). The specific condition of our participants, as adolescents born in the Diaspora and living in refugee camps, witnesses how these principles are culturally and historically situated. Starting from these premises, we chose to explore which identities are currently constructed by adolescents living in the very specific context of Palestinian refugee camps, a relevant context that seems to be largely unexplored from a social and psychological point of view.

In this field of research, our study aimed to take into account the different layers (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) that are implied in the complex personal and social identity of these adolescents. More in particular, we tried to consider both how different layers of identity may or may not be salient in spontaneous self-descriptions, and how each layer elicited different emotions. We thus implicitly examined the salience hypothesis (Lamy, Liu & Ward, 2011) and the functions served by identities. Some of the questions that this perspective suggests are: What are the functions served by identities shared by young Palestinian refugees? How do these identities regulate intergroup relationships? And how may their salience address social and psychological needs of respondents and enhance their individual well-being in such a threatening context? In this paper, we will consider a more in-depth issue of emotional changes related to specific identity layers, and think that these changes have to be investigated further in future works, using more comprehensively the frame of the salience hypothesis.

Although much more work is needed, it is important to stress that in this paper we tried to fulfil the aims suggested by the Lamy *et al.* contribution, that is, using history to embody Breakwell's (1993) theoretical links between Social Identity Theory and Social Representations Theory, looking at adolescents participating in our study from an inter-generational perspective, as agents who inherited war violence from former generations and whose elaboration of this dramatic memory will influence their and our future. This point brings to further considerations about stability and change of social representations across generations. As clarified by Duveen: "The situation of the child expresses something fundamental about the nature of identity, namely that identity is as much about the process of being identified as it is about the process of identification" (Duveen, 2001, p.259). That is, on the one hand social identities are imposed to

newborns and constrain their responses to contextual situation: “Social representations provide the form and the language for the ‘who am I’ or ‘who are we’ questions, and in so doing structure the nature of the ‘right’ answer” (Oyserman & Markus,1998, p. 108). On the other hand, however, individuals joins social groups actively, taking on particular identities, rejecting other categorisations, so continuously contributing to the dynamic interplay of contents and values that are associated to these labels.

The importance of this dynamic interplay clearly appears in conflict and post-conflict contexts, where escalation can be fuelled or reconciliation enhanced according to the way in which in-group history is inherited by new generations. According to this perspective, a comparison with studies previously conducted with young Palestinian refugees of former generations appears to be crucial. From these older studies, we may notice how the label of “refugees” was rejected in the 1970’s by the large majority of Palestinian participants who chose to define their identity using alternative labels of “freedom-fighters”, “revolutionaries”, “strugglers”, or simply claimed to be Palestinians, without mentioning the position of “Refugee” that they were holding in their host countries. Together with a clear rejection of self-definitions as refugees, in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, hatred for the refugee-identity was openly expressed by many Palestinians interviewed in a study by Sayigh (1977). As we shall see in the next paragraph, these self-definitions seem to have largely changed in the current generation of adolescent refugees that participated in our study.

Given the specific context where our research was conducted and the theoretical complexities involved, before presenting our investigation, three main issues are therefore introduced in the next sections: the importance of multi-generational approach, the difficulties in accomplishing identity tasks for adolescents and refugees, and the emotional features of such complex identities.

NATALITY AND THE ELABORATION OF EMOTIONAL BARRIERS DUE TO WAR VIOLENCE

First of all, we think it is worthwhile to explore how the past situation of violence suffered by the in-group of these adolescents even before their birth, has been integrated into the self-perception of these adolescents about their current life. On the one hand, we can expect that a heavy burden

of emotional barriers continue, as a kind of heritage, from the generations experiencing direct violence (Galtung, 1996) to the following generation, born after the end of direct violence itself but still living its destructive long-term consequences (Tutu, 2011; Burton, 1969). However, we propose that the phenomenon of *natality* changes these socio-emotional burdens. We agree in fact with the theoretical position proposed by Hannah Arendt (1958) on the crucial importance of paying due attention to the fact that, as generations change, new human beings are constantly introduced into groups. Only the arrival of these newcomers, according to Arendt's theoretical stance, makes it possible "that something new is started which cannot be expected from whatever may have happened before. This character of startling unexpectedness is inherent in all beginnings" (Arendt, 1958, p.177), but becomes especially evident for the social and psychological processes elaborating, from one generation to another, the violent past suffered by groups.

When considering intergroup violence, we propose that *a multi-generational approach* is seriously needed, comparing the study of reactions of the generations directly involved into a "lived history" (Halbwachs, 1950) of war with the exploration of consequences of collective memories passed from these first generations to subsequent ones. These memories, at a same time, keep the emotions of past conflicts alive, but also slowly elaborate and change their meaning and impact, from one generation to another (Ricoeur, 2004; Leone & Curigliano, 2009; Leone & Mastrovito, 2010).

BEING AN ADOLESCENT REFUGEE AND COPING WITH THE IDENTITY TASK

The double-edged value of intergenerational narratives on social representations of past violence appears particularly clear when applied to self-descriptions of adolescents living in a current situation of being a refugee. If daily life conditions are difficult for all people, they become particularly threatening when new generations come to the age of adolescence. Adolescence is in fact the moment when an identity, at a same time personal and social, has to be elaborated, being an essential aspect to enable adolescents to imagine a first tentative project for their own future. Only the choice of a first self-definition of identity leads an adolescent towards the more advanced stage of adulthood, while avoiding the choice of a first self-definition of identity may

lead the adolescent to become stuck in what Erikson calls a "diffusion of identity", that is, a permanent confusion about his or her future advancements (Erikson,1963).

Of course, even children are able to give an answer, at least from a certain moment of their life, to the question "Who am I?" But what turns identity processes during adolescence into a crucial developmental task (Havighurst, 1948) is the fact that only when reaching this phase of their own personal development are adolescents able, for the first time, to integrate in the same self-definition both their own personal self-experience and self-perceptions of their own groups from the social world around them. This original synthesis is particularly difficult to do, when the social perceptions are dissonant with the personal ones. This is the case of young people born in a group that has inherited the consequences of past violence.

Mansour's (1977) research with adolescents Palestinian refugees in camps in Lebanon showed an acute consciousness of Palestinian identity: 92.15% adolescents included a reference to being Palestinian in their first response to the "Who am I" question. Therefore, it appears very interesting to explore how these adolescents arrive at solving the dissonance between their personal experiences about their own life and the different points of view that a set of generalised others (Mead, 1934) have elaborated about them.

A useful tool for this exploration is the Twenty Statement Test (TST, Kuhn & McPartland, 1954; Cousins, 1989). In this test, participants are required to respond twenty times to the question "Who am I?" Results are interesting not only for the contents freely chosen to describe oneself, but also for the ranking of these statements. The answers that adolescents participating in our research gave to these tools will be analysed in depth in further studies. The most commonly adopted TST coding scheme, known as the A-B-C-D fourfold method, consists of four basic categories of self-perceptions, each representing a different level of abstraction from the physical phenomenal realm (Cousins, 1989): (A) Physical: references to observable, physical attributes of self, which do not imply social interaction, such as the information one finds on a driver's license (for example, "18 years old"). (B) Social: references to a social role, institutional membership, or other socially defined status, for example, "a college student". (C) Attributive: references to self as a situation-free agent characterised by personal styles of acting, feeling, and thinking, for example, "friendly," "moody". (D) Global: self-references that are very comprehensive or so vague as to transcend social roles and social interactions and which

therefore do not convey individual characteristics of the respondent, for example, "a human being," "an organic form".

In this paper, we use the TST to check the layers of identity spontaneously evoked by our respondents that correspond to those that we assumed to compose their complex social identity. Our aim is, in fact, to explore the *emotions* that are associated in different layers of identity.

THE EMOTIVE ASPECTS OF IDENTIFICATIONS AND SOCIAL IDENTITY COMPLEXITY

One of the major points of the classic definition proposed by Tajfel (1981) is that social identity can be analysed referring to each facet of its three main components: cognitive, evaluative, and affective. When focusing our attention on the aim of exploring the affective facet of the social identity, we took as our starting point Nico Frijda's (1998) theoretical stance that emotions are not only passions, imposed on individuals by the situations they are living in, but are also *powerful motivational inclinations*, helping persons to cope with their life's challenges. The emotions associated by our young participants with their own social identity, therefore, have to be seen in our opinion not only as the legacy of the dramatic historical situation in which they happen to be born, but also as a very important motivational resource they may use to build their own personal projects regarding their future life as adults. To investigate these emotions, however, we cannot underestimate the fact that these adolescents' identity is, perhaps much more than many others, a very complex one. Social identity, in fact, is composed by a multiplicity of interrelated layers (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this study is, therefore, to explore emotions associated by Palestinian adolescents living in refugee camps with their own self-defined identity. Moreover we aim to observe how these emotions may change, when only one of the different layers composing their complex social identity, is made salient to them.

METHOD

Participants

The participants were 200 young Palestinian refugees (50% females, 50% males, mean age 16 years and 6 months), living in Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, and attending UNRWA[1] educational institutions. All the participants were born in the Diaspora (Table 1) to refugee families and had never been to their homeland Palestine: more than half (56.5%) of our participants' parents were born out of Palestine, and 31.75% born in Palestine (Table 2).

Table 1 *Participants place of birth*

	Frequency
Jordan	187
Other	9
Missing	4
Total	200

Table 2 *Parents place of birth*

	Frequency
Palestine	127
Jordan	211
Other	15
Missing / don't know	47
Total	400

1 UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East) provides assistance, protection and advocacy since 1950 for some 5 million registered Palestine refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and the occupied Palestinian territory, pending a solution to their plight. In Jordan, UNRWA runs 172 schools providing basic education from first to tenth grade, for more than 122,000 students. The Amman Training Centre and Wadi Seer Training Centre provide vocational training to more than 1,300 students. http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=66

Procedure and Tools

The research was conducted by a native Arabic speaker (i.e. the questionnaire and the instructions were provided in Arabic and all the coding and the analysis of textual data were conducted by a native speaker). The data was collected in two provinces of Jordan: Amman and Baqaa, covering seven refugee camps across Jordan. After the necessary permissions had been obtained, the participants were reached at six different educational institutions of the UNRWA. Participants were randomly selected from the schools' lists of students. Upon gathering the students, forming groups of twenty participants maximum each, the researcher introduced herself and gave a brief explanation of the investigation, asking for the collaboration of the students. All the students freely agreed to participate in the research.

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

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

The *second section* collected the participants' spontaneous social identity definition, and salient layers of their social identity, their representations of the self as they think of themselves and for themselves. The twenty statement test (TST: Kuhn & McPartland, 1954; Cousins, 1989) was used for this purpose. Instructions for the TST were written at the top of the answer sheet in Arabic. These instructions were followed by twenty blank lines beginning with the words "I am" – "Ana" in Arabic.

The *third section* recorded emotional state using the Differential Emotion Scale (DES: Izard, 1972; Smith, Seger & Mackie, 2007). In this task participants were presented with a list of twelve emotions (angry, satisfied, afraid, hopeful, proud, disgusted, uneasy, happy, grateful, guilty, respectful, and irritated) with instructions to rate, on separate 7-point scales anchored by

not at all and very much, the extent to which they felt each of these emotions. The wording was *"to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions?"*

The manipulation of our study started in the *fourth section* and was based on making one layer of social identity salient for the participants, imposing it on them to think of themselves as being a member of that social category. Five layers of social identity were chosen for this manipulation, these five layers were previously determined by a pilot study. The pilot study had been conducted with fifty adolescents from two different schools (attended by both boys and girls), in the Wehdat Palestinian Refugee camp. Using TST, we extracted the main layers of identity emerging from these participants' spontaneous self-definitions. In the questionnaire, these layers are expressed as follows: Palestinian; Palestinian refugee; Arab; Young person; Muslim.

The *fourth section* was a manipulated replica of the Differential Emotion Scale (DES) used in the third section. In this task participants were presented with the same list of the twelve emotions, only the instructions were different in wording in order to make the social identity evoked in the previous section salient. The wording was "*as a ... (the specific group membership here), to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions?"*

In the *fifth and sixth sections* of the questionnaire we adopted two open-ended probes, "Tell us about yourself" and "Tell us what you are not" (McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978; McGuire, 1984). The open-ended probes were devised by McGuire to explore different aspects of the spontaneous self-concept. Specifically, the "Tell me about yourself" probe enables one to assess the affirmation self-concept (i.e., one's concept of what one is), whereas the "Tell me what you are not" probe enables one to assess the negation self-concept (i.e., one's concept of what one is not).

Having these two probes answered after the manipulation, but without giving any overt reminder of the layer of their identity previously made salient for them, allowed us to explore the differences in their representations of the self and their identifications according to the specific social category made salient during the manipulation, thus working as a manipulation check.

The *seventh and last section* of the questionnaire was a Free Association Task, to explore the social representations of the stimulus "homeland" where respondents were asked to report the first associations that came to their minds in relation to the stimulus, over a one to two minute period.

For the purposes of this article we will elaborate and discuss only four sections of the questionnaire, as follows:

- the 1st section: Personal data
- the 2nd section: Twenty statement test
- the 3rd section: Differential emotion scale before manipulation
- the 4th section: Differential emotion scale after manipulation

RESULTS

I am from …

All our participant were born in the Diaspora, outside of Palestine, yet answers to the question "Where are you from?" show that 81% of the participants mentioned Palestine (or places in Palestine) as the place where they come from (Table 3). Instead, only 9% of the participants mentioned that they are from Jordan, and 8% mentioned the name of the refugee camp where they currently live.

Table 3 *Where are you from?*

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

Nationality

Similarly, all our participants are Jordanian citizens and granted Jordanian nationality, yet we found that 24.5% of our participants chose "Palestinian" as their nationality. (Table: 4)

Table 4 *Nationality*

	Frequency
Jordanian	147
Palestinian	49
Missing	4
Total	**200**

The year in which the families moved to Jordan and the reasons behind it

The results on asking about the year in which our participants' families moved to Jordan showed that 46.5% of our participants mentioned the years of 1967 and 1948, which are the years of the two wars that resulted in the occupation of Palestinian lands and created the two waves of refugees. 42% of our participants didn't know in which year their families moved to Jordan (Table 5):

Table 5 *In which year did your family move to Jordan?*

	Frequency
1948	73
1967	20
I don't know	84
Other	11
Missing	12
Total	**200**

Whereas (Table 6) we found that 84% of our participants mentioned the Nakba in 1948, and the Naksa in 1967, as the reason behind their families moving to Jordan. This shadows the fact that participants knew that they took refuge in Jordan as a result of the Nakba or the Naksa, whilst not knowing precisely in which year it occurred.

Table 6 *Why did your family move to Jordon?*

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

Twenty statements test

The sum of the statements collected by the two hundred participants was 3,150, which indicates that each participant wrote roughly fifteen or more statements. As we mentioned above, in this first paper we do not aim to analyse the contents and ranks of these free answers to the TST, but rather to check if our respondents spontaneously evoked the same layers of identity on which we structured our manipulation. For this specific purpose, our current analysis is focused only on checking the presence, among the 3,150 statements freely given by our respondents, of the five different layers: “I am Palestinian”, “I am a refugee”, “I am Arab”, “I am a young person”, “I am Muslim”. Referring to the first layer, “I am Palestinian”, when coding the statements, it was noticed that a high frequency of the participants were stating “I am from Palestine”, or mentioning the exact place of origin within Palestine (e.g. “I am from Jerusalem”). Although these statements may be all recoded in the broad layer of “I am Palestinian”, we decided to create two sub-categories of the main category of “I am Palestinian”, in order to make it possible to appreciate also the original versions of these statements.

The participants’ responses to the TST (Table 7) show that “I am Palestinian” was mentioned at least once by 42.5% of the participants, and mentioned more than once by 3% of the participants, which makes the social identity layer of “Palestinian” as the most salient layer of identity for our participants in their spontaneous self-definitions, before any manipulation. The second most salient layer of identity among participants was “Refugee”, where 23.5% of the participants mentioned it once, and 2% mentioned it more than once.

Table 7
Frequencies and percentages of the five different categories and subcategories in the participants responses to the TST

	I am….	Didn't mention at all	%	Mentioned once	%	Mentioned more than once	%	Total
1)	Palestinian	92	*46%*	85	*42.5%*	23	*3%*	200
a.	From Palestine	158	*79%*	37	*18.5%*	5	*2.5%*	200
b.	Mentioning the place of origin in Palestine (village, city, etc.)	158	*79%*	39	*19.5%*	3	*1.5%*	200
2)	Refugee	148	*74%*	47	*23.5%*	5	*2.%*	200
3)	Arab	185	*92.5%*	14	*7%*	1	*0.5%*	200
4)	Young	184	*92%*	15	*7.5%*	1	*0.5%*	200
5)	Muslim	179	*89.5%*	21	*10.5%*	0	*0*	200

The second most salient layer of identity among participants was “Refugee”, where 23.5% of the participants mentioned it once, and 2% mentioned it more than once.

On the third level was the identification with the place ‘Palestine’, 18.5% of the participants mentioned “I am from Palestine”, once, and 2.5% mentioned it more than once. The place of origin in Palestine was mentioned once by 19.5% of the participants, and 1.5% mentioned it more than once.

The social layer of identity as “I am Muslim” was not very salient in participants' spontaneous self-definitions, where only 10.5% mentioned it once, and none mentioned it more than once. The least salient layers were “I am Arab” and “I am young” where only around 7% of the participants mentioned them once, and 0.5% mentioned it more than once.

Emotions

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

Table 8 *Participant emotions before the manipulation*

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

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

The participants scored the highest for positive emotions such as Respect (M=6.02, *SD* =1.38), Optimism (M=5.18, *SD* =1.80), Pride (M=4.83, *SD*=2.10), Gratitude (M=4.64, *SD*=1.79), and Satisfaction (M=4.52, *SD*=1.91). The means for the emotions of Anger (M=4.48=, *SD*=1.70), Happiness (M=4.48, *SD*=1.77), and Irritation (M=4.49, *SD*=1.98), were very close or nearly the same. The participants scored the least for negative emotions such as Fear, Uneasiness, Guilt and Disgust, making the participants mostly positive in feeling.

A paired-samples t-test was conducted to compare the changes in emotions among participants when they think of themselves before the manipulation and when they think of

themselves after the manipulation, where different layers of social identity were made salient, keeping in mind that in our research we evoked five different layers of identity: as Palestinian, a Palestinian refugee, an Arab, a young person, and a Muslim. As Palestinians, there was a significant change in the scores for Pride and Irritation. Pride before the manipulation (M=4.90, *SD*=2.03) was significantly lower than pride after the Palestinian categorisation was made salient (M=6.36, *SD*=1.37); t(41)= -4.32, $p < 0.05$; while Irritation before the manipulation (M=4.64, *SD*=2.10) was significantly higher than irritation when the Palestinian categorisation was made salient (M=3.67, *SD* =2.57); t(41)= - 2.13, $p < .05$.

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

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

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

The salience of the Muslim categorisation scored the highest changes in emotions; there was a significant change in the scores for Anger, Satisfaction, Pride, Uneasiness, Happiness, and Guilt. Anger before the manipulation (M=4.23, *SD*=1.70) was significantly higher than Anger when the Muslim categorisation was made salient (M=2.60, *SD*=1.75); t(39)= 4.59, $p < 0.05$, Satisfaction before the manipulation (M=4.70, *SD*=2.05) was significantly lower than Satisfaction after the manipulations as a Muslim (M=5.65, *SD*=1.76); t(39)= -3.24, $p < 0.05$, Pride before the manipulation (M=4.33, *SD*=2.38) was significantly lower than Pride after the

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

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

Finally, for each emotion a new variable was computed named Emotion T1-T2 (which is the difference between before and after the manipulation, before and after a single layer of group membership was made salient, according to the condition to which participants were randomly assigned), in order to compare the degrees of variation for each emotion.

On these new variables, a one-way between-subjects ANOVA was conducted, to compare how the difference of emotions varied after different group memberships (Palestinian, Palestinian Refugee, Arab, Young person, and Muslim) were evoked.

The only significant difference found was for Anger [$F(4, 195) = 2.72$, $p = .031$]. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the variation of the mean score for Anger was significantly different when participants think of themselves as Palestinian Refugees (Anger T1-T2 Mean= 0.00, SD= 2.84) and when they think of themselves as Muslims (Anger T1-T2 Mean= 1.63, SD= 2.24), so indicating no change in anger when respondents think about themselves as Palestinian Refugees, whereas Anger decreases at the greater extent when the Muslim group membership is evoked.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The first aim of our research was to explore emotions associated with spontaneous self-definitions of a group of two hundred Palestinian adolescents, living in refugee camps and attending UNWRA schools. We considered this exploration worthwhile, since emotions may be considered not only as passions. determined by the dramatic situation lived by these young people as a consequence of the violence suffered by their in-group even before their birth, but

also as a motivational resource. If successfully understood and regulated, in fact, emotions may empower adolescents and help their coping with the developmental task of elaborating a first tentative self-definition of their social identity, seen as a crucial step of their own development towards individuation and maturity (Erikson, 1963). Together with this initial scope, our paper aimed to compare emotions associated with spontaneous self-descriptions with emotions elicited by a manipulation making salient only one of the five different layers that were assumed to compose the complexity of the social identity of these young respondents. Therefore, a mixed between-within research design was made possible, allowing us to compare both differences of emotions between participants assigned to the five different conditions (think of yourself as being a Palestinian, a Palestinian refugee, a young person, an Arab, a Muslim) and differences of emotions as scored by the same subjects, before and after the manipulation.

First of all, results showed how these adolescents, though all born in the Diaspora and never having visited Palestine, and in spite of the fact that 56.5% of them have parents born in the diaspora as well, spontaneously thought of themselves as Palestinian, and gave a deep emotional impact to this self-definition. Taking the scores attributed both to positive and negative emotions together; this impact seems to be positive overall. However, it is interesting to note how, according to our theoretical expectancies, many of these emotions change depending on the different layer of identity proposed to each group of participants during the second part of the questionnaire. Results show, in fact, how each facet of their complex social identity could lead to different emotional reactions when these adolescents were invited to think of their life. On the one hand, the social label “Palestinian refugee” elicits the same evaluations of emotions referring to the spontaneous self-definitions given in the first part of the study. On the other hand, in a general overview of all other manipulations, a more positive emotional reaction seems to be elicited any time a broader social label is suggested to participants. These results, coming from a between subjects comparison, may be integrated with those coming from a within subjects comparison. Interestingly, in this case only the social label referring to the fact of being Muslim is related to a significant change, making participants decrease their scores when referring to their emotions of anger.

Other interesting results which need to be looked at in more depth are linked to a comparison with results shown by previous studies on older generations of Palestinian refugees. For instance, is very interesting to note the complete disappearing, among self-definitions of our

participants, of the self-label of "Returnee", which was the most accepted label by the older generations of Palestinian refugees. This older generation made evident their rejection of the identity of "Refugee", as opposed to the most socially accepted label of "Returnee", to the limit that it was included in popular 'ditties' sung in the camp:

> "*Who am I?*
> *Who are ye?*
> *I am the Returnee!*
> *I am the Returnee!*" (Turki, 1974)

In our current investigation, we did not have that finding; the young Palestinian refugees did define themselves as "Refugees". On the one hand, this may probably be interpreted as a sign of accepting it as a fact that is evident in their everyday life and somehow "normalized "in their identity structure. On the other hand, it is also clear that a positive change in emotions can be seen, when shifting away during the manipulation from this label of "Refugee", that was however, spontaneously emerging from first self-definitions.

Obviously, many other analyses are needed in order to fully interpret our data, and to explore other identity components, which cannot be reduced only to the social identity layers mentioned in this paper. First of all, an exploration of the structural organisation of their identity has to be carried out, to distinguish between central and peripheral aspects. Moreover, a fine-grained qualitative analysis of free self-descriptions must be carried out, where problems related to the semantic intricacies due to translation have to be coped with. Another interesting point that our future research will address refers to the relationship between in-group status and spontaneous self-definitions observed using the "Who am I?" test. Lorenzi-Cioldi has convincingly argued that people belonging to dominated groups freely recall their social categorisations at the top of this list of statements, while people of dominating groups seldom refer to their social categories, rather defining themselves using personal and idiosyncratic information. This evidence reinforces the familiar knowledge, frequently stressed in social and psychological studies, on relationships between group status and individual differentiation. More particularly, it shows how social identifications for people of high-status groups lead to feeling oneself to be a member of a "collection" composed of different individuals, while identification

for people of low-status groups leads to feeling oneself to be a member of an "aggregate" of relatively similar persons (Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2008). If we apply these robust results to our data, referring to adolescents coping with the task of identity formation specific to their stage of development, we may expect the answers to the "Who am I?" of these boys and girls to show a low degree of individual differentiation. In fact, we may put forward the hypothesis that, being members of a low-status group, their search for an identity will lead to a growing awareness of similarities linking their conditions to those of other adolescents living in their same condition of being refugees, so slowing down the process of their individual differentiation.

Finally, research instruments more complex than the questionnaire must be used, such as in-depth interviews or focus group discussions.

However, we hope that these initial results, though only exploratory, may help us to make the point that, when studying adolescent refugees, emotions associated with self-definitions of identity are worth examining. More in particular, our work seems to suggest that a research priority could be to understand how negative emotions, due to enduring consequences on these young people of intergroup violence, may be elaborated and changed into motivational inclinations as generations change and new individuals prepare themselves to take on their social responsibility as members of the group in which they happen to be born.

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