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Palestine in the Narrative of Camp Children: A Field Visit to Aida Camp

Hasan Barmil

Abstract

This study addresses the degree to which the Palestinian children's memory is associated with their homeland. The researcher has used the qualitative approach to analyse the data gathered from a purposive sample, which consists of 40 children who represent the fourth generation of "Nakba". The researcher has also used the interview tools which included several questions to measure the national awareness in the camp children's concerning a group of crucial issues associated with the subject of the research. By applying the analytical approach to analyse the children's answers, the researcher concluded that the camp children's memory reflected a clear awareness about their homeland. Moreover, the results of this study have denied all the Zionist allegations which attempted to influence the originality and genuineness of this memory; so their allegations that the Palestinian memory will be forgotten as time passes by have failed as the Palestinian time is perplexing for them. Since they do not possess the beginning of time, so how they can identify its end? As Mahmoud Darwish described them, they are "those who pass between fleeting words".

Keyword: Narrative, Nakba, refugee, collective memory, Palestine.

Introduction

"The old will die and the young will forget" (Karmi, 2011) is an illusionary statement which the leaders of the Zionist movement have believed in achieving. It is also a weak argument which the Palestinian children disproved through their association with their Palestinian cities and villages which were occupied in 1948. This association was represented in meaningful action, historical logic, and static right which have confused the accidental existence of the Zionist movement. Subsequently, it has also created a collective conscience with a genuine memory that has disturbed those strangers.

The vitality of those children has been admired by the liberation movements and supporters world-wide, and it has constituted a source of inspiration for the leaders of these movements, and has also received the attention of researchers. This vitality has presented a framework for a pure future, which is based on the restoration of the land of ancestors to their grandchildren.



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This vitality has also contributed to neglecting and denying the prospects of strangers on this land, and has also created a deep-rooted belief based on the awareness of many generations that Palestine, in its geography and history, is only good to its people. Indeed, the grandparents narrated the story, while their grandchildren preserved it.

Accordingly, the intimate association between the land, the Palestinian people as well as the many generations has emerged. This association has resulted in several facts which have received the attention of the whole world, and have created a historical framework which was shocking to the Zionists due to the continuous resistance of the Palestinian people, and their unique clinging to the land of ancestors, as well as their patience and steadfastness in the face of successive catastrophes during consecutive period of time. All these factors have contributed to the character of the Palestinian children. In fact, many generations were motivated by the conditions of refugee camps. Explaining the conditions of refugee camps paved the way for many generations to preserve the struggle against the occupying power.

However, these are the children of the Palestinian camps who have led the noblest resistance in the Palestinian history. This basically is the first Palestinian uprising "intifada", the uprising of the child and stone. Here, the child is the hero, the prisoner, the wounded, and the martyr who overwhelmed the Zionist military machines with a humble weapon. This child has also contributed to formulating the term "uprising" in Arabic language in the Arab dictionaries. The term "intifada" has become a cognitive reference for researchers with regards to the resistance movement; regardless of their origins and goals, this term has been firmly included within the terminology of the dictionaries.

The Palestinian camp, with its children, is distinguished with the struggle and resistance against the enemy, and despite its narrow borders and small size, it has opened wide horizons for the Palestinian decision-makers, who were called the new generals. The steadfastness of the camp was a source of inspiration for local and regional poetry. For example, the poem of Sameeh Al-Qasim (Takadamo) has stirred the resistance in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In addition, the Zionists considered that the poem of Mahmoud Darwish (Those who pass between fleeting words) calls for the termination of their existence. Therefore, this has led to the denial of the worthless imagination of the strangers which was based on their argument afore-mentioned in this introduction.





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Palestine is steadily positioned in the camp children's narrative as after more than six decades. This memory has proven its steadfastness throughout time. The Palestinian memory is the space which gathers the dispersed people and the different generations and, in this space, martyrs return to embrace their beloved. The Palestinian citizen does not only cling to his memory as his soul, but he also considers this memory as a symbol of his existence and he has given it a sort of sacredness which is almost approximate to the limits of national narcissism and the common ego. Others supposed that Nakba, eviction, hunger, distress, and asylum implies being submissive and obedient and only ask for protection, sympathy, and compassion. However, the Palestinian people have rebelled against the catastrophes and adversities which they were exposed to. As a result, people felt perplexed about the Palestinian people. Some of them are provoked by this image and considers it as a kind of revolt which is incompatible with the expected timidity and obedience of the displaced and exiled person, while others regard this action as a model of outstanding steadfastness in the face of distress. On the other hand, others almost envy the Palestinian people for their bleeding blood and martyrs...as opposed to submissiveness and weakness...these paradoxes will disappear when awareness is raised. The Palestinian people who were forced to leave their homeland have been disappointed more than once. However, their homeland is deeprooted in their awareness, conscience, memory, and dream.

This study addresses this noble juxtaposition, which is produced by the Palestinian memory of the camp children. This juxtaposition has drawn the borders of these children's villages from which their ancestors immigrated, and it also indicated the fear of strangers in the village from any horrible action which might be made by these children. This Palestinian imagination is derived from the symbols of the homeland and manifestations of the eternity of this land, whereas the Israeli imagination is derived from its ironic existence and its fake social and civil space which is brought from a remote city which murdered it there and then brought it back to life here to murder us with it (Seif, 2009: 3). Therefore, we found that the Zionist sociologists, psychologists, economists, and politicians were not capable of presenting an analysis of the details of this memory; however, all of them agreed on one scenario "killing the dreams of their politicians and thinkers". The camp, with its children, is a real historical witness of the fact that the Israeli occupation has no other choice but migration. Also, the camp will not be eliminated from the geography of Palestine except if its people return to Palestine. This study will examine where Palestine is located in the camp children's memory within this historical conflict



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Background

The problem of refugees is universal. Thus, it exists in every region or continent. Refugees will encounter many risks if they remain in their original homelands, and they would also suffer from poverty, deprivation, isolation and unsociability, and also lose their identity during their residence in the asylum countries (Jarrar, 1995: 119).

The phenomenon of refugees has received the attention of researchers in humanities in general, and in sociology in particular. Moreover, they have set theoretical frameworks and have attempted to make this phenomenon deep-rooted according to independent and subjective fundamentals adopted by these researchers.

Lee has set a theory of immigration, which supposed a balance between negative and positive factors to overcome the abnormal activity. In his theory, Lee indicated that the degree of positive selection increases with the difficulty resulting from the overlapping obstacles such as the exclusion of weak people. Kuns (1981) attempted to present a perception of the dynamic models such as evasion, expulsion, and displacement. He also distinguished between the actual and expected movements of refugees, and also recognized the seasons or waves of immigration which might result from escaping from the dangerous situations, or the compulsory or direct army pursuits. He also noticed the phenomenon of displacement through the absence which may occur when individuals or groups are incapable of returning to their original homelands after an invasion or political inversion (Kuns, 1981: 145).

Giddens asserted the importance of abstract existential security in the formation of identity for the stability of social relationships. This has drawn the attention to the existence of risks in the modern world including global phenomena such as nuclear weapons, the environmental problems and the reactions, which the people make towards these risks. Turner has derived from Giddens and others in formulating a social theory of the realism, which emphasizes on the conscious and unconscious needs and associates them with the features of the regime in which the action is carried out (Jarrar, 1995: 12).

In this context, it is necessary to emphasize that in all regional regimes, there is a central issue or articulatory case. However, this issue is considered to be a driving force towards the establishment and development of the regime. It also contributes to drafting or direct drafting of the political speech. It is also considered to be the cornerstone or the fundamental basis of



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the regime's structure during a certain era at least. The Palestinian issue is the main concern of the regime as it is associated with this issue and it totally revolves around it. Therefore, we can rarely find any historical document which does not involve the Palestinian issue or the Arab-Israeli conflict, in form and in substance. We can also write the history of the Arab regime and divide it into eras and periods depending on the existence of consensus or dispute about the ways of solving this conflict with the Israeli occupation. This is because even the economic and functional cooperation between Arab countries is determined to a large extent by this consensus or dispute. Despite all the appeals for separating it from political disputes, it has philosophically and virtually relied on supporting the collective Arab attitude towards the Israeli occupation, which appears in all the historical documents related to this field starting from the treaty of Common Defense and Economic Cooperation between the Arab countries in the Arab League in 1950, as well as the Arab Common Market Agreement in 1964, and reaching to the Charter of National Economic Solidarity in 1980 (Sa'eed, 1992: 184).

The fact that the Palestinian issue has played the role of articulatory case in the Arab regime and the settlement of this issue in a relatively constant manner will lead to a deep transformation in the nature of the Arab regime or will lead to its disintegration and will also contribute to establishing an alternative or competitive regional regime (Sa'eed, 1992: 185).

In view of all these dramatic changes, an impartial dimension is created in the general context which has influenced this articulatory issue, and has obviously formulated an emergent social structure in Palestine and the Arab region, particularly the Palestinian camps which received the attention of politicians and researchers. In addition, their content and topic has contributed to developing the Palestinian memory which is associated with significant prospects. Thus, it is necessary to present a theoretical summary of the concept of memory.

Collective Memory

The writings of the French sociologist and philosopher, Halbwachs (1980), have clearly influenced the modern researches about memory in the field of cultural sciences. As the theory of collective memory was formulated, it indicates that the individual remembrance process will not be accomplished except within a certain social framework. Unlike the prevailing scientific perceptions in Halbwachs's age, which considered memory and individual remembrance process as an absolute biological function, Halbwach, in his studies



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about the collective memory, has associated the individual's personal memories with the society to which he/she belongs. He also considered the fact that the social framework affects the collective system and makes the individual experiences memorable and explainable (Halbwachs, 1980).

In this context, the modern anthropological studies indicate that the collective memory contributes to the preservation of identity by recalling the common history. As this common history of the refugees is represented in homelessness and dispersion as well as the destruction of the economic, social and political basis of the society before asylum, the group of refugees start to formulate a collective memory which includes the stage after asylum and then it goes backward (Issa, 2007:4).

The anthropological studies emphasize that the relation between the refugee and the process of restoring the national historical awareness is more obvious among the refugees residing in the camps than among those living outside the camps. The process of formulating the collective memory among refugees started when they were sitting in front of their tents remembering their villages and talking about their past between themselves and with their families and with their sons, daughters, and grandchildren who were listening. This is attributed to the fact that memories always begin about the life in the village before 1948. They describe the life style and the precise details including dates, evidences and myths, the land and its production as well as the manner and requirements for working in the land, occasions, holidays, and traditions, in addition to the national history of the village and its role in the 1936 and 1929 revolutions and 1948 war. Malki and Gobta expressed a similar opinion by saying: "the collective memory is associated with the warm association with the place and geography; this case is evident in the Palestinian memory when the Palestinian citizen talks about the orange groves and olive trees which are the great symbol of Palestine" (Issa, 2007: 5).

The writer, Azmi Bsharah, believes that the collective memory in a certain historical moment plays an ideological role for a certain faction or community, especially when this faction or community is disintegrated (Bsharah, 1997, 46). This can occur when relying on the collective memory for recalling the common history, the national narration of events, and the common symbols which lead to the cohesion of the nation and mobilizing it towards achieving common goals and aspirations. It is of no doubt that the symbols and indications which the collective memory includes have the greatest impact on the mentality and



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behaviour of the faction/community. Cornilios emphasized the role of indications and their importance in maintaining the cohesion of the society, and these indications allow envisaging the independent identity of the society. It is noticeable that the perception of both Bsharah and Cornilios approaches to a large extent from the Palestinian reality. In 1948, Nakba constituted the moment of disintegration. Therefore, the Palestinians need to rebuild the past and preserve it through giving attention to the symbols and indications, and reviving them in their memory in order to support their national narration of the events in confrontation with the other narration (Amr, 2007: 4).

Several studies have addressed the topic of Palestinian refugees and they have different purposes. Some of them have addressed the refugees issue through demographic dimensions which denied its historical and political reality. This has formulated it in an absolute service-oriented manner, while others have addressed this issue and its association with the regional and national security. Other studies examined the depth of this issue through the structural framework from which it was formed.

Due to the importance of this study and the risk of ignoring presenting an analytical vision of the reality which has resulted in actions whose consequences might threaten the secure future which the Zionist movement theorists have dreamed of, this study reviews a group of studies which have presented empirical perceptions about the Palestinian child and his interaction with the consequences of the historical and political facts, and how they have produced a child who has unique characteristics which distinguish him/her from other children in the world by drawing a living image which is full of hope and pain to produce, at the end, an active child who will be able to impose his/her presence in the studies of scholars of different specializations, and also in the agendas of politicians of various trends. After that, this study will present a critical vision and a brief commentary about some of the topics included in the reviewed studies. The study conducted by Sirhan (1970) about the children in Al-Wihdat and Al-Baq'a camps in Jordan and two other camps in Lebanon has concluded that children in these camps have a high level of national awareness. This is possible as they realize who they are and who their enemies are, and they also know where they came from and the reasons which made them live in the current situations. The Palestinian children do not accept any compromise or compensation but the liberation of Palestine. Palestine is the only place which the Palestinian children feel is their actual homeland. The dispersion and expatriation have not executed the national existence of the Palestinian people, which is represented in the



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preservation of habits, values, and emotional relationships. All camps children believe that Palestine is an Arab country. Also, the Palestinian revolution is a vital motivation for children in camps and it has become an integral part of children's' life style.

Moreover, Sayigh (1977) indicated that the development of the Palestinian identity of the residents of camps adjacent to Beirut has been influenced by several factors including dispersion, poverty, oppression, as well as being controlled by non-Palestinian authorities. Despite the new situations which emerged in the Palestinians life in the exile such as the change of status, holding responsibilities, the level of political control and instability, these factors were not significant for the Palestinians and they have overcome these difficulties as they feel that the place where they live is temporary. Also, it is not their homeland and they do not have a government to defend them like others. Therefore, the Palestinian memory has been developed and it has indisputably become clear for camps residents. However, Hazboun (1989) emphasized that there is a political and historical communication process through which the character of the Palestinian refugee has been identified. Hence, he is considered a historical active element in the different Diaspora areas. Refugees have created a common understanding among them about the future of resolving their issue. However, the intransigent Israeli attitude from resolving the Palestinian refugees issue has reproduced new forms and patterns of rejection amongst the refugees. This is particularly seen with regards to their settlement and integration in the Arab societies as well as putting an end to the camps phenomenon.

Furthermore, Shakhshir (1990) concluded that the Palestinian children consider Palestine as their homeland and it is a country occupied by Jews who are strangers. Besides, the Palestinian child realizes an Israeli person the way he is holding his weapon and from his military uniform. Consequently, the Palestinian child does not prefer to live with the Israelis or to study with Israeli children due to their bad treatment and the war they had against the Palestinian. This is also due to the difference between the Arabic language and Hebrew language as well as the various customs and traditions. The study of Abdel Rahman (2002) appeared that there is a political awareness among camps children in Jordan about their homeland, Palestine. Thus, they realize that the idea of peaceful coexistence between Arabs and Israel is impossible as the Jews have occupied Palestine and murdered Arabs in their homes. Camps children also manifested a strong positive trend towards the right of return, and believed that this will not be achieved except by force.



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Additionally, Issa (2007) concluded that there is a political awareness among these children about affiliation, and defeating the Israeli occupation, as well as the determination of these children in clinging to the right of return to their cities and villages from which their ancestors immigrated from. However, there is a deficiency in expressing the historical dimension and the political terminology which are associated with Nakba. The findings of The Refugees Studies Centre in Oxford University (2007) indicated that the Palestinian identity will be rebuilt through the internal factors and by identifying the political and collective will and determination, such as the popular memory which implies the identity. Finally, the study of Amro (2007) revealed that the oral narration constituted the basic source of information retrieval for the refugees. There are other sources, but the refugees do not rely on them in the retrieval of the collective memory mainly visiting the village and taking photographs of it as well as maintaining some documents which remained with them and prove their ownership of their lands from which they were immigrated in 1948.

Statement of the Problem

The aggression of the Israeli occupation reached Palestinian children irrespective of their locations. It is know that children within refugee camps have been exposed to direct and indirect aggression. The camp is located at the contact borders with the Israeli military towers, in addition to the frequent intrusions by the Israeli soldiers to the camp as well as the accompanying nuisance, arrests, and breakage of houses contents. All these practices have stabilized the image of the Israeli occupation in the child's awareness and conscience, thus leading to awakening the memory which has received the attention of researchers and scholars of different specializations and concerns. This memory has contributed to generating actions, which are characterized by their persistence and deep implications; thus the study problem revolves around the following question: "Where is Palestine in the camp child's memory?"

This study stems from an issue which is difficult to address. As the size of the place, Palestine is not adequate except for a pure memory which is capable of understanding this issue, and the purity of this memory is confirmed by the action which is represented in the redness of the land. Raising the study question necessitates finding a harmony between the genuineness of the action and conscience. The question is: "what is the scope of place, time and human in the camp child's imagination?" The word "place" here refers to the Palestinian geographical areas (the villages and cities from which Palestinians were immigrated); "time"



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refers to the year of Nakba and the accompanying Zionist massacres against the Palestinian people; and "human" refers to the historical Palestinian leaders who achieved many accomplishments in national action.

Methods

The social survey concentrates on the current situations and is also concerned with the detailed analysis of the studied sections. It also presents an accurate representation, whether by using comprehensive inventory for studying these sections or by generalizing samples which represent the characteristics of the phenomena and people on which this survey concentrates on (Abdel Mu'ti, 1997: 314). The qualitative research concentrates on the deep understanding of the phenomenon, whereas the question raised in the quantitative research is open-ended and concentrates on the process and meaning more than the cause and effect. Therefore, this study will adopt the qualitative approach to analyze its data and results. This is because it is associated with the study problem and question.

The study population is characterized with relative economic homogeneity. This population (Aida Camp) consists of a village community from different sources in occupied Palestine. The origins of its citizens refer back to the following Palestinian villages: Deir Aban, Ras Abu Ammar, Al-Malha and other villages. Aida camp was established in 1950 on a rented land whose area is sixty-six donums, and it is located near the Holy Jerusalem. This camp includes several social and cultural institutions which are concerned with education and raising the national awareness. Palestinian activists from Aida camp have established a monument which represents the key of return and has symbolic indications associated with the preservation of the Palestinian memory. Therefore, everyone who sees this monument will refresh his/her memory about the origins to which the refugee belongs. This giant monument which exceeds 10 meters high is located at the contact borders with an Israeli military point, where daily confrontations with Israeli soldiers occur, during which a number of camp children injured and martyred. The number of the camp citizens is 4000 people. The study sample includes 40 children whose ages ranged between 12 to 15 years. This sample is purposive and was selected by the researcher from Laji' Centre as the sample members constitute a vital part of this centre and it is located near to the Key of Return monument. As a result, the sample members witness the practices of the Israeli soldiers against the camp and its children.



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To answer the study's main question, which aims to recognize the scope of the camp child's imagination about Palestine, the researcher has used the interview as a tool of the study. He formulated several open-ended questions directed to children in order to measure several conceptual and perceptual aspects, which are deep-rooted in the camp child's memory, and are associated with the camp child's awareness of his homeland from which his ancestors immigrated from. These questions aim also to measure the child's realization of the concept of camp and Nakba and when it happened and how his ancestors immigrated from Palestine in 1948, and what the Key of Return monument symbolizes. It also aims to name the massacres which the Israeli enemy committed against the citizens of the destroyed villages, and to examine the scope of the child's knowledge about historical Palestinian leaders.

Findings

This study has addressed a main topic through which it attempted to examine the general structure of the camp child's memory about a group of dimensions. Therefore, this constitutes intellectual and historical associations which are stuck in his/her imagination. It also resulted from circumstances which he lived or heard of throughout his life. The variables which this study attempted to examine by using the interview tool have created a framework which has preserved the image of Palestine. As explained in the following results, indeed the right of return is preserved among generation despite many years of displacement. In light of this statement, the Palestinian children's memory reflected their association with their villages from which their grandparents immigrated from. It appeared that the children who were interviewed recognized their occupied villages. It has been concluded that these children (the fourth generation of Nakba) are associated with their land, and time will not deny the right of the people who were forced to emigrate due to the ethnic cleansing performed by the Zionist gangs. This result was also indicative of the false allegations made by Ben Gourion as mentioned above. This result has also denied the satisfactions of the American political thinking since the early fifties of the last century. The report submitted to the External Relations Committee claimed that "the new generation which constitutes half of the Palestinian refugees lacks any roots in Palestine" (Shadid, 1987: 67). This result is consistent with several previous studies, which we have mentioned in the beginning of this research.

Children expressed their narrative about the concept of the camp by indicating that it is a place established by UNRWA for living; residential areas prepared for refugees; and it is narrow, its services are not good, and it has high population density. By this, children



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reflected the reality, which they live, witness, and suffer from. With regards to the time in which Nakba occurred, all these children were aware of the year of Nakba "1948", and their terms expressed the pain and suffering they heard of from their ancestors or read about. They stated: "Nakba is the year in which the Israeli occupation committed massacres against our country, destroyed villages and houses and the citizens immigrated as a result of terrorism, expulsion, murder, eviction, and the use of weapon". This memory concentrated on the main reason for Nakba, as mentioned in the study of Abu Sitta (1998) which indicated that the number of villages which were exposed to military attack reached 269 villages. The number of villages which the Zionist gangs supervised on the expulsion of their citizens reached 116 villages, whereas the citizens of 44 villages immigrated as a result of the control of Zionist gangs over the adjacent villages. Also, the number of villages whose citizens immigrated because of fear of an expected attack reached 33 villages, and the citizens of ten villages immigrated due to the psychological war against the Palestinian people. These data are consistent with the indications of the founder of Zionism (Theodor Herzel) in his book titled "The Jewish State". He stated: "If we wish to found a State today, we shall not do it in the way which would have been the only possible one a thousand years ago. It is foolish to revert to old stages of civilization, as many Zionists would like to do. Supposing, for example, we were obliged to clear a country of wild beasts, we should not set about the task in the fashion of Europeans of the fifth century. We should not take spear and lance and go out singly in pursuit of bears; we would organize a large and active hunting party, drive the animals together, and throw a bomb into their midst" (Herzel, 1896: 22). In another section of his book, he stated: "If I wish to substitute a new building for an old one, I must demolish before I construct" (Herzel, 1896: 12).

In the same context, the camp children expressed their knowledge of the massacres committed against the Palestinians during the previous years. Deir Yasin massacre, for example, was one of the most massacres sticking in the memory of these children, as well as Sabra and Shatila massacres, Al-Ibrahimi Mosque and Tantoura massacres. Despite the cruelty and ugliness of these massacres, these children still have hope to return to their homeland; and they expressed that the resistance is the fundamental way to return. Also, they rejected the idea of a Palestinian state which consists only of the West Bank and Gaza Strip while ignoring the lands occupied in 1948. Not surprising that the camp children have a radical trend towards their issue, as the circumstances in which they live have motivated them towards resisting the Zionist occupation, the camp children were capable of expressing their



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action within the frame of the actual situation which is consistent with this action. So the struggle in the camp is continuous, even if it is primitive in the resistance of the occupation: "This is our last line of defense and our field of continuous resistance if weapons stopped; it is the struggle of meanings, symbols and contradicting narrations, it is what we can use to win, as our homeland is like a book which is difficult to be translated and no one can read it and understand its meaning except for those who wrote it"(Seif, 2009: 2-3).

By analyzing the previous vision, it appears that it is compatible with the sociological juxtaposition of the Arab sociologist "Salem Sari" who stated that this action is a process of collective, independent, and dynamic creativity which has various and different forms as follows:

- Creativity of Idea: Creating a real collective awareness which is objectively and deeply associated with a comprehensive vision and perception which has allowed the intellectual control over the existing situation and the re-arrangement of its relations.
 This creativity is represented in exploring the individual creative powers, which were impossible to reach, whether they are absent or present, within the current situation.
- Creativity of Action: Reaching to a direct and organized collective decision as well as
 a positive choice, which responds in a challenging manner to the existing reality, and
 making an impressive action which aims to make a change and is directed towards
 practical results.
- 3. Creativity of Mechanism: Investing the actual and possible individual powers and capacities and developing them in an independent and creative manner, and starting to use the primitive techniques, driving the static natural inventory of capacities, selecting techniques loaded with symbols, which are inexhaustible and unconfiscable, as well as relying on new social powers which have the mentality of resistance, in addition to variant concepts, principles, and values which are unwilling to stop or retreat, but rather cling on action.
- 4. Creativity of Value: Directing the influencing action towards the achievements of a community and future value, as well as creating solid material facts and making new transformations no matter how they seems incomplete now (Sari, 1990:21)

This analysis of the action, which is directed by the memory that is deeply-rooted with the land and its trees, whose soil embraced the bodies of martyrs, is associated with the Palestinian imagination about the land. The best testimony is that of the executioner about his



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victim. In a rare statement, the General Sharon, who is sunk in the bloods of our people, admitted that he envies the Palestinian people for the dominant presence of the land in their poetry and literature. You will not find any Israeli person who resembles that Palestinian old man who leans his back to a chain of stones in an open space in the village, then he looks around and recalls the images of his childhood and youth as well as the memories of his grandfathers and ancestors. So you will imagine that the stones and trees utter his trembling voice. We will not also find any Israeli person as that old woman who embraces the olive tree remembering her dead father when he was inspecting his land and crops, and also embraces her grandchild who will not stay long in childhood (Seif, 2009: 1-3).

The presence of martyrs continue to be present in the camps, as their pictures are hanged on its walls to revive the moments of resistance in the minds of the camp children. They justify hanging the pictures of martyrs on the walls by saying: "to remember them and follow in their steps, so that their names will remain deep-rooted in our memory, and to be proud of them whenever we go". The martyrs occupied an essential part of the memory of these children such as Mohammad Jamjoum, Fuad Hijazi, Ata Al-Zeir, Ahmad Yaseen, Yasir Arafat, Fathi Al-Shiqaqi, Ahmad Al-Ja'bari, Emad Aqel, Abdel Aziz Al-Rantisi, and Abu Ali Mustafa. However, this memory was incapable of recognizing the Arab names of the Palestinian cities which were occupied in 1948 (Um Al-Rashrash, Tel Al-Rabi' and so on). This is due to the fact that media and education have failed to reposition the original names of these cities in the memory of camp children. The Key of Return monument which was established in the camp had a great influence on the camp children's perception and memory. It reflects their deep association with their occupied land and villages as well as with Nakba. In addition, this monument reminds these children with their existence in the camp and leads them to aspire for the return.

Finally, through the careful review of the above-mentioned studies, we concluded that the memory is still present in the minds of Palestinian people regardless of their age or place. The previous studies emphasized the existence of a historical awareness about the geography of Palestine. This memory contributed to formulating a collective conscience among the Palestinian refugees. By analyzing the perceptions of refugees, we found that there is a strong association between the memory, the identity, and the collective conscience. Thus, this was compatible with the cultural dimension which expresses the society's identity, past and present, and has clearly affected this conscience. Through analyzing this cultural dimension,



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we found that it has strongly contributed to recall the collective memory as the patrimonies, such as displacement, the right of return, DeirYaseen, and Al-Aqsa Mosque, have made this collective conscience in a state of permanent awareness. Although various regional movements made several arguments regarding this conscience, the Palestinian memory has denied all these arguments, and has directed this conscience and maintained its balance. This memory is associated with the logic of action and the strength of its elements and goals, and it is also associated with fateful outputs which are considered a common factor among the doers of this action.

Conclusion

The Palestinian narrative remains unforgettable throughout time. Some people argued that time will make them forget this memory. However, this memory was deep rooted in the history and the roots of trees which have proven that this land is a Palestinian and Arab land. The trees of olive, fig and grape vines, the phoenix, sparrow and goldfinch birds refuse expatriation and give praise to the hands which planted those trees and fed those birds, and yearn for the features of the farmer in the dewy morning, who has been absent for more than six decades, and they await for the promise of God: "If you do good, you do good for your own selves, and if you do evil (you do it) against yourselves". Then, when the second promise came to pass, "We permitted your enemies to disgrace your faces, and to enter the Masjid as they had entered it before, and to destroy all that fell in their hands" (The Holy Quran, Al-Israa: 7).

Therefore, this noble memory is accompanied by the alienation of the moment and the suffering of the past. As the pure dream of an old woman whose age exceeded 100 years to return to homeland to plant olive trees made her live happy moments, these moments rapidly vanished when the morning came and she lived another day at the asylum while shedding tears to water a beautiful memory which is surrounded by a painful reality. This was what was narrated by the old woman, Mariam, "the researcher's mother", may her soul rest in peace.

The memory of childhood which remained with that old woman made her ask her son: "Why are you building a house in Bethlehem?" He answered: "I do like others"; she said: "be patient son, we may return". What a memory! What a hope! This memory has had a great influence on the second, third, and fourth generations of refugees that appeared in this study



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and its results. Hence, the image and meaning of homeland is reinforced in camp children's memory so that it will expand in place and time.

This memory has drawn its strength from a system of values, which has impressed all those who interact with it or even conspire against it. This system is associated with the creativity of resistance, poetry and art, and is embodied by the children's imagination. This system is based on a common conscience, which denied all the arguments that strived for eliminating the children's imagination, distorting their perceptions and deviating their trends.

This memory has incubated the resistive action, which is the backbone of this memory, and is characterized with unique determination and its persistence is derived from the culture of resistance. This memory has been capable of formulating a system of values which cannot be ruined, and it has also caused a state of confusion between the past and the present. Also, it has overcome the limits of defeat as it is deep-rooted in the land and history, and the strangers "outlanders" failed in depicting it as Palestine is firmly positioned in this memory. Thus, this leads to creating a cognitive map which is fundamentally based on victory.

This memory is based on a deep awareness of the geography and history of Palestine as well as the purity of its martyrs and the pains of its prisoners and its magnificent holy places. This awareness has proven to the strangers that they have no place neither in Palestine nor in the imagination of its children. This imagination, which is associated with sceneries of pride and glory, has contributed to formulating a structural vision, which is unbreakable even if it has passed through crucial stages, which aimed at its distortion.

This memory has creatively reinforced the image of homeland in the minds of camp children, and the comprehensive image is embodied by a giant monument which exceeded the borders of the Israeli occupiers to make them reconsider their ideologies and to prove to them that the Arab, Palestinian, and Islamic identity of the homeland makes it difficult for them to achieve their goal. As a result, they are bewildered in historical illusions derived from the lie of injustice which they claimed in the forties of the last century.

The Key of Return giant monument, which is established in the forefront of the camp, which represents a symbol for explicit confrontation with the occupier, transfers the memory to the space of the stolen homeland. Unfortunately, this key overlooks Al-Aqsa Mosque to the north, and Ka'aba "the sacred mosque" to the south. However, this key quotes a verse of the



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Holy Quran: "Exalted is He who took His Servant by night from al-Masjid al-Haram to al-Masjid al-Aqsa, whose surroundings we have blessed, to show him of Our signs. Indeed, He is the Hearing, the Seeing". This harmony is evident in the solemnity of this key as it is noticeable that the Palestinian unconsciousness has stabilized this monument in this way. Therefore, the image here is complete and feelings stop until the key rests in a door of a house, which yearned for the knock of its owners.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Hasan Barmil, PhD. Sociology (Political Sociology), Associate Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, Al-Quds Open University, Bethlehem, Palestine. hbarmil@gou.edu