

**Deanship of Graduate Studies  
Al- Quds University**



**Exploration of the experience of ex-political  
Palestinian children detainees from Ramallah district in  
Israeli prisons**

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**M. Sc. Thesis**

**Jerusalem- Palestine**

**1434 / 2013**

**Exploration of the experience of ex-political  
Palestinian children detainees from Ramallah district in  
Israeli prisons**

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**A thesis Submitted in Partial fulfillment of requirements for  
the degree of Master of School of Public Health / Masters  
Program in Community Mental Health/ Graduate Studies**

**1434 / 2013**

Deanship of Graduate Studies

Al- Quds University

Masters Program in Community Mental Health



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**Exploration of the experience of ex-political  
Palestinian children detainees in Ramallah district**

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Jerusalem- Palestine

1434 / 2013

## **Dedication**

**To my parents, who give me their souls to complete this work.**

**To my family, especially my husband and my kids, who  
give me love and hope to improvement**

**To all prisoners of Palestine, who sacrificed and suffered  
with their life to give the other life**

## **Declaration**

I certify that this thesis submitted for the degree of Master is a result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this thesis, has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

**Signed.....**

**Lama Ahmad Odeh**

**Date:9/11/2013**

## **Acknowledgment**

First, my great thanks to all the children ex-prisoners who helped me in putting this thesis in practice.

I would like to express my grateful, sincere gratitude and thanks to my supervisor Dr. Muna Ahmead for her help and support involved in all the steps of this research, and also my deep thanks for her invaluable knowledge through the research process, without her support, I would have been able to complete this thesis.

My deep thanks also to all staff in the community mental health department in Al Quds University, for their academic and social support during my study. I would like to express my grateful for Dr. Najah Al Khatib, Dr. Asma Imam, Dr Khaldon Bader , Dr. Lina Khairy, Dr. Motasem Hamdan, Smeha Muhaien for their support.

My sincere thanks to my colleague in AL Quds University, for their support and enjoyment time together during my study.

I would like to express my deep thanks to my wonderful family, my husband (Adly), my daughters (Hind and Dima), and my lovely son(Yousef) for giving me the chance to continue my Master degree and supporting me in all the process with their love. I would like to express my grateful thanks also to my parents (Dad & Mother), who supported and motivated me and for their care and love. Also my deep thanks to my lovely sisters (Sana, Amal, Suheir, May, Yara, and Rawan), who have important role to keep me motivated and work hard during the period of study, and to my brothers (Marwan and Loay) for their support.

Finally, me deep thanks to YMCA, especially, colleague in Ramallah team, for all their collaboration and support.

## **ABSTRACT**

**Background:** The Palestinian people have been experiencing many forms of trauma and violence as a direct result of living under Israeli occupation since 1948. Under this occupation, Israel applies military law in the West Bank under which children arrested from the age of 12 years old are treated as adults and are prosecuted in military courts; this stands in contrast to Israeli domestic law under which children are not classed as adults until they reach 18 years of age.

**Aim:** The study aims to explore the experience of the children aged 12-18 years who were arrested and detained by the Israeli military in Ramallah district.

**Method:** The study used a qualitative phenomenological design. A convenience sample of 30 adolescents who were ex-political prisoners in Israel prisons and were released during 2010-2011, was utilized. Data were collected during 6 months, in January/2013-30/June/2013, through semi-structured individual interviews and constant comparative data analysis was used to analyze the data.

**Findings:** The results revealed prisoners passed 4 stages since they were arrested until they were released from prison which included: arrest experience, integration and court experience, prison experience. Some major themes related to the detention and court process, inside prison, and after release from prison experience. The data highlighted the different problems the children were exposed to in each of these stages. For example, the participants suffered from psychological problems especially adjustment problems, fear and anxiety, nervousness, shame and guilt. The data also showed that females exposed to sexual abuse were particularly vulnerable to suffering these symptoms.

Furthermore, participants faced many physical health problems such as severe headaches, malnutrition, cancer, dizziness, neck pain, kidney stones, and epilepsy. Most of them reported that no treatment was offered, and Para-cetamol was the only drug that was prescribed by doctors inside prisons. Alongside the physical suffering, the children reported social problems from the loss of friends and family. On release, the impact of their imprisonment was seen in reported educational problems. The majority of participants found it difficult to attend schools after their release because they were now older than the school year they

should be in; and they found it difficult to cope with new students younger than them was an evident issue.

The impact of arrest extended further into economic problems. Participants reported being unable to work, because of Israeli security restrictions on their movement after their release. This was on top of insufficient money when they were in prison. Finally, they suffered from further restrictions on their political and civil rights, such as having their movements restricted by the Israeli military after being released and the fear of being rearrested.

The result showed that the participants used many coping strategies, but that these were mainly emotional strategies. The children resorted to smoking, cooking, singing, watching TV, and seeking the support of peers. Many said they resorted to joking about, and because of, their inability to change prison conditions. The majority of participants indicated that they were pessimistic regarding their future and mainly focused on their need for psychological intervention, work and education after their release.

## **Conclusion**

This study of the exposure of children to prison experience pointed to a likely development of mental health problems as well as problems with physical, health, educational, social, economic, and political problems. It also appears that the traumatic experiences that these children face at early age may affect their personality development and their future. The negative impact of prison experience may continue into the lives of these children for many years after being released. As such, this call for more attention to be paid by governmental, nongovernmental, national and international organizations to protect these children from being arrested for political reasons as adults. They need protection from torture in all its forms and there must be greater supervision of the services inside prisons to ensure health and mental health services are adequate for prisoners.

## استكشاف تجارب الأطفال الفلسطينيين الذين تعرضوا للاعتقال السياسي في محافظة رام الله

الطالبة: لمى عودة

إشراف: د. منى أحمد

ملخص الدراسة

**خلفيه الدراسة:** يتعرض الشعب الفلسطيني لأشكال مختلفة من الصدمة والعنف المستمر، بسبب وجود الاحتلال الإسرائيلي منذ عام 1948. كما ان القانون العسكري الإسرائيلي الذي يتم تطبيقه في الضفة الغربية يسمح باعتقال الأطفال في سن 12 عاما ويعاملهم كبالغين ويتم محاكمتهم في المحاكم العسكرية، وهو مخالف للقانون المحلي الإسرائيلي الذي يمنع محاكمة الأطفال دون سن 18 عاما.

**الهدف:** تهدف هذه الدراسة الي استكشاف تجربة الاعتقال السياسي للأطفال في منطقة رام الله والذين تتراوح أعمارهم بين 12-18 سنة عندما تم اعتقالهم من قبل الجيش الإسرائيلي.

**منهجيته الدراسة:** استخدمت الدراسة المنهجية البحثية النوعية : دراسة الظواهر. وتمت دراسة عينة من 30 مشارك والذين كانوا سجناء سياسيين سابقين في السجون الاسرائيلية وخرجوا من المعتقلات خلال عام 2010-2011. حيث تم جمع البيانات خلال ستة شهور من 1 كانون الثاني 2012 إلى 30 حزيران 2012 من خلال المقابلات الفردية شبه منتظمة، وتم استخدم تحليل البيانات المقارنة الثابتة لتحليل المعلومات.

**النتائج:** وكشفت النتائج المراحل الرئيسية التالية المتصلة بتجربة الاعتقال وهي عملية الاعتقال والتحقيق والمحكمة، دخول السجن، وبعد الخروج من السجن. وأظهرت النتائج أن الأطفال قد تعرضوا لانواع مختلفة من المشاكل وقد استخدموا اليات تكيف مختلفة لمواجهة هذه التجارب. على سبيل المثال، "عانى المشاركون/ات من مشاكل نفسية مثل مشاكل التكيف، والخوف والقلق، والعصية، والشعور بالخجل والذنب، وخاصة الإناث بسبب تعرضهم للتحرش الجنسي.

وعلاوة على ذلك، واجه العديد من المشاركين من المشاكل الصحية، مثل، الصداع الشديد، وسوء التغذية، والسرطان، والدوخة، وآلام الرقبة، وحصى الكلى، والصرع. كما ذكر معظم المشاركين/ات أنهم خلال وجودهم

في المعتقلات لم يتلقوا أي علاج طبي، ما عدا الاكامول (para-cetamol) حيث انه الدواء الوحيد الذي كان يتم صرفه لهم من قبل الطبيب داخل السجن. أيضا عانى المشاركون/ات من المشاكل الاجتماعية كفقْدان الأصدقاء والبعْد عن الأسرة. وعانوا من مشاكل التعليم حيث ان الغالبية منهم وجدوا صعوبة في الالتحاق بالمدارس بعد الإفراج عنهم بسبب منعهم من استكمال دراستهم في الصفوف التي كانوا فيها قبل الاعتقال والذين عادوا الى المدرسة عانوا من صعوبات اكاديميه بسبب انقطاعهم عن المدرسه فتره الاعتقال، بالاضافه الى مشاكل بالتاقلم في المدرسه، وقله التركيز داخل الصف.

وايضا ذكر المشاركون المشاكل الاقتصادية حيث ان معظمهم كانوا غير قادرين على العمل بسبب القوانين العسكريه الإسرائيلية التي تقيد حركتهم بعد الافراج بالاضافه الي عدم وجود كمية كافية من المال لديهم في السجن. واخيرا ذكر المشاركون أنه عانوا من مشاكل سياسية مثل تقييد حركهم من قبل الجيش الإسرائيلي بعد الإفراج عنهم والخوف من إعادة اعتقالهم.

وأظهرت النتائج أن المشاركين استخدموا العديد من استراتيجيات التاقلم خاصة الاستراتيجيات العاطفية مثل التدخين، والطبخ، والغناء، مشاهدة التلفزيون، والدعم الاجتماعي، والمزح بسبب عدم قدرتهم على السيطرة او تغيير تجربة او ظروف السجن. وايضا معظم المشاركين كانوا متشائمين بشأن مستقبلهم كما انهم عبروا عن حاجتهم إلى التدخل النفسي والعمل والتعليم بعد الإفراج عنهم .

### الخلاصه

تعرض الأطفال إلى تجربة السجن قد يؤدي إلى ظهور المشاكل النفسية بالإضافة إلى مشكلة صحية أخرى، المشكلات التربوية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية، والسياسية. قد يستمر التأثير السلبي لتجربة السجن في حياة الأطفال لسنوات طويلة بعد أن الافراج. كما أنها تعتبر واحدة من التجارب المؤلمة التي تواجه هؤلاء الأطفال في سن مبكرة والتي قد تؤثر على التنمية الشخصية الذاتيه والمجتمعيه ومستقبلهم. وينبغي إيلاء المزيد من الاهتمام من قبل المنظمات الحكومية وغير الحكومية، الوطنية والدولية لحماية هؤلاء الأطفال من التعرض للاعتقال لأسباب سياسية، لمنع التعذيب والإشراف على الخدمات داخل السجون الصحة والخدمات الصحية النفسية بشكل خاص.

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# **Chapter One**

## **Introduction**

# Chapter One

---

## Introduction

Palestine is considered a young society as children and adolescents accounted about one million and nine hundred thousand under the age of 18 years (Palestinian Bureau of Statistics 2010). Also based on of the census 2007, data showed a high proportion of individuals under the age fifteenth (41.3%) (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

In addition, It is known that the Palestinians have repeated encountered traumas since the Israeli occupation of Palestine in 1948 which represents all forms of arrest, torture, terrorism, murder, demolition of homes and violation of civil, political, economic, social and cultural freedoms. The arrest and the detention of the Palestinians are governed by a wide-ranging set of military regulations that govern every aspect of the Palestinian civilian life. For example, there are over 1,500 military regulations governing the West Bank and over 1,400 governing the Gaza Strip. Also, since the beginning of the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories in 1967, over 650,000 Palestinians have been detained by Israel and this forms approximately 20% of the total Palestinian population (Addameer, 2005). The majority of those detainees are male, and the number of Palestinians detainees forms approximately 40% of the total Palestinian male population (Addameer, 2005). The Israeli military commander of the region issues military orders and the issuance of new orders often remains unknown and become apparent when they are implemented, as the military commander may issue new military regulations at any moment (Addameer, 2005).

Similar to men and women who have experienced imprisonment, young children have entered prisons and have been released after they became mature adults. They have been deprived of their simplest right to a dignified life and have experienced the bitterness and harshness of incarceration. In addition, they are held in harsh conditions that contradict standards stipulated by the Human Rights and Fourth Geneva Conventions for the protection of civilians during wars and the Convention against Torture (DCI,2004) These experiences have left their marks and imprints on the daily lives of political detainees who

have managed to survive torture and large sectors of the Palestinian society are affected by experiences related to torture, including children, women and youth (DCI, 2004).

### **1.1 Research Problem:**

As mentioned previously, the Palestinian people confronting ongoing various forms of trauma and violence, as they are living in a tragedy as a result of the Israeli occupation since 1948. In addition, the Palestinians are under military control through over 1,500 military regulations which rule every aspects of Palestinian life. Palestinian above 12 years of age can get arrested, interrogation, detained, sentence and imprisoned (DCI 2009). Since 1967, over 700,000 Palestinians had been detained, 9,493 were under administrative detention, and 394 aged less than 18 years were arrested. The majority of the prisoners were males and 75 were females (PLO Negotiation Affairs Department, 2008). The Israeli military law which is applied in West Bank treated children at age 12 as adults and they are prosecuted in the military courts; in the contrary to Israeli domestic law by which the children should be attained at 18 years. Each year Israeli military court prosecuted 9,000 Palestinians including 700 children. Some of those children face maltreatment from the Israeli soldiers and some are tortured during the interrogation so they reach the detention centers traumatized, tired and alone (DCI, 2009).

These events may expose these children to trauma directly or indirectly (El-Sarrj, et al 2003). For example, it was found that 85% of the male and female detainees live in harsh conditions and severe forms of torture especially at the military interrogation and detention centers; such as Offer and Howard (Military, 2010). The official statistics indicate that there is a correlation between detention and torture, and that all detainees have suffered from one form of torture or another, involving psychological and physical maltreatment or public humiliation, including humiliation in the presence of their family members (WHO, 2010). Furthermore, the Palestinian Ministry of Prisoners' Affairs reports that there is an increase in the number of the Palestinian children who are arrested by the Israeli military since the Al-Aqsa Intifada as more than 7500 child have been exposed to the most extreme forms of torture within the Israeli prisons and the number of children who died due to torture are 191. Also more than 90 children or 25 percent of the total number of these children are suffering from various illnesses which require

treatment that is not available inside the prisons due to the policy that is adopted by the prison's administration to neglect them medically (Palestinian Ministry of Prisoners Affairs, 2011).

## **1.2 Justification of the study**

Many studies were done to assess the effect of torture experience on adult prisoners particularly in Gaza district (El Sraj, Guota ,1997, El Sraj, Punaamaki ,1996) and little attention was paid to children . Also, there is a lack of qualitative studies that assess the psycho-social, economical, and political stressors that the Palestinian-detainee children experience during detention and after their release from Israeli prisons and their coping mechanisms. This study might be the first to investigate or explore in depth the effects of the detention experience on the life of the Palestinian children in Ramallah district.

## **1.3 The purpose of the study**

The main aim of the study is to explore the detention experience of children aged 12-18 years old from Ramallah district, which were arrested by the Israeli military and released in the year (2010-2011).

## **1.4 The Specific Objectives**

1. To explore the experience that the detainee children face during their arresting process.
2. To explore the experience that the detainee children face during their the integration process and prosecution process.
3. To explore the experience that the detainee children face during the Israeli prisons.
4. To explore the experience that the detainees children face after their release from the Israeli prisons.
5. To explore the coping mechanism that the Palestine children used to cope with their stressors during the detention, inside prison and after their release from prisons.

### **1.5 Research questions:**

- What are the experiences that detainee children faced during their detention and after their release from the Israeli prisons?
- What are the coping mechanisms that detainee children used to deal with their challenges during their detention and after their release from the Israeli prisons?

### **1.6 Possible limitations of the study:**

Some participants hesitated to participate because of their fear of political security of prison that causes them to return to prison. Some participants (7) refused to tape the interview because of their previous experience in prison especially during the torture experience as the Israeli military used tape to have confession from them. And The female participants were just three, and the majorities were males because the high number of arrested children were males and few were females. The study was conducted in Ramallah district only and excluded the other cities in Palestine.

### **Summary:**

- The main aim of the current study is to explore the detention experience of the children in Ramallah districts who aged 12-18 years old when they were arrested by the Israeli military and released in the year (2010-2011).
- This chapter represents the study objectives, research question, limitation and its feasibility.

# **Chapter Two**

## **Literature Review**

## **Introduction**

Adolescence is a developmental transition between childhood and adulthood and is also equated to both the terms “teenage years” and “puberty.” Puberty refers to the hormonal changes that occur in early youth; and the period of adolescence can extend well beyond the teenage years. Typically, adolescence beginning at puberty and ending at 18 or 21 years (Kaplan, 2004). According to Hall, the adolescence is a period of storm and stress and is full of contradictions and wide swings in mood and emotion (Hall,1916). Adolescents respond with greater negative affect to circumstances in their environment than do adults. They also typically find the circumstances of their lives to be more anxiety provoking and stressful (Larson and Richards, 1994). They often have fear, emotions, stress and all sorts of problems that affect their body, mind, emotions, coping skills, way of viewing the world, and way of viewing themselves. Prison experience is considered as one of the major stressors that Palestinian children are exposed to at early age. This experience not only may affect physical survival in adolescents but also may have lifelong physical and psychological effects (DSM-IV-TR, 1994). They may develop emotional problems that disrupt their thinking, feeling, mood, ability to relate to others and daily functioning (DSM-IV-TR, 1994). This study aims to explore the detention experience of children aged 12-18 years old from Ramallah district, which were arrested by the Israeli military and released in the year (2010-2011). To highlight the major concepts of the study, this chapter consists of the following 2 sections:

Section one: Prison and torture experience

## **2.1 Section one: Prison and torture experience**

### **Introduction**

According to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted on 20 November 1989 and entered into force on 2 September 1990 (to which Israel is a signatory), and to relevant Israeli law, a child is defined as every human being under the age of 18 years. This is reiterated in the UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty, adopted by General Assembly Resolution 45/113 of 14 December 1990. However, the Palestinian children from the age of 16 years are considered adults under Israeli military regulations governing the Occupied Palestinian Territories (CRC, 1989).

There is a correlation between detention and torture, and that all detainees have suffered from one form of torture or another, involving psychological and physical maltreatment or public humiliation, such as, humiliation in the presence of their family members (WHO, 2010). This section discusses in details the following:

- Background and statistic of imprisoned children
- The arrest process
- The interrogation process
- Torture and its type
- Coping mechanism
- The effects of the prison experience on children
- Prisoners' right and protection
- Studies that assess prison experience

### **2.2 Background and statistics of imprisoned children**

In 1948, and after the war with Israeli gangs, the Palestinians were uprooted from their homes and villages and they suddenly found themselves in refugee camps both inside their country and in the neighboring Arab countries such as Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt and Syria. While their homes were occupied by Russian and Polish Jews settlers, the international community ignored their "right of return" and they were left alone (El Sarraj, et al 2003). In 1967, after Six Days War, the Palestinians lost Gaza and West Bank and they had to live under military occupation, and the Palestinians are experiencing Israeli

political violence, killing, arresting and producing generations of traumatic people (Awwad, 1992) Since the Israeli occupation of the West bank and Gaza strip in 1967, the population have two major uprisings, the first began in 1987 and ended in 1993, and the second began in September 2000, and until in mid 2003 (DCI, Hanieh, et al ,2004). In the first intifada in 1987, the children who were in the forefront were named as “children of the stones”. In addition, the Palestinians are under military control through over 1,500 military regulations which rule every aspects of Palestinian life (DCI, 2004).

Farther, the beginning of the second Palestinian uprising in September 2000 till 2003, the Israeli had forested to arrest over 1,900 Palestinian children, which constituted 10% of all Palestinian detainees. At the beginning of 2003, the Israeli detention centers or prisons held approximately 350 Palestinian children. (DCI, 2004) Furthermore, there were more than 100 children whose age did not exceed 12 years old in 2010 (Palestinian Ministry of Prisoner’s Affairs, 2010).

There is still a rising in the percentage of arrest amongst the Palestinian children as the number of children who were arrested since the al-Aqsa Intifada until December 2010 were more than 7000 child who have been exposed to the most extreme forms of torture within the Israeli prisons as Palestinian above 12 years of age can get arrested, interrogation, detained, sentence and imprisoned (DCI 2009). Since 1967, over 700,000 Palestinians had been detained, 9,493 were under administrative detention, while 394 aged under 18 years were arrested. The majority of the prisoners were males and 75 were females (PLO Negotiation Affairs Department, 2008).

As mentioned in chapter one, the Israeli military law which is applied in West Bank treated children at age 12 as adults and they are prosecuted in the military courts; in the contrary to Israeli domestic law by which the children should is attained at 18 years. For example each year Israeli military court prosecuted 9,000 Palestinians including 700 children. Further, the Israeli occupation estimated to arrest more than 2% of all the Palestinian children aged 9-17 years old. Some of those children face maltreatment from the Israeli soldiers and some are tortured during the interrogation so they reach the detention centers traumatized, tired and alone (DCI 2009). Most the Palestinian children are arrested in their homes by the Israeli soldiers in the middle of the night, or on the

checkpoints, and street and they take them to detention centers in Israeli statements prisons' (DCI, 2009).

The Palestinian Ministry of Prisoners' Affairs reports that 2010 was the most difficult years for the prisoners, and of more years in which the prisoners had bruises and gas bottlenecks, as a result of clashes between prisoners and special units that escalated from intrusions and inspection quite heavily. Also, during 2010, (4409) Palestinians from all ages, including (34) woman, and (750) children were arrested. Furthermore, 85% of the male and female detainees live in harsh conditions and all forms of torture perpetrated against them, especially at the military interrogation and detention centers (Palestinian Ministry of Prisoner's Affairs, 2010).

Table (2.1) below showed the average number of children aged (12-17years) who were arrested during the years (2008-2001) in the Israeli prison. In general, it is noticed that their percentage is 13%.

**Table (2.1) :The number of the Palestinian children under 18 years old in the Israeli prisons (2008-2013). Each year arrest children in West Bank in the Israeli prisons (2008-2013)**

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	average
2008	27	07	25	27	37	23	24	93	04	97	27	42	292
2009	89	23	20	91	46	55	42	39	26	25	06	05	356
2010	18	43	42	55	05	91	84	86	69	56	28	13	276
2011	22	21	26	20	11	09	02	80	64	50	61	35	192
2012	70	87	06	20	34	21	11	95	89	64	78	95	197
2013	23	36											

(DCI,2013)

Also the table (2.2 ) below showed the number of Palestinian girls in the Israeli prison from the year 2008 to 2013 and the total number until February 2013 is 107 girls.(DCI,2013)

**Table (2.2):The number of the Palestinian girls in the Israeli prisons(2008-2013)**

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
2008	2	3	3	4	3	6	6	5	6	6	5	7	56
2009	5	7	6	6	5	4	3	3	0	0	0	0	39
2010	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3
2011	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
2013	1	1											

(DCI,2013)

As is the case with adult prisoners, the detainee children are transferred to prisons located within Israel. The primary prisons in which the Palestinian male detainee children are held at Hasharon (Telmond) near Netanya, and Megiddo near Haifa. Female prisoners are transferred to Telmond Prison. Interrogation of detainee children takes place at Beet Eial and Offer Interrogation Centers (Addameer, 2005).

In addition, the numbers of those who have died due to torture in prisons are 191 and more than 90 were children who died due torture tile 2010. Also 25 percent of the total number of child prisoners suffered from various illnesses and are in need of treatment which they have been deprived of due to the policy of medical neglect adopted by the prison's administration against them (Ministry of Prisoners' Affairs, 2010). In addition to wide spread skin diseases amongst the child prisoners due to the lack of cleanliness and protective measures, the effects of medical neglect and torture have extended to the stage after prisoners were released and many children have permanent disabilities due to the exposure to continuous torture (Palestinian Ministry of Prisoner's Affairs, 2010).

### **2.3 The Arrest Process**

Israel's practices during the arrest of the Palestinian children violate their rights and include inhumane treatment such as torture. Experience is not an isolated incident; it is one of hundreds of cases of children arrested every year. As all Palestinian territory is under Israeli control, the Israeli military can enter any area at will. The military often waits until the middle of the night to arrest a Palestinian child and then conducts a military operation, with a large number of armed soldiers surrounding the targeted house to arrest the child

from his or her bed. It is also routine for the soldiers to beat and torture the child during the arrest (DCI, 2004).

The rights of Palestinian children to liberty or freedom are violated in an organized and systematic way. During the arrest, a child is treated inhumanely and is not told the reason for the arrest. The military does not allow a family member to accompany the child to wherever he or she is taken. The child's right to be treated as innocent until proven guilty in a fair trial is frequently violated (Addamee, 2008).

The Palestinian child's experience with Israel's military court system of arrest accompanied by violence and torture and it is an integral part of Israel's systematic treatment of Palestinians. After the child prisoner endures this traumatic experience, it is followed by the next step, interrogation. Typically, a family member is not permitted to accompany the child and the child's lawyer does not have access to his or her client for the first several days until the child has made the desired confession to the interrogator. The physically and psychologically abusive treatment which children are often subjected to from the moment of arrest until the end of their incarceration, during which their right to liberty and numerous other rights enshrined in International Law are violated, affects them long after their release from prison and impacts their re-integration into the community (DCI, 2004).

As mentioned previously, most the Palestinian children who are arrested in their homes by Israeli soldiers in the middle of the night and some of them on checkpoint and street and the soldiers take them to detention centers in Israeli statements prisons. The children are interrogated in detention, that involve some forms of torture or abuse, including sleep and food deprivation, threatening language, beatings with heavy batons, being punched and kicked, as being tied in painful position for long periods of time, "shabeh" (DCI,2010).

## **2.4 The Interrogation Process**

Almost every child who is detained is interrogated. This may occur in the middle of the night immediately after the child is arrested, depriving the child of sleep. A child charged with serious offenses is usually sent to the Shin Bet interrogation centre (General Security Services), while Israeli police interrogate the child themselves at the detention

centre in the case of less serious charges. At both centers, children undergo the same interrogation as adults. After the arrest they transferred to the interrogation centre. They were handcuffed and blindfolded, and they were pulled them out of the military jeep (DCI, 2004).

Preparation for interrogation begins from the moment of arrest, as mentioned above, with pressure and threats, beating, handcuffing and blindfolding. This deprives the child of his basic needs and gives him the sense that he is alone and isolated from his family and from legal protection. All of these procedures have the impact of making the child believe that no one can help him unless he confesses. The interrogation is the most difficult part of the process for the child. During this period of interrogation under torture and pressure, the prosecution builds its case while the lawyer defending the child is denied contact with the child. Israel's policy is that after a confession is obtained from the child by the Shin Bet, the child is sent to the police who record the confession and force the child to sign it. The confession is often translated by interrogators with a limited knowledge of Arabic into Hebrew, and the child has to sign a confession he cannot understand (DCI, 2004).

Israel's practice of interrogating Palestinian children inside Israel also effectively deprives child prisoners of legal representation, because Palestinian lawyers need special permits in order to enter Israel to meet with their clients. Even when lawyers are able to obtain permits, they still face considerable obstacles. Those in charge of interrogation have the authority to refuse lawyers contact with their clients for the first three months. Usually visits are only permitted once the child has made a confession, depriving the detained child of his or her right to legal counsel during the interrogation (DCI, 2004).

## **2.5 Torture and its types**

Torture and ill treatment of prisoners are a profound and extreme form of trauma practiced by governments in almost 100 countries throughout the world. Its purpose is to achieve complete social and political control by crushing and perverting relationships within a community of people. Officials of a government or their agents strategically and deliberately destroy physical, social, emotional, and spiritual cohesiveness. Torture attempts to violate the soul, spirit, and imagination of a person by inflicting pain and suffering on the body and the mind (Chester, 1992).

Also torture is a political weapon sharp used to spread terror among the people and the imposition of control on the minds and the suppression of dissenting voices (Amnesty 2000).

The definition of torture contained in the Tokyo Declaration of 1975 as” the deliberate, systematic or wanton infliction of physical or mental suffering by one or more persons acting alone or on the orders of any authority, to force another person to yield information, to make a confession, or for any other reason” (Tokyo Declaration, 1975).

Also the United Nations Convention Against Torture defined torture as "Any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity (The United National Against Torture, 1984).

Through history, torture has often been used as a method of political re-education, interrogation, punishment, and coercion. Individuals or groups may be motivated to inflict torture on others. Also, the motive for torture can also be for the sadistic gratification of the torturer. Torture is prohibited under international law and the domestic laws of most countries in the 21st century. It is considered to be a violation of human rights, and is declared to be unacceptable by the Article 5 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Signatories of the Third Geneva Convention and Fourth Geneva Convention officially agree not to torture prisoners in armed conflicts. It is also prohibited by the United Nations Convention against Torture, which has been ratified by 147 states (The United National Against Torture, 1984).

Despite these international conventions, organizations that monitor abuses of human rights (Amnesty International, the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims) report widespread use condoned by states in many regions of the world. Amnesty

International estimates that at least 81 world governments currently practice torture, some of them openly (Amnesty International, 2008).

The Amnesty International identified and defined several concepts of torture:

- 1- The involvement of at least two persons, the torturer and the tortured.
- 2- The infliction of severe pain and suffering of both a physical and a psychological nature.
- 3- The effort on the part of the torturer to break the will of the victim, to destroy his or her soul and humanity.
- 4- The systematic and purposeful nature of the activity (Amnesty International, 2008).

In the 21st century, even when states sanction their interrogation methods, torturers often work outside the law. For this reason, some prefer methods that while unpleasant, leave victims alive and unmarked. A victim with no visible damage may lack credibility when telling tales of torture, whereas a person missing fingernails or eyes can easily prove claims of torture. Mental torture however can leave scars just as deep and long-lasting as physical torture. Professional torturers in some countries have used techniques such as electrical shock, asphyxiation, heat, cold, noise, and sleep deprivation, which leave little evidence; although in other contexts torture frequently results in horrific mutilation or death. However the most common and prevalent form of torture worldwide in both developed and under-developed countries is beating (Amnesty, 2000).

It is often difficult to prove torture particularly when some time has passed between the event and a medical examination, or when the torturers are immune from prosecution. Many torturers around the world use methods designed to have a maximum psychological impact while leaving only minimal physical traces. Medical and Human Rights Organizations worldwide have collaborated to produce the Istanbul Protocol, a document designed to outline common torture methods, consequences of torture, and medico-legal examination techniques. Torturers often inflict both types of torture in combination to compound the associated effects. For example, psychological torture includes deliberate use of extreme stressors and situations such as mock execution, shunning, violation of deep-seated social or sexual norms and taboos, or extended solitary confinement. Because psychological torture needs no physical violence to be effective, it is possible to induce severe psychological pain, suffering, and trauma with no externally visible effects (The United National Against Torture, 1984).

In summary, there are 3 major types of torture that are commonly used against prisoners in the world including physical torture, psychological torture and medical torture (Addameer, 2008).

The first type is direct physical torture including beating in addition to continuous restriction and hanging from the limbs, scorching and burn in with cigarettes, excessive beating and prevention environment (Addameer, 2008). The second type is the psychological torture and it is the most extensively used method. It includes solitary confinement for long periods of time, isolating the prisoner from the outside world, bringing the prisoner's sister and threatening to rape her, producing aggravating sounds and noises from a nearby room, loud noises, lights, exposure to animals and sleep and sensory deprivation (Addameer,2008). The third type is medical or pharmacological torture in which medical practitioners use torture to judge what victims can endure, to apply treatments that enhance torture, or act as torturers in their own right. Physical problems can be wide-ranging such as sexually transmitted diseases, musco-skeletal problems, brain injury, post-traumatic epilepsy, dementia or chronic pain syndromes. Mental health problems are equally wide-ranging; common are post-traumatic stress disorder, depression and anxiety disorder (Addameer, 2008).

Psychological torture is less well known than physical torture and tends to be subtle and much easier to conceal. In practice the distinctions between physical and psychological torture are often blurred. Physical torture is the inflicting of severe pain or suffering on a person. In contrast, psychological torture is directed at the psyche with calculated violations of psychological needs, along with deep damage to psychological structures and the breakage of beliefs underpinning normal sanity (Chester, 1992).

On 2007, the American Psychology Association (APA) voted to bar participation, to intervene to stop, and to report involvement in a wide variety of interrogation techniques as torture, including "using mock executions, simulated drowning, sexual and religious humiliation, stress positions or sleep deprivation", as well as "the exploitation of prisoners' phobias, the use of mind-altering drugs, hooding, forced nakedness, the use of dogs to frighten detainees, exposing prisoners to extreme heat and cold, physical assault and threatening the use of such techniques against a prisoner or a prisoner's family. Psychiatric treatment of torture-related medical problems might require a wide range of expertise and

often specialized experience. Common treatments are psychotropic medication, antidepressants, counseling, cognitive behavioral therapy, family systems therapy and physiotherapy (American Psychology, 2007).

Common symptoms of torture include headaches, loss of memory, and concentration deficits, which can be a result of depression or of neurologic damage which may result from head torture (Chester, 1992).

In summary, common methods of torture include:

- Severe beating, punching and kicking of detainees.
- Being handcuffed for long periods of time in contorted positions. Examples include being cuffed to a small chair or to a pipe hanging from the ceiling.
- Exposure to very loud music, and sounds of screaming.
- Sleep deprivation
- Denial of food, water, and use of toilet.
- Psychological threats and pressure to collaborate.
- Hooded with a heavy, dirty sack sometimes covered in urine or feces.
- Sexual abuse or threats of sexual abuse.
- Solitary confinement
- Denial of medical treatment for injuries received during arrest (such as bullet wounds) (Addameer, 2005).

## **2.6 Copping mechanism**

### **Introduction**

As mentioned in previous section, prisoners may develop many emotional problems such as depression, suicide, anxiety disorder, adjustment disorder and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) due to their prison experience which may have lifelong physical and psychological effects. Also, the prisoners may have tremendous stressors which may lead to the hopelessness and helplessness and many physical illnesses, such as high blood pressure, and heart disease (Campus, 2009). These problems may occur because of their inability to cope or deal with their stressors.

Coping is constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). It is the expending conscious effort to solve personal and interpersonal problems, and seeking to minimize or tolerate stress or conflict (Zeidner, & Endler, 1996).

Also, psychological coping mechanisms are commonly termed coping strategies or coping skills. The term coping generally refers to adaptive or constructive coping strategies, i.e., the strategies reduce stress levels. However, some coping strategies can be considered maladaptive, as stress levels increase. Furthermore, the term coping refers to reactive coping response follows the stressor. This contrasts with proactive coping, in which a coping response aims to head off a future stressor (Zeidner & Endler, 1996). A variety of coping strategy typically are used and the ways of coping were developed by Folkman, Lazarus and others (Lazarus, et al, 1986). They indicated that there are eight distinct coping strategies: confrontative coping, seeking social support, painful problem-solving, self-control, distancing, positive appraisal, accepting responsibility, and escape/avoidance (Lazarus, et al, 1986).

Also There are other different types of coping strategies such as: active coping (taking action or exerting efforts to remove or circumvent the stressor), planning (thinking about how to confront the stressor, planning one's active coping efforts), seeking social support (seeking assistance, information, or advice about what to do), seeking emotional

social support (getting sympathy or emotional support from someone), suppression of competing activities (suppressing one's attention to other activities in which one might engage in order to concentrate more completely on dealing with the stressor), religion (increased engagement in religious activities), positive reinterpretation and growth (making the best of the situation by growing from it or viewing it in a more favorable light), restraint coping (coping passively by holding back one's coping attempts until they can be of use), resignation/acceptance (accepting the fact that the stressful event has occurred and is real), focus on and venting of emotions (an increased awareness of one's emotional distress, and a concomitant tendency to ventilate or discharge those feelings), denial (an attempt to reject the reality of the stressful event), mental disengagement (psychological disengagement from the goal with which the stressor is interfering, through daydreaming, sleep, or self-distraction), behavioral disengagement (giving up, or withdrawing effort from, the attempt to attain the goal with which the stressor is interfering), alcohol/drug use (turning to the use of alcohol and other drugs as a way of disengaging from the stressor), and humor (making jokes about the stressor) (Lazarus, et al, 1986).

An additional, the coping is classified as active and avoidant coping strategies. Active coping strategies are either behavioral or psychological responses designed to change the nature of the stressor itself or how one thinks about it, whereas avoidant coping strategies lead people into activities (such as alcohol use) or mental states (such as withdrawal) that keep them from directly addressing stressful events. Generally speaking, active coping strategies, whether behavioral or emotional, are better ways to deal with stressful events, and avoidant coping strategies appear to be a psychological risk factor or marker for adverse responses to stressful life events .

In addition, there is problem-solving versus emotion-focused (Holahan & Moos, 1990). These two general coping strategies have been distinguished: problem-solving strategies which effort to do something active to alleviate stressful circumstances, whereas emotion-focused coping strategies involve efforts to regulate the emotional consequences of stressful or potentially stressful events (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980).

Emotion-focused coping allows the persons to think more clearly and access solutions that may not be available if they are feeling overwhelmed. Emotion-focused coping can be a strategy to get into a better frame of mind before working on problem-

focused techniques. In the other hand, emotion-focused coping can help with both emotions and solutions (Frydenberg & Lewis, 1993). It is found that people use both types of strategies to combat most stressful events (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980).

In summary, the current study has unique features than other studies which were conducted on the same topic as it focused on children and it assessed all dimensions of prisoners' experience including educational, economical, political, psychological, social, torture, and health aspects. Also it explored the problems and challenges from the moment of their arrest until they were released from prison, their need after release and their perception of future. Most of the other studies in literature focused on adult and mainly on torture experience and the development of psychological symptoms after their release such as depression and PTSD.

## **2.7 The effects of the prison experience on children and adolescence**

The consequences of such cruel treatment of torture in prison are extensive and affect every area of functioning. Survivors of torture tend to have symptoms in three areas: physical, psychological and social such as pervasive fear, panic, shame, humiliation, nightmares, and physical pain, loss trust, loss friends and suffer from family conflict accompany the survivor for many years. Spontaneous recovery from these symptoms appears. A report by Rasmussen (1990), described the methods and the long-term effects of torture in a sample of 200 people which were examined during a seven year period such as, skin lesions, lung infections, and tuberculosis due to poor conditions in prison; significant changes in the loco-motor system primarily due to beatings on the soles of the feet; severe headaches; gastrointestinal symptoms; bone fractures; dental problems; joint pain; and genital tract disorders in women. Also survivors complained of memory, concentration, and other cognitive disturbances. Mental symptoms include sleep disturbances, irritability, depression, and suicidal thoughts which were registered in 68% of the survivors, and anxiety was common to all. Other findings described regularly by health professionals who assess torture victims include lack of confidence and self-esteem, fear of intimacy, minimization denial, persistent shame and humiliation, despair, and loss of previously sustaining beliefs.

Also the symptoms may include nonspecific somatic complaints and emotional liability which are common among women and children. Sexual abuse and rape are prominently common in the torture against women and girls. It is reported that a third to two thirds of women and girls seeking treatment of torture report incidents of sexual violation (Cherter, 1992). Amnesty International reports that women are vulnerable to rape and other sexual violation at all points in the process, from arrest and interrogation to refuge in detention (Cherter, 1992).

After torture, a person's life becomes a process of continual conflict and vacillation between the need to remember and bear witness and the need to forget. This process is often mirrored by his or her support systems, communities, and society. The consequences of torture showed immediate pain. Many victims suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which includes symptoms such as flashbacks (or intrusive thoughts) severe anxiety, insomnia, nightmares, depression and memory lapses. Torture victims often feel guilt and shame, triggered by the humiliation they have endured. Many feel that they have betrayed themselves or their friends and family. All such symptoms are normal human responses to abnormal and inhuman treatment (IRCT,2010).

Also, survivors report that the worst experience is often not the torture itself but the anticipatory fear at the moment of arrest or between sessions of interrogation. Any aspect of humanity and self-identity is used against the victim in the cruelest and most painful way (Charter, 1992). Typically deaths due to torture are shown in an autopsy as being due to "natural causes" like heart attack, inflammation, or embolism due to extreme stress. Torture often leads to lasting mental and physical health problems for severe cases (Paskins, 2005).

## **2.8 Prisoners' right and protection**

The UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty offers clear standards for the conditions of detention that children may be held in within Section D of the rules which include physical environment and accommodation (CRC, 1989).

Juveniles deprived of their liberty have the right to facilities and services that meet all the requirements of health and human dignity. The design of detention facilities for juveniles and the physical environment should be in keeping with the rehabilitative aim of

residential treatment, with due regard to the need of the juvenile for privacy, sensory stimuli, opportunities for association with peers and participation in sports, physical exercise and leisure-time activities. The design and structure of juvenile detention facilities should be such as to minimize the risk of fire and to ensure safe evacuation from the premises. There should be an effective alarm system in case of fire, as well as formal and drilled procedures to ensure the safety of the juveniles. Detention facilities should not be located in areas where there are known health or other hazards or risks (DCI, 2007).

Sleeping accommodation should normally consist of small group dormitories or individual bedrooms, while bearing in mind local standards. During sleeping hours there should be regular, unobtrusive supervision of all sleeping areas, including individual rooms and group dormitories, in order to ensure the protection of each juvenile. Every juvenile should, in accordance with local or national standards, be provided with separate and sufficient bedding, which should be clean when issued, kept in good order and changed often enough to ensure cleanliness (Addameer, 2005). Sanitary installations should be so located and of a sufficient standard to enable every juvenile to comply, as required, with their physical needs in privacy and in a clean and decent manner (Addameer, 2005).

The possession of personal effects is a basic element of the right to privacy and essential to the psychological well being of the juvenile. The right of every juvenile to possess personal effects and to have adequate storage facilities for them should be fully recognized and respected. Personal effects that the juvenile does not choose to retain or that are confiscated should be placed in safe custody. An inventory these should be signed by the juvenile. Steps should be taken to keep them in good condition. All such articles and money should be returned to the juvenile on release, except in so far as he or she has been authorized to spend money or send such property out of the facility. If a juvenile receives or is found in possession of any medicine, the medical officer should decide what use should be made of it (DCI, Quzmar, 2008).

To the extent possible, juveniles should have the right to use their own clothing. Also, detention facilities should ensure that each juvenile has personal clothing suitable for the climate and adequate to ensure good health, and which should in no manner be degrading or humiliating. Juveniles removed from or leaving a facility for any purpose should be allowed to wear their own clothing (Addameer, 2005). Every detention facility

shall ensure that every juvenile receives food that is suitably prepared and presented at normal meal times and of a quality and quantity to satisfy the standards of dietetics, hygiene and health and, as far as possible, religious and cultural requirements. Clean drinking water should be available (Addameer, 2005).

The act of Israel's policies towards the Palestinian child prisoners violate the international law as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which Israel is a signatory, states amongst other things (UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), as the following:

*"No child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" Article 37 (a), UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).*

Torture is the norm in Israeli detention centers and almost every Palestinian child reports some form of torture. This fact is widely acknowledged and thoroughly documented by local and international human rights organizations (Addameer, 2005).

*"Every child deprived of his or her liberty shall have the right to prompt access to legal and other appropriate assistance, as well as the right to challenge the legality of the deprivation of his or her liberty before a court or other competent, independent and impartial authority, and to a prompt decision on any such action. (Article 37(d), UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989).*

Palestinian child prisoners are held in inhumane conditions of detention, made to live in overcrowded cells. Often, children are placed in small solitary confinement cells, measuring 1.5 square meters that are extremely humid and have no windows for natural light, or with bright artificial light that is continuously kept on. This forces prisoners to remain awake at all times, depriving the prisoner of sleep for days in some cases. Prisoners do not receive sufficient food to meet the daily nutrition requirements for children, are prevented from going to the toilet at their will, and are not allowed a change of clothing (Addameer, 2005).

As discussed previously, the Palestinians are taken to a detention or holding center before undergoing interrogation. Based on numerous sworn affidavits, detainees have reported that they have been subjected to attempted murder and rape, and thrown down

stairs while blindfolded, amongst many other forms of physical abuse and torture (DCI, 2007).

Lawyer visits to the Palestinian children are often restricted or banned outright by the Israeli Prisons Authority. Cases of the Palestinian children from the West Bank and Gaza Strip are heard before an Israeli Military Court not a Juvenile Court. The Military Orders that govern the proceedings of the Military Court are not laws, though they function as such and are intended to give a legal veneer over the institutionalized system of discrimination. Rather, they are 'policy' orders, the implementation of which depends on the prevailing political environment. The Palestinian children are often arrested from their houses in the middle of the night without a warrant. The Israeli army or police sometimes carry out mass arrests of the Palestinian children from particular areas without specific charges or a warrant. In the majority of cases, children are not informed of the reason for their arrest and families may not be able to locate their children for several days after their arrest. It is abundantly clear that detention is used as the primary form of punishment against Palestinian children and not as a measure of last resort (DCI, 2010).

## **2.9 Studies that assess prison experience**

Many studies were done to assess the prison experience among detainees in general and few were conducted among Palestinian detainee children. For example, one qualitative study was conducted in Gaza by Saraj and Quota et al,(1997) to describe different types of prison experience and coping styles among the Palestinian men. The sample consisted of seventy-nine of ex-prisoners Palestinian male adult prisoners who were interviewed. The finding of the study revealed seven different types of prison experience. Only one of these reflected exclusively negative feelings, characterized by suffering and disillusionment. The other included relatively rewarding perceptions characterized as a struggle between strength and weakness, heroic fulfillment, developmental tasks, a normative stage in a man's life, growth in personal insight, and a return to religion. Also the results showed that older men, town residents, and those exposed to a high level of torture perceived the imprisonment more as suffering and disillusionment than other younger men. Further, the ex-prisoners who perceived their experience as suffering and disillusionment typically coped by using wishful thinking,

avoidance, escape, and distraction. Torture and ill-treatment increased wishful thinking and self-controlling as coping styles (Quatah , et al ,1997).

Another cross sectional study was conducted by Al Sarij, to assess the symptoms of psychological disorders due to torture among the prisoners in Palestine The sample consisted of 547 released prisoners from Gaza, who did not receive any help or psychological treatment after they were released from Israeli prison. The data were collected by self reported questionnaire. The findings of the study revealed that most of the prisoners were exposed to physical, chemical and electric torture and to psychological maltreatment such as being deprived of their senses which resulted in symptoms of withdrawal and loss of feeling. Also the results of the study indicated that 35% of individuals suffered from PTSD (Al-Sarij and Punamaki, 1996).

In addition another cross sectional study was conducted by Philip, to assess the torture during detention of the political adult prisoners in Palestine during the years 1987-1991 .The sample consisted of 700 released prisoners who were divided into two groups. The first group included 474 prisoners, and the second group included 226. The data was collected by self reported questionnaire. The findings of the study revealed that in the first group, 85% of the prisoners were exposed to torture and abuse during their detention. The participants in the second group were exposed to several types of torture which included, physical electric torture and psychological torture. Also, the detainees were being subjected to torture and ill-treatment such as; beatings with a variety of ways on different parts of the body including genitals and forced to remain in painful physical conditions, known as stealth fighters for an hour or two, width of the throttle to shut down the ports breathing bags and hands , exposure to cover the head, eyes, nose, mouth and neck, a bag of bad smell, isolation in small places, exposure to death threats and psychological torture as torture of detainees or family members, deprivation of food ,exposure to sunlight or high temperatures ,exposure to electric shock, and 34% of detainees were transferred to hospitals during the torture and interrogation ( Philip,1990).

Furthermore, another cross sectional study was conducted by Al Sarraj et al to assesses the long term consequences of imprisonment and torture among ex-political prisoners of Palestinian females from Gaza strip, who were subjected to imprisonment, and torture by the Israeli interrogators of both the General Security Service and the Israel

Defense Force (IDF). Also, they assessed its relation to post traumatic stress disorder PTSD, physical diseases and psychological symptoms. The sample consisted of (48) ex-political detainees females who were released between the year 1967 - 2009 .The researchers used a variety of measures, including a measure of the severity of psychological and physical torture, the impact of the events scale, the measures of physical diseases, and the checklist symptoms SCL90).The findings of the study revealed that (41.7%) of the sample suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder and the highest percentage had psychosomatic symptoms (40.5%). Also 17.5% suffered from obsessive-compulsive disorder and depression, 33.3% suffered from anxiety and (31%), and 29.4% suffered from hostility and paranoia imagination. Also, 27.7% of the participants suffered from anxiety fear, interactive sensitivity and 18.8% had psychotic symptoms. The study found a direct correlation with statistical significance between the physical and psychological torture and post-traumatic distress, bodily symptoms, and anxiety disorders. The study recommended routine medical examinations to all ex- prisoners, in addition to providing the social and psychological care to all of them (Saraj, Qutah, 2009).

Another unpublished cross sectional study was conducted by Torture Rehabilitation Center in Ramallah to assess the prisoners' experience, types of torture and the main symptoms of psychological disorders due to torture and political prison experience in West Bank. The sample consisted of 600 released prisoners which included 86.7% males, and 13.3% females. 203 of the participants were children less than 18 years, and 390 were adults. The data was collected by self reported questionnaire including PTSD scale, Beck Depression Inventory scale, and a checklist of symptoms known as SCL90. The study showed that torture was still widespread approach and style inside Israeli prisons and is widely exceed its objectives to obtain data from detainees. Also it revealed that most common physical torture methods in Israeli prisons included severe beatings (86.3%) and then stealth (83.3%). Further the results revealed that the mental or psychological torture were used more with female prisoners than males such as deprivation of family visits to them, denial of treatment, enforced erosion, and the threat of rape. Not less than 15% of them remained to suffer from chronic physical problems such as headaches, ulcers, and back pain particularly women. Furthermore, it was found that the incidence of PTSD was high among the detainees who were repeatedly arrested compared with the detainees who were arrested for once. Results demonstrated that the prevalence of PTSD in children on average was 42.5%. The most common mental problems among them were stomata-form,

obsessive compulsive disorder, schizophrenia, generalized anxiety disorder and panic disorder (TRC,2006).

Finally, one cross sectional study was conducted by Awadh to assess the psychological disorders amongst the Palestinian prisoners who were released from Israeli jails. The sample consisted of 150 detainees and the data was collected by number of scale such as a clinical interview, Hilton's measurement of anxiety, and Retrofit's List of symptoms. The results of the study indicated that 33% of the participants suffered from psychological disorders such as high anxiety due to PTSD, depression(18%) and 13% suffered from psychosomatic symptoms such as dizziness, lack of sleep, nightmares, stomach pains, diarrhea, a sick feeling, mood swings, anger, withdrawal, paranoia, lack of concentration, confusion and suicidal thoughts which constitute the main psychological disorders that ex-detainees suffered from due to torture and which eventually had terrible implications on their families (Awadh, 2000) .

In summary, most previous studies were conducted among adult and were cross sectional studies. However, there is lack of qualitative studies that explore the prison experience of children and that investigate problems they face in prison and after their release.

In order to deal with the stressful events and to face the overwhelmed problems that may have through the different stages of prison experience, children may use different coping strategies. The next section discuss coping mechanism in general.

# **Chapter Three**

## **Conceptual framework**

## Introduction

Conceptual framework is used as a map to give coherence to empirical inquiry and potentially it helps the research to take different forms depending upon the research question or problem. These frameworks often function like cells, with sub-frameworks, stasis, evolution and revolution (Thomas, et.al, 1994). Also, conceptual frameworks are a type of intermediate theory that attempt to connect to all aspects of inquiry included, problem definition, purpose, literature review, methodology, data collection and analysis (Shields and Tajalli, 2006)

For this study, the conceptual framework helped the researcher to map the research question, the literature review, methods and data analysis and to distinguish and summarize the major themes in the research. The conceptual framework of the current study was developed as presented in figure (3.1) depending on the literature review of prior researches that tackled the same topic and the valuable advices and comments from knowledgeable and experts working in mental health field

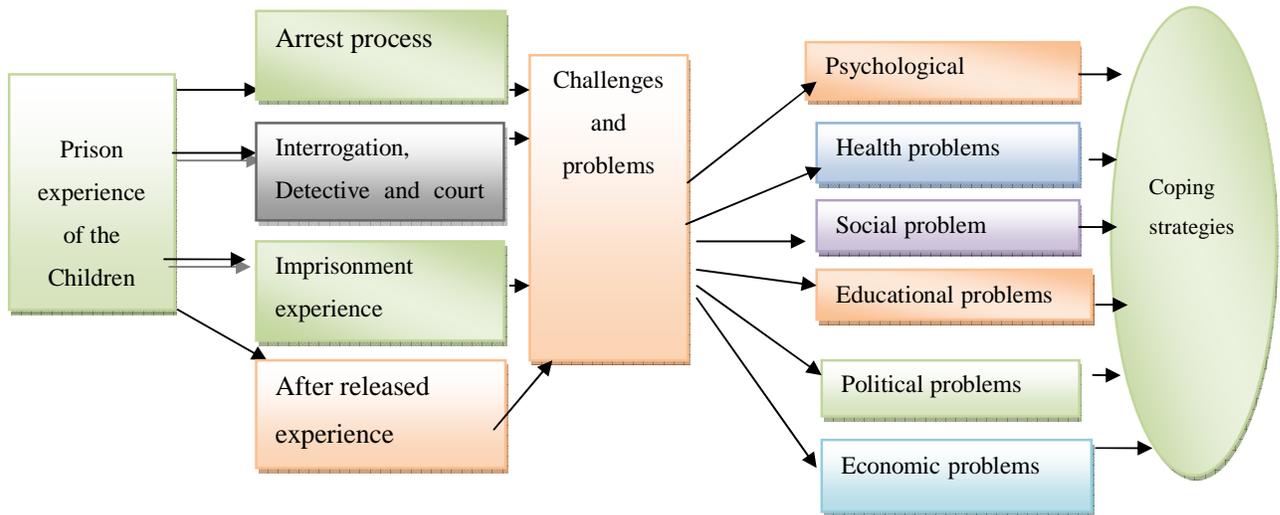


Figure (3.1): The conceptual framework of children prison experience.

The content of this framework shows the possible major stages that the prisoners may go through when they are arrested by the Israeli military and major difficulties or problems that may face in each stage. As this experience is associated with stress, it is important to understand how these children cope and adapt to these stressors

As shown in the above framework, prisoners may go through 4 stages when they have prison experience which are:

1. The arrest process
2. The interrogation process and court experience
3. The imprisonment experience
4. After-release experience

The most common problems that these prisoners may face in these stages are

### **3.1 The health problems**

This may include the health complains that participants have such as pain, headache, cardiovascular or neurological or respiratory problems as they are associated with health and environmental conditions and torture inside the prisons. It assumed that these problems may continue affecting prisoners after their release. The participants will be asked directly about their health and if they develop any disease in prison. Also they will be asked about the medical management of these diseases

### **3.2 The psychological problems**

One of the major problems that may influence prisoners is the 'psychological' problems which refer to the psychological stressors that the participants may face due to imprisonment experience. The 'psychological' effects may include a range of symptoms related to that emotions, behavior, thoughts such as concentration, trust, self esteem, sleep problems, sad mood, suicide, loneliness, fear, helplessness, self blaming and guilty feeling. To a large extent, the psychological effects depend on the way in which these events are perceived and given a meaning by the prisoners. These problems will be explored by asking the participants directly about them and by analyzing their answers to other questions in the guide.

### **3.3 The social problems**

Social problems are those social conditions identified by scientific inquiry and values as detrimental to human well-being and they exist when people think they are (Jerome,

1976). Social problems refer to any problem that the participant may have in their social relationships inside the prison or outside it. These relationships may include their relationships with other Palestinian prisoners, their friends and their parents and family members. It assumed that these young prisoners may face communications problems with adult prisoners due to age gap, culture, regulations and rules, death, and separation from their families.

### **3.4 The educational problems**

Education problems refer to deprivation from formal education which may affect the cognitive development of young prisoners and their educational continuity after their release. It is assumed that education is the one of the major task of adolescence according to developmental stage of young prisoners. Failure to achieve this task may result in more mental and psychological problems and affect their educational and economical future after release. Also it is assumed that the development of psychological problems such as lack of concentration, memory recall problems, sad mood, isolation, adjustment problems and age gap may affect their education after release. Prisoners will be asked about their educational problems in prison and after their release.

### **3.5 Economical problems**

Economical problems such as unemployment and lack of money is one of the main stressors that may affect the well being of prisoners in the prison and after release. It is assumed that economic problems may affect the quality of life and the mental status of prisoners which as a consequence may affect their health wellbeing .The participants will be asked about their money resources, the adequacy of their amount, the employment opportunities.

### **3.6 Political problems**

Political problems refer to the problems that these prisoners may face in prison or after their release due to their political point of views and the restriction of their movement by the Israeli military. It assumed that this problem may increase the chance of having

other challenges such as economic, educational, psychological and social problems. The participants will be asked about the political issues in prison indirectly as it is considered a sensitive issue among prisoners to disclose information about their political parties and by asking general questions: what are the problems that you face inside the prison and after release.

### **3.7 Coping strategies**

Another important component of the conceptual framework is coping strategies which refer to the methods that the participants may use to cope with all previous problems in order to reduce stress. Also coping is defined as constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). It is the expending conscious effort to solve personal and interpersonal problems, and seeking to minimize or tolerate stress or conflict (Zeidner, & Endler, 1996). Also it refers to adaptive or constructive coping strategies, i.e., the strategies reduce stress levels (Zeidner & Endler, 1996). A variety of coping strategies typically are used and the ways of coping were developed (Lazarus, et al, 1986). The current study will focus on problem solving and emotional coping strategies. The participants will be asked directly about their coping mechanisms

#### **Summary:**

1. This chapter presents the conceptual framework of the current study
2. The main stages that young prisoners may go through are highlighted
3. Common problems that they may face in these stages and their coping mechanisms are discussed

# **Chapter Four**

## **Methodology**

## **Introduction**

As discussed in chapter three, qualitative methods are utilized to investigate and explore issues of individual experience. The research method for the current study is determined by the research questions. So qualitative method design was used to explore the experience of detainee children in the Israeli prisoners, in order to identify the problems and the challenges that they faced during their detention and after their release from prisons. This section presents the methodology of the research.

### **4.1 Research Design:**

Qualitative researches aim to gather an in-depth understanding of human behavior and the reasons that govern such behavior, inform action and apply knowledge to solve human and societal problems. They help and contribute to theory development (Conger, 1998, Bryman et al, 1988; Alvesson, 1996). They investigate how people understand their experiences and provide details descriptions of people opinions and perceptions through their words ,feelings, actions, behavior and the full range of interpersonal interactions and organization process that are part of observable human experience (Patton, 1990).

Qualitative research employed to be sensitive to the perspectives of all participants that helped to pick up the interaction between perspectives and situation in order to obtain 'inside' knowledge of the social life under study by understanding people's outlooks and experiences. This approach helps the researcher to capture the meanings, with the opportunity to listen to participants experience, helps children to express their stories, their feeling and their needs by their words and to make sense of unstructured information. It gives a chance for the researcher to see the world from their perception, how they interpret situations, and what their perspectives were on particular issues. Also, it allows analyzing materials, identifying themes, insight and developing meaningful conclusions (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Qualitative method was utilized in this study because it is an appropriate design to “explore and investigate the prison experience of the Palestine children in Ramallah district” and this design is more appropriate to investigate and explore emotional problems (Marshal & Rossman, 1999). It is an interpretive, pragmatic, and grounded in

the life of the experience of people, and intrigued with the complexity of social interactions as expressed in their daily life and the meaning they give to these experiences (Marshall & Rossman, 1999), (Silverman, 2001). There are different types of qualitative research such as historical, phenomenological, photography and ground theory. This study utilized phenomenological design that describes life experience of the participants in which the researchers used interactive interview to collect data (Burn & Grove, 1997).

The phenomenology approach is so called because it is based on the way people experience social phenomena in the world in which they live. Phenomenology is characterized by a focus on the meanings that research subjects attach to social phenomena; an attempt by the researcher to understand what is happening and why it is happening (Smith, 1990). That helps to explore a phenomenon and to add rich detail that illustrates or documents existing knowledge of a phenomenon generated quantitatively (Smith, 1990).

## **4.2 Target population**

The study targeted ex-political detainee children in Ramallah district as this area were one of the highest number who were arrested in the Israeli prisons when they aged between 12-18 years and being released during the year (2010 and 2011), that help to explore the experience of the detainee children during all their prison experience in the Israeli prisons and the problems they face after their release. Furthermore, to investigate their coping strategies that they used to deal with their stressors during the detention, inside prison and after their release from prisons.

The inclusion criteria are:

- Political detainee children who were arrested by the Israeli military when they were aged between 12-18 years old. Children aged less than 12 years old were excluded because no child within this age group in Ramallah area was found in the list of prisoners that was obtained from the Palestinian Ministry of Prisoners.
- Detainee children who were released from the Israeli prisons in the year 2010-2011 as they had fresh memory of their experience and to reduce recall bias.
- Detainee children who lived in Ramallah district

### 4.3 Sampling approach:

The sample of this study was selected by using the convenient sampling which is common non probability sampling in qualitative research (Burn, 1990). It is sometimes known as accidental sampling or opportunity sampling or convenient sampling by which the sample being drawn from that part of the population is close to hand. The sample population is selected because it is readily available and convenient. The advantages of convenient sampling are the selection of rich information from the participants on the knowledge of the phenomenon of the study, easy, saving time and money. However, their disadvantages include the limitation of the generalizing of the findings, may not be representative, and may have sample bias (Patton, 1990).

### 4.4 Population and sample:

Table (4.1) presents the number of Palestine detainee children who were arrested in the Israeli prisoners according to the year of arrest (PMOPA, 2011). The total number of child prisoners was 1262 in West Bank during the years 2010-2011 (Palestinian Ministry of Prisoners' Affairs, 2012).

**Table No (4.1) The number of the Palestinian child detainees from West Bank in the Israeli prison (2000-2012)**

<b>Years of arrested of Palestine child ex-detainees in the Israeli prisoner (2000-2012)</b>	<b>Number of Palestine child ex-detainees in the Israeli prison</b>
2000	653
2001	719
2002	880
2003	812
2004	755
2005	782
2006	784
2007	742
2008	790
2009	762
2010	950
2011	312
2012	197

According to the data that was obtained from the Palestinian Ministry of Prisoners Affairs (2012), there were 120 prisoners as a total population from Ramallah who were arrested during the year (2010-2011) and 50 prisoners were released during the years (2010-2011) in Ramallah district. The researcher called all the 50 names of the released young prisoners, and had appointments with their families and met them at their home. Each family gave oral permission after the research process and its aim were explained to them. Also the participants were given a written information about the research and its purpose and (30) participants agreed to participated.

#### **4.5 Settings**

The participants were recruited through the centers and organization that deal with Palestinian prisoners, such as Defiance for Children International-Palestine Section, The East Jerusalem YMCA-Rehabilitation Program, Treatment & Rehabilitation Center for Victims' of Torture, Palestinian Prisoners' Club and the Palestinian Ministry of Prisoners Affairs. 30 participants out of 50 accepted to participant (Silverman, 2001). The participants were selected from Ramallah district, and individual interviews were conducted in places or centers according to the preference of the participants: most of the individual interviews (20 interviews) were done in YMCA, 3 interviews were conducted at participants' homes, 7 interviews were conducted in centers in their villages or camps' centers such as (Baleen Youth Center and Aljalzon Child Club) according to the participants' request.

#### **4.6 Interview guides**

One interviews guide was developed to facilitate the interviews with the participants. This guide was developed first by the main researcher and the supervisor according to literature review. After that, this guide was reviewed by 4 experts in mental health and health field from Al Quds University and Berziet University who hold Ph.D degrees in mental health. Also the researcher conducted a pilot study before starting the study to examine the content of the interview guide with 4 ex-prisoners from different location in Ramallah district, who aged between 14-17 years old from Ramallah district and these particepants were not included in the study sample. This pilot study was done

in YMCA rehabilitation center as the participants chose. This helped to develop the interview guide by children themselves to ensure that the interviews covered the same topic and all questions of interest were asked to get systematic data from different children and to use time more effectively. Comments about language, and phrases of the questions were provided.

In general, the questions were related to children's perceptions of their experiences in Israeli prison and after released, the problems that they faced during each experience, and the coping strategies that they used to deal with their stress. The participants were not constrained by the guide and were allowed to talk freely about their experience and all issues they thought relevant (see appendix) (4).

#### **4.7 Data Collection**

Strauss and Corbin (1990) consider that paying attention to processes is vital to quality of research. So the research process of collecting data was a continuous process in which all procedures were modified according to new situations.

Data were collected during 6 months, from January/2013 to June/2013, by using individual interviews and particularly semi-structured interviews. The purpose of open questions through the interviewing is to access the perspective of the person being interviewed (Patton, 1990). It increases the researcher's abilities to study symbolic features and social meanings of experience, follow unexpected ideas during research, explore processes, and provide confidentiality for the participants. It also enables participants to express their own sensitive stories, especially emotional problems (Bryman et al, 1988).

Before starting the interview, the researcher visited each participant at their home; the interviews usually started by introducing the aim of the study and getting the family permission. During the interview the participants were asked to complete a short questionnaire about their demographic data. (See appendix) (1,2,3). The interview continued until the questions had been answered. The interview lasted between 1-3 hours as the participants were willing to talk about their experience and at the end of the interview; the participants were thanked and were given the transportation fees as they could not offer their transportation.

Also semi- structured interviews allow for focused, conversational, two-way communication. That was used both to give and receive information (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Further, semi structured interviewing starts with more general questions or topics. Relevant topics were initially identified and the possible relationship between these topics and the issues such as availability, expense, and effectiveness become the basis for more specific questions which do not need to be prepared in advance (Silverman, 2001).

Not all questions are designed and phrased ahead of time. Few questions were created during the interview, allowing both the interviewer and the researcher to be flexible to probe for details or discuss issues (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Finally, tape recorder was used to record the interview after getting the participant permission (Silverman, 2001). Some participants (7) refused to tape the interview because of their previous experience in prison especially during the torture experience as the Israeli military used tape to have confession from them

### **Transcription**

Tape recorder transcription was done for each interview by the main researcher immediately to read and analyses the data and to get feedback from the supervisor before conducting any new interviews (Silverman, 2001).

## **4.8 Managing the data**

In qualitative research, data can be managed by different methods (Strauss and Corbin 1990). From the begging of starting the current study and after the data being collected, immediately they were transcribed to prevent being overwhelmed and to get feedback from the supervisor before conducting further interviews (Strauss and Corbin 1994). In this study, the numbers of interview were small so the data was managed by using a word processor in order to transform data into meaningful findings.

The data organized into tables including open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Strauss and Corbin 1990). These tables consisted of three columns:

- The name of the code and sub codes/ themes.
- Defining the code or sub codes from the data
- Quotes that presented codes and sub codes, including the number of interview and the demographic information of the participants (gender and age), e.g” (A12)(M,15years)

## 4.9 Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is defined as the process of making meaning from the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). That helps to explain how some aspect of the social world works. Constant comparative data analysis is method was utilized to analyzing data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Constant comparative data analysis was first developed by Straus and Glaser, (1967) and then farther it was developed by Straus and Glaser (1990). It is used to gather an in-depth understanding of human behavior and the reasons that govern such behavior. It is defined as the analytic process through which "data are fractured, conceptualized, and integrated to form theory" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Its aim is to recognize, develop and relate the concepts that are the building blocks of theory (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Data analysis of five interviews was first done and then the other interviews were analyzed by using the constant comparison method "to group answers to common questions and analyze different perspectives on central issues" (Strauss and Corbin 1994).

There are two strategies to analyze interviews: (Patton, 1990).

- Case analysis which involves analyzing each interview separately.
- The cross case analysis in which answers for the same question from different interviews are grouped together (Patton, 1990).

Also, this study used the two strategies to analysis the interviews by using the case analysis strategy “analyzing each interview individual and after that applied cross case analysis to group answers for the same question from different interview (Patton, 1990).

This method of analysis is inductive, as the researcher begins to examine data critically and draw new meaning from the data. It requires the researcher to take one piece of data (one interview, one statement or one theme) and compare it to all other pieces of

data that are either similar or different. During this process, the researcher begins to look at what makes this piece of data different and/or similar to other pieces of data (Silver,2001).

This data analysis method involves two general processes:

- I. Infringement the text into units of information that will serve as the basis for definition of categories (Silverman,2001).
- II. Categorization bringing together into short-term categories those units that relate to the same content, dividing rules that describe category internally consistent and entire set mutually exclusive (Silverman, 2001).

Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe some flexible guidelines for coding which are utilized in this study and are discussed in more details below:

- Open Coding "The process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data (Silverman, 2001).
- Axial Coding - "A set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories. This is done by utilizing a coding paradigm involving conditions, context, action/interactional strategies and consequences" (Silverman, 2001).
- Selective Coding - "The process of selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development" (Silverman, 2001).

Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggested coding by "microanalysis which consists of analyzing data word-by-word" and "coding the meaning found in words or groups of words" (Strauss and Corbin,199). Codes and categories will be sorted, compared, and contrasted until all the data are accounted for in the core categories of the constant comparative data analysis (Patton,1990).

#### **4.9.1 Open coding**

As discussed previously open coding includes labeling concepts, defining and developing categories based on their properties and dimensions. The concept is a labeled section of data that a researcher identifies as significant to some facts that data represent. Also concepts are abstract representations of events, objects, actions or interactions and they allow researchers to group similar information to better understand the data. Open

Coding is a process of “sweep” through the data and mark by circling or highlighting sections of the text selected codes or labels (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

In this analysis phase, the first step was started by selecting five interviews in order to code and categories them. Each transcript was read line by line many times and described the data to assign codes which is called line-by-line coding through break down the data into pieces to examine closely, and compare for relations. Codes in this process were discussed regularly by the supervisor. Then the researcher applied and examined them in other five interviews for similarities and dissimilarities. Different parts of the data were marked with appropriate label or ‘codes’ to identify them for further analysis. In the process of open coding, the concepts emerge from the raw data and later grouped into conceptual categories. When coding was completed, the codes were discussed by the researcher and the supervisor. Coding process continued with other interviews, while, discussing similarities and differences.

In general, codes labels were taken either from the words of the participants (in vivo code analysis) or from the meaning they evoke or from the literature. This process is called as “open coding” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The following table presents examples from the interview to illuminate the steps of the open coding process.

**Table no (4.2): examples of open coding**

Codes	Quotes
Street	واعتقالي من الشارع ، فجاءة ومفاجأة الي، وانا استغربت لانا كنا بعيدين عن الجيش واجوني فجأة ، وحوطوا المحل من كل الجهات وكميات الجيش كانت مش عادية وعلى كل المفارق، وكانوا لابسين اواعي عادية،(A4)(M,16Years)
Naked	اول ما وصلنا على عوفر اخذونا على التفتيش العري ، وهذا كان مهين لنا كثير وكان صعب بس ما كان عنا خيار شلحوني كل اوعي وهذا ما بقدر انساه لاني فقدت خصوصيتي شو اشلح قدام كل الجنود الموجودين وهذا عار على كل السجنا بس فش مفر (A2)(M,15 Years)
Lack of Food	كنا وقتها جوعائين، نحكيلهم بدنا أكل ما يرضوش يجيبولنا، يروح واحد يحكيلنا بدي أجيبلكم أكل يروح وما يرجعش (A3)(M,15Years)
Loneliness	بشعر أني وحيد أحياناً بكونوا يحكوا معي وأنا بعالم آخر بسرح كثير وانا معهم، وانا كمان بظل حزين خصوصاً لما أتذكر اشئي محزن. (A1)(M,17Years)
Frustrated	انا كنت محبط، لاني محشور، وبدي أروح عالييت، ومش قادر اعمل اشئي، وكنت متدمر نفسيًا. (A10)(M,14Years)
Hitting	استخدموا اكثر اشئي معاي الضرب بالتحقيق، دخلوني على التحقيق شوي بعدين رجعوني على السجن وبعدين رجعوني على التحقيق لمدة 5 أيام كان الضرب كيف ما تيجي معهم بتيجي، على الوجه على المعدة، وفي كل الاماكن، وكان في إثني بستقزني منه، اني ما اعترفت على إثني، وما رضيت أحكي وزهق مني ورجعني على القسم، (A2)(M,17 Years)
Singing	انا دايمًا لما ما اكون طابق حالي وقرقان بسمع اغاني بتحسن كثير بصير مبسوط شوي (A4)(M,16 years)
Car	شو الواحد بتمنى يعني محتاج تدريب سواقة وسيارة وكل ما اشوف حدا معه سيارة بتحس. (A8)(M,16Years)

#### 4.9.2 Axial coding

This stage was related to axial coding and the creation of concepts (Golding, 1999). Once a concept had been identified, its attributes was explored in depth after choosing one core category and positioning it at the centre of the process being explored (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Core category unites all the strands in order to provide an explanation of the behavior under study (Goulding, 1998). Data and categories were examined by the research team to validate meaning and accuracy.

**Table no (4.3): Examples of axial coding**

Categories	Sub categories	Quotes
Place of arrest	Street	واعتقالي من الشارع، فجأة ومفاجأة الي، وانا استغربت لانا كنا بعيدين عن الجيش واجوني فجأة، وحوطوا المحل من كل الجهات وكميات الجيش كانت مش عادية وعلى كل المفارق، وكانوا لابسين اواعي عادية، (A4)(M,16Years)
Physical torture	Naked	اول ما وصلنا على عوفر اخذونا على التفتيش العري ، وهذا كان مهين لنا كثير وكان صعب بس ما كان عنا خيار شلحوني كل اوعي وهذا ما بقدر انساه لاني فقدت خصوصيتي شو اشلح قدام كل الجنود الموجودين وهذا عار على كل السجنا بس فش مفر (A2)(M,15 Years)
Food problems	Lack of Food	كنا وقتها جوعانين ، نحكيلهم بدنا أكل ما يرضوش يجيولنا، يروح واحد يحكيلنا بدي أجبلكم أكل يروح وما يرجعش (A3)(M,15Years)
Psychological problems	Loneliness	بشعر أي وحيد أحياناً بكونوا يحكوا معي وأنا بعالم آخر بسرح كثير وانا معهم، وانا كمان بظل حزين خصوصاً لما أتذكر اشي محزن. (A1)(M,17Years)
Psychological problems	Frustrated	انا كنت محبط، لاني محشور، و بدي أروح عالبيت، ومش قادر اعمل اشي، وكنت متدمر نفسياً. (A10)(M,14Years)
Physical torture	Hitting	استخدموا اكثر اشي معاي الضرب بالتحقيق، دخلوني على التحقيق شوي بعدين رجعوني على السجن وبعدين رجعوني على التحقيق لمدة 5 أيام كان الضرب كيف ما تيجي معهم بنتيجي، على الوجه على المعدة ، وفي كل الاماكن، وكان في اشي بستفزني منه ،اني ما اعترفت على اشي ،وما رضيت أحكي وزهق مني ورجعني على القسم، (A2)(M,17 Years)
Tension released	Singing	انا دايماً لما ما اكون طابق حالي وقرقان بسمع اغاني بتحسن كثير بصير مبسوط شوي (A4)(M,16 years)
Vocational training	Car	شو الواحد بتمنى يعني محتاج تدريب سواقه وسيارة وكل ما اشوف حدا معه سيارة بتحسر. (A8)(M,16Years)

#### 4.9.3 Selective coding

The final stage of data analysis is the selective coding. Selecting coding involve the process of choosing one category to be the core category, and relating all other categories to the themes. Strauss and Corbin (1990), defined selective coding as the process of selecting the central or core category, systematically relating it to other

categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development (Strauss and Corbin,1990). Through selective major coding the categories and subcategories, were integrated and developed and the research team agreed to apply these selective codes to all the interviews. As the process of interviewing continued during the process of coding, more codes were generated, which were examined for similarities and differences. Interviews were re-coded where necessary (Strauss and Corbin,1990).

**Table no. (4.4): examples of selective coding**

Main categories	Category	Sub-category	Quotes
Arrest process	Place of arrest	Street	واعتقالي من الشارع ، فجأة ومفاجأة الي، وانا استغربت لانا كنا بعيدين عن الجيش واجوني فجأة ، وحوطوا المحل من كل الجهات وكميات الجيش كانت مش عادية وعلى كل المفارق، وكانوا لابسين اواعي عادية، (A4)(M,16Years)
Methods of torture	Physical torture	Naked	اول ما وصلنا على عوفر اخذونا على النفقش العري ، وهذا كان مهين لنا كثير وكان صعب بس ما كان عنا خيار شلحوني كل اوعي وهذا ما بقدر انساه لاني فقدت خصوصيتي شو اشلح قدام كل الجنود الموجودين وهذا عار على كل السجنا بس فش مفر (A2)(M,15 Years)
Problems in prison	Psychological problems	Loneliness	بشعر انا وحيد أحياناً بكونوا يحكوا معي وأنا بعالم آخر بسرح كثير وانا معهم، وانا كمان بظل حزين خصوصاً لما أتذكر اشي محزن. (A1)(M,17Years)
Problems in prison	Psychological problems	Frustrated	انا كنت محبط ، لاني محشور، و بدي أروح عالبيت، ومش قادر اعمل اشي، وكننت متدمر نفسياً. (A10) (M,14Years)
Method of torture	Physical torture	Hitting	استخدموا اكثر اشي معاي الضرب بالتحقيق، دخلوني على التحقيق شوي بعدين رجعوني على السجن وبعدين رجعوني على التحقيق لمدة 5 أيام كان الضرب كيف ما تيجي معهم بنتيجي، على الوجه على المعدة ، وفي كل الاماكن، وكان في اشي بسنقرني منه، انا ما اعترفت على اشي، وما رضيت أحكي وزهق مني ورجعني على القسم، (A2)(M,17 Years)
Copping	Tension released	Singing	انا دايماً لما ما اكون طايق حالي وقرقان بسمع اغاني بتحسن كثير بصير مبسوط شوي (A4)(M,16 years)
Prisoners' needs	Vocational training	Car	شو الواحد بتمنى يعني محتاج تدريب سواقه وسيارة وكل ما اشوف حدا معه سيارة بتحسن. (A8)(M,16Years)

#### **4.10 Validity and Reliability of qualitative research**

One of the main concerns of qualitative research is to make sure that the data are collected in a valid and reliable manner. Researchers of qualitative design pay attention quality of information that underlines their conclusions (Teddl & Tashakkori, 2003). Validity and reliability of this research lies in the core of the interpretation of observations that aims at investigating talk-in interaction (Schegloff, 1992). Kirk and Miller defined reliability as the degree to which the finding is independent of accidental circumstances of the research (Silverman, 2001).

Reliability also is closely related to assuring the quality of the field notes and guaranteeing the public access to the process of their production and it refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observation or by the same observer on different occasions (Silverman, 2001). In this study the reliability including credibility was done by increasing prolonged engagement in the field or with participants and to report professional information that may have affected data collection, analysis, and interpretation either positively or negatively. Consistency, also the results are dependable of the high quality of data of the consistent and considered by adding part of the participants' words (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Furthermore all interviews were recorded and field notes transcripts and data analysis process were documented. All themes and codes were created by the researcher and the supervisor independently and were discussed and agreed by the research team.

Validity is the degree to which a test measures what it is supposed to measure (Silverman, 2001). Also validity is related to the transferability which reflexes the degree to which the results can be generalized or transferred to other contexts. The validity of qualitative research can be assured by presenting deviant case analysis that contradict the explanation of the phenomena under investigation (Mays&Pope,2000) and personal reflexivity which refers to the contribution of the researcher's knowledge, values, experiences and characteristics on the research process from data collection to outcomes ( Davies & Dodd 2002), ( Banister, et al, 1994). So the researcher kept notes of the research process and data analysis was done by both the supervisor and the main researcher to ensure the validity of the study. Also recording of the interviews was done.

#### **4.11 Common ethical concerns**

Ethical approval was obtained from Al-Quds University and the research protocol, interview guide and the consent forms were checked by the Faculty of Public Health at Al-Quds University.

Further, consent form was signed by the participants. The participants were provided with the information sheet about the study including the aim of the study; objectives, procedures, and the participant were informed that they had the rights to refuse to participate in the study (See appendix) (2).

For confidentiality which refers to protecting access or dissemination of information about participants' identities was guaranteed in this study (Marshal & Rossman, 1999). Confidentiality and privacy were assured for all participants and they were informed that all information would be kept strictly confidential. Also, all participants were informed that they had the right to not include their interviews in the data analysis if they felt uncomfortable about what they said as they sign a consent form (See appendix)(2). In addition, data were protected and appropriately stored. All files were stored on computer and were protected by password. Also all the materials including audio tapes, interview transcripts and contact details were kept in a locked filling.

In relation to protecting participants from harm, the time and the place of the interview were managed and organized according to the participant's preference. However, most of the interviews were conducted at YMCA, that was suitable and safe place for the participants. Some participants especially female participants chose their home to conduct the interview, while some chose the youth centers in their villages. Also all the participants were informed that they had the right to stop the interviews, and two participants asked to stop the interview, because they disclosed sensitive issues with distress, and they were referred to YMCA staff to deal with their problems.

Finally, seven participants refused to have tape recorder, because it caused them uncomfortable feeling and it reminded them of the detective experience in which the soldiers used to record the detective process in order to use the information against them in the court

## **Summary**

- The selection of qualitative method for the current study was determined by the research questions that were utilized to investigate and explore the experience of ex-detainee children in the Israeli prisoners, in order to identify the problems and the challenges that they faced during their detention and after their release from prisons.
- Data collection was done by using individual interview and particularly semi structured interviews.
- The selection of the Palestinian ex- detainee's children in Ramallah district was made by utilizing convenience sampling. The sample size included thirty participants who agreed to participate.
- Constant comparative data analysis method was utilized to analyze data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).
- Different ethical issues including consent forms, protecting participants from harm and confidentiality were discussed.

# **Chapter Five**

## **Qualitative Results**

## **Introduction**

As discussed in chapter three, qualitative methods help to gather an in-depth understanding of ex-political detainee children's experience and their management of their emotional problems that they faced during their detention in the Israeli prisons. This chapter presents the major findings of the current study which are:

1. The socio-demographic data of the participants
2. The arrest process
3. The interrogation process and court experience
4. The imprisonment experience
5. After-release experience
6. Coping strategies
7. Prisoner's needs and perception of their future

Prior to discussing the major themes, a brief description of the sample' characteristics will be presented.

## 5.1 The socio-demographic data of the participants

This study targeted ex-political detainee children in Ramallah district who were arrested in the Israeli prisons when they were aged between 12 to 18 years old and had been released during the years 2010 and 2011. The data analysis revealed that around 90% (n=27) of the participants were males, and 10% (n=3) were females as shown in figure (5.1).

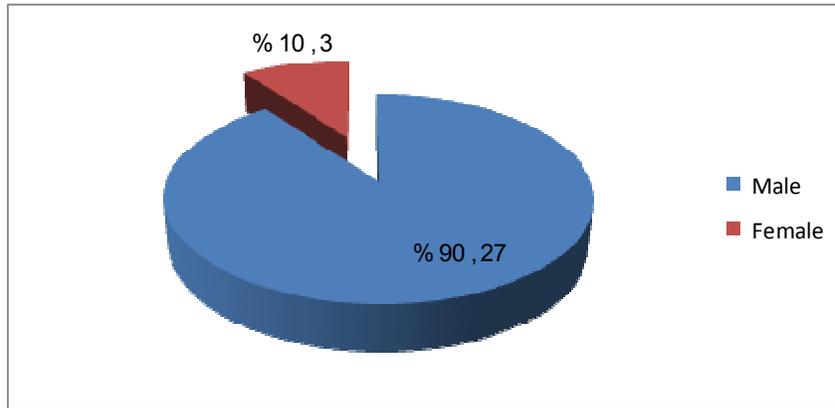


Figure (5.1): The distribution of the participants according to gender

Also the participants came from various locations in Ramallah district. For instance, 27% (n=9) of the participants lived in refugee camps, such as *Qalandia, Al-Jalazoun and Al-Am'ary camps*, 67% (n=18) of the participants lived in *villages* precisely in villages affected by the 'Separation Wall', such as *Bil'in, Beit Awar, and Kharbatha Al-Mosbah*, and near settlements, such as *Abwein, Karawa, and Katana* and 6% (n=3) were from Ramallah city as shown in figure (5.2) below:

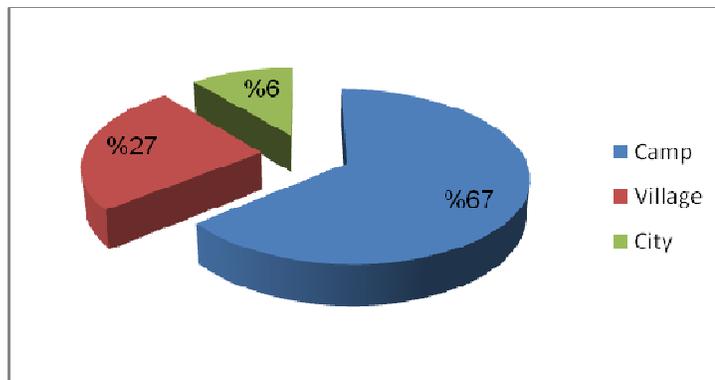


Figure (5. 2): The distribution of the participants according to the place of residency

Further, as illustrated in figure (5.1.3) below, 70% (n=21) of the participants completed their secondary education, whereas 23% (n=7) of them completed their preparatory level only, and 7% (n=2) had elementary education as seen in figure(5.3).

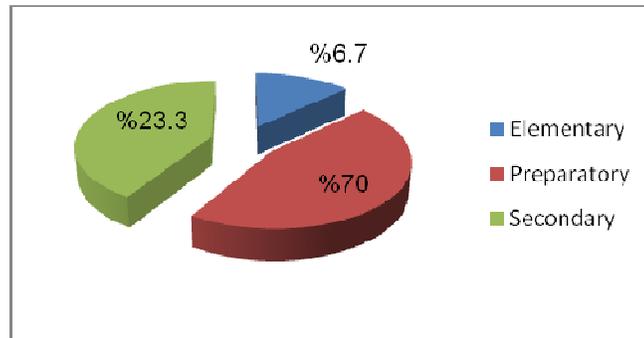


Figure (5. 3): The distribution of participants according to the level of education

Furthermore, the participants' age ranged between 12 to 18 years when they were arrested and released during the years 2010-2011. For example, one third of the participants (33%, n=10) were 16 years old, 27% (n=8) were 17 years old, 17% (n=5) were 15 years old, 20% (n=6) were 14 years old, and 3% (n=1) was 13 years old as shown in figure (5.4).

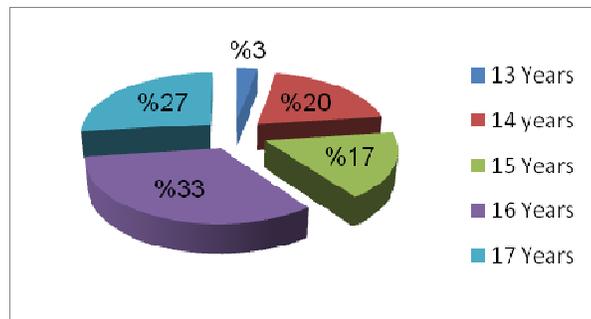


Figure (5.4): The distribution of the participants according to their age.

Also the half of the participants (50%), n=15) were arrested in Ofer prison, while the others were transferred between Majdo (6.7% ,n=2), Anaqub (10%, n=3), Ramonim (13.3%, n=4), Hasharon (13.3%),n=4), Al-Ramlah (3.3%,n=1), and Elooon (3.3%,n=1) prisons as seen in figures (5.5).

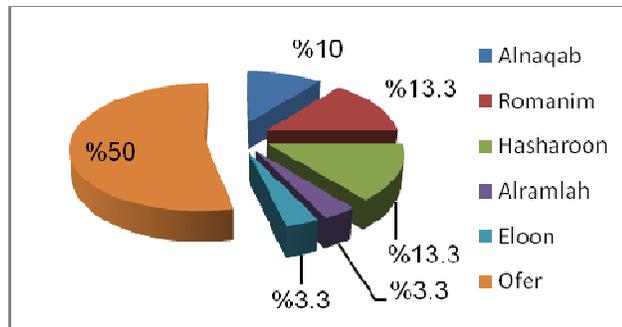


Figure (5.5): The distribution of the participants according to prisons location.

Also, this was the first prison experience for most of the participants ( 67% , n=20), while 30% (n=9) of the participants had the second experience and 3% ( n=1) had the fourth time of arrested in prison. None of them was arrested for the third time as seen in figure (5.6).

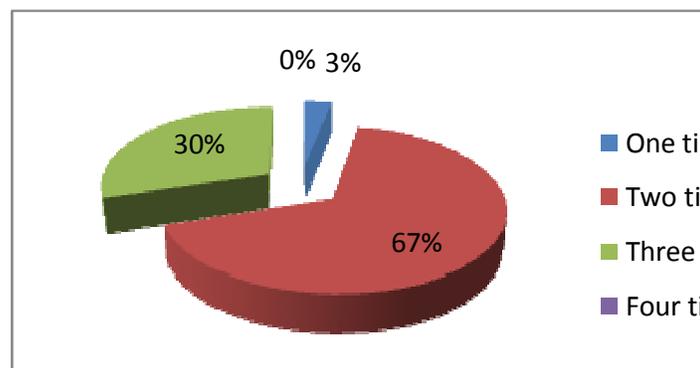


Figure (5.6): The distribution of participants according to the number of detentions.

Moreover, 40% (n=16) of the participants' fathers completed their elementary level of education, 33.4% (n=8) had their preparatory level of education, while 13.3% (n=4) completed their secondary level, and 13.3% (n=2) had bachelor degree as seen in figure (5.7).

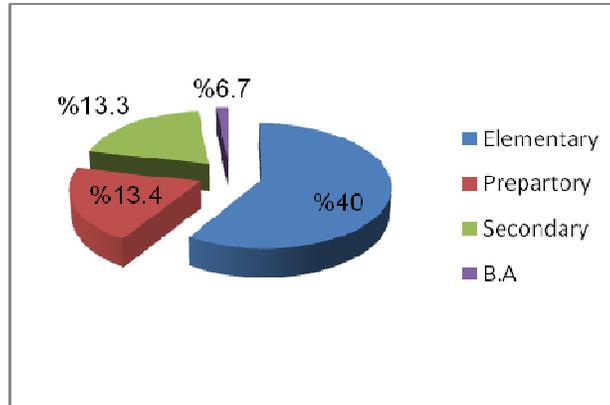


Figure (5.7): The distribution of participants fathers according to their level of education.

As for the mothers, most of them (47%, n=14) completed their preparatory level of education, 33% (n=10) had their elementary education, and 20% (n=6) completed their secondary level of education as seen in figure(5.8).

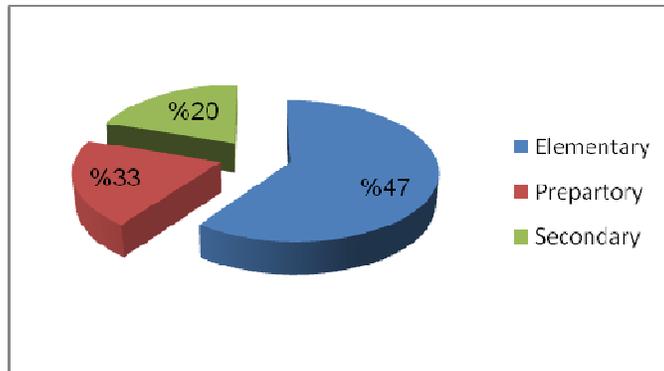


Figure (5.8): The distribution of participants mothers according to their level of education

Also, the majority of the participants' fathers (70%, n=21) were unemployed, and 30% (n=9) of them were employed. For employment, 6.7% (n=2) of the fathers were businessmen, 3.3% (n=1) was policemen, 6.7% (n=2) owned mobile shop, and 3.3% (n=1) was a teacher. The other three fathers worked as bakery, driver and religious man as seen in figure (5.9).

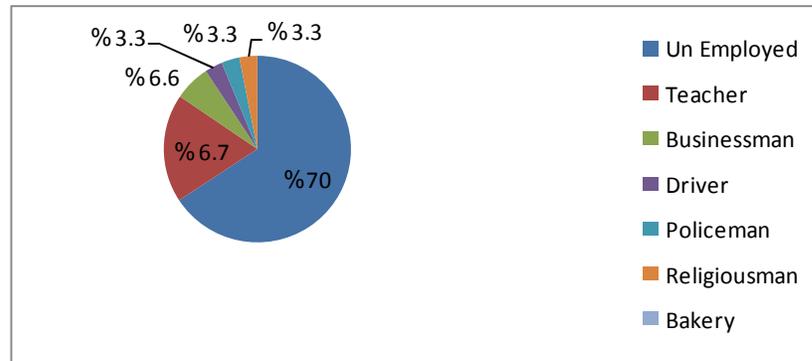


Figure (5. 9): The distribution of participants fathers according to their occupation.

Moreover, most of the participants' mothers (96.7%, n=29) were un-employed, and only one of them (3.3%) worked as a tailor as seen in figures (5.10).

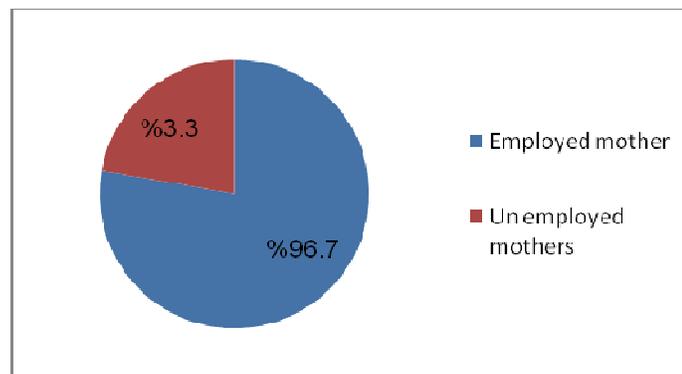


Figure (5.10): The distribution of participants mothers according to their occupation

Moreover findings revealed that most of the participants came from families with a history of arrest ( 70 %, n=21) and 30 % (n=9) didn't have a history of arrest as seen in figure (5.11).

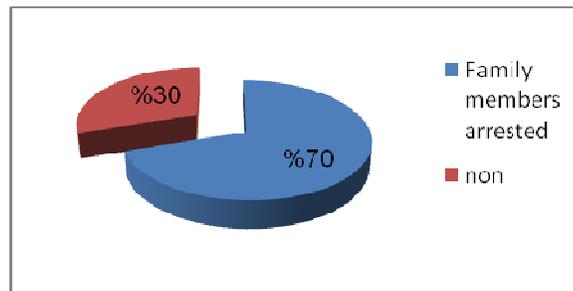


Figure (5.11): The distribution of participant's families according to the history of arrest.

Finally, most of the participants (70%, n=21) attended the psychological rehabilitation program at YMCA in Ramallah and (30%), n=9) didn't get any treatment or rehabilitation program as they reported.

## Major themes of the study

### 5.2 Major themes

As mentioned previously, 6 major themes were emerged after the analyses of the interviews which are:

1. The arrest process
2. The interrogation process and court experience
3. The imprisonment experience
4. After-release experience
5. Coping strategies
6. Prisoners' needs and perception of their future

Each major theme is discussed in more details below

### 5.3 The arrest process

The participants were asked about the arrest process and the findings revealed six sub themes which were:

- The place of arrest
- Time of arrest
- Causes of arrest
- Soldiers' behaviors
- Child reaction
- Family reaction

#### 5.3.1 The Place of arrest

The Palestinian ex-prisoners participants indicated that they were arrested in four main places: at the street, at homes, at the checkpoint, and self surrendering. For example, eighteen participants were arrested from their family home.

*"It was really strange for me. They went upstairs, and then downstairs, while knocking the doors. They broke the door downstairs, where my parents are, while I sleep*

*upstairs. Three soldiers woke me up and took me out of bed, and put me in the couch. They told me not to speak a word. I sat down, while they went upstairs and downstairs only to make scary sounds to frighten the rest of the family. The officer approached me and told me to give him my ID, 'you have a red ID', he asked me; I agreed. 'You are a troublemaker', he continued; I told him no. He started to argue with me, so I told him whatever you want." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

Also, seven participants reported that they were arrested from the street. They were usually chased by Israeli Special Forces who ambushed the children suspected of stone-throwing at a military jeep. Sometimes these Special Forces worked undercover, dressing in civilian clothes and posing as Arabs, or on other occasions, the Israeli army surrounded the area. The evidence brought against the children was generally unclear, or there might be no evidence at all, as mentioned by the participants.

*"They arrested me from the street in the first time. I was also arrested in the second time from the street. In the first time, I saw the military forces, so I went crazy and I ran away. I thought the soldiers were gone, but I found them to be right in front of me. They were dressed as normal civilians. They started to shout at me, and one of the soldiers dragged me in the floor. After that, a larger number of soldiers came and surrounded the area. I thought that I am dead, I was wondering what they will do to me. They directed the rifle on my head, and handcuffed me. Then they dragged me to the Jeep. They made me sit on the chair, and then they took me to prison." (A 3) (M, 14 years).*

Moreover, three participants - *two females and a male* - reported that they were arrested at the checkpoint. Two female participants intended to stab the soldiers at Qalandia checkpoint. One of them was fourteen years old, and she was arrested before she could stab the soldier. They discovered the knife during the security search process at the passing to Jerusalem. The soldiers surrounded her, and took her to the interrogation room.

*"I went with my friend, and they caught us at the checkpoint. They saw us through the camera. They saw me holding the knife. Then, they took me and my friend away from the checkpoint. The soldiers started screaming, and took us to the interrogation room." (A 24) (F, 14 years.)*

Another 16 years old girl was able to stab one of the soldiers. She stated during the interview:

*"I went to the checkpoint to be dead not to be arrested. I was going out of school. I didn't tell my parents where I'm going, because they wouldn't let me. I went to the checkpoint. I was arrested at 4 PM. When I went to the checkpoint, a fight started between me and the soldier. I told him that I want to enter Jerusalem. He refused, so I stabbed him." (A 25) (F, 16 years).*

Another participant was arrested at the checkpoint because he had an explosive belt that he wanted to deliver to others in Jerusalem:

*"I wanted to go to Jerusalem, and they caught me in the checkpoint. They searched me and caught me. I was going to Jerusalem to transfer an explosive belt." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

In addition, two participants surrendered themselves as result to the Israeli military violence towards the participants and/or their families. The soldiers threatened their families to demolish their homes. For example, one participant surrendered himself after his house was raided several times and during the last attack, one of his brothers was arrested. As a result, he surrendered himself in exchange for his brother's release.

*"I handed over myself because they arrested my brother, instead of me. They took me to prison. Before I surrender myself, they threatened me and the interrogator told me that I have to confess." (A 6) (M, 16 years.)*

Another participant reported that each time the soldiers raided the house; they demolished/destroyed it and harmed the family as well. He slept at his school because he could not sleep during night and the soldiers also threatened the child that he could be killed if he didn't surrender himself. He also mentioned that the soldiers had surrounded his work place several times and after all this suffering, he decided to surrender himself.

*"I surrendered myself nine days before Eid. My friends told me to stay and celebrate Eid with them, so we can at least enjoy together for the last time. I said goodbye to my classmates for the last time. The school has been started for a week by then. In that period,*

*I didn't use to sleep at night. I used to go to school and sleep there. After that, I decided alone to go to the meeting with the officers, and it won't be a problem if I was imprisoned. The important thing was that my parents won't have to be tortured because of me. I didn't expect that they wanted me. I used to work in Al-Bireh, and I used to sleep in the bakery, where I worked. The guys used to come and tell me that the Israeli soldiers came to my house at night for consequent nights. After that, I, solely, decided that I wanted this thing to finish. Therefore, I decided to surrender myself. It was enough, and I can't accept that my parents would have to go through this. They arrested me on September 9, 2010. Every time they come, they used to leave a letter to request me to come. The last time they came, and left the letter, I decided to go. And I went on September 9." (A 15) (M, 16 years).*

The family's home was often violently searched, and the child was physically abused frequently. Homes were destroyed or damaged in the process. In most cases, the participants and their family were not provided with reasons for the arrest. The participants expressed their fears and anxiety during their arrest and how they dealt with this 'harmful situation', whether they expected it or not. Home arrests typically occur with a large number of armed soldiers surrounding the house around midnight while the children are in bed. During home arrests, children are forced into the street in their nightclothes and are held outside in bad weather conditions. This experience is far more than what an average child can handle. One of the female participants reported:

*"When they came to arrest me, even when I expected it, it was like the end of the world". (A 18)(M,16 years).*

This distinctive form of stress reaction to such severe and stressful experience impacts the basic of safety assumptions of how the child perceives the world and how he/she perceives herself/himself. One of the participants reported:

*"I expected them to come arrest me that day. I knew that they will come at 10 PM to take me That's why I refused to take off my shoes that day, and I stayed in my clothes. I heard the army was in the village, and in few minutes, the army filled the village. All the village went crazy, as if it was the end of the world, or as if an earthquake occurred. The citizens don't usually believe when they see the army entering the village, they were wondering what happened. The huge number of soldiers was really crazy. They were*

*scattered everywhere. That makes a person get really scared unwillingly. It was a winter day on February 2, and it was really cold. I was inside the house, and the soldiers started to throw rocks on the house and started calling on us. I told my dad that they were calling on us, and I want to go out, so my dad freaked out, because the day they arrested my young brother, they shot bullets on us, and wanted to kill all of us. I told my dad I will open the door, and so I went. I opened the door and told the soldier that was throwing rocks that he can knock on the door, so he told me that we don't deserve to be called upon through decently knocking on the door. They entered the house, and broke everything. They made us all go out. While we were out, they went inside and destroyed all the house, without keeping any good thing. They asked me about my ID and I told them it was with my sister. So, a group of soldiers went to take the ID from my sister's house, and another group of soldiers stayed in the house." (A 28) (M, 15 years).*

The arrested participants were often handcuffed and blindfolded in a military jeep. Also, the participants were sometimes placed face down on the floor, ready to be transferred to an interrogation center. The process of transferring the child to an interrogation center could take several hours. During this process, children were often beaten, kicked, threatened and abused by the soldiers in the jeep. For example, one of the participants said:

*"When they arrested me, they tied my hands, and put me in the Jeep. They also tied my legs and covered my eyes. I felt like I'm not from this world. And they started to hit me." (A 2) (M, 16 years).*

Another participant indicated:

*"I was taken to the Jeep. They handcuffed me, and started to hit my back. While I was in the Jeep, they had something like a rope, and they started to hit me with it on my back, legs and all my body." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

### **5.3.2 Time of arrest**

The participants shed light on the time of their arrest and expressed their emotions during that moment. They were arrested the participants either from home, or in street or at

the checkpoint. Most participants reported that the arrest process was most likely to occur in the middle of the night or early morning. Twenty participants (66.6%) were arrested during the night, particularly the cases where their houses were intoned and raided in the late hours of the night. The participants were taken away from their families and the levels of fear arose, especially that the participants were asleep during house raids. This memory significantly triggered all negative emotions of the participants.

*"They came late at night, at 3 AM. I was asleep and they woke me up. I knew that they will come to arrest me, because the guys in prison told me that some people confessed about me. I woke up on their voices, as they broke the door, screamed and shouted my name. I was really scared from the shock. Also, I was really scared because I was still asleep." (A 2) (M, 17 years).*

*"They took me at 2 AM and I was scared. I expected them to arrest me, and they arrested me from the house." (A 8) (M, 15 years).*

In addition to arresting children at night, the participants indicated that during the arrest process, soldiers attack the home at night and shout at family members, and asking for their ID cards.

*"When they entered the house, it was two in the middle of the night. They started shouting at me and my sick brother. The soldier asked me about my ID, and told me to come with him to prison. Then, I went to the Jeep and the soldier started to make sure about my name, and then turned to me and told me that he was not mistaken, he was coming for me. That was in the middle of the night. He told me to wear my clothes, and say goodbye to my parents, and I did." (A 7) (M, 16 years).*

Another participant indicated:

*"When they arrested me, it was at night. They attacked the house and broke the doors while screaming. The house was suddenly filled with a great number of soldiers and weapons. They carried me with them during the morning prayer." (A 11) (M, 15 years).*

*"When they arrested me, it was at 3 A M at midnight at night, I was in a sleep and the solders wake me up. I was expected to be arrested but I was very scared at that time because you are in a dream and then you wake up and see the house full of solders screaming and have guns you will be scare." (A13)(M,16 years).*

Moreover, ten participants reported that they were arrested in the daytime. Seven of them were arrested in the daytime attack in the street, while three of the participant went at the daytime to the checkpoint at the daytime to attack solders.

*"They arrested me from the street in the first time. I was also arrested in the second time from the street. In the first time, I saw the military forces, so I went crazy and I ran away. I thought the soldiers were gone, but I found them to be right in front of me. They were dressed as normal civilians. They started to shout at me, and one of the soldiers dragged me on the floor. After that, a larger number of soldiers came and surrounded the area. I thought that I am dead, I was wondering what they will do to me. They directed the rifle on my head, and handcuffed me. Then they dragged me to the Jeep. They made me sit on the chair, and then they took me to prison." (A 3) (M, 14 years).*

*"I went to the checkpoint. They arrested me at around 4 PM from there. I went there, and a fight began between me and a soldier. I told him that I wanted to go to Jerusalem, but he didn't allow me. After the fight, I stabbed him. Then, a number of soldiers attacked me; I don't know how many they were. They beat me severely with their hands and weapons." (A 25) (F, 16 years).*

### **5.3.3 Causes of arrest**

The participants mentioned many causes for their arrest .For example; seven participants reported that they were arrested during protest, while they were throwing stones in the day time. All of the participants indicated that a large number of armed soldiers surrounded them, and the participants waved their arms up to the solders. And the soldiers beat the participants severely to a point where they felt like they would be killed.

*"Me and three of my friends were in Em Al-Sharayet throwing stones when the military Jeep passed by. We went to the tunnel, as the Jeep was coming our way, and the*

*soldiers held the weapons against us. My friend ran away, but they caught the four of us and started beating us. As he announced that he caught me, the only thing I felt or thought of at that moment was that I will either die or be arrested. I swear to God, I don't know anything. That's life!" (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

Also three of the participants indicated that they were arrested because of the possession of weapons while crossing a checkpoint. This was resulted due to the traumatic events of the occupation, the reality of living in a refugee camp, and the suffering from the Israeli military's violence towards their families, friends, and themselves. For example, one participant lived in the camp with his extended family, originally from Al-Lud, under difficult economic conditions. He reported that his family was exposed to a lot of violence from the Israeli soldiers and his father and brothers were arrested several times. One of his brothers was wounded by Israeli soldiers as well. His home was raided every day and it was damaged. Also, his family was continuously exposed to violence. Furthermore, his friend was killed in front of him, and many of his friends were arrested.

*"I was a child who lives his life in a camp with his extended family in bad economic conditions. The family is originated from Al-Lud, and we are regularly exposed to violence from the occupier. My father was arrested several times, and my brother was injured as well from the Israeli soldiers. Also, my brothers were arrested before me. Our house was raided every day, and we were exposed to violence and severe beatings. They damaged our house every single day. Also, a friend of mine was killed in my sight, and lots of my friends were arrested." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

Another female reported that the cause of her arrest was the possession of explosive belt. She was arrested at home, as some people gave information about her attempt to deliver the explosive belt.

*"I was expecting my arrest, and I expected that they will come that day. I knew they were coming for me, because I wanted to deliver an explosive belt to a place, and the guys who were with me were captured, and has confessed about me." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Other participants reported that the cause of their arrest was an ongoing trauma of occupation violence inflicted on their family members. For example, one of the female participants shared her story:

*"My story was started from the moment I came to this life. My father was arrested, he didn't attend my birth, and he didn't give me a name. A strange man chose my name. Since then, I have been raised with anger inside of me. This anger has resulted because my father wasn't there, and I wasn't like everyone else. A father and a mother choose the names for their children, but it wasn't my case. I was born, while all my uncles were in prison; my brother was arrested in the first Intifada. He used to tell me a lot about prison. I have been living within the environment of prison. Our house is right next to the wall. You feel really oppressed. It's my land, but I can't see it. We have a land in the other side of the wall, but we can't go there, except through a gate with sensors. There were specific timings to pass by, from 7 AM to 4 PM, and if we stayed a bit later, we would be imprisoned. You feel oppressed, because it is your land, and you are only allowed to go there when they want to; aside from the people who die and the arrests we witness. Every day impacts me majorly, and that directed me to politics. All the 16 years of my life is a tape that I can see right in front of me. All I've seen from the Israelis when I used to visit my father and uncles in prison passed right through my eyes at that moment. I have been visiting them since a long time with my mom, and sometimes with one of my uncles. I still remember how I and my cousins used to come back and cry. All of these things passed right in front of me like tape, and it didn't let me feel the beating. This thing has made me stronger and gave me a greater motive." (A 25) (F, 16 years).*

Moreover, one female participant indicated that they tried to stab the soldiers at the checkpoint because they did not allow her to enter Jerusalem.

*"I went to the checkpoint. They arrested me at around 4 PM from there. I went there, and a fight began between me and a soldier. I told him that I wanted to go to Jerusalem, but he didn't allow me. After the fight, I stabbed him. Then, a number of soldiers attacked me; I don't know how many they were. They beat me severely with their hands and weapons." (A 25) (F, 16 years).*

Another participant reported stabbing a soldier as a cause because of arresting her brothers by the Israeli soldiers

*"They came and arrested my brothers Moh'd and Mahmoud on Monday. They hit them and my father brutally right in front of me. And as a normal reaction for a girl who saw her brothers and fathers beaten in front of her, I went after a week to Qalandia checkpoint with a knife, but they detected me in the camera before I stab the soldier." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

Finally, four participants reported that they lived in areas of conflict and reported that Gaza war and breaking into Al-Aqsa mosque were the main causes.

*"During the Gaza war, we were in Tawjihi, and we had a sense of patriotism. We used to wake up every day in the morning on bombs, injuries, and martyrs, and blood. We started going out on demonstrations; the majority of the school boys joined. We started working on issues broader than the slogans. After that, I was imprisoned." (A 30) (M, 18 years).*

#### **5.3.4 Soldiers' Behavior**

The analysis of the interviews revealed that the soldiers were engaged in various forms of torture, humiliation, brutality and degrading behaviors against children during the arrest process, or when transferred to interrogation centers.

Data analysis showed that 26 participants were exposed to physical violence. They were beaten up at home, in the street, and in the military jeep. All the participants indicated that they were often handcuffed while they were being arrested at home. They also reported that they were blindfolded when taken and placed in the military jeep, and sometimes forced to lie face down on the floor. Consequently, they were transferred to an interrogation center.

*"When they arrested me, and wanted to take me out of the house, they hit me with the weapon, and handcuffed me. He kept hitting me everywhere with their hands, and rifle. They hit me a lot, especially in the military Jeep with the rifle. The handcuffs were really*

*tight, and I started screaming at them, and they started to hit me even more, and blood came out of my head." (A 4)( M, 16 years).*

*"They arrested me from home and then I was in a place, that I don't know the name. They started hitting me like monsters. More than five soldiers attacked me and started hitting me everywhere, with their hands, legs, and rifles." (A 1) (M, 17 years).*

In addition, most of the participants mentioned that the soldiers constantly screamed at the child and their family members during the arrest process. For example, seventeen of the participants reported that the soldiers psychologically abused the child and his/her family by insulting them regularly, precisely their mothers, sisters and religion.

*"When they arrested me, they came in a brutal way. A large number of the soldiers were jumping like monsters, and it was in the middle of the night. My parents were sleeping, and the soldiers were screaming and jumping everywhere. They started to provoke me by insulting me and my mother, and cursing GOD. They insulted me a lot, and it was difficult to respond back. And for us, insulting a mother is disgrace, and it is a disgrace that I couldn't respond back. It is really more difficult than beating me, and I can't forget it till this moment." (A 26) (M, 16 years).*

Moreover, soldiers used to curse in Hebrew. Although, the participants didn't understand the meaning, but they knew they were insulted.

*"They come scream like monsters. They knock on the door, and it feels like there is an earthquake, and everyone was sleeping. They were like monsters filling everywhere, screaming, and insulting our mothers and sisters. They used to curse in Hebrew also. I knew they were cursing, although I don't understand Hebrew." (A 13) (M, 16 years).*

Further, seven of the participants mentioned that the soldiers damaged the furniture. While the soldiers search the house, they usually broke down the door, destroyed furniture and wrecked the rooms. They used this method to terrify the child and his family.

*"They used to destroy the house. Till now the door is crooked from the knocking. They used to come in illegally, assuming it is legal. When they come in to take a 16 year old child, they used to destroy the house. Every day they come and destroy my room in*

*search of something that I don't have. They used to come in search for bombs. And I am a child, how can I possibly have bombs? I live my normal life and work, where would I get the bombs from?" (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

Two of the participants indicated that the soldiers used huge dogs during the arrest process in order to frighten the child while they were handcuffed and blindfolded. Every time they moved, the dog barked at them.

*"They used to hit me, and they tried to get the dogs. They bring huge ferocious guarding dogs. I was terrified. They bring them to horrify us during the arrest. Our legs and hands would be cuffed in the Jeep, and a dog would be in the Jeep too. If the dog attacked you, you can't do anything. And if they want, they can release the dog and let him attack. But thank God, they kept threatening me with the dog, but they didn't release him. I used to get terrified from the thought that the dog might attack, because it was a huge ferocious dog. These dogs are the worst type of torture. I can't forget these moments." (A 13) (M, 16 years).*

Unfortunately, one participant reported that he had been beaten by a dog.

*"When they arrested me, and I entered the Jeep, there was a dog. And I was hurt, because I was subjected to a bite in my back once the door of the Jeep was closed. He jumped on my back, so I screamed, and the Jews started laughing. This dog is very scary, like a big monster. It keeps staring at you, and if you move, the dog starts howling. I felt the breath of the dog, while the soldiers were talking. I didn't understand anything, because they spoke in Hebrew." (A 30) (M, 16 years).*

### **5.3.5 Child reactions**

The arrest experience was terrifying and mostly unexpected, as the participants indicated. It was outside the scope of human experience to deal with taking into consideration its dangerous nature that threatens and terrifies children's life and their stability. The common reactions that the participants reported were crying, fear, anxiety, detachment from reality, nervousness, regret, humiliation, threat, sense of danger, and amnesia.

For example, two participants reported that their reaction was to cry in response to the physical abuse they were subjected to during the arrest process.

*"I expected that they'll catch me. I felt like someone confessed about me. While they were beating, it really influenced me and a tear fell on my face. I was sad that they are beating me and I can't do anything." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

*"When they arrested me, I kept crying, I looked terrible. I spent all this process crying and yearning for my mom. That day, I felt helpless and I felt like I will die. Afterwards, I kept crying." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

Moreover, fourteen participants reported that their first reaction to the arrest process was fear. They expressed symptoms of fear such as: increased heart beats, sweating, shaking, nervousness, pain in chest, and the need to go to the toilet.

*"I was scared a lot, because I was young. And I lived safely in my house; suddenly, something happens that is not safe. This was the first time, especially when I saw the Israeli soldiers filling the house and armed. They looked really scary, because I woke up and saw them in front of me, but I didn't show them. My heart started beating so fast and I become nervous and I want to go to the bathroom. My chest started hurting and I felt like I'm choking. I still try not to show them. What was I supposed to do, when I was only 12 years old when they took me, and handcuffed me? My hands were small they easily slipped out of the handcuffs. The soldiers show me, and they handcuffed me again, and the soldier asked about me ordering the rest to handcuff me and cover my eyes." (A 27) (M, 15 years)*

Furthermore, the participants reported many reasons for their fears. For instance, one participant reported that his fears were related to giving information about his friends during the interrogation process.

*"I was really scared my tongue would slip and I would confess about one of the guys during interrogation. Our heartbeats accelerated, we didn't know what to do. I was scared for myself and my friends a lot. I was scared they would hit us in private areas that might have future consequences." (A 7) (M, 16 years).*

Also, twelve participants reported that their fear was related to being unable to protect themselves, and not expecting the arrest.

*"I didn't not expect that they will arrest me. I suddenly saw them in front of me, I saw them like 'rushed destiny'. I got scared from them a lot. I felt helpless and like I can't protect myself in my own house. Even my parents couldn't do anything. They were scary and I started shaking, and my heart started beating like fire." (A 13) (M, 16 years).*

Further, one participant expressed his feelings of regret for throwing stones.

*"I regretted what I did at the same day. Why did I throw stones? They are all untrustworthy, and they confessed about me. Afterwards, a 22 year old guy confessed about me." (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

Helplessness was another feeling that the participants felt during the arrest process because they were subjected to explicit insults against their mothers and family members. The participants claimed that they felt humiliated when the soldiers assaulted them at home in front of their families. They were handcuffed and forced to put their heads down like animals, and they were mocked at for physical appearance. One of the participants said:

*"An enemy would control you, and he would do something, while you don't want to do it, but you're forced to. They handcuff you in front of your parents, and they make you walk like they want to, and they beat you, and you can't defend yourself. This made me feel humiliated, I felt like it is an insult that our enemy dictates to us what we have to do. You don't have control over anything, as if you're an animal. The soldier tells me that everything he tells me, I should do it while my head is directed to the floor. He wants to humiliate me. If he shot a bullet on me, at that moment, it would've been better. Also, when they beat us in our house, in front of our parents, and we stay silent. This is insulting and humiliating." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

Moreover, eleven participants reported that they felt anxious. Their anxiety was triggered by the sense of danger, precisely that they didn't know where they were taken or what will happen to them. One of the participants indicated that his home was raided several times. Each time the soldiers stormed into the house, they humiliated and tortured

the family members, so he decided to give himself in. He described his anxiety while going to prison:

*"Afterwards, I said goodbye to my friends in school. At noon, I went to Offer checkpoint, and I had lots of thoughts while I'm on the way. I started remembering my parents and friends, and wondering how I'll live without them. I was thinking that I will stay in prison for long. While I'm in the car, I was hesitant between continuing and going back. I used to remember the difficult situations my parents passed through, and therefore I decided to continue and finish with this thing. I was thinking about what they'll do to me, I couldn't see in front of me. I was hesitant whether to speak or not, fear was bottled inside of me. If there was someone, I was thinking that I shouldn't speak so he wouldn't beat me. I was in trouble, and I was thinking how I can be strong to get through this phase." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

Five participants indicated that their anxiety during the arrest process was due to their thoughts about leaving their family, friends and their village.

*"I was thinking what will happen later on with us. I was thinking how much we can tolerate if we were imprisoned. I was thinking how it is possible to be away from the village and my parents. It was really difficult. You feel like you're going to an unknown place, and you don't even know for how long." (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

*"While they are beating me when I was in the Jeep, I kept thinking about my parents, and I was scared and worried about them, and what they will do. I didn't know where I'm going or what will happen. This is a difficult situation." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

Other three participants reported that they were thinking about the torture and sentences.

*"I was wondering when I will be beaten. I was waiting to be beaten, and I was wondering who confessed about me, and scared about what will happen to me, and what they'll do to me. I didn't know where I'm going and how long I'm staying." (A 21) (M, 17 years.)*

*"I was worried about myself. I kept thinking about what will happen, about the sentence, and the torture. This has occupied my thoughts." (A 16) (M, 16 years).*

Further, nine participants felt in danger, and were anxious about being subjected to death.

*"When they put the gun in your head, and especially when they take you to the Jeep. You keep thinking at that moment that you will die. All the way, the same thoughts kept going through my head. It is really difficult and I can't forget it." (A 9) (M, 16 years).*

*"At that moment, I felt like I'm in danger. I will either die or be captured, because they put the gun in our heads. I swear to God, I don't know. That's life. Before a year and a half, they captured my cousin and his friends, and I started thinking about this stuff." (A 17) (M, 14 years).*

### **5.3.6 Family reaction**

The participants were inquired about their family's reaction. Eight participants indicated that their families fought the soldiers when they arrested them. Four of these participants were arrested for the first time. One female particular participant described her family's reaction when she was arrested from home as:

*"My little sister started to pull me while insulting them. The soldiers were pulling me too and they took me. My other younger sister was crazy, she started shouting when they took me, and I told her to be quite. She used to fight with me if I tell her not to go to a protest. And when they came to take me, my parents thought that they will take my younger sister because she doesn't miss a protest. She suddenly held the soldiers and started hitting him and telling him that you're not allowed to take my sister. She kept talking, while the soldier was laughing at her and telling her to be quite. My brother also tried to prevent them from taking me, and he told me to take him too if they're going to take me. But they ignored, and they took me by force. My brother didn't stay silent, he told them to capture him too, and that he wants to go with his sister, and that my case is his case, and whatever she wants to confess, he'll also confess, and he wants to be held with her. My brother was calm, not like my other two sisters. Then he told them that I want to tell her good bye, and*

*he came near me and told me that he wants me to be like I was raised, to protect myself. I told him that if they raised me well, I will act so, I'm a result of your upbringing. He hugged me and went. My father was scared, but he didn't shout neither at me nor at the soldiers. She started to tell me to stay quiet and that I should care less about them. I asked the soldier what they want; he indicated that he wanted me. My parents were shocked, they asked him why are you coming for this girl, this one is really calm and doesn't do anything. Then the soldier said that I wasn't calm and they wanted me because I'm strong." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Another participant stated:

*"My dad was screaming at them and fighting. It was obvious that he was really scared." (A 16) (M, 16 years).*

Furthermore, twelve participants indicated that their parents, especially their mothers, were silent and in shock because they did not expect their child to be arrested.

For instance, one participant said:

*"My parents didn't say anything, they stayed silent, and they didn't expect this. It was a shock for them, and they didn't know what to say." (A 2) (M, 15 years).*

*"My father and mother were surprised, because it's the first time I get arrested. They didn't know what to do. It was like they are in shock. My father stood next to me and refused to leave me. The soldiers pulled me out of the house, while my parents stayed silent." (A 7) (M, 15 years).*

Tears and grief were other reactions as seven participants reported. For example, the participants reported that their mothers were not allowed to say 'good bye' to their children, and they started crying.

*"My mom started shouting and crying when I said good bye. She started shouting and telling them to take her with me. They told her that they will interrogate me and bring me back." (A 8) (M, 16 years).*

Finally, one female participant reported that her mother just prayed when she knew that her daughter would be captured:

*"When my mom heard the news about my arrest, the only thing that she thought of is that she should pray." (A 25) (F, 16 years)*

## **5.4 Interrogation and court experience**

This section addresses the second major theme of detention experience which is the interrogation process and court experience. The detention experience can affect children in different ways as it has an impact on their psychosocial well-being, their social and cultural life as well as their education and career.

Data analysis revealed the following sub-themes:

- Pre- interrogation process
- Torture methods
- Interrogation problems
- Court experience

### **5.4.1 Pre Interrogation process**

This subtheme highlights the rules that the Israeli military follow before they send the prisoners to the interrogation center or prison, such as being naked. It also reflects prisoners' reactions to these rules.

After being arrested, thirty participants reported that the first rule in the pre interrogation process is to be naked for inspection. Most of the participants stated that this was one of the most difficult experiences they went through.

For example, one female participant described the experience as the following:  
*"When someone comes and examines my chest and my body. I refused, I didn't accept. It was really difficult for them to strip search me in front of the cameras, while people are looking, so I refused. I told the prison's supervisor that I will never accept to be strip searched. They told me it is mandatory for anyone who's admitted to prison. At the end,*

*they handcuffed me, hit me and searched me. I fainted afterwards, and I had a bleeding" (A 25) (F, 16 years).*

*"They told me to take my clothes off, and they started to scream at me. I took off my clothes, and I felt humiliated. I was raised up and taught that I shouldn't take my clothes in front of anyone, and today I couldn't do anything. It wasn't in my hands. I became like animals, whatever they tell me, I should do it." (A 3) (M, 14 years).*

The reactions of the participants to this rule varied. For example, ten participants described this experience as an invasion of their privacy. Moreover, they described it as being similar to sexual abuse, and it was against their cultural beliefs and how they were raised in their families. Many of them stressed that they would never forget this experience.

*"I started thinking that someone like him is doing this to me. At that moment, I felt like I should die. I swear if it was in my hands, I would've killed myself at that moment. They invaded my privacy, I started screaming and I told them where is people's conscious. This happens to all prisoners. Where are the people? I was humiliated because people all over are inconsiderate. I felt like an animal. When I'm alone in the bathroom, I feel shy, what about when a woman starts inspecting my chest and body. I strongly refused." (A 25) (F, 16 years).*

Also, five participants reported that their reactions afterwards were self-blaming and shyness. Those who had this reaction felt guilty for accepting to be naked, even though those who refused were forced to comply. One of the participants described his feeling as:

*"I wished if I would die. I was really ashamed, and I kept blaming myself for living these moments and reaching to this point. When they tried to tell me to take off my clothes or I'll be punished, I refused. Many people came in to talk me into this, but I refused. Then, it just happened. If I wasn't handcuffed It would've been different." (A 30) (M, 16 years)*

Also, one female participant reported that after forcing her to take off her clothes for inspection, she had a bleeding. She expressed her fear of having a camera present, which

the soldiers could use against her. When she refused to comply, the soldier hit her. She described the incident as the follows:

*"After this incident, I had a bleeding just like the menstrual cycle. All the beatings on my back and stomach started hurting a lot. I was really upset from the strip search. When a lawyer used to come, I request that the strip search would be canceled. During the strip search, I was scared of the presence of cameras, by which they could use against me and blackmail me to confess. I was determined not to confess at all, despite what happens. After that, I fainted. I lost my conscious; I woke up and found myself with clothes." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Moreover, twenty-one participants reported feelings of humiliation.

*"This is humiliating and insulting. This insults our dignity and pride, and it is self-destructing when they force us to be strip searched. Although I agreed to be strip searched when they asked me, because I saw the other guys before me being strip searched, but it affected me, just seeing myself without clothes in front of ten soldiers." (A 20) (M, 17 years).*

Also, seven participants reported that, during the experience, they were scared of being beaten.

*"When they told us that we will be strip searched, I didn't believe, but I was scared that they would attack me and beat me, that am why I took off my clothes. It's normal for them, but it is very humiliating that someone would do something he/she is not used to do by force." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

In addition, three female participants stated their fear of being sexually abused. This was especially pertinent for them referring to their gender identity as Arab women. One participant stated:

*"I started imagining that someone like him came and did this to me and touch my body. At that moment, I felt like I had to die right away. I swear if it was in my hands, I would've killed myself. They invaded my privacy. I started shouting. I started saying, where*

*is people's conscious? This happens to all prisoners. Where is everything, I was humiliated." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

As a consequence, crying was the major reaction of the female participants.

*"I felt humiliated, and paralyzed because I couldn't stop the assault. I cried a lot, and I felt deep grief. And it was the only time I cry in front of the enemy, even in court, he told me that he will sentence me for 20 years because I didn't see your tears and I didn't feel like you regret what you did. The strip search experience was really difficult; I don't like to remember it, although it existed. You know that the search was 10 minutes long, but its impact is still here. Till now I wish I could take revenge from them. I requested to be transferred from that prison, they refused." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

*"I cried a lot, and I became sad about my situation and what happened to me." (A 28) (F, 15 years)*

Nevertheless, seven participants refused to be naked, especially females, because taking off your clothes becomes a cultural issue, by which it is forbidden to get naked in front of anyone.

*"When they asked me to be strip searched, I refused and I started to shout. They attacked me and started beating me. Afterwards, I took off my clothes, and if I was able, I would've strangled him." (A 1) (M, 17 years).*

*"When I went to Offer, they initially admitted me to the strip search, where we have to take off all our clothes, just like how we were born. And there would be a lot of soldiers at that moment. I refused and I started screaming to the solders but the solders beated me hardly then I took my clothes " (A 10) (M, 14 years)*

After the completion of the strip search, the prisoners' photos and fingerprints were taken. Twenty-nine participants stated that their basic information, such as name and age, was collected for the pre-interrogation report.

*"Afterwards, they opened a file for me, and they took my general information, such as my name, my hometown, my age, about my family...etc. Then, they take a photo of me, and my ten fingerprints. That is a routine." (A 13) (M, 16 years).*

*"They took me after the strip search, and prepared a card and file for me. They took a picture of me, and took my fingerprints." (A 1) (M, 17 years).*

Furthermore, twenty-eight of the participants indicated that the medical report was one of the pre-interrogation requirements. Hence, they should go through a medical examination when they arrived at the interrogation center or prison, doctors were responsible of preparing these reports.

*"After the strip search, they took me to a doctor for the medical examination. This examination was routinely. For instance, the doctor would ask if you have any illnesses, and they make simple tests, such as your checking your pressure and chest." (A1) (M, 17 years.)*

After completing the routinely procedures, the prisoners wait in a small room called 'Amtana', in order to start the interrogation process. The participants described the room as a very small room, like a cage surrounded with a fence

*"Then he sent me to Atarot, and they put me in a cage. The army camp and the interrogation room were upstairs. They put us in 'Amatna' and it is a small room that is made up of a wall, heavy metal and a fence. We stayed for too long, almost 6 or 7 hours. There were soldiers standing at the door, and used to demand us to stay quite whenever we talk. They brought us food, but we threw it because it wasn't normal. Then, they started asking us one by one for interrogation. They used to ask us a lot of questions, like what is our name, they used to mock us, and they used to talk to us in a normal way. We were smoking, but they told us it is prohibited. The Captain came, and told us to smoke. We started talking, and they used to tell us to stay quiet, but we didn't respond. We sat on the barrels for around four hours. They refused to allow us to go to the bathroom, and sometimes they used to prohibit us from smoking, depending on their mood." (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

All participants - *thirty*- reported that the interrogation process took from one hour to two months.

*"When I went to Offer, they let me into the interrogation office. After two hours of interrogation, I confessed, I was scared that they would beat me, but they didn't."* (A 10) (M, 14 years).

*"I spent two months in interrogation. Once in Asaqalan and once in Offer."* (A23) (M, 17 years).

Another female participant added:

*"I spent 28 days. Every day I've seen torture, and I couldn't believe when I will be going out. I'm trying to forget them and I can't."* (A 24) (F, 14 years).

#### **5.4.2 Torture methods**

The participants reported different methods of torture that were used against them by the Israeli detectors, including psychological, physical and medical torture. Each type is discussed in more details below

##### **5.4.2.1 Psychological torture**

The participants mentioned many forms of psychological torture including threat, humiliation, photos, cures, forced signature, and bargaining.

For example, eighteen of the participants stated that they were psychologically threatened during their interrogation. The threats were directed at their family members. For instance, interrogators threatened to detain family members, interrogate and abuse them. This was especially directed at sisters. One female participant described it as:

*"They kept threatening me with my family. They threatened that they will bring my father and brother. I told them that I wish they do because I missed them and I wish to see them. They used to pressure me a lot. The interrogator also used to tell me that he will kill me, expose me and disgrace me. I responded very coldly. He wanted to beat me, but then*

*he refrained because it's illegal. He told me that I'm provocative. I told him that I was happy that I was able to provoke an interrogator like him. I started laughing, and I put one leg on the other. He asked me why I am laughing at them, and whether I'm not scared. I told him that I'm not scared and I laugh at you. He threatened that he'll bring me a female interrogator, and that she will beat me a lot, she'll have no mercy. I told him that I won't die if they beat me. Torture was mainly psychological rather than physical. I felt agony because of my parents. I was really scared that they will do something to my parents or father. I was scared they will demolish the house, like the interrogator told me. Still, if they beat me, it would've been than this torture. He used to scream sometimes, but he didn't insult me. But he used to get really mad and scream, and once he got really close to me. It was really difficult." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Another participant said:

*"They also told me during interrogation that they want to get my mother and sister in front of me. There are people, who confess, and they are weak, they can't tolerate, but I told him to get them if they want to. But they didn't get them." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

Further, Twenty participants indicated that they felt humiliated and insulted by the way the interrogators and soldiers treated them.

*"The most difficult experience during torture was the insult and humiliation. And the most humiliating thing was that a female soldier used to handcuff me and drag me behind her. Because she was a girl, I used to fill immense humiliation and insult. Mostly, I never expected I will be subjugated to a female one day." (A 2) (M, 14 years).*

*"The interrogators started to provoke me and tell me to stand up then sit down, and they insulted me and humiliated me. The room they put me in was disgusting; no one lives there except animals. We eat, use the bathroom, and sleep there. They treat us like animals, it's all very humiliating for me and for humanity." (A 4) (M, 14 years).*

*"He used to humiliate me all the time during interrogation when he asks me questions and shout and insult me, my mother and family. He humiliated me and insulted me. I spent half a day staring at him, unable to speak." (A 5) (M, 14 years).*

Verbal abuse including curses and screaming was another type of the psychological torture which interrogators used against the participants. For example, twenty-three participants reported that they suffered from verbal abuse, in the form of cursing and screaming. The interrogators used words to insult children's mothers, sisters, and God.

*"After a bit, the door was pushed, and three soldiers came in at once. An old man came near me and cursed God in a loud voice. He also insulted my family and my mother using really obscene words. He spin me around once, and he told me: 'you want to make me crazy!', in a very loud voice. I told him, what's up with you, it is Ramadan." (A 15) (M, 16 years).*

*"They mostly focus on the emotional stress. They insulted my mom and sisters, and used very bad words. I ignored their threat about getting my mother and sisters to humiliate them" (A 1) (M, 17 years).*

Furthermore, nineteen participants reported that they were forced to sign or write confessions. Most commonly, they were forced to sign papers that were previously prepared. The content of the papers were never explained to the child, and most were completely unintelligible to the children, as they were written in Hebrew. The children were hit and screamed at. Soldiers also cursed their family as a way to force them to sign the papers. Consequently, these confessions were used in Israeli military courts. For example, one of the participants stated that:

*"He asked me if I will confess, and I informed him that I had nothing to confess about. He told me that the guys have confessed about me, and I insisted that I didn't do anything. He told me to sign a paper, and I responded that I won't sign a paper that I don't know what it contains. He, then, told me that I will be imprisoned whether I accept or refuse. So, I told him that it's okay I would rather be imprisoned for a stupid thing, rather than signing. He gave me the pen and put it in my hands, but I threw it away. He hit me and started cursing my mother and sisters. He put me in a corner and started to beat me with a stick. I told him that I will complain to the courts. Then, he started to recite my friends' confessions." (A 11) (M, 15 years).*

An eighteen-years-old participant proceeded to say:

*"He told me to sign, but I refused, I can't do the same fault again. That's why I refused and asked him to translate the paper, or to bring someone, such as the prison's president, to read for me, and then I can sign. Afterwards, I went to the courts, and my papers were forged by the detective under the accusations of throwing rocks. They made sure, and they saw the cameras, and it was clear that it wasn't me. Afterwards, he forced me to sign a confession. I refused in the beginning, but when they started to hit me, I signed, and I didn't know what did I sign. I didn't know anything." (A 4) (M, 18 years).*

In addition, four participants reported that the interrogators applied psychological torture by showing them their pictures. They used to scream and shout in a horrible way, and they used to show them pictures for when they were in demonstrations.

*"He refused to face me with them, because they took information in a barbarian way. He, then, closed my file and brought some pictures of me when I was in peaceful demonstration and raising my hand. He has pictures of me while throwing stones, but he got me pictures where I'm not throwing stones. I was wearing a t-shirt of Nike brand, and the picture he had, I also was wearing Nike. So he asked me what the types of shirts you like are." (A 15) (M, 16 years).*

Moreover, fifteen participants reported that the interrogation process served as a tool to pressure children to become collaborators. One of the participants, a fourteen-year-old girl from a refugee camp, described the pressure she was subjected to by the interrogators as the following:

*"He used to go and come in few minutes, and ask the same questions. The second day, he used to ask me again for just simple questions, but I didn't surrender and I told him that I can't. He told me that he wants simple information about this and that, we just want you to get her, but I didn't accept and I stayed like this." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

Furthermore, some of the participants were asked for information about their friends in exchange for money after their release. Other participants stated that the interrogators pressured them by threatening the child's family members with abuse.

*"They pressured me a lot during the interrogation, they hit me a lot, and then they started to tell me that we'll get you out of prison tomorrow if you accept to give us some information about your village and the activists. We will also give you a lot of money that will help your father and your siblings. I started screaming unconsciously and I told him, Thank God, I don't need forbidden money." (A 5) (M, 14 years).*

*"They utilized all kind of pressures on me to make me weak. They kept trying to make me work with them. They started to tell me that my father is a preacher, and he won't be able to assist me financially. And he told me that they only want the people who goes to the wall, and that I am an active guy, and they can benefit me, and I can benefit them as well. I started to scream and insulting him. I told him that I didn't want his money, and that it is worth nothing compared to living with dignity in this life. Afterwards, he threatened that he'll kill me one of those days." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

Moreover, during the interrogation process, the participants were placed in the 'bird/' 'spy' room. This was often used when children didn't give any information to the interrogators as a way to trick them and pressure prisoners. One participant reported that he didn't give any information during the interrogation and was placed in this room. Some of the children gave information as they trust these 'birds', and some of them didn't.

*"Then they transferred me and took me to the 'birds' room. The guys started telling us that they are our brothers in prison, and they asked us what we have done so they can tell other people outside prison that we are heroes. I believed them at first, and I told them some stuff. I thought that they were decent people precisely that they used to cry whenever they pray or read Qur'an. The 'birds' room is a room that has two windows. You can't see anything except the night. It is a small area, jammed, and very cramped. In the room, 10 to 15 prisoners are put. The room is not big. I spent two months in the 'birds' room for interrogation. When I went out, the interrogator told me that I was in the birds' room, I was shocked. I went crazy. After they put me in back again, I spent two days without sleep, and I was thinking a lot, I was worried." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

Another form of psychological torture was the use of light and sounds, as reported by eight of the participants. Light and sound were used to put more pressure on the child to give information and sign confessions. One of the female participants mentioned that

during the interrogation process, the soldiers played recorded screaming sounds and told her that the voice was her brother screaming. However, she discovered later on that it was a lie. She said that the sound intrigued fear inside of her, and her reaction was to cry.

*"Once, they made me hear a voice of a guy screaming, and they told me it was my brothers. However, it turned out that it wasn't my brother, and they were just trying to scare me. I started to cry and I was miserable. But, it turned out it wasn't my brothers' voice, and I communicated with my siblings through my parent's visit, and they told me that it didn't happen and it was just a way to pressure me." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

Another participant indicated:

*"One time I was sleeping, and they got headphones and put them in my ears. There were sounds of screaming, and I got scared, and I started to scream while they were laughing. Then I called them and told them that I wanted to sign, so they took me to an office. I drank tea and smoked a cigarette. Then, I told him that I don't want to sign anymore." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

The participants reported the use of yellow light, which caused many of them to suffer from eye problems.

*"They put a loud voice nearby and a yellow light which affects our eyes. I got out of there, and my eyes were swelling." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

*"The light was irritating. I started to cover my face with the blanket so I won't see the light when it goes on and off. He took the blanket from me and handcuffed me while I'm in bed." (A 4) (M, 16 years).*

Furthermore, four participants, two females and two males, reported that they were sexually harassed during the interrogation by touching or seeing sexual activity between soldiers. For example, two female participants reported that during the interrogation, the interrogator touched them. One of them described how the interrogator (male) touched her face, her hair and that he put his legs near hers while asking questions, and she responded by screaming. Also, the soldiers came to her room, and started to touch her hair and shoulders. She tried to move his hand away but was unable to. During the interview, she

indicated that this frequently occurred with female detainees, but it is rarely spoken about due to gender issues in the Arab context.

*"Also, the interrogator when he used to ask me questions, he sat too close, and he used to get his face near my face, and his legs near mine; he also held my hair. I used to scream at him, and get my face away. If I didn't trust you, I wouldn't tell you about this topic. This happens to all girls, but none of the girls accept to talk about it due to the culture, parents' perception and the camp. When I was sitting down, they used to come in to check the iron. One of them used to put his hands on my hair, and no matter how far I go, he used to come near me, and he started to put his hands on my hair and shoulders. And no matter how much I try to push him, it's useless. He is really huge. Then I started screaming in a loud voice; then he went out. This happens a lot, but no one speaks about it, but it occurs regularly every day, something must happen. And we're in a camp; it is very difficult to talk about this issue, because even if the girl didn't do anything, over here they will accuse her of doing so". (A 24)(F, 14 years).*

Moreover, she described her fear emotions from the male soldier who brought food to her room. On one occasion, the soldier took off all his clothes and sexually harassed her. On another occasion, they tried to force her to have sex, but she stayed in the bathroom or under her blanket.

*"I used to be scared to death. They used to harass me, and he used to take off all his clothes off, especially when they get me the food. And he used to do some movements and tell me to come. It reached to a point where they wanted to sleep with me. Once, someone took off everything in front of me, I went into the bathroom, and closed the door until he went. Memories from the investigation haunted me; it was like pictures that are repeated in front of my eyes. Whenever I see the interrogator that tried to harass me and these pictures kept popping in my mind. Also, other things that happened to me, such as, when they forced me to take off all my clothes, and the female soldiers laugh at us and hit us. Also, during interrogation, when the soldier stripped in front of me, and held my body. These were disgusting moments, and the arrest. I start thinking and I remember all these scenes that happened with me." (A24)(F, 14 years).*

One of the female participants reported that when the soldier came very close to her body, her heart pulse increased, her hands were shaking, and she lose her breathe.

*"While I was provoking him, he suddenly comes from the office, and stood right next to me, while I'm sitting. My body was touching his. I was handcuffed. I started to scream and telling him that now your reality was discovered. I started to see you for real, although just a little while you were good with me. Go further away, and then he tells me that I forced him to do so." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Another male participant mentioned that a female soldier cursed at him during the interrogation and undressed in front of him as a way of abuse. When he refused to look at her, she started screaming and hitting him.

*"The female soldier used to spit on me and insult me, while she's half naked. She tried to seduce me, but when I refused to look at her, she started to hit me and shout at me." (A 2) (M, 14 years).*

The fear of male participants stemmed from the threat of torture towards them and their family members, particularly "mothers or sisters". One participant described his fear as follows:

*"I was confused, because he went and I started to get scared even more. He told me that he'll send me to prison with my siblings. He started to threaten that he'll bring my mother and sisters. I started to get angry and nervous, but I didn't use to show it to him. I acted coldly in front of him, but I was handcuffed and my legs were tied, and I was being examined everywhere. I asked him why they're doing that, and he told me that's their security process. And my hands started to shake, and I could hear my heartbeats from my intense fear. I tried to reduce my fear so he wouldn't control me. I used to say that I told everyone in the camp that I am a yob and fearless, but I was really scared from inside." (A 21) (M, 16 years).*

One male participant reported that he witnessed sexual activities between female and male soldiers near their room. A male soldier asked if he was interested, and offered him the female soldier. The participant knew that it was a way to pressure him to give information, and described what happened to him by saying:

*"During interrogation, I saw two soldiers involved in a sexual activity next to my room. It was difficult for a child like me to see such scenes. Then, they started to tell me, that they will give me the female soldier, but I knew that they're doing that to force me to confess, and I started to tell him to keep her for you. And after I left the section, I told my friends, and they told me that it happened with them as well." (A 19) (M, 14 years).*

Also, dogs were used as reported by the participants. For instance, one sixteen year old male participant reported that during the interrogation, dogs were used to threaten him, while he was tied by his hands to a chair.

*"Once they tried to bring the dogs. They usually bring them to scare the person they are interrogating, and force him/her to confess and make him/her get angry. A person would be normally tied to a chair, so if the dog attacked him, he can't do anything. And if they want to let go off the dog, the dog would attack and bite. But thank god, he had mercy on me. The soldier threatened me only, and after that I stayed for a week, then I left." (A 13) (M, 16 years).*

Finally, another form of torture was sleep deprivation. Sleep can often be a barometer of overall health. People in good health tend to sleep well, whereas continuous sleeping problems may indicate an underlying medical or mental health problem, be it minor or serious. Sleeping well is essential to physical health and emotional well-being. Unfortunately, even minimal sleep loss can take a toll on mood, energy, efficiency, and ability to handle stress. Results showed that twenty of the participants suffered from sleep problems because of the lack of sleep or anxiety before sleep, related to their thoughts about their family members and friends.

*"Whenever I try to sleep, I can't, they don't let me. I forgot what it feels like to sleep. Whenever I wanted to sleep, the jailer used to knock on the door, so I wouldn't sleep." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

*"All night, there are soldiers around us. Whenever they see us sleeping, they start annoying us, screaming at us and hitting us with their legs so we won't be able to sleep." (A 3) (M, 15 years).*

#### 5.4.2.2 Physical Torture

The second type of torture that the interrogators used against the participants was physical torture, such as, shabeh, physical abuse, and electric torture.

For example, twenty of the participants reported the use of *Shabeh* which is a type of torture where the participants were tied to a chair by their hands and legs for hours or days. This was the most commonly used method of physical torture as reported by the participants. The torture consisted of being tied in different positions to the chair, and included rubbed and tied hands and legs, and covered eyes. Basic needs such as eating, sleeping or going to the bathroom were denied. The torture caused serious pain in different areas of the body such as the back, legs and hand pain.

*"I was subjected to the 'Shabeh' punishment during interrogation for more than two weeks. I was handcuffed and my legs were tied, while sitting on the chair. My eyes were also covered. I stayed without sleep, and barely any food, and the few amount of food that they used to offer was disgusting. Even the bathroom, they rarely used to allow me to use it. I started having back pain, and pain in my legs and hands. What would I do during that time, I was really stressed out." (A 23) (M, 17 years)*

Another female participant said:

*"It is really difficult. I stayed a whole day sitting on a chair while my hands are tied to the back. They made me sit on a chair, and I stayed all night awake. I didn't sleep and it was really cold. They put me in a room, and they kept the door open, they refused to close it. They handcuffed me with a plastic, so I was able to release my hands, then they handcuffed me with metal. I didn't want to run away, I just wanted to relax my hands. They noticed, and they tied me to the chair." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Also, twenty participants indicated that throughout the interrogation process they were exposed to physical abuse such as being beaten on different parts of body; especially head, back, legs, and private areas. The participants were hit with hands, sticks, and, or the iron of the phones " makhsheer". This caused humiliation, and psychological pain as well as physical pain, affecting their overall wellbeing.

*"The most things they used with me during interrogation were beating. They got me into the interrogation center for a bit, then they put me back in prison, then they took me again to interrogation for give days. The most difficult experience was the beating. They used to beat me randomly, on my face, stomach, everywhere. He was provoked by me, because I didn't confess on anything, and I didn't accept to talk, he got bored from me, and sent me back to prison." (A 22) (M, 17 years).*

*"When I went to prison, after I left the interrogation, they asked me to confess, and when I refused to say anything, they kept beating me. I used to resist, and five soldiers started to beat me on my stomach. All the beatings were on my stomach and back, they start to hurt a lot. I felt humiliated and I wished if I could die after all this humiliation and insult." (A 8) (F, 15 years).*

In addition, the soldiers used electric shocks as a physical torture. For example, seventeen year old male participant reported that, during the interrogation process, electric torture was used against him, and over a period of sixty days he was tortured in a variety of different ways, while interrogators questioned him. He described screaming when the interrogators used electric sticks, and he experienced severe back and head pain. He said this experience was something that he will never forget.

*"They also used the electric shock with me during interrogation. He hits me in an electric stick. I can never forget this in my whole life, it was really difficult. They kept using it for hours, and they put it in my back and head sometimes. I used to scream from pain. They wanted me to confess, but I didn't and I stayed for a long duration. And since then, I have back pain and nerve problems." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

Also, eight participants reported that, most of the time, the soldiers didn't allow the children to go to the bathroom. The participants asked many times but without any response. This was used as a way to pressure the participants to give them information.

*"During interrogation, I wanted to go to the bathroom, but they didn't allow me. He told me to confess, then he'll do me anything that I want. He started interrogating with me, and asking me questions like the name of my mom, my sister, my dad and where am I living. He started telling me that I took a knife with me to make an operation and kill Jews.*

*I told him, am I crazy to kill Jews? He asked, then for who is this knife? I told him that I didn't know who put it in my pants." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

#### **5.4.2.3 Medical torture**

This section portrays the third type of torture, which includes the use of drugs to induce addiction and illnesses among prisoners. For example, one of the participants reported his fear of taking unknown drugs.

*"While I'm in interrogation, they gave me pill, and I couldn't handle it, I had a headache and dizziness. I got really tired, and I was scared that they put something for me, and I was scared that it would be a drug and I'll get used to it." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

Another male participant reported that another young prisoner was given a type of drugs called "Trip" during interrogation, which affected his mind.

*"There is also a guy called 'P', he had a great mind, and in prison, they gave him 'trip' a type of drugs which ruined his brains, and he had a surgery in Jaffa Street." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

Moreover, four participants reported that smoking was used as a way to put more pressure on the participants to give information and to be addicted.

*"They also used to give me cigarettes when I'm in prison. But I used to refuse of course. One time, I was in the mood to try it, I took a cigarette, and they brought me a female soldier, who taught me how to smoke, how to breathe out and how to breathe in. I started to feel a lot dizzy, and my head started hurting, and I couldn't stop. I started to feel dizzy and just fall into bed, and my head started hurting me. After that, I stopped smoking, and I didn't accept to smoke. I was also scared that they put some drugs in the cigarettes." (A 24) (M, 14 years).*

*"I used to smoke before prison, and during interrogation, they didn't use to give me cigarettes, they only did once. The detective offered me a cigarette, I didn't accept because I knew that he wants to pressure me in order to confess." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

### 5.4.3 Interrogation Problems

In addition, the participants were asked about the major problems that they faced during the interrogation process and they revealed a wide range of problems including:

- Environmental problems
- Food problems
- Psychological problems

#### 5.4.3.1 Environment problems

Throughout the interrogation period, the participants were exposed to very disruptive environment and denial of their basic needs. For example, twelve participants reported that the environment was unhealthy and dirty; the room was very small, the bed was made out of iron, or they had to sleep on the floor, and the cover was unclean. Moreover, there were insects and bad smells.

*"They took me to 3 x 3 m<sup>2</sup> room and told me to sleep here until I accept to sign the confession. They captured me there. They told me to sleep on the ground. It was cold, and I was handcuffed. The room was disgusting and very dirty. It had a two floor bed, 'Barsh', it gathered all types of dirt. Eating, drinking, smoking, going to the bathroom was all in the same room. And I stayed alone in it." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

*"The most things were the sound of the detective while screaming at me, and the smell of the room. When I smell the room, it used to capture me, and I stay tired afterwards, and I feel nervous and angry. This used to happen frequently." (A 27) (M, 15 years).*

Also nine participants reported that throughout or during the interrogation process, they suffered from extreme cold. This was due to being outside in the cold while it was raining or in a cold room whilst tied by the hands and legs.

*"During interrogation, they keep us in the cold. It was raining that day, very lightly. It was really cold and freezing. They kept us outside in the cold, and it was night. We were tied and left on the ground, unconscious and tied. Our legs and hands were tied. It was*

*raining lightly and it was really cold all night. Then, they put us in a room, like a cage, it was all made of metal. We were nervous, and the food was disgusting." (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

*"He started entering small rooms, and he put me in a room with a table, two chairs and very cold conditioning. The degree of coldness was too high, and the weather was a little bit cold, and I was wearing a normal shirt. I felt like I'm in a fridge. He left me inside the room, and he went." (A 15) (M, 16 years)*

#### **5.4.3.2 Food problems**

Further, the participants reported food problems and many of them lost more than five to ten Kg as a response to their stressful situation. For example, a 14-years-old, female participant suffered from stressful torture and she started a three day hunger strike, by which she lost eight kilos.

*"I was on a hunger strike for three days, and I didn't use to eat. They started pressuring me, and then I started to eat very lightly. I lost eight kilos." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

*"I didn't use to eat at all. I spent ten days only eating an apple that they used to bring. Even if I die from hunger, I would never eat something that I don't like or something that looks disgusting. I used to keep drinking water, but my head used to hurt, and I used to think that it was from deficiency of eating. I lost lots of weight in prison, and I started weighing 47 kilos, from 54." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Another male participant, 17-years-old, reported that he ate little amount of food, and he used to smoke all the time.

*"I didn't eat well; I used to spend my time thinking and smoking." (A 30) (M, 16 years).*

In addition, twelve participants indicated that the food was bad, or the quantities were insufficient.

*The interrogation was such a difficult experience that I can't forget. The food was disgusting, and it was also very minimal. I used to be disgusted by it, and I barely used to eat." (A 7) (M, 15 years).*

Consequently, the participants refused to eat the bad food, and the soldiers responded by hitting them.

*"The food was disgusting, it wasn't well cooked. And the moment was like a year. I started feeling like I'm going to die, and like I'm in the grave. While I'm in the interrogation, I refused to eat, so I was hit so hard. I stopped eating at all, except very small quantities, a spoon or two. I lost eight kilos, I was really sad." (A 4) (M, 14 years).*

Others reported that they asked for food, but the soldiers didn't bring them any:

*"They used to scream at us during interrogation, and hit us. They used to beat us with their legs so we wouldn't be able to sleep. We were so hungry, and we asked for food, but they refused to get us. We used to tell them we want to eat, but it was useless, they didn't respond. One person would come and tell us that he will bring us food, and then he would go and never come back." (A 14) (M, 14 years).*

#### **5.4.4 Psychological problems**

In addition to environmental problems and torture as mentioned previously, the participants who were in interrogation suffered from anxiety almost all the time, as well as constant worry that was difficult to control. The emotional turmoil was accompanied by physical symptoms that included feeling restless, fatigued, and irritable as well as experiencing problems concentrating, muscle tension, and poor sleep.

For example, the results showed that twenty of the participants had fear during the detective process and as a consequence, they had increased heartbeats, sweating, shaking, nervousness, chest pain, and the urge to go to the bathroom.

*"My anger increased during the interrogation, and then in prison. From before, I used to control myself when I face a problem. However now, when something provokes me, I get really angry and very upset." (A 7) (M, 16 years).*

*"I had nervousness and angriness, because it increased after interrogation. I kept swearing, screaming and getting angry really fast." (A 1) (M, 17 years)*

*"I became very neuralgic. I get angry really fast. Once, I wanted to hit a soldier when he laughed at me, when I was going out of the interrogation room. They punished me." (A 4) (M, 15 years).*

*"I was really angry during the interrogation. I kept screaming and calling them, because it is difficult to feel like you're isolated. No one knows about you anything." (A 6) (M, 16 years).*

Also, the participants reported that they suffered from sadness, pain, despair, sense of helplessness, feeling hurt and guilty, or restlessness and they had thoughts of suicide.

*"I was sad because I'm sitting in a disgusting room. I started to think about death, and what I want to do. I was really pessimistic and sad." (A 2) (M, 14 years).*

*"I used to think about my friends during the interrogation. I remembered the nice days. I felt sad, depressed, paralyzed, and worthless. I kept blaming myself because I'm living like the dead. I started to feel a very deep pain inside. I couldn't get rid of it. There is no taste for life, and I can't be happy, and I hold grudges. I don't forgive people. I live for my parents. I'm trapped, and I can't do anything except have patience." (A 4) (M, 16 years).*

*"Frankly, during interrogation, there was no hope that I would get out of there. I used to feel lonely, desperation, sadness and guilty because I'm in this situation. I used to consider strangling myself because dying is better than living in this difficult situation, and I can't tolerate pain and I started thinking about committing suicide so I can get rid of this torture." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

Also, four participants reported that they suffered from nightmares during the interrogation period. They reported common nightmares about experiencing torture, being hit or soldiers trying to catch them. These nightmares usually ended in the child walking up in horror.

*"I used to sleep and dream about the interrogation a lot. I dream how the detective hit me, and I was hurt, and sometimes the soldiers use to chase me. I used to wake up and start screaming and feel really terrified from dreaming at night. I can't feel myself." (A 26) (M, 16 years).*

*"During interrogation, I kept dreaming that they are arresting me. I also dreamt about the interrogation and what I experienced. I can't sleep afterwards, and this is an every single day reoccurrence. Afterwards, I'd start screaming. I would be terrified, and irritated." (A 2) (M, 15 years).*

#### **5.4.5 Court experience**

After the completion of the interrogation process, the prisoners were sent to the court. The participants in this study were asked to describe their experiences in the court and the problems they faced. They reported that the court consisted of one room, where prisoners sit on chairs in a cage. One judge and parents sit on one side and the prosecutors and the lawyer sit on the other side. They discussed the case of each prisoner for more than half an hour.

*"We would be sitting down on normal chairs, and not in prison. I had one judge, and parents sat on the next side, and the Prosecutor and lawyer. The duration of my case discussion took half an hour utmost." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

The prisoners were brought to the court many times. For instance, fourteen participants reported that they went to courts from four to 100 times. One male participant indicated that he went to the course every two days, and at each time, they were humiliated, precisely from female soldiers. After five months, he was sentenced after almost he went 100 times to the court.

*"I used to go to courts every two days. And doing to court is really humiliated, just like what I told you about female soldiers. I spent five months till I was sentenced, and I went to courts a lot, around 100 times." (A 23) (M, 16 years.)*

*"I used to get angry a lot in courts, because I went around 30 times." (A 9) (M, 16 years).*

When the prisoners were transferred to the courts, they were exposed to very disruptive environment that had huge impact on their personal development, such as unclean room, lack of food, cold weather, and absence of toilets. For instance, they reported strip search before entering the court.

*"There was more than one type of inspection before entering the courts. You go through a machine, and you'll be strip searched. You go to courts for two minutes then they postpone the session again, and then you go back to another inspection." (A 15) (M, 16 years).*

*"Women examining us were humiliating. When we were examined by a machine, they're not allowed to come across us." (A 20) (M, 18 years).*

Moreover, seven participants indicated that before they were sent to the court, the prisoners were put in a waiting room called "Amanta". The participants described the room as very small with an included bathroom that contains around fifteen prisoners. They spent hours there and were offered bad food

*"There are around fifteen people in the room. And you keep waiting until your turn comes. You'd be tired because there are a lot of people in an uncomfortable room. Afterwards, when they call upon you, it becomes your turn to go. The best thing is that you'd see your parents, despite that you are handcuffed and you can't talk with them. You'd feel humiliated but you wouldn't show your parents. Afterwards, you go back to the room until all the other sessions are finalized. You come back again to the bus on the way to prison. It is a very long, tiring and boring day." (A 27) (M, 15 years).*

*"They used to inspect us and put us in 'Amanta', a waiting room. This waiting room is very small with a bathroom. There are around ten 'Amanta' and it is not big, but they put around fifteen prisoners in the same room, and we keep waiting till they call us in courts." (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

*"When they take us to courts, they put us in a small room, and we are usually a lot. We keep waiting for a long queue until they call upon our names." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

In addition, participants reported that the room was often cold during winter and hot during summer.

*"When we go to courts, they put us in the waiting room, and we keep waiting. The weather in summer is very difficult, because this rood would be very hot." (A 27) (M, 15 years).*

*"In prison, the weather in the room would be really cold, particularly in winter." (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

In addition, participants stressed the issues with the bathroom in the waiting room. When the participants asked for permission from the soldiers to go to the bathroom, they had to call them many times and they responded after half an hour, as one of the participants mentioned:

*"I used to tell him that I want to go to the "Shtorim", which means bathroom, it used to take them half an hour to open the door." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

In addition, the participants reported problems with food, as it was insufficient and of a bad quality.

*"The food here was the worst. They used to bring us breakfast, a little bit of bread with hood dogs. I used to scream at the "Al-Sohareya", but they never responded." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

*"Food in court was disgusting and not enough. A piece of bread and a little bit of yogurt and tomatoes." (A 19) (M, 17 years).*

In addition to the previous problems, the participants reported that they were prohibiting from talking to their families inside the court. For example, one female participant said that her first court was difficult because the soldier refused to let her see her family although it was her right. She asked the lawyer to see them and she told the

soldier that she would make problems in the court if she didn't see them. She asked the judge to see her family because the court was the only opportunity to see her Family.

*"The first time that I went, they didn't want my parents to come in. I got angry and told the lawyer that it's my right to let my parents in. The lawyer told me that we'll ask the judge, and I threatened the soldier and said that I will create a problem and complaint to the judge. When the judge came, I told him that I want to see my parents, because that was my purpose." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Also, two participants said that the court made them feel humiliated, because they were handcuffed in court and pulled by a female soldier.

*"We used to feel humiliated as we were handcuffed in courts, and also a female is ordering us around. This girl alone drags 50 men that by itself are humiliating." (A 20) (M, 17 years).*

*"Courts' experience is humiliating. You go into courts while you're handcuffed like an animal right in front of your parents." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

In addition, one participant described how this affected him psychologically as he felt like an animal:

*"You wake up early, and it is very difficult, then they tie you. I used to picture myself as if I'm a sheep and someone is trying to gather us and put us in a corral, and the sounds of chains were in a cow or sheep farm. There is no difference anymore between me and the animal; I lost all my senses in prison. When I used to feel like an animal, I used to wonder why this is happening to me, and I used to remember things from outside, and I used to remember when my dad used to scream at me and humiliate me. All these humiliating incidents, how can I stand in front of my father handcuffed? I used to try to be patient, and I used to control myself in front of my mom, and sit normally, like it is a routine. My mom got used to this view. I used to hide my feelings and laugh, as if there is nothing, and prison is only a waste of time." (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

Finally, others complained about physical abuse.

*"They took us in a bus, and the soldiers in Intelligence Service, officers and females, hit us with sticks on our legs. I was in Ofer during that time." (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

## **5.5 Imprisonment experience**

This section addresses the third major theme of the current study which is imprisonment experience. After being sentenced in the court, the participants were transferred to the prison. This prison experience can affect children in different ways as it has an impact on their psychosocial well-being, educational and social welfare as well as their health.

Data analysis revealed the following sub- themes:

- Admission process
- Authority structure inside prison
- Daily routine in prison
- The role of international organizations and lawyers in prison
- The prisoners' problems
- The positive experience of prison

### **5.5.1 Admission process**

Immediately before entering the prison, the participants should go through specific procedures carried out by the Israeli military, such as undergoing inspection and wearing the brown uniform. For example, thirteen of the participants highlighted the degrading and abusive treatment of the soldiers, whereby they were ripped off their clothes prior to leaving the interrogation and dragged into prison.

*"After they interrogated with us, we went to prison. They strip searched us. There is this type of inspection where they take off all our clothes. It was really degrading. They used to also examine us in fear that one of us smuggled a phone. They take our clothes and phones.*

*The strip search is very humiliating; we used to make problems; we used to refuse." (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

Many participants expressed their great sense of insult and humiliation when they were stripped naked, fully inspected and then examined by the machine.

*"When we first enter, they strip search us. But for me, this is better than getting my mom and sister. When I first went to Ofer, they stripped me naked, and fully inspected me. I felt insult and humiliation, but I didn't do anything. They examined me, and then they made me walk through a machine." (A 18) (M, 17 years).*

*"The strip search, once we get into prison, they take off all our clothes. It is really difficult, and it is a breach of privacy. It is very humiliating and degrading for a human being, but we can't do anything." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

Moreover, prisoners were obliged to wear special brown uniforms prior to entering the prison. They were prohibited to wear any other clothes in prison. One participant mentioned that he started to hate the color brown; if he saw this color, he would burn it because it reminded him of all the humiliation and abuse he experienced in prison.

*"Before we enter prison, they give us a uniform; its color is brown. We don't have freedom, not even when it comes to clothes. We are tied and examined. Everyday you're in that condition. Since those days, I officially hate the color brown. I used to think among myself and with my friends that once I'm released, I want to burn anything that I have with the color brown, even if it was my favorite shirt." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

*"When they take us to prison, they make us take off our clothes and change the clothes we came with. They took our clothes and put them in the safety box, and gave us a special uniform instead. Then, they took us to our sections. They take our clothes and phones, and they give us the prison's brown uniform." (A 14) (M, 15 years)*

### **5.5.2 Authority structure inside prison**

When the Israelis finalized the prison's admission procedures, and before being admitted in prison, the Palestinian prisoners initiated their administrative procedures and

roles. The Participants reported that this process should be done in 5 stages and the prisoner should visit 5 tents. For example, they first had to enter a room known as *the administration room*. In this room, they were asked general questions about their background and experience. Afterwards, they proceeded to the second tent, where they were asked if they needed cigarettes and were given some. Later on, new prisoners should visit the detainees' representative and his/her assistant. Moreover, new prisoners were inquired about their needs in the fourth tent, and finally, they are allowed to take a bath in the fifth tent.

One of the participants described these procedures as the following:

*"In prison, there are fifteen prisoners. There is a kettle and a hot tile for warming and cooking. There would be 11 two-floor bed "Barsh", and a TV for the tents. When I first entered the tent number one, at the door, it was written the administration room, and there were ten administrators, they asked me questions, it's not interrogation, but general information that all prisons should answer. Then we go to tent number Two, and they ask me if I have cigarettes, they give me some, and then I go to tent number Three. There would be a 'Duber' and 'Azgan Al-Duber', and he is the detainees' representative and his assistant. In tent number four, they ask me what I need and they give me. Then in tent number five, I go to the bathroom, and I take a shower. I stayed 30 minutes under the hot water, It was amazing, and then they let me sleep a bit. Then, they ask me to choose where I want to sleep. They made me sleep on the 'barsh' a bed; it is high not low. I was the youngest in the section; they pampered me and made me sleep. The section's supervisor 'Duber' came to ask me if I was upset from the section, I told him that I am not, but I want to go to a tent where anyone from my camp would be, section number two. The first thing that I liked in the tent is I was happy and proud of myself, because now I'm in prison with noble people that fought for our cause. Each one of them is sentenced for 25 years, It is enough the knowledge I grasped during prison." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

Another participant reported that they had orientation to these rules and regulations which helped them to cope with the situation better.

*"Then, we went to our prison's section. We saw guys from our camp; they welcomed us and started to explain the nature of the rooms, how we're supposed to behave and the*

*room's rules. They told us that we have to adapt with the new situation." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

Furthermore, a female participant reported that she inquired about the rules when she was first admitted to prison. She thought the rules were difficult, particularly that each prisoner must sleep alone. However, she was able to cope with the situation.

*"On the first day, I asked them about the room's rules so I won't violate them. The first thing they told me was that it is prohibited for two girls to sleep in the same bed. I thought it was difficult at start, but later on I accepted." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

In addition, the participants reported that prisoners established their own authority structure inside the prisons in order to protect prisoners. They mentioned five main bodies of authority that present in prison. First, as indicated by participants, a representative who is usually elected by all the political parties present in prison. Participants indicated that the representative is responsible for all sections in prison. Hence, he can freely move among all sections and has the authority to speak on behalf of all detainees, and communicate the detainees' problems in front of the prison's management officially.

*"In the section, there is the prison's representative, and he/she is responsible of all the sections of prison. He's delegated by all prisoners and speaks on behalf of them. He's allowed to go to all sections of prison." (A 16) (M, 17 years).* Another participant also mentioned: *"In prison, there is a representative, and he is the authorized person to speak to the management on behalf of all parties." (A 30) (M, 16 years).*

The second authority division is the National Commission of Struggle. This commission is made up of a representative of each political party present in the prison. The commission is responsible of the coordination of national struggle positions to ensure the unity of the prisoners' standpoint in front of the prison's administration. Moreover, the commission is essentially responsible of resolving problems and differences between the political factions. The detainees' representative is accountable to this commission providing that the commission also has the authority to determine guidelines that must be adhered by the representative during negotiation. This committee becomes mostly important during

prisoners' strikes given that it is considered as a steering committee, whereby everyone must adhere to its decisions.

*"In prison, there is the prison's representative, he's responsible of all the prisoners, and he negotiates with the management." (A 1) (M, 16 years).*

*"Also, there is the prison's representative, he hears everyone and speaks to the prison's management." (A 16) (M, 17 years),*

*"The prison's representative, he represents prisoners in front of the management." (A 17) (M, 17 years).*

The third authority is a sergeant, which is known as "Al-Shawish". Al-Shawish is a person who responsible for a section, coordinates with the soldiers and communicates the prisoner's problems with them given that prisoners are not allowed to talk to the soldiers. This person mostly stays awake all night to protect the prisoners. The sergeants' role is of great importance as he helps prisoners with their daily needs such as doctor and emergency. This person also helps in protecting the lives of children and youth, as they are unaware of the soldiers' hidden agenda. Also this person facilitates the communication between the administration and the prison officers.

*"The Shawish, the room's supervisor, was around my age. We used to talk together like friends, to organize the things around the room. Afterwards, there is the section's administration. They help prisoners in solving their problems and managing their issues such as, visits, food, sickness, and others. This is from the prisoners' achievements and struggles that has been established to protect and ease the life of prisoners." (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

*"The "Shawish" is the room's supervisor, he manages prisoners' affairs, and the Azkan 'the Shawish's assistant'" (A 30) (M, 16 years).*

*"There is the 'Shawish' that coordinates with the officer through the warden. He tells us about the family visits, and he sends information to the guys in the section from the officer, because prisoners are prohibited from talking to the officer or the warden. Their*

*role is essential. They ease our life and protect us, because there are children who are immature and ignorant about the sneaky games of the management. They are stupid, that's why the Shawish manages our communication with the management and the officer. Also, prisoners are like women, they gossip about each other, and they say everything that happens in prison. But you have to be strong, so wherever life takes you, you can stand still." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

The fourth authority is the sergeant's assistant. The sergeant's assistant helps the *Shawish* in coordinating and communicating the prisoners' problems in the room.

*"There is a prison's supervisor, Al-Shawish - speaker and room's supervisor - and the assistant of the Shawish. Every six months, an election is held and a new organizational committee is appointed." (A 30) (M, 16 years).*

Finally, the fifth authority is the counselor of the room who is responsible of the internal issues within the prison cells and among youth. For example, he solves problems and misunderstanding occurring between prisoners, and he provides the prisoners with social support enhancing and strengthening the relations among the prisoners. One of the participants mentioned that he played the role of the counselor, and stressed on the importance of promoting compassion and family love among the prisoners.

*"There were prisoners like girls, they gossip about each other. They gossip about everything that happens in prison, but you need to be strong; wherever life takes you, you have to stand in your own two feet. In prison, I was the counselor, which means I was responsible of the guys; I used to prepare food. For instance, if there is a problem between any two, I was responsible to solve it. When someone hits his brother, I solve the issue. The most important thing, that I used to tell them, that we are brothers and we live together. When someone is sick, his brother should stand by his side. That required efforts from me to fulfill this responsibility." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

### **5.5.3 Daily routine in prison**

The participants described the daily life in prison as a routine. *For example*, twenty eight prisoners pointed out that life in prison is a dull routine. There were no activities

except watching TV, which was forbidden to see after 10 PM, and they were forced to sleep.

*"The routine in prison was a killer. There is nothing we can do, except sit on TV. At 10, we have to switch off the TV. I used to do that at sun set time. Afterwards, you should sleep." (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

Furthermore, a female participant indicated that there were only five channels on TV, and every single day they rest in the same area.

*"There are only five channels on TV. The break was really boring. We always go to the same garden and the same place. I am disgusted." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

Another participant indicated that there was nothing to do in jail to kill time. He spent his time counting the prisoners, and counting each minute that passed.

*"I keep counting the minute and the hour during prison until the day finishes, it is such a long day. We would be counting each minute, and you look at the watch and count the seconds and minutes, and then you look again at the watch, and wondering when you'll go out. The time was too long, and that becomes the habit with all prisoners." (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

Also, two participants reported that the daily life of prison was always the same from 6 am to 6pm as they had the same activities such as eating, resting and social activities

*"Prison days are all similar. Every day, we wake up at 6 AM every day, then they prepared breakfast at around 10 - 11 in the morning. The first one who gets up usually prepares the breakfast. Then, we go to the resting area, where we might buy from the cafeteria, known as "Cantina". We speak to the guys. The break in Offer is from 6 AM till 6 PM." (A17)(M, 16 years).*

*"In the morning, there is the regular inspection, and then breakfast was at 9. Afterwards, it's a reading session. Every person reads a lot. Then, it is the noon session, and we take our break. We talk to the guys, and at night, we go inside, and play chess or chat together." (A 30) (M, 16 years).*

Finally, a female participant also indicated that they go outside to play sports; they forced them to stay outside even when it was raining.

*"We used to go to the break at 8 AM for an hour and a half. And once it was 1 PM. I didn't like to go out to break, because the weather was really hot. I used to play volleyball, and sometimes we used to take the session outside, but I used to tell them to let the session be in the room, so we can play sports outside. Even in winter, when we go to the break, if it was raining heavily over our heads, we were prohibited to get inside until the hour and a half is finished." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

#### **5.5.4 The Role of International Organizations and Lawyers**

The participants were asked about the role of international organizations such the Red Cross and the lawyers in supporting and helping them inside the prison. The findings showed different point of views

For example, seventeen participants pointed to the role of the Red Cross during the visits and many of them referred to its important role in informing the parents about the visits as well as bringing clothes to prisoners and following up with the prisoners' condition and collecting information. The Red Cross collects information about the arrest, types of torture, type of food served and whether prisoners were beaten, humiliated or tortured. The Red Cross also took care of the entertainment aspect by bringing games such as Tennis, Chess... etc.

For example, a participant who supported the Red Cross claimed:

*"The Red Cross always visits the prison. They used to help them, if they need to send letter to their parents or anything. Their services were very important for us. They used to check on the prison's condition and bring things that aren't found in prison, such as chocolates. Three or four personnel from the Red Cross usually come and call upon each prisoner to check if we want to deliver any message to our parents." (A 19) (M, 17 years).*

One participant stressed on the important role of the Red Cross, because without their help, the prisoners would've missed the chance of having visits from their parents. The Red

Cross visits every new inmate who enters the prison and usually asks them couple of questions about the circumstances of his/her arrest. They also deliver the prisoners' needs and messages to their parents.

*"The Red Cross used to come and take every new prisoner. They interviewed him/her and ask a couple of questions about the circumstances of the arrest. Their questions were irritating, and sometimes meaningless, for instance, did you eat? Were you beaten? And things like that. And they also used to deliver messages and letters to family, upon prisoners request. The Red Cross also used to help us in visits, and if we want anything from our parents, they used to coordinate how to get it. Their presence is important, because without them, we can't visit our parents." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

Another participant also proclaimed that the Red Cross played crucial roles particularly when the children were in bad health conditions. They also inquired about the investigation and life in prison through one to one interviews and group interviews.

*"The Red Cross used to visit us and inquire about our health to reassure our parents. They used to sit with each group of prisoners and inquire about the situation. Their role is really important," (A 8) (M, 16 years).*

In contrary, other participants described the role of the Red Cross as routinely and ineffective. Therefore, some prisoners refused to meet them or talk to them. For example, one participant stated that the Red Cross did nothing.

*"The Red Cross do visit us and ask questions, but they do not help in anything. They do not do anything for prisoners," (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

Another participant pointed out that the role of the Red Cross was restricted to bringing entertainment games for child prisoners, without bringing clothes that they needed. *"The Red Cross does not give clothes. However, they bring games such as football and chess so we can have fun." (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

Furthermore, one female participant downplayed the importance of the Red Cross' role and claimed that the only useful action they did was delivering messages to the prisoners' families. She also indicated that she informed them many times about the

administration's practices inside the prison but to no avail. She stressed that the letter she sent to her parents used to take months to be delivered.

*"Whether the Red Cross was present or not, it is the same thing. Till now, I can't find any benefits from its presence. The only thing they do is to deliver our messages to our parents. But I faced so many problems with them. I used to tell them things, and they didn't do anything. They didn't even use to get me anything, and the letter that I used to send with the Red Cross used to take up to four months to be delivered." (A 25) (F, 16 years).*

Regarding the role of lawyers, fifteen participants pointed out to the role of lawyers inside prisons and they stressed their significant role in the courts and the commutation of the sentence. However, other participants thought negatively of the lawyers' role in helping prisoners on the grounds that lawyers presented merely a formality role, where by the judge took the final decision, which couldn't be changed. For example, one participant praised the role of the lawyer describing it as an active role in mitigation of the sentence. He indicated that the lawyer managed to lessen the sentence from eighteen months to fifteen months by paying 3,000 Shekels in compensation for the three months.

*"Prison experience is very difficult. A day in prison is equal to 100 days. Without the lawyer, I wouldn't be able to reduce the sentence." (A 16) (M, 17 years)*

He also said:

*"My lawyer used to be from the Prisoner's Club, and he was able to exempt me from three months for 3,000 NIS. I was sentenced for 15 months. Outside the prison is a lot better. Prison's experience is very difficult; each day is like 100 days. And in prison, we have to live and help each other." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

In contrary, another participant proclaimed that the role of the lawyer wasn't effective enough to reduce the judgment. He was disappointed with the deal agreed upon and he was extremely dissatisfied with the lawyer's role.

*"The lawyer wasn't good. I wasn't satisfied by my sentence and the deal. It's useless, he doesn't do anything." (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

Another female participant also claimed that the lawyer's role was ineffective because he did not visit them.

*"The lawyers do not visit her a lot. It took the lawyer nine months to visit her. She has been in prison for a year and eight months; she only visited me three times".*

*(A 28) (F, 15 years)*

Moreover, she stressed on the role of lawyers in supporting prisoners, reassuring them, and clarifying the case. She added that the prisoners always had concerns regarding the judgment as well as their family, where the role of the lawyer came to reassure them and clarify everything. This is very crucial role that the lawyers should play which would reflect on the psychological state of prisoners, particularly that they could not be in touch with their parents.

*"Lawyers do not visit us a lot. I spent nine months until a lawyer visited me. And all my stay in prison, around a year and eight months, I was visited only three times by the lawyer. That's unfair because the lawyer supports the prisoner and they keep us updated about the sentence, especially that we would be worried. Also, the lawyer delivers the prisoners' messages to the family. When there is no visit, you feel like you have no one in this world." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

In support of the previous argument, another female participant expressed her anger of the lawyers' role, and described it as a routinely role revolved around money. She mentioned that she raised the case of strip searching to legal and human right institutions, such as the Ministry of Prisoners, the Prisoners' Club along with other organizations. Nevertheless, nothing was done.

*"I feel like all lawyers come to take their salary at the end of the month. That's why they do everything that the Jews want. I used to get really angry at my lawyer. I filed a sue through the prisoners' club, Ministry of Prisoners and other institutions about what happened in the strip search and interrogation, but it was useless. Nothing used to happen." (A 25) (F, 16 years).*

### 5.5.5 Prisoners' Problems

During the interviews, the participants reported many social and psychological problems, in addition to environment problems, food problems, sleeping problems, night inspection and security, health problems, educational problems, economic problems, and political problems. These problems are discussed in more details in this section.

### 5.5.6 Prison's Environment

The suffering of children inside prisons extends to the lack of ventilation and poor lightening in prisons. Most prisons, like Offer Prison, consisted of very small room which were fully covered and encased by mesh sheets of iron preventing air and sun from entering the room. This leads to significant humidity making prisons like Hasharon and Damon extremely inappropriate for living. For example one participant stated:

*"You would also sit in a very small room, and the door would close at 5. And you're captured for false accusations." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

Another participant explained

*"There were 9 other prisoners in the room. We lacked the minimum level of human dignity. It was very difficult to adapt. And they put us all in one room, which makes us very nervous", (A 9) (M, 16 years).*

Furthermore, a female participant expressed her frustration. She explained how the room and window were so small for prisoners. She described the prison cell as:

*"The floor was black with small white dots; it used to really upset me. The bed was blue, and the windows were very small covered with metal. We didn't use to see the sky, and this used to suffocate me, I faced a hard time during summer, as it was very pressuring. While I'm at bed, I used to worry that I'll see a bug. At the beginning, I wasn't able to sleep in the floor. But then, they used to bring new prisoners for visits, as they didn't have any place. I used to allow them to sleep in my bed for few days, so I got used to sleeping in the floor." (A28)(F, 15 years).*

It is also worth shedding the light on the lack of suitable health facilities. Health facilities are usually located in the showering area. These rooms frequently emit foul odors and contain polluted water, which is similar to the color of the milk. These extremely humid rooms are also a habitat for many insects, such as cockroaches, scorpions and rats. All these conditions put children at risk of many skin diseases, which are already spread in prisons as one of the participants reported:

*"The room was filled with bugs and cockroaches. It was disgusting, can you imagine! I'm simply scared from these things. I used to wake up at night screaming from fear, and dream of bugs. A long time ago, my mother used to prepare food, and I used to refuse to eat, but now I eat everything." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

*"All prison is not comfortable. The worst thing was the sewage; I used to smell it and feel really annoyed, and close my nose. We used to keep knocking on the door, and the guys spoke to one of the Jews, and they transferred us from the room." (A 8) (M, 16 years).*

*"There was no sun, no proper bathroom, just humility and a place full of cameras"*  
*(A 15) (M, 17 years).*

Finally, weather was one of the major problems they had in prison. During prison time, children suffered from extreme cold which affected their daily lives majorly and contributed to insomnia and sleeping disorders. One of the participants explained how it was very difficult to cope with winter:

*'The weather was very cold in winter, but we didn't have enough blankets', (A 1) (M, 17 years).*

Another child referred to his difficult experience in Offer prison. He indicated that he had suffered majorly during winter timing, as they used to drown with water when it rained.

*"Living standards in Offer were very difficult. We used to live in tents, we tried to tie them down with nails. But during rain, the tents used to fly away, and we all get extremely wet", (A 7) (M, 16 years).*

### 5.5.7 Sleep problems

Fourteen participants reported sleeping problems due to inappropriate sleeping conditions. For example, one of the participants clarified that the beds were made of iron, the mattresses were very small, and in most cases, there were no blankets or pillows. One of the participants explained:

*"You can't sleep neither at night nor in the morning. When you go to sleep, you'd feel uncomfortable and you won't be able to sleep. You would sleep for two hours, then you wake up, then you sleep again then you wake up again. That's why I felt tired all the time, and I didn't feel like I slept except for very few hours." (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

*"I didn't use to sleep in the first month. At my mom's house, I used to sleep in a comfortable bed, and a comfortable mattress, and not on this very high bed made of iron, and a 4 cm mattresses without a pillow or a blanket in a tent when it's cold." (A 15) (M, 14 years).*

*"My sleep became very light. I couldn't sleep at night; I used to sleep for two or three hours every day from over thinking." (A 4) (M, 15 years).*

Moreover, another participant described the security mechanism in prison which affected their sleep pattern. He mentioned that soldiers inspected and examined the prison cells every six hours, starting from 6 am. The soldiers awaked up all prisoners up and forced them to go to the playground, while they examined everything in the room.

*"When they come to examine the sections, you'd be sleeping at night. They wake you up and surround us in the playground. They examine all the room, and after we come back to the room, we have to start organizing our stuff. A person would want to have a rest for few hours, but they come and ruin your sleep. And you wouldn't get much sleep, because you'd want to sleep at sunset time around 7 pm, and the daily inspection would be at 6 AM, they wake you up, and at 12. This means, there is no sleep, and I used to stay tired. You wouldn't believe when you'll be able to sleep, and when I think, I feel like the day is so long." (A 4) (M, 15 years).*

Thinking about their families and friends was another reason for sleeping problems.

*"Inside prison, I used to worry a lot before I sleep. I think about people outside prison, my family and my love." (A 2) (M, 17 years).*

*"I couldn't sleep daily. I used to keep thinking of the outside, I used to think of my mom, and what she would have done if she was alive. My bed was at the corner, I used to go to my bed, as if I want to sleep, but I couldn't. They used to sleep, and I used to stay awake. I was lazy, and I didn't walk." (A 30) (F, 16 years).*

Another child indicated that he couldn't sleep every day before 3 A.M. due to his constant thinking of what happened to him, and due to his feeling of guilty.

*"In prison, I couldn't sleep most of the days until 3 AM, because I used to think of what happened to me, and I used to blame myself because I'm in prison."*

*(A 17) (M, 16 years).*

In addition, prisoners used to experience lots of nightmares, as reported by five participants. These participants mentioned that they had dreams of the interrogation and threat, which freaked them out and made them wake up scared and frightened.

*"I used to keep thinking and dreaming about the interrogation and threat. I used to wake up scared and terrified. This used to happen always; it even followed me to my sleep." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

*"I couldn't sleep in prison. I had so many nightmares about the day I was arrested and the interrogation. I used to wake up a lot screaming. I can't sleep afterwards, I keep thinking about what happened with me and about the dream." (A15)(M,17 years).*

*"I used to have lots of sleeping problem, because even when I sleep, all my dreams were about how they came to me at night, arrested me and tortured me and about the interrogation as well. I used to wake up screaming after the dream, and I can't sleep afterwards. I also started to walk unconsciously." (A 27) (M, 15 years).*

Furthermore, a participant shared his experience and explained how he kept dreaming about his death and funeral.

*"If I slept, I used to dream that I died, and my parents are at my funeral. This dream was repeated daily. I used to wake up from sleep frightened, and I felt like I have lost hope in life. I felt like I'm in danger. Afterwards, I wasn't able to sleep." (A 6) (M, 16 years)*

### **5.5.8 Food Problems**

According to the results, there were many complaints regarding food in prison. Twelve participants mentioned eating problems such as malnutrition and lack of fruits and vegetables. Participants indicated that poor quality meals were served, such as raw chicken, or chicken full of blood in many cases, or blue eggs. This obliged the participants to purchase food from the cafeteria, which was very expensive, and very limited; in most cases, only canned food was available.

*"In prison, the food was disgusting; it wasn't delicious and the chicken was almost raw, and there isn't proper food to eat. We used to count on the administration's food, they bring a can of tuna, and a pack of chips weekly, with one fruit. The rice that they bring each day doesn't taste well, there is no food. I spent twenty days almost going to die; I spent them fasting. We used to save up the food till dinner, and eat it before we sleep so we can sleep; because when you're hungry you can't sleep. I spent twenty days that replaced my entire life. I had no sense of nice or bad feelings anymore. It all went away." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

*'Although the food was neither healthy nor delicious, we are forced to eat it, whether it's good or it's not, we were forced to eat it. And I swear to God, the food was extremely expensive. We used to buy a pack of cigarettes for 15 NIS and it was disgusting, but we were forced. Everything was expensive". (A 13) (M, 16 years).*

*"I barely ate for 20 days, as if I was fasting; It almost felt like I'm dying. Therefore, I and the other children used to preserve the food to eat it during dinner time so we can sleep. Those 20 days were the worst in my life; they literally erased all the good times from my memory".*

Another female participant indicated the presence of insects in the food.

*"The food was very disgusting to the extreme. That's why; I used to buy canned food from the cafeteria. The prison's food was so disgusting, I would never taste it. Sometimes it contained cockroaches and insects."(A 24) (F, 14 years).*

In an attempt to avoid the expensive costs in the cafeteria and the poor quality of the served meals, the participants used to take turns to cook the food themselves.

*"The food was very disgusting, we never used to eat anything served by the Israelis. We used to take turns in cooking. I used to prepare breakfast in most cases. This allowed us to at least eat something during our time in prison." (A 22) (M, 17 years).*

### **5.5.9 Night inspection and security**

Twenty participants pointed out to the sudden inspections during the night. For example, one participant reported that this was one of the most difficult experiences he had:

*"The inspection was really difficult, because we'd be sleeping, and they suddenly come. The night inspection is really scary, I can't forget it. They usually come at 3 PM when we're sleeping and attack us with dogs and beating by sticks suddenly, to take our phones (that are not supposed to be with us in prison). They attack us as if we are some animals, and they are ghosts. This was really terrifying for me. Also, after that they prohibit us from visits, as a punishment, and they make us get out examining the room. Then they either send us to a new section or to the prison cells" (A 6) (M, 16 years).*

Another male participant told his story when a soldier was killed outside prison, and he with another prisoner while reading the newspaper, the prison manager, 50 years old, heard them. In response, a sudden inspection took place and he was severely beaten.

*"They used to enter with dogs to try to horrify prisoners, particularly young children. Regular security and sudden inspections. One day, there was an Israeli soldier dead in Huwwara checkpoint. I was reading the news, and the section's manager, she's about 50 years old, was around. Then there was "window knocking". It is like an inspection, where soldiers knock on windows with a stick to see if there is anyone trying to take off the window. So, I was reading the news a bit loud at the door, and the manager was sitting at*

*the door. I was reading the news that a soldier died at Huwwara checkpoint, and I told one of the guys the news. I don't know how she heard me, and she entered the room and grabbed my hair. I had a long hair by that time. She had soldiers with her, and they handcuffed me. We walked around 300 m, and they slapped me and humiliated me in each meter. She insulted my family and God. She told the Intelligence Officer that I was in the playground with the guys, and I was laughing and happy about the news and she put me in a prison cell." (A15) (M, 17 years).*

As a result of the constant humiliation and torture during the inspection process, prisoners tried to protect themselves by fighting the soldiers. One of the participants indicated:

*"We used to try not to let them enter the room. They used to enter by force. They used to beat us and spray gas on us, which made us defend ourselves by throwing food cans. When they come to take our phones, and they didn't find any, we used to find with them. The problem is that they used to hit us by sticks and spray gas" (A14)(M,15 years).*

*"One day, they conducted a sudden inspection, while we were in the cafeteria. They came, and they started beating us, so we started throwing everything with us on them, even the TV. Then, the -Nahashon- team came, but they couldn't beat us. Then, the -Samim- team came, each one of them were 2 m tall. We couldn't beat them, even if we had weapons. They attacked us and threw gas on us. A total of 300 attacked us. For each prisoner, there were three who from the -Samim- who attacked us with sticks. We were beaten so hard, and then the Shabas, the prison security, came and took us back to the rooms. They made us stand in two lines, and throughout our way to the rooms, they kept hitting us" (A18)( M,16 years).*

Furthermore, soldiers did regularly training on inspections particularly during night. In support of this, one participant stated:

*"I spent two months in Ramon, and then they transferred me to Majdo. They used to train on how to oppress us and terrify us. For example, 20 to 30 soldiers would come to a prison section carrying shields, and they start screaming, just like the actual inspection. And you know, there are many children, some of them are 12 years old. They used to get*

*terrified. Then the warden would tell them not to be scared, it is just a training" (A7)(M,16 years).*

Also, several participants stressed the bad treatment of the prison's management with the prisoners and described it as horrible.

*"The prison's management has been one of the most horrible things in prison. The way they treat the prisoners daily, during the courts, and when going to the clinic. They cuff our hands, and we have to wear the Shabas (the brown uniform), which by itself is pressuring", (A 4) (M, 17 years).*

Another participant also noted that the bad treatment of the management was caused by the security, 'Shabas', which is a company responsible for the security in prison.

*"The treatment of the management... There is a company called Shabas. It is a prison security company. There is also "Sohareyya", the police, they stay there and they are responsible of prison. Their treatment is really bad with us, oppression, and targeting youth. Some of them are good, and others aren't close to good. There is one of the Soheirs, he treats us like we are some garbage." (A 27) (M, 15 years).*

Targeting prisoners to become spies was one of the major goals of the security system in prison and many participants indicated that they suffered from the implantation of intelligence system for the prisoners inside the prisons. They used to worry about their transfers to other rooms in fear of implanted spies.

*"I used to be really scared that they transfer me to another rooms. I was scared that any of the other prisoners would be a spy," (A6)(M,16 years).*

Furthermore, a female participant indicated that the Israeli Intelligence offered her a job to spy on the other prisoners. In return, they would provide her with anything she wanted, but she refused.

*"He told me, I'll give you anything you want, and I'll do anything you want. I asked him why? He told me under one condition that you go back to the prison section and give me news about the girls. But I refused," (A24)(F,14 years).*

Finally, a participant indicated those four months prior to his release, they offered to pay him his university fees if he cooperated with them but he refused.

*"Four months prior to my release, they called upon me. It was really hot, and I was very hungry. He opened the door and told me congratulations you're being released. I told him you're being sarcastic; I still have four more months. He asked me what I wanted to do after I get out of prison, so I told him I wanted to study nursing in Birzeit University. So he told me that Birzeit is good, but it is really expensive, and that he can help me, because he knows my dad's situation isn't that good. I told him my dad's financial situation is really good and we don't need your help. Then he flipped and got angry" (A20)(M,17 years)*

#### **5.5.10 Punishments**

The participants indicated that prisoners managed their social life inside prison to make things easier. Children in prisons used to obey these regulations, and were obliged to follow them. In case a prisoner didn't obey all the regulations, they were punished by prisoners themselves. And the punishments varied from positive one such as reading books or cleaning room or negative punishment such as being beaten in front of others.

For example, one of the participants pointed to the punishment regulations that the prisoners developed, which aimed at managing their lives and protecting prisoners from danger. Punishment could be done by beating them by a stick, or face slapping. However, lately face slapping was prohibited. Prisoners were subjected to punishments if they swore.

*"In prison, prisoners had punishments created from Arab themselves. This was for sorting out rules to protect prisoners from danger and sorting out our issues. The punishment was through beating with sticks or through slapping in Majdo. At the end, they prohibited slapping; however, it was still permitted to beat with sticks. They used to punish on anything, such as expiation. This is very humiliating sometimes, especially that we are men, and we were beaten in front of everyone, but those were the rules." (A19)(M,17 years).*

*"However, where I was, the committee used other punishments, such as reading, copying, writing, cleaning. These are good ways, and a person would learn from them, and they are not humiliating like beating." (A 30) (M, 16 years).*

Another participant indicated that a prisoner might be punished just because the room was not clean. The punishment would be to prohibit prisoners from going outside to the resting area or even going to the cafeteria, where the room door would be closed.

*"If there is one dirt in the room, you would be punished. They would close the door, and prohibit you from going outside to any place, or to the Cantina." (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

The punishment is described by a committee of prisoners. One participant pointed to the committees deal with children less than 18 years. He stated that in Majdo prison, particularly; the punishment was humiliating for prisoners, wounding human dignity, especially the beating, and insulting which were difficult to cope with. The participant further pinpointed the cruelty of the committee which forces the prisoners to take permission before going to the bathroom, and if they didn't take permission, they would be accused as spies, and would get out of the section. He stressed that the committee's treatment was bad, and degrading like beating prisoners in front of everyone because the prisoner screamed or swore.

*"The most things that influenced me were the treatment of the administration with the adolescents (below 18 years old). When I entered Majdo, I knew what prison means and I regretted that I went to prison, because of the insult and the beating that I saw from the administration; no one can tolerate the humiliation, and the words that wound a human being's dignity. Even when using a bathroom without permission, they accuse you of being a spy, and decide that they want to get you out. I stayed in Majdo from May 20 till July 28, but they felt like a year, and they were the most difficult thing of the whole prison experience due to the other prisoners' degrading punishments. They would beat you in front of all prisoners on your hands, or by a stick because you screamed or cursed. This is very degrading." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

Nevertheless, some participants did not accept the punishment of the prisoners and considered it as a form of humiliation. For example, one participant proclaimed that he disagreed with the punishments, but he couldn't do anything. He stated that a steering committee would sit down and discuss the laws that were bypassed. Accordingly, the punishments would be selected. Punishment could be lashing the prisoner in front of other prisoners which they considered as very humiliating. The number of lashes would be based

on the number of mistakes or swears. Also biased from the soldiers towards prisoners from his village, city or camp is not allowed, and he would be punished. Moreover, spies which were detected would be attacked and beaten from all prisoners. Further, if someone gave the Israelis a report about the prison section, he would be punished.

*"And I wasn't satisfied with the punishment at all, but I can't prevent them. I wasn't punished, I didn't do anything wrong, not one time. They used to whip. They carry out a session and indicate what the mistake is and how many whips he/she is supposed to be punished. They punished mostly on God insults. Also, the Duber, the room's supervisor, used to call upon people from his village to the clinic. If the general counselor knew, he would transfer the Duber. Also, if there is a spy, all tents would attack him, and start beating him. Also, they throw at him the report that includes information about all the section. He would be seriously punished." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

*"I used to think a lot about punishment. I would learn if someone spoke to me, and not when they punish and hit me. It is not about punishment, but the humiliation while getting beaten in front of everyone. After being punished, I went to the committee and shouting at them and started hitting the room. Then I used to go to the committee and tell them that even though you punished me, but I will swear in the middle of the resting area. After that, they stopped punishing me. I used to keep reminding them that the punishment is so degrading and humiliating. A prisoner who was humiliated once, we'll always remember. Also, there are other committees that are biased and do not punish everyone." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

Finally, one participant indicated that punishment may depend on which political parties the prison belonged to. For example, some committees punished by beating, while other committees punished by forcing someone to read, write, clean or copy, which were positive punishments. One participant pointed:

*"It depends on the organizational committee. There are certain committees that use beating and humiliation as punishment. However, where I was, the committee used other punishments, such as reading, copying, writing, cleaning. These are good ways, and a person would learn from them, and they are not humiliating like beating." (A 30) (M, 16 years).*

### 5.5.11 Health Problems

In addition to sleeping problems, participants experienced plenty of illnesses and diseases that vary from a simple dizziness to cancer. This section illustrates the various health problems that the prisoners had such as headaches, low blood pressure, dizziness, fainting, eye problems, pain, fractures, infections, poison, epilepsy, kidney stone, cancer and their treatments in prison

For example, one participant indicated that they were admitted to prison as healthy people, however they were released with all different illnesses, such as cancer, hemorrhoids, and cartilage disease (DISK).

*"You enter as a proper human being, contrary to how you get out of prison. You get out filled with illnesses, such as cancer, hemorrhoids, and DISK." (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

In the case of epidemic diseases in the prison, the prison administration took them to the hospital and treated them or put them in the quarantine room where they kept their files secret

*"They took us to the hospital and treated us. Those who their sickness was really serious were taken to the quarantine room. They were three. We asked the management to tell us about the sickness, but until now, the disease is a secret, and the files are hidden." (A 7) (M, 16 years).*

*"The situation in prison was very difficult and really scary. A person should take a really good care of his/her own health. I used to clean my clothes and clean myself a lot, because I was scared that I will get some illness. Sometimes I used to be really scared to get some of the illnesses that are spread among the prisoners, such as pimples. That's why I used to take a shower three times a day, and I used to clean the floor always." (A4) (M, 16 years).*

*"When I first got to Offer, I got sick and stayed in bed for three days. It was infection, another prisoner who, also got the infection suffered from high fever and wasn't able to walk. The infection was eventually passed into 21 prisoners. We stayed a long period*

*without any treatment. It was a really difficult situation, and we were scared we will die without treatment." (A7)(M,16Years).*

Four participants indicated that they suffered from severe headaches. One participant reported that he had a headache, by which the doctor didn't provide anything except Acamol.

*"I started to have headaches, but they didn't treat me. They only gave me Acamol." (A 27) (M, 15 years).*

*"I used to have lots of severe headaches. When I'm pain, I become very furious, and I treat people in an inappropriate way. Then, I drink almost 4 pills to try to feel better. I sit alone for around 10 minutes, but this happens twice or three times per day, that I become really tired, I can't walk, and I feel a loud noise around. This was as a result of the stress and suffering I lived in prison." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

Another participant indicated that he constantly suffered from headaches and dizziness for three months. Nevertheless, the doctor gave him only four Acamol tablets within three months.

*"While I'm in prison, I started to suffer from regular headaches and dizziness. They didn't treat me. I took four Acamol pills within three months." (A 6) (M, 16 years).*

Finally, another participant referred to another prisoner who suffered from water in his brain. The soldiers didn't transfer him to Al-Ramla Hospital until his condition worsened.

*"There is a prisoner in Offer from our town, who got water in his brains, and he started to suffer. Soldiers ignored him, and then they sent him to Al-Ramallah hospital. His situation was very bad." (A 11) (M, 15 years).*

In addition, one female participant stressed that she suffered from low blood pressure due to malnutrition.

*"I used to have low blood pressure a lot due to malnutrition." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Also two participants indicated that they suffered from dizziness without being treated. One of the participant stated that she suffered from dizziness a lot. As a result she used to faint, and injure her head, yet she was never treated.

*"I used to feel dizzy a lot, and once I fell on the ground and injured my head, but they never did anything." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Another participant also stressed that he also used to feel really dizzy almost four times a day, but they never treated him.

*"I used to get dizzy almost three, four times a day, especially in the mid-day, but they didn't use to treat me." (A 14) (M, 15 years)*

A participant pointed out that he fainted in Ramon Prison. He was then transferred to the hospital, where he had a brain MRI that indicated the presence of a concussion of the brain. He was treated only with Acamol.

*"Once in Ramon, I fainted and they took me to the hospital. I was examined through MRI, and they informed me that I have a concussion in the brain. I woke up at 12 at night, not knowing what happened to me. I saw the Sohari dragging the bed, and I was tied with my legs and hands. There is always a security, three Soharis, and they don't inform the parents. My parents didn't know until I was released. I was worried of sickness in prison; they used to provide only Acamol." (A 19) (M, 17 years).*

Further, one participant indicated that he suffered from pain in his eyes. His eyes used to hurt him a lot when he slept, and he experienced difficulty opening his eyes. The doctor gave him an eye drop that he was scared to take.

*"I had an eye infection. When my eyes hurt me a lot, I used to sleep; I wasn't able to open them. I went to the doctor, and he gave me an eye drop, but I didn't use it, because I can't guarantee that it's for eyes." (A 1) (M, 16 years).*

Moreover, two participants pointed out that they suffered from neck pain. One of the female participants stated that before being arrested she used to do regular medical

checkups, which didn't show any illnesses. However, in prison, she started feeling severe pain in her neck and legs due to humidity in prison.

*"I worry a lot about my health, and I used to do regular checkups before I go to prison. I had checkups right before I was admitted to prison. And in prison, my legs and neck hurt till today due to humidity." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Another participant indicated that he suffered from severe pain in the back and neck. He was denied access to the doctor. The other prisoners tried to help him out by giving him something similar to a wooden bed to sleep on until he got better.

*"I was sick in prison. My back and neck hurt me so bad that I couldn't sleep from the pain. I asked to go to the doctor, but the soldiers didn't accept. The guys got something made of wooden, and they made me sleep on it. I felt better after a while, but at the beginning it was very difficult. If someone is about to die, the management wouldn't let him go to the doctor. It is difficult to find a proper treatment." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

In addition to previous health problems, one participant indicated that during his presence in prison, he was subjected to two fractures in his leg, and he was only given Acamol. This resulted in walking difficulties for a period of time.

*"I had to bone fractures in my leg because I spent a long period of time with treatment, I was only given Acamol, while sitting down. It has affected me even more, and I had severe pain in my legs, without being given any treatment." (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

A participant indicated that he was subjected to a skin infection which was not treated, until he got out of prison.

*"I was sick, and I had an allergy where all my leg was filled with pimples. That was caused by prison, and they didn't treat me. And since I was released, I'm being treated." (A 11) (M, 15 years).*

Also one participant reported that he was poisoned in prison, where he had a severe pain in his stomach and was transferred to the hospital. His condition was diagnosed as food poisoning, and he felt better after an operation.

*"I was poisoned in prison, and I felt severe pain in my stomach. They took me to the hospital and they said that I had food poisoning. Hence, I had an operation, which made me feel better. I felt like I was going to die, I was scared to death." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

Other two participants described his experience with other prisoners who had epilepsy.

*"Someone in our section had epilepsy, while another guy had problems with the kidney. Also, every single day, a guy used to faint. They sent them to the clinic, were they take some medication. In most cases, instead of feeling better, their health used to deteriorate. When I used to get sick, the guys used to help me and stand by my side. Once the guy who have epilepsy started shouting suddenly and I couldn't hold him, so I ran from his side. Another time he started shouting at 11 at night. We called the doctor, and he gave him a pill".(A16)(M,17Years).*

*"I was healthy, but one guy in the same section had epilepsy. He rarely used to receive any medical help. When I see him shouting, I used to give him a pill and a cup of water. I used to feel scared and feel a big responsibility." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

For kidney stone, a participant shared his experience, by which he suffered from kidney stone for two to three months, and was only given soothing needles despite his daily visit to the clinic. This resulted in severe pain, by which he felt totally paralyzed. The participant was then transferred to the hospital and undertaken a surgery.

*"I started to suffer from kidney stone for around two to three months. I experienced severe pain in my kidneys, and I spent two weeks regularly going to the clinic, while they only gave me a pain killer needles. At night, the same thing happened. I started to feel fully paralyzed, so they took me to Hadassah, and I had an operation, until the stone went down to the intestines, and stayed there. I had severe pain, it controlled everything. Pain was reduced by painkillers."*

For serious diseases, five participants indicated that prisoners suffered from cancer by which they were only given Acamol as a treatment. One of the participants pointed out that

one prisoner suffered from a tumor in shoulders, and was only given Acamol. He was then released to a hospital where he started chemotherapy.

*"There is a prisoner from our town who had a tumor in his shoulder. They used to give him Acamol only until they discovered that he had cancer. They took him out of prison, and now he's undergoing chemotherapy. This used to make us really sad on guys in prison. I used to feel in danger, and tell myself that if I got sick, I wonder what will happen. I used to clean myself whenever I touch anything." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

Also, the participant reported his story when one child suffered from cancer while he was in prison. He emphasized that it was the most difficult moment that prisoners went through, particularly that the child lived with them, and the news were surprising. They didn't know if he would stay alive or no, but they tried to act as normal as possible so the child didn't feel anything weird, despite that the child knew he had cancer.

*"A child here had cancer, and the circumstances were very difficult. It was difficult to interact together, after suddenly hearing that this child was sick in prison, and we didn't know if he was going to live or not. The problem is he came after a week, and we used to treat him normally without sympathizing. We didn't make him feel like he's sick. But we knew he is, and he knew, and it was really difficult. He was one of us, and it was difficult to abandon him and not to sympathize. Just thinking about his case was difficult"(A30)(M,16 years).*

Another participant stressed that cancer incidents occur a lot in prison, as a result of the phone jamming devices that they placed behind the rooms. He stated that his friend at prison suffered from cancer. It was a very difficult situation particularly that he was in the last stages.

*"These incidents happen a lot in prison. Lots of prisoners start to suffer from cancer due to the jamming devices that are placed behind the rooms. This device interferes with the phones' signals. The most thing that affected me was that my friend, who was with me in prison, started to suffer from cancer. He is my best friend, and it was really difficult on me. I was sad, because he's counting his days." (A 22) (M, 17 years).*

In consequence, prisoners had fear of getting cancer. For example, one female participant indicated that she's worried that she had cancer, because she suffered from severe neck pain. She felt like she was going to die and would not see her parents.

*"I was really scared to have cancer, because I had severe neck pain. "I was wondering if I will die before seeing my parents, and I was trying to make myself stronger so the illness would go away. I tried to convince myself that it was from the drawing because I drew a lot. But I was always scared and I feel like I'm sick and that I'm going to die, until I got out of prison and I had a checkup which showed that the neck pain resulted from tiredness not cancer", (A28)(F,17Years).*

Finally, one more participant stated that one of the most difficult situations he suffered from was when he got sick. He was transferred to the hospital due to a four months headache. He was scared to have cancer, the idea haunted his mind. He became furious and used to regularly shout at his friends. He further explained: *"The most things that bothered me in prison was that I was sick, and I went to the hospital due to headaches, where the symptoms remained for four months. I was scared that I have cancer, and this thought haunted me. I stayed scared and terrified, until I became very furious with my friend, and I kept getting angry and shouting at them when they say any word or request." (A 6) (M, 16 years).*

For treatment as mentioned by most of the participants, the most common drug that the prisoners received was Acamol.

*"In prison, if someone will die, they only give him Acamol without treating him" (A 9) (M, 16 years).*

*"When I got sick in prison, they used to accuse me of lying. There is no medical care, and they only give an Acamol for any symptom" (A 6) (M, 16 years).*

*"I used to get sick, but I didn't go to the doctor. I had constant back pain, but I didn't like to go to the doctor, because I saw worst cases, by which they only gave Acamol," (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

As mentioned previously, one participant stated that he got sick for three days when he first went to prison. He also gave another example, *when a group of prisoners decided to clean the playground, and washed it with shampoo. And the bacteria were in the ground, an epidemic was spread between prisoners. Prisoners started having bad fever which led to problems in walking. For twenty one days, they were not given any treatment except Acamol, which made their situation worst, and they had to go to the hospital. Those of bad conditions were sent to the hospital's isolation room. He indicated that till now the illness is confidential and the files were hidden. (A 7) (M, 16 years).*

#### **5.5.12 Education Problems**

Another major problem that the participants faced in prison was their deprivation from education. Children were prohibited from continuing their education in most prisons, except Ramon, which only provided Arabic and Hebrew language. The other prisons did not provide any type of education or assisting materials.

For example; fourteen participants indicated that they were deprived from continuing their education in prison.

*"The most things that bothered me was that I lost my opportunity in education. In prison, there is no education"(A18) (M, 16 years).*

*"Education was prohibited in Offer. It was really bad, because there was no opportunity of education. We'll lose all chances of continuing our education in the future, (A16)(M,17 years).*

*"Education was permitted in Naqeb prison, and prisoners were allowed to sit for their Tawjihi exams. However, when I was imprisoned, they prohibited us from continuing education as a punishment for Shalit's imprisonment" (A23)(M,17 years).*

#### **5.5.13 Economic Problems**

Twenty participants stressed the financial problems that they suffered from during their time in prison. For example, ten participants stressed that they had financial problems

during their time in prison despite the President's financial aid that is given monthly to prisoners (400 Shekels) through the Ministry of Prisoners. They indicated that the money was not enough because of the high prices in prison.

*"The prison is really expensive. Everything is expensive. The President's grant is given to each prisoner each month. Each prisoner takes 400 NIS, but it is not enough, because everything is expensive if you want to eat, because the food given by the management is not delicious, it is disgusting. We used to buy ingredients from our own money from the prison's cafeteria and cook alone. Anything you want to buy from the cafeteria is expensive".(A23)(M,17Years).*

One female participant reported that prisoners need to purchase things that are not provided by the prison, such as shampoo, food, feminine products and cigarettes

*"We need things in prison, and I didn't have money to buy them, such as shampoo. We had to shower daily as a result of the disgusting situation. We also needed feminine products, food and other stuff. I used to always draw and make handcrafts, and take money for what I make, because my parents didn't use to send me money. I used to work, and pay for myself, especially when I needed cigarettes. I was able to do so, because I drew nicely and I used to make nice embroideries, and everyone loved it. I started doing a lot of things, and sometimes I used to borrow money, because there was a problem, where my parents used to send me money but I didn't receive it".(A28)(F,15 years).*

Furthermore, a participant pointed out that he didn't use to eat in prison. He explained that he was trying to be patient, even if he was really hungry, because the cafeteria was very expensive.

*"I was really patient in prison, and I started to act like I forgot food. I wouldn't eat, or convince myself that I want to fast, because prison was very expensive. A can of tuna costs 15 Shekels and a coke would cost 10 NIS. My parents used to send me 400 NIS with the Jews. I used to buy hummus and tuna. The Cantina 'the prison's cafeteria' was very expensive. I didn't use to buy, I didn't have money, I used to tolerate deprivation and be patient." (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

Also one participant indicated that despite the fact that political parties paid 300 NIS monthly for every prisoner, the money was not enough because the prison's cafeteria was expensive. So the prisoners collected money together, and paid what they need together. Despite this strategy, they still suffered from the high prices.

*"The prison was very expensive, and if it wasn't for the organizational committee, they compensate those who didn't have money. I receive 300 NIS in Offer every month. We used to buy things for the whole room, everything that we needed. I swear to God it was really expensive, but we were a group, we worked together and bought together." (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

Due to lack of money, clothes were another problem that the participants faced. For example; seventeen participants reported that they suffered from the lack of clothes in prison. One of the participants indicated that he had to wait six months to get his clothes providing the complex procedures in the prison's administration which prevented his parents from sending the clothes earlier.

*"It really influenced me a lot, because I didn't have clothes. My parents started to send me clothes through someone, and after six months the clothes arrived to the section, not the tents. After another month, I received the clothes, and I started to feel better, because a person would feel really shy to take from other guys, although they used to give me without asking, but still, you'd feel shy because each prisoner barely has enough clothes for himself, but we were forced, and everyone understands. The guys are the best thing in prison, because they understand and they help each other." (A 4) (M, 18 years).*

#### **5.5.14 Social Problems**

The social problems were one of the major problems that the participants reported, such as being away from family, death of family member, communication problems, and age gap.

For example, many of the participants indicated that being away from their families and parents was the most difficult experience.

*"I used to think daily about my mother, It always made me cry. Thoughts about my parents, family, friends and neighborhood made me really want to go out again. At many moments, I used to flip out on my friends because I was feeling really down", (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

*"Being away from my parents was one of the major difficulties I faced." (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

In addition to being away from their families, fourteen participants indicated that they faced difficulties with family visits. A female participant referred to her experience, by which she was prohibited from family visits and informed by the prison officers that her parents no longer wanted her.

*"I was prohibited from family visits. I was denied and deprived from their visits that used to give me strength. I was hoping I could see them and talk to them, particularly after the rumor that I was told, that my parents do not recognize me as their daughter anymore. I wished for a visit, and I was tortured when everyone gets their visits, while I remain alone crying." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Another participant mentioned that when his mom visited him, she informed him that her visit would be the last visit, because they did not give her a permit to visit him another time. He indicated that his family visits stopped for five months which was the most difficult time for him; especially that he didn't know anyone in prison. Despite how much other the prisoners helped him, it was difficult to spend five months without seeing his parents.

*"I was cut off visits for a long time. I spent five months without anyone visiting me. The situation was really difficult. I didn't know anyone, and I didn't have visits too. The guys did everything they can with me. After two months, they told me that I had a visit. Before going to the visit, they fully examined me because it's prohibited to send letters. The visit permits were expired, and the guys used to understand my circumstances. During Eid, I was really upset because I was isolated from my parents. I don't know anything about them, and they don't know anything about me. When my mom came, she told me it was the last visit." (A 7) (M, 16 years).*

*"After six months, I saw my parents for only 45 minutes. Imagine after six months to see your parents for only 45 minutes. That's unfair. In the first visit, when I saw my parents leaving, I started to feel prison. I was wondering what would've happened if I left with them now." (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

Many other participants also indicated that they were prohibited from family visits for their entire stay in prison. For example, one of the participants stated that obtaining a visiting permit was a complex procedure and it took a long time. His parents were never able to visit him in prison which was annoying and upsetting for him.

*"The permit took a very long time, and my parents didn't get the permit to visit me until I went out of prison. It was a very annoying feeling that I wasn't with my parents." (A 1) (M, 18 years).*

*"My parents didn't visit me once, although they applied a lot for permits, but they didn't get any." (A 9) (M, 16 years).*

Finally, a participant explained how he always became very nervous and angry after each family visit. He mentioned that, after each family visit, he used to hit other prisoners, and created problems. The participant clarified that all prisoners used to feel tired and pressured after each family visit, as it was their only connection to the outer world.

*"When there were visits, I used to create a fight after the visits. Once, I was about to beat someone, because when you see your parents, you go crazy. And you go crazy when you hear about your parents, but we like to go to visits because it links us to our parents and the world. But after the visits, everyone would be very tired, because you'd be really pressured trying to show your parents that you are good, but after they leave, each prisoner sits on his bed, and you keep thinking about your parents and friends." (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

#### **5.5.15 Death of Family member**

Death of the family members was another difficult experience for the participants. Along with other social problems, death became a ghost that haunts many children, as they

said. Several participants had experienced the death of a family member while in prison. This created many psychological problems for them. For example, one participant indicated that the death of his brother, while in prison, has stressed him out. He became very nervous and started creating problems with everyone in the prison.

*"In the last period, I was really pressured because my brother passed away while I was in prison. No one dared to talk to me. A person would joke around, and I would start a fight." (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

Also, two participants indicated that their grandfathers passed away while they were in prison, which made them fear death so much.

*"I was in prison, and my grandfather passed away while I was in prison. My other grandfather passed away one week before Ramadan. There are a lot of people who passed away in the family, and I was scared of death." (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

*"I knew in prison that my grandfather passed away. I kept crying. I was sitting crying and one person was sitting next to me and used to tell me that death is from God, and he used to try to comfort me. Afterwards, I spoke to my parents. The same day that I spoke to my parents, I kept crying, I couldn't believe what happened, I was really sad that I couldn't tell him goodbye." (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

#### **5.5.16 Communication problems**

Also, the participants tackled various problems, one of which was communication problems. For example, twelve participants indicated the existence of communication problems between the prisoners, because of the phones, as it is the only way to connect with the extend world. Very few phones were available and the prisoners had problems as they wanted to talk with their families.

*"There are many problems between the prisoners. Every two days there is a problem because of the phone" (A 6) (M, 16 years).*

A female participant also reported that she suffered cultural gap with other girls, because they had different mindsets and beliefs which created communication problems.

*"The girls kept asking me why I'm sitting like this. What's their business, they also want to question me about the way I'm sitting. They are retards, they are all from Hebron, and they keep asking what you're doing. When someone is passing by, they ask me why I looked at him. At the end I got bored, I started to tell them that yes, I am looking at him and it's none of their business. There are girls that have really retarded thoughts from the Stone Age. I had people from Hebron and villages of Nablus and Jennie. I didn't get along with the girls that were there. I felt disgusted because of them more than prison itself. The guys still live in heaven, there are people from cities, but where I was, most girls were from Hebron and villages from Nablus and Jennie. I didn't talk to them, but after a while, a girl came from Hebron, we became friends and we kept playing together." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

Another participant explained how prisoners would be biased with other prisoners from the same camp or village which might create communication problems. In many cases, prisoners would start random fights based on the citizenship of other prisoners, where the committee in prison used to solve all their issues.

*"In prison, I had a problem in Majdo. There was no one from Al-Amari. It was me and around 20 prisoners from Nablus. They created a fool of me. One person told me that they mock children from camps, and they would beat us, and the fight has accelerated. The organizational committee helped us solve the problem. If there is a problem, they solve it by discussion. They explain for each person their mistake, and if someone needs something, they give him. Their presence is very important in prison, because they take care of us." (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

Furthermore, one more child noted that the communication problems that occur between prisoners were initiated by the prison's administration. He explained how there was usually a spy assigned by the prison's administration to detect phones in the prison cells and created problems and troubles between prisoners.

*"Things that I didn't like in prison where the inner problems that used to occur at night between the guys. They would beat each other, and the committees would come in to solve the fight. One of the spies would let the management come in to discover out phones in the sections. When the management comes in, they start to throw Gas canisters. We would be ready to prevent the management. And the management would take those who created*

*the problem, and when he comes back, we would kick him out of prison, we request his transfer to another section, because we would doubt that he's a spy." (A 27) (M, 15 years).*

In addition, age gap was one of the causes of communication problems. For example, one female participant mentioned that she was only 14 years old, while the rest were older than 18 years. They expected her to act like a grown up, which was difficult. Due to boredom, she used to create problems with other prisoners, which had widened the gap between them and made the communication difficult.

*"Also, it took me a while to adapt to the room. Every person would be pressured, and they didn't sympathize with a 14-year-old girl. They used to pick on everything. The prisoners do not sympathize, but a girl was mature and started to tell them that I am a small girl, but it was useless. At the beginning, I didn't adapt at all. I was the youngest in prison, they were all 25 years and above. I used to entertain myself by provoking them. I was irritated and I wanted to have so I used to do the opposite of what they ask me to do. She tells me to do something; I'd do the opposite to provoke her. I didn't listen to anyone, and I was stubborn. I didn't sit with one of them or apologize. My relations were all officially, and sometimes I didn't use to listen to them. The girls in prison didn't talk to me, and it was my problem, but in prison, you'd be really bored and irritated." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

Finally one participant explained how older prisoners tried to take control of children and try to boss them around. Hence, it depends on the child's personality to prove himself in front of the older prisoners.

*"With elders in prison, there are a lot of challenges. They try to control you. Only those who prove that they are strong can cope. I proved myself in front of them, and I drew limits. They started to know that I'm strong, and I know how to defend myself. Thank God, I was admitted to prison as a man, and I went out as a man." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

### **5.5.17 Psychological Problems**

Because of the previously discussed problems and the prison was a difficult experience for most the participants, the participants reported many psychological

problems, such as: adjustment problems, lack of concentration , sense of shame, grief , fear, self blame, loneliness, despair, anxiety, frustration, lack of concentration and lack of trust.

### **5.5.18 Adjustment problems**

Fifteen Participants reported adjustment problem; and their difficulty to cope in prison. For example, one of the girls expressed the difficulty she experienced to adapt and cope with prison, particularly after the interrogation. She indicated that she spent the first week alone crying and feeling sad, and that she couldn't talk to anyone.

*"The first day I came from interrogation, and the first day I got out, it was really difficult to adapt. The first week was difficult, I kept thinking, and sitting alone. I didn't talk to anyone, and I was sad. I started to think how I can live with them, then I decided to communicate and meet the girls, I got along afterwards. When I went to prison, I was surprised, but I only wanted to take a bath, I asked them where the bathroom is telling me because I want to take a shower. They directed me to the bathroom, it only had curtains. I then wanted to eat and sleep. They prepared the bathroom, and then I told them please I want to change my clothes. They were surprised by my courage, as if I know them. I ate, and then told the girls that I wanted to sleep." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Another participant pointed out that he couldn't adapt with prison for two months, as he was constantly thinking about his family, friends and house. He also indicated that after the two months he tried to change his attitude and take advantage of this difficult experience.

*"After a month or two, I tried to adapt and build a new character inside prison. I was trying to pass time in prison. I started to return to my normal thinking. I tried to divide my time to overcome my prison and pass my free time. I kept thinking and daydreamed most of the time. I thought of my parents, my house. There were no communications. I used to think what they are doing now, where they are sitting. I am sitting between four walls, what about them. I used to remember when we sat on the table to eat with mom, my family, my sisters and brothers. Here, people are still knew, I didn't know them, I needed time to build friendships." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

Another participant also stressed that coping with prison was challenging. And he spent the first month alone at bed thinking about his family and friends, unwilling to talk to anyone at the prison.

*"I spent a month in the section, where I didn't adapt. I was bored and I sat alone in my bed thinking about my family and friends. I was tired and I hated myself and everyone else." (A 9) (M, 16 years).*

*"The first two months were very difficulty, since i don't know anyone, and the environment is new. During this period, I didn't use to do anything except sit alone and think. It was the most difficult phase, until I was officially tried." (A 4) (M, 17 years).*

A female participant referred to her experience as the youngest prisoner, which made it more difficult to cope with the situation. She explained that all prisoners were stressed out and pressured; hence, they did not take into consideration that she was still too young. And she was never able to cope with prison.

*"Also in rooms, it took me a while to adapt. Every person would be pressured and they didn't sympathize with a 14-year-old girl. They picked on everything. And the prisoners do not sympathize, but there was a mature girl who used to tell them that I am a little girl, but it was useless. I didn't get along at all." (A 24) (F, 14 years)*

Fourteen participants indicated that they spent most of their prison time daydreaming. They clarified that they weren't able to concentrate anymore

*"Yes, when I am sitting with people, and any one said something I can't concentrate with them, I didn't hear what they say. I think about a lot of things that happened with me in prison". (A3) (M, 16 years).*

*"When people are sitting and talking, I feel like I'm in another world. I would daydream. I can't focus with them." (A9)(M,16 years).*

### **5.5.19 Self blame**

Also, twenty one participants indicated that they used to blame themselves. One of the participants mentioned that he used to feel so a shamed of what happened with them in the integration process.

*"In prison, you keep blaming yourself for what you've done. I used to feel so ashamed of all the humiliation I faced during the interrogation and the life I lived. I didn't know why I was in prison, and what is going to happen next", (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

Another participant stated that he used to spend most of his time at prison blaming him on what he did for getting into prison. He felt so ashamed from the Israeli soldiers' practice in prison.

*"When I got into prison, I kept blaming myself. I felt like I didn't have to do anything. I start recalling what happened. I started to feel ashamed from what the soldiers did to me during arrest from humiliation, beating, torture and inspection. I was also ashamed from the difficult and humiliating life that I used to live", (A 1) (M, 17 years).*

### **5.5.20 Sexual abuse**

One of the participants indicated that they used to witness sexual interactions between two soldiers, in front of all other prisoners as well. He mentioned that he saw them seven times in sexual interaction in Al-Naqeb prison.

*"I used to see a soldier around seven times in prison engaged in a sexual activity, in Al-Neqeb. The section is open 24 hours, and we could hear the voices of the soldier always. It was disgusting; we used to try not to look, so it won't influence us. We were scared that they want to involve us in something and picture us. This was always scary, their aim is to distort us, but they are Jews, its okay we expect these things from them." (A 27) (M, 15 years).*

One of the female participants stated that the prison encompassed civilians tried for robbery and drug cases who verbally abused prisoners.

*"They used to bring civilians who were imprisoned for robbery and drug cases to insult them as well as verbally abuse them. They used to do bad signs with their hands. They used to come to the door and call on prisoners, and said disgusting things, especially during food time. "(A24)(F,14Years).*

### **5.5.21 Crying**

Five participants indicated that they grieved over the loss of their family and friends. They spent most of their time crying reminiscing memories with their loved ones. One participant stressed:

*"I used to cry a lot in prison, especially when I remember my parents. I am a person who hates people seeing me crying, that's why I used to cry at night when no one can see me," (A 15) (M, 18 years).*

Another participant reported that he used to cry every single day when remembering his mom.

*"I used to resort to my bed whenever he thought of his friends and family, and this always made him cry so much,". (A18)(M,16 years).*

Another female participant also said that she used to hold herself throughout the day, yet get it all out at night. *"I used to try to get myself busy during the morning, but at the end of the day, I used to always cry. And whenever I get pressured, I used to cry" (A28)(F,15 years).*

### **5.5.22 Fear**

Five participants indicated that they had serious fear problems. One male participant explained:

*"I used to get really scared from the moment of interrogation. My hands used to shake and I used to hear my heartbeats. I used to act as if I'm a man, and I do not get scared, but from deep within I was too scared. Even when I used to go to sleep, I used to feel so pressured, tired and scared. I stayed like that throughout the prison." (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

Also, one female participant mentioned that she felt haunted by fear and panic after she was imprisoned. She suffered from fast heartbeats and sense of suffocation and constant worry due to what she faced during the interrogation and prison.

*"I used to feel my heart beating so fast, and feel like I'm choking. I feel stressed whenever I see them and heartbeats would accelerate. That's caused by what I experienced during interrogation and prison. It repeats regularly." (A 25) (M, 16 years).*

Also one of the participants mentioned that he was scared to get sick because they has tortured him with electric shocks during the interrogation.

*"I was also scared to get sick in prison, because they used electric shock in the interrogation." (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

Further, another participant explained the reasons for his fear of having cancer by saying:

*"After my friend had cancer, I got scared of getting sick too because of the horrible conditions in prison. I started cleaning my hands after I touch anything, and it started getting worse with time." (A10)(M,14 years).*

Moreover, one participant explained that he started getting scared after he saw someone cut his veins. He continued to clarify.

*"This guy always pops in my mind; he was mentally sick. I was always scared that I reach to this condition; I kept thinking what will happen to him after he tried to cut his artery. I used to stick to my bed from fear." (A9)(M,16 Years).*

In addition, two participants indicated he had fear when they saw Israeli solders

*"Sometimes I think that they will come back to take me. If they came and took me again, I might do something to myself. So I used to watch out, and whenever a soldier comes to call someone, I used to be scared to death and feel like my heart stopped. I would start trembling and my heartbeats would accelerate. I would feel like I'm sweating, and when he goes, I'd feel a bit more relaxed, but I would feel tired afterwards. This used to*

*happen always, every minute. I swear to God it's very difficult. I couldn't tolerate it." (A 13) (M, 16 years).*

*"I was also scared that a prisoner would beat me, or that I would be isolated in prison."Fear took control over me throughout my life in prison", ( A5) (M ,15years).*

Furthermore, a female participant referred to her fear of being raped.

*"Prison is easier for boys, because the prison is full of male soldiers. We are Arab girls, and we used to get scared whenever a prison officer comes in or takes one of the girls to the doctor. We used to always get scared of getting raped, to an extent that I started feeling like it became a sickness. I used to think a lot, and feel pain and fear. It was a very difficult psychological condition which used to worsen the longer I stayed in prison. I felt like I was going to die, and I had nothing to do. I used to feel a bit better with medication, but the feeling used to always come back." (A24)(F,14 years).*

Finally, three participants indicated that they started fearing jinn and goblins.

*"One time, a guy was sleeping in the room next to us. At 1 AM, he saw a hole in the wall behind him, and he started to scream. I started to get scared from the Jinn in the room, and I am scared to death." (A17)(M,16 years).*

Another participant indicated that one prisoner was haunted by Jinn, where he would lose control over his body and start beating and hitting everything.

*"There is a prisoner who was haunted by Jinn. He'd be beating and breaking everything like crazy people. Even if ten held him, they couldn't stop him. They started reading Qura'n which helped in making him better, and the Jinn went away." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

Another participant indicated that he felt like he's being strangled by Jinn, where he couldn't breathe or open his eyes and he used to see someone wearing black. He also stated that once his friend put his shoes in the closet, but he suddenly found it next to him.

*"Something happened to me once in prison. I started feeling like I'm choking and I can't breathe or open my eyes. I start imagining someone wearing black. And once someone in prison put his slippers in the closet, and suddenly he saw it next to him. That's the Jinn, particularly in Damon prison. They say stories about Jinn. Once they saw a pillow flying in the air. Another time, they saw two people wearing orange inside the closet. The Jinn was called "Buqros" I saw him on the wall; he goes up and down normally. Whatever God has written will happen, but I didn't care. I felt like he choked me, and he closed my eyes and the side of my head, and the wall was white. The guys told me it was the Jinn 'Buqros'; I started to read Qur'an so he wouldn't come again." (A 17) (M, 16 years)*

### **5.5.23 Nervousness**

Thirteen participants reported that they were so nervous and hot-tempered in prison. They used to shout and get angry without any reason. They also used to create problems with other prisoners and hit each other for the silliest reasons.

For example, a female participant reported that when she went to the room after interrogation, she started screaming at everyone.

*"I used to scream at every single person. After I calm down, the prisoners used to tell me that I screamed at all of them, but I never used to believe. I wasn't aware of myself. On the first day, for example, I got angry because of something a girl said, so I hit her so bad that day, I have injured her badly. It was the first time I hit someone in my life to this extent" (A24)(F,14 Years).*

Other participants stated:

*"In prison, when I entered the room, I started to get really angry. I used to get angry at guys, and I didn't tolerate talking to anyone. If someone said something, I'd get angry and shout for no reason." (A 5) (M, 14 years)*

*"While I'm in prison, I used to get angry for no reason. When someone comes to talk to me, I would start shouting. Sometimes I'd lose control over myself, and I'd start hitting myself in the wall, break things and ruin the bed. I used to get bored and lose control over myself." (A 16) (M, 17 years)*

*"At night, I used to have a nervous breakdown. I used to hit the bed with my legs and start screaming and cursing. I couldn't control myself, until I get tired, and no one responds to me as if I'm a dog. This experience really influenced me. Since then, I became very nervous,, and I can't control myself; I can even beat someone if I'm mad." (A 27) (M, 15 years)*

#### **5.5.24 Loneliness**

In addition to previous psychological problems, thirteen participants indicated that they suffered from loneliness.

*"I used to always keep thinking alone. I didn't interact with anyone. I was sad because of what happened to me, I didn't feel like doing anything." (A 4) (M, 16 years).*

*"I used to walk alone in the playground, and I used to sit alone, I didn't interact with anyone." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

*"I used to sit alone because I won't get out of prison, and I will die in prison without seeing my mom and friends. I stopped knowing how to laugh. I always sat alone, and I was sad, and I would think about what will happen to me." (A 6) (M, 16 years).*

One participant indicated that at his prison, prisoners did not understand his feeling and laughed because he preferred loneliness.

*"I used to isolate myself, and I always used to frown. I didn't interact with anyone; I just had the cigarette in my hand and I thought of my parents and prison. I was so sensitive, and I used to get sad when anyone tells me anything. I stopped being social. I used to always think about my parents, and feel hopeless. This was worsened because some people doesn't take into consideration that you're feeling bad, they only make fun. No one understand how you're feeling, so I decided not to talk to anyone, because no one would understand you or feel with you "(A 30)(M,16 years).*

### 5.5.25 Despair and hopelessness

Seventeen participants indicated that they felt despair and sense of hopelessness. Several participants shared their own experiences and inner feelings.

*"I used to feel hopeless. I gave up on everything. I wanted to go back home. I used to count each second and minute that are left to go back home, but time didn't move. I didn't have hope that I will get out of prison. I was devastated," (A14)(M,15 years)*

*"I was sick in prison, and I felt like there was no cure and no hope of becoming better. I felt like I will die, which made me even more nervous, and felt despair. I felt like I am in danger and I was paralyzed; I couldn't do anything", (A6)(M,16 years)*

*"I felt despair paralyzed, hopeless, meaningless. I feel like I'm already dead and I can't do anything except be patient." (A24)(F,14 years)*

*"I used to stay sitting down. I started feeling despair. I didn't get back to studying, I forgot anything that has to do with education. I even stopped playing sports. I became useless; I just kept thinking why this happened to me. I kept thinking about the interrogation. I lost lots of weight, and I spent over a month not talking to anyone" (A15)(M,17 years)*

### 5.5.26 Frustration

Frustration was another psychological problem as indicated by many participants. For example, one participant indicated that he felt frustrated because he was in a small closed room. He felt trapped, and he really wanted to go back home, but he couldn't do anything which really affected his psychological wellbeing.

*"I was frustrated, because I was trapped, I wanted to go home. I couldn't do anything." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

*"I felt frustrated, didn't have energy for anything. I just see this world as a black dot. I used to wonder how long do I need to go out and I used to always feel sad." (A14)(M,15 years).*

Finally, another participant also indicated that it was a really difficult experience, since it was his first time to get arrested. He felt frustrated and there was nothing to do.

*"I felt frustrated, particularly in the first period, because it was the first time I was imprisoned. Prison for me was so difficult. You feel like you're trapped, and tired, and you can't do anything. That's why I used to keep sitting without doing anything, only thinking about what happened with me and what should I do." (A 13) (M, 16 years)*

### **5.5.27 Anxiety**

In addition, sixteen participants indicated that they worried so much and suffered from anxiety. They had to be careful from the prisoners that were recruited with the Israeli soldiers as spies. They always worried about what's happened with them, how they were living, what would happen with them, and for how long they would stay in prison.

*"I was always anxious. I never felt safe and I didn't know what will happen. I spent all my time thinking, I rarely used to talk to the other. I only thought of what happened to me, my trial, the prison and the situation I'm in now" (A15)(M,17years).*

*"I used to think of how I lived outside prison, and how it feels inside prison. I used to wonder why they did that to me, and why did my friend confess about me. I spend all my time worried," (A 4)(M,16 years).*

*"In prison, you feel anxious about everything. I was scared from infiltrators who lived with us in prison, but we didn't know who they were. I was scared when the soldiers used to attack us. Even with other prisoners, at any moment a problem might occur for the silliest reasons. In prison, you just keep thinking, you don't talk to anyone. I used to sometimes talk to them at night, but then, I go back to my bed and think why I went to prison. I keep thinking of how nice it would be to get back to my friends. I used to try to sleep so I don't think, but I couldn't," (A14)(M,15 years) .*

### 5.5.28 Lack of Trust

Twenty three participants indicated that they lost trust in others. A female participant indicated that prison was a very difficult experience because she couldn't trust any of the girls, and until now she didn't know if she stayed in prison with the prisoners' rooms, or infiltrators' rooms, also known as "the birds' room",

*"I became very cautious. I trust neither myself nor people. I am really bored and I hate myself. I feel like I'm in a new prison, and I don't have friends." (A24)(F,14 years)*

*"I stopped trusting people. Sometimes I trust some of my relatives just a little bit, but not as much as I trusted people before I was arrested." (A21)(M,17 years)*

Confession of their friends was the major reason for their lack of trust.

*"In prison, I stopped trusting any of the guys in the rooms. The reason is that my friend confessed about me in the first interrogation session, and if my friend did this, how can I trust anyone else." (A 30) (M, 16 years).*

*"I stopped trusting friends, because my friends that I used to throw stones with, they reported me to the Jews. This story influenced me, and while I was with the guys in prison, I didn't trust neither my friends nor anyone, and if I wanted to do something, I shouldn't tell anyone about it." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

### 5.5.29 Death

Ten participants pointed out to their thinking about death. For example; one of the participants indicated that he felt depressed, where she spends most of her time alone.

*"I used to always sit alone without talking to anyone. I used to think all the time, without doing anything. I felt lonely, paralyzed and trapped. I was so lazy, and kept thinking about death. I was really depressed." (A30)(F,16 years).*

*"I felt like there is no treatment and no hope for me to get better or be treated and I will die. This made me feel depressed and sad and not do anything." (A23)(M,17 years).*

Furthermore, another participant expressed how his friends' cancer illness affected him.

*"My friend in prison had cancer; it was really difficult for me to cope with that. I was really sad because he was counting down his days. I felt sad and depressed and started thinking about death. I don't know what I will do if my friend dies. I became really pessimistic and I got bored of everything", (A2)( M,17years).*

Another participant also reported:

*"While I'm in prison, I stayed sad all the time. There is no taste for life, and you keep thinking about death. I stayed for a long time. I spent six months where I didn't want this life." (A 21) (M, 17 years) .*

As consequence of their hard experience in prison, five participants confessed that they tried to commit suicide due to the hardships they suffered from.

*"When the girls feel sad, they used to come talk to me. A girl once trusted me with her secret. She told me that she drank 100 medical pills as an attempt to commit suicide. As a result, the girl fainted. I went to the doctor and told her the truth so she could save her life. They made her drink water and salt in order to vomit all the pills. Her situation was really sad. She was old, and was responsible of her parents; when she was imprisoned, no one cared for her. She was very nervous, and used to hit and break things," (A28)(F,15 years).*

*"Honestly, after the interrogation period, when there was no hope of getting out of prison. I was thinking of strangling myself. I felt like dying is the best solution; it is better than living in prison. I couldn't handle the pain. I tried once to commit suicide, but the guys didn't let me. They stayed around me for a while until I became better," (A23)(M,17 Years).*

*"I really wanted to die. I was waiting till the day that I was supposed to get out of prison. All the morning and noon passed without anyone calling my name. I went to the person in charge to ask him if I'm leaving, and he told me no. As a result, I took some pills, but the guys took me to the doctor. I went to the hospital, and I felt better after that," (A15)( M,17years).*

*"A story of a guy that was with me in the prison affected me so much. He asked for his brother to be transferred to the same section, but they refused. He opened a tuna can; I thought he wanted to eat, but he cut his artery instead. Whenever I remember this story, I started having a headache, I become nervous and I start shouting, (A10)(M, 14 years) .*

### **5.5.30 Positive Experience in Prison**

The participants stated that the prison's experience also left a positive impact on their personal life despite its negativity, such as; friendship, social event in prison, education and knowledge

For example, twenty four participants indicated that life in prison was mainly based on friendships.

*"Social life in prison, you'd start knowing people in prison, and you start having friends, and you like together like brothers. And whoever has clothes, for example, would give those who don't. Prisoners held each other and they become like brothers." (A 30) (M, 16 years)*

Another participant also stressed that friendship was the only good thing they gained from prison. He indicated that there were 120 prisoners who slept together, ate together and spent all their time together which helped to create strong bonds.

*"There is nothing good in prison, but what make prison a little bit easier are friends. You gain friendships because there are 120 guys in the section, and they all sleep next to each other and eat together and have fun together." (A 6) (M, 16 years).*

Also friendships contributed to developing the prisoners' communication skills. A participant added that he learned lots of skills, such as maintaining and developing social connections, which made him a sociable person. This helped him to create more friendships, particularly in prison.

*"We learn things such as strengthening our social relations. I became more social and I started making strong friendships. I started creating more friends in prison." (A19)(M,17 years).*

*"The girls were the best thing for me. I start making better friendships from before. I became so attached to them. They entered my life, and became a part of it. And we are still in touch, even after we got out of prison. I talk to them a lot." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Another participant also noted that he discovered that prisoners had a high spirit of solidarity and unity. For example, if any two were in disagreement outside prison, they reconcile in prison providing the mutual difficult times they are experiencing, which strengthens the spirit of unity, cooperation and solidarity in prisoners. He described it as a chain; if one prisoner provided help to someone, then if he needed anything the next month, he would be provided with help without asking.

*"I discovered something in prison. If someone had an enmity between him and another person outside prison. In prison, they become friends. The spirit of unity and solidarity is prison, and it helps all Palestinian prisoners. The spirit of unity is like a chain, if you give someone something, when you need something again after a month, he would give you directly without asking him." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

*"I started to know people more, and I learned how to deal with people, because in prison, there are people from different places, and their personalities, culture and norms are different. We live together and we want to interact with everyone, because we are in the same situation, imprisoned. This makes a person learn how to deal with other people. I used to stay with the camp children, because we are similar in our personalities, behavior, and I was friends with the rest but not like the boys from the camp." (A 22) (M, 17 years).*

Other, seventeen participants reported that prisoners supported each other in collecting money and lending clothes and in illness

*"We used to act as one hand. We collect money together, and help whoever needs the help. We used to lend clothes. There are prisoners who used to cook for all of us. It made prisoner easier. We use to have fun with them. We became like brothers; they understand us and we understand them. Prison can teach you many things. "(A 27) (M, 15 years).*

*"My social relations were very good. Thanks God. I never refused anyone's request. I helped everyone, especially if someone was sick and needed to go to the hospital. I used to tell the Shawish." (A 11) (M, 15 years).*

### **5.5.31 Social events in prison**

Six participants pointed out that they celebrate holidays, religious and political events in prison.

*"In Eid, first of all, the guys get out at 5 AM to pray. The guys used to dress up. The organizational committee provided us with sweets and coke so we could feel like we're in Eid. They come back from Eid prayers, and they eat sweets and greet each other. Then they circulate among all the rooms, and wish each other a happy Eid. The preacher would preach and they would pray." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

Also, another participant mentioned that he participated in the celebrations of Ramadan and two Muslim feasts. The participant stated that Eid day was like any other day, except that the "Dober" coordinates with the prison's management to open the doors and prepare for the special events such as showering, preparing sweets, and praying.

*"I attended two Eid feasts and Ramadan. Eid is a normal day. The Dober used to tell the management to open the door for us so we could take a shower and put the sweets and pray together. We would circulate among the rooms, and we would sit together and eat sweets." (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

Furthermore, other two participants referred to the uniqueness of Eid, where they wore new clothes and can ate sweets and Cake.

*"The activities of Eid start at 5 AM, at the prayer timing. After that, prisoners greet each other and eat sweets, and then they went back to the room." (A30)(M,16 years).*

*"The guys used to wear nice clothes, and take care of their looks. The party used to provide us with sweets and coke so we could feel like it is a holiday. Firstly, men go out at 5 in the morning to pray for God. Secondly, the preacher starts giving a speech. Thirdly, they*

*start praying the Eid prayers. Then, they eat sweets and greet each other. They visit each others in the rooms to greet them and wish them a happy Eid. Then, they got back to their rooms. But I didn't use to celebrate; I used to stay sleeping." (A16)( M,17 years) .*

Moreover, two participants reported that they were sad and one wished he was died at the Eid day.

*"I celebrated two Eids in prison, and on Eid day, in particular, I officially wish to die, because I remember my friends. We used to pray the Eid prayer, and then hang out. In prison, I didn't have clothes for the first five months, and I didn't receive any visit. I tried to control myself on Eid day. Eid day passed, and then came to take us from the tents and send us to the rooms." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

*"On Eid day, I felt really sad because I was isolated from my parents. I don't know anything about them and they don't know anything about me." (A 7) (M, 16 years).*

In addition, the prisoners celebrate political events. For example, three of the participants mentioned that they participated in political ceremonies, such as the memorial for Fatah's launching. A participant stressed his participation in this day, where during that day; they sit in a room and discuss the history of the political faction.

*"For example, we celebrated Fatah's launching. We used to distribute sweets and sit in the room to talk about Fatah." (A17)(M,16 years).*

This ceremony usually included competitions among all the tents in prison, where the winner tent was given 200 NIS coupons from the cafeteria. During that day, they listened to music, songs and danced Dabkeh.

*"During Fatah's launching celebration, we carried out a contest. They made me write down the questions. I realized that prisoners usually respond to the difficult questions and not the easy ones. Then, we prepare questions for each tent, and the tent that wins is given 200 NIS voucher from the cafeteria. Food would also be special. We cook chicken, fish and turkey. We gather them throughout the week to cook them during that day. We also gather and start chatting. We open Palestine TV at 5 on music, and we start singing and dancing." (A18)(M,16 years)*

### 5.5.32 Education and Knowledge

Ten participants indicated that they benefited immensely from the informal educational sessions provided by older prisoners to the children daily. This has raised their awareness and knowledge in various aspects like religion, politics and the history of Palestine which were important for them. In addition, the participants indicated that reading books was obligatory.

*"The educational sessions implemented by the political parties inside prison helped me a lot", (A30)(M,16 years).*

*"Knowledge and religion are the most important things and human being. I was the youngest in prison, but they liked to hear my comments. I used to attend their sessions, which were conducted every two days. They were so beneficial. I used to attend the sessions. They were really beneficial and raised the awareness of prisoners about many issues. We learn about Fateh movement and history. We also gain knowledge about other matters related to Palestine and politics," (A18)(M,16Years) .*

*"They used to give us session about books and Palestine. A cultural atmosphere and lots of friends." (A 1) (M, 17 years).*

Furthermore, one participant added that the sessions also contributed to enhancing the communication skills of the prisoners.

*"We learn about history and our country. We also learn social skills, particularly how to communicate with other people." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

Finally, a participant pointed to the importance of these sessions by learning from others experiences

*"The good thing in prison is the compulsory organized sessions. They were really become better, and we start learning from other's experiences. We also used to benefit from the old men's experiences in prison and how to deal with it." (A6)(M, 16 Years).*

Also, ten participants indicated that in addition to history, various sessions were conducted in prison about language, mathematics, and literacy for those who cannot read or write. These sessions were either provided by some intellectual prisoners or in collaboration with private teachers. For example, one of the children, who were imprisoned in Hasharon prison, had a teacher for Arabic, English and Mathematics.

*"In Hasahron, the administration used to offer education. The teacher used to give us Arabic, English and Math lessons. I used to take Math. Some people didn't know how to read or write, but now they have improved a lot." (A10)(M,14 Years).*

Furthermore, a female participant indicated that the prison administration didn't provide classes. Nevertheless, prisoners learned Hebrew and English languages by themselves

*"I took Hebrew and English lessons. The prisoners themselves used to teach us. When a girl spends a long time in prison, she starts speaking Hebrew better than the Jews themselves. I learned Hebrew, and I also took Qur'an Intonation classes." (A28)(F,15 years).*

Another participant also pointed out that he benefited from cooking and handcraft classes

*"I learned Hebrew from the guys. I used to take classes every day, I also learned handcrafts and cooking" (A19)( M,17 years).*

Finally, two participants mentioned that they learned reading and writing through the literacy courses.

*"They provided literacy courses, they didn't accept someone who can't read or write." (A 1) (M, 17 years).*

*"I have learned how to read and write from the guys in Offer." (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

### **5.5.33 Reuniting with Family Members**

Two participants indicated that a positive aspect of the prison was reuniting with their siblings who were imprisoned. One of the participants expressed how much he wanted to

see his brother in prison. He was permitted to see his brother for eight days before he was released.

*"I was in prison. I have 12 days left, and they didn't bring my brother to prison until 9 AM. I was telling one of my friends: Oh God if they bring my brother, I turned out to see my brother coming. It was such an amazing moment; it was like I was reborn. I gave him clothes and everything that I had. I spent with him 8 days, and I had 4 days left, but they transferred me to another section. I took a short, and a light shirt, and I kept the rest to my brother. The last four days in prison outweighed all my prison time." (A18)(M, 16 years).*

In support to this point, another prisoner indicated that he wanted to be imprisoned just to be able to see his brother. He stressed that the most beautiful thing about prison was seeing my brother.

*"I wanted to go to prison so I can see my brother, and I saw him. It was the most beautiful moment that I lived with him in prison." (A 3) (M, 17 years).*

## **5.6 After release from prison**

The fourth major theme of the current study is after release from the prison. The participants were inquired about their problems and feelings after their release. Interviewees described the grave consequences of the release process, their perception of prison and the community's and their family's perception of the prisoners along with the main problems they faced.

The following sub-themes were emerged:

- The release process
- Prisoners' perception of prison
- Problems after release

### 5.6.1 The release process

The children mentioned that the release process had phases. For instance, prisoners were placed in an isolated waiting room while their hands were tied, and then they were taken to the bus.

*"After they said I would be freed, they placed me in solitary isolation until the next morning, I asked them to take me back to my cell until the car which would take me out of prison came but they didn't listen. They handcuffed me and they put me in an isolated and extremely cold room. I was not allowed to take any of my possessions with me. My hands started to hurt from the handcuffs but the prison attendant refused to help me; and she took away the girls' stuff, they were going to send them" (A28)(F,15 years).*

*"I was handcuffed while I was going out of the bus. The 'Nahshon' came and told me to make pushups - just making fun of me while I'm handcuffed." (A 20) (M, 17 years).*

*"I slept in the Negev prison, they sent us straight there in large numbers by bus. There was a large number crammed into the same seat. At first we slept in Offer prison after they had rounded us up from the refugee camp. They made us ride in the bus, then the Red Cross started to check us and we waited for the girls' bus. After that they took us from a place near Raft village " (A21) (M. 17 years).*

*"The bus came and took me in the afternoon. They took me out of the bus at 5 exactly, and we spent a long time in the bus." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

All the participants mentioned that the soldiers took them to a city or village or to a checkpoint and afterwards, the soldiers released and letting them to find their way to home alone ignoring the fact that they had no money. The majority of participants noted that they didn't find anyone waiting for them, because their family didn't know that their child would be released that day. Some participants had to ask people for money for their transportation, and their family paid later on.

*" I was set free, they threw me on a road in Jennie, there was no one waiting for me, so I went to one of the guys' (who were released with me) home. We went to Kaiffeen to his parents' house to greet them. Then I took a car from their village and went to my own*

*village, but I found that my family was waiting for me in Ramallah. I felt like I was flying with happiness, I was walking down the street but it felt as if I was flying and very happy. Thank God. "(A 6)(M,16 years).*

Other participants indicated that the soldiers released them in a village as one participant described his release process - he said,

*"They let me off in the hills of Beat 'Ur, I saw a man driving a "service" (shared taxi), so he took me to Ramallah." (A 17)(M , 16 years)*

Another participant reported that he was released in a city, and then they asked for help to go home, from drivers,

*"When I was released from prison they threw me out of the car in Nablus and I didn't have any money, so he took me home." (A 8) (M, 16 years)*

Another finds his family waiting in Ramallah at" al mokatah" or in Hebron city. And transportation took a long time to arrive, as he said;

*"They dropped me off in Thahriyyah and my family was waiting for me and I arrived at 12 midnight after having waited for hours." (A 20)(M,18 years).*

### **5.6.2 Prisoners' perception of prison**

Participants were asked about their perception of their prison experience after their release. The result showed discrepancies which represented different types of negative psychological consequences that were associated with discomfort and positive perception.

For example, five of the participants said that they found prison like a tomb. They indicated that they lived like dead people in prison and it was as if they were even stealing their breath. Also the prisoners felt as if they were buried while they were still alive.

*"Living-people's cemetery, it is a cemetery, but the people in it are alive and not dead. In prison, people are buried alive. A person feels like this, as if he is buried alive." (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

*"The prison is tomb, something ugly just like being death in tomb. I was in a cemetery and I couldn't wait to get out." (A 2) (M, 14 years).*

Also another participant reported that he perceived prison as a prison

*"All I can say is that it is a prison, I don't ever want to go back , and if it weren't for the brothers there I wouldn't have been able to bear it. I always remember when I said goodbye to them" (A 22) (M, 17 years).*

Furthermore, five participants indicated that they perceived prison as a spot for humiliation and insult due to the torture and other humiliating behaviors adopted by the soldiers in prison. Prisoners faced all types of humiliation and torture; for instance, the soldiers tend to laugh and mock prisoners when they do any action, unsuitable living environment, sexual acts in front of prisoners, forcing prisoners to be spies, and beating or threatening prisoners during interrogation.

*"Prison constitutes humiliation. You enter prison as a man and inside prison you become a woman. Prison is humiliating, when the worthless can spit in your face. That's humiliating. I wasn't humiliated in prison, but there is humiliation. For instance, during interrogation, there is humiliation. This guy once did something; me and a guy were standing. The soldier was looking at him and laughing; the guy was so educated, he asked him: ' why are you laughing? A day will come where you'll be in my place, and I'll be laughing at you'. And the humiliation when he puts me in an isolated prison cell, or when a female soldier comes and hits me. Also, a male and female soldier deliberately starts kissing each other in front of prisoners, and they repeat this, and a guy with a weak heart would crave for the pleasure. It happened to me twice, and I withstood. I withstood a lot. Humiliation also is when your friends betray their friends and become spies. This is a production of the spies' betrayal for their country. Also the experience of friends and you won't know who your friend or your enemy is. Also, as long as the enemy doesn't imprison you, he can control you and that by itself is humiliating." (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

Furthermore, many participants indicated that they perceived prison as humiliating came from experiencing strip search - being forced to get naked -, being forced to give

information as well as being screamed at and threatened to bring their family members and put them through the interrogation process.

*"The humiliation of Jews. They humiliate us. Prison is very bad. Every person who thinks about prison would be crazy, because prison humiliates you at all levels, when they scream at the prisoner, when they take off your clothes, when they pressure you to confess or when threaten to get your family. All of this makes a prison think about prison as humiliating." (A 26) (M, 14 years).*

*"You can't live in prison. It is full of insult and humiliation. Prison is full of insult, humiliation and destruction with all its negative connotations. The rooms, the imprisonment, and the circumstances in prison that make you lose your humanity and live like animals." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

*"The prison is all torture. Everything in it is torture because it humiliates and insults a child." (A 5) (M, 14 years).*

Another female participant linked prison to death and it was bad thing that captured prisoners in lifeless bubbles, and they felt as if they were dying.

*"Prison deprives you of everything nice in this world. It deprives you from life itself, as if you're dead in another world. Just like the life of the dead after death. It's the most difficult thing in this world." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Others reported that they perceived prison as a closed room, or a cage where they could not even breathe.

*"Prison means being cooped up, it's like being in a cage that is closed from all sides; we feel like chicks in a tight cage, we're not even allowed to breathe. It is very difficult for youths to be cooped up like chickens, we used to feel as if we were suffocating and would start wishing for death." (A 20) (M, 17 years).*

*"As you live in a closed room, and many try to get away but they can't, as one of the participants indicated that "I hope no one has to go through such an experience, it was*

*very, very hard .Prison is like a closed room. Some try to escape but it's useless because if you try to escape you get twice your original sentence “.(A 10) (M, 14 years).*

*"I swear to God, I don't know what I have to tell you. May God never let another person experience this? It seriously was very difficult. Prison is consisted of a room, a closed one. I didn't stay a long time in prison, so I was released, but there are a lot of people, not all of them, who are released and they barely spend half an hour, and they get imprisoned again. There are people of course that try to run away, but it's useless. Those who try to run away is sentenced as much as their original sentence by two or three times." (A 13) (M, 16 years).*

Also two participants perceived prison as hell, because of losing freedom, losing their rights, privacy, and being exposed to a range of torturing activities during their experience in prison.

*“Prison restricts your freedom; it is like hell it is too big to describe concerning the torture, exhaustion, violation of rights and invasion of privacy.” (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

Moreover, another participant reported that he perceives prison as a mistake, and he blames himself always for living this experience.

*"I always remember prison as a bad experience and a mistake that I made and I blame myself because it was a terrible headache." (A 9) (M, 16 years).*

Also, one participant reported that he perceived prison as a mountain, as something that placed pressure on his head.

*"It's like a mountain over my head. You can't get out of prison. It is uncomfortable and pressuring. It keeps pressuring you." (A 8) (M, 16 years).*

Finally, from positive point of view, four participants reported that they perceived prison as a school. They indicated that they learned new things from others. Some of the participants mentioned that prison helped them to have many friends, and improved their communication skills, particularly on how to deal with people.

*"Prison is bad, apart from one thing, it is a school as people inside is like brothers and they learn from each other. We ate, cooked and slept and all the time we got to know new people who differed from us, so we learnt how to deal with all sorts of people, the good and the bad." (A 14) (M, 16 years).*

Another participant mentioned that he lose friends after released and needed to improve his communication skills to deal with them;

*"Then my friends stopped talking to me, I stopped seeing them as much as I did before. I stayed alone at home. My relationship with them was not the same as it was before I can't deal with them anymore, I am feeling as stranger person and I can't communicate with them. " (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

### **5.6.3 After-release Problems**

Participants were inquired about their problems after release. Data analysis revealed the following problems:

- Psychological problems
- Social problems
- Educational problems
- Economical problems
- Health problems

### **5.6.4 Psychological problems**

The majority of the participants reported different psychological problems, such as, *adjustment problems, fear and worry, loneliness, sadness, guilt, self-blame, despair, nervousness, trust issues, lack of concentration and sleeping difficulties.* Also many participants reported experiencing the sound and the smell of the prison, and they had the urge to commit suicide.

For example, thirteen participants reported that they suffered from adjustment problems. They felt lonely and alienated even though they were at home with their family. They wished to return to prison.

*"When I got out of prison. I hated life outside; I wanted to get back to prison. Although prison wasn't good, it was disgusting; but loneliness is the worst thing, when someone can't be away from his parents, and can't integrate with them. Prison is better. "* (A 22) (M, 17 years).

*"After I came out I was disgusted by life outside, I wanted to go back inside even though prison is horrible. Loneliness is the worst thing one can experience in prison but feeling alienated from one's own family while being in their midst is even worse, prison is easier to bear. I felt like I'm coming to a new life. It was really difficult because I left my life in prison, because it was all my life. I kept remembering the girls, and what used to happen with us, and all the details of prison's life, and the stories that used to happen, as if I'm still with them."* (A 28) (F, 15 years).

*"Secondly, you need time after you are released to adapt to the life you used to live. Before you go to prison, you had a life that you were used to. When you get to prison, you need to adapt to a new life. And once you are released, and get back to your all life, and you try to adapt to it, your life would be complex and you feel weirdly about your parents, and that's where your parents role is, their way in dealing with you, and their way to help their son/daughter adapt to their life faster. Thank God, after a month, I adapted very well."* (A 7) (F, 16 years)

Also 5 participants reported that they felt sad after their release and many of them thought about dying. This was due to their sense of loneliness and sadness.

*"I feel sad all the time and very uncomfortable. I don't have energy for anything, and I wish to die every day. I don't feel like doing anything, and I keep crying. I don't feel like I can do something, I feel trapped."* (A 25) (F, 16 years).

*"After I was released, when I used to get angry, I wasn't eager to continue living. Once, my step mom accused me of stealing something, although I was known for my decency.*

*That day, I shouted at her, and my dad hit me. When my dad beat me, I was really sad and I started shouting directly. I collapsed, and I tried to commit suicide through taking pills, but they didn't allow me." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

*"I feel that I'm really sad from inside. I can't get rid of this feeling. I feel like a stranger and that I'm lonely despite that there are lots of people around me. Life has no taste, and I can't be happy. I hold grudges and I can't forgive people. I live for my parents." (A 4) (M, 16 years).*

*"Life becomes useless. I spend time alone thinking. Life doesn't have a taste, I can't understand anymore. Life is black. There are times, where I wouldn't want to live. There are times that I wish I'd die to feel better." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

Furthermore, eighteen participants reported that they suffered from loneliness and isolation after being released. They were stressed out from their family's pressure for being along and isolating themselves in their room.

*"I started to like loneliness. I like to sit alone. My brother starts to scream at me because I'm sitting alone, and tells me to stop isolating myself. I don't like anyone to pressure me, I don't want pressure. But I just simply started liking loneliness. I keep day dreaming, and I don't interact with lots of people." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

*"I was shocked. I was in a bad shape, and I couldn't adapt. I used to sit alone in the bed staring. I couldn't talk to them in the beginning, and I felt lonely. I spent the time alone all the time sitting in my room." (A 23) (M, 17 years)*

*"Until now, after I was released from prison, if I hear that the Israeli army is in our town, while I was in the street, I leave home directly. If I was at home, I would be paralyzed. I am really scared that they might come back to arrest me." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

Furthermore, four participants reported that they felt guilty and blamed themselves after their release.

*"I started to think why the rest of the people are happy while I lived this experience. I kept blaming myself, why me!" (A 22) (M, 17 years).*

*"I used to blame myself. If I could go back in time, I wouldn't have done what I did. I don't want to swear." (A 24) (M, 14 years).*

*"I would always be sitting and refreshing myself. I keep blaming myself, and thinking that if I haven't done anything, I wouldn't have experienced this." (A 23) (M, 17 years)*

In a total, thirteen participants reported despair and frustration after release. They felt like they were in a big prison, because they were prohibited from traveling.

*"I feel like I'm in a big ocean, because I'm captured in Ramallah, and I'm not allowed to go out for three months. There is no freedom. Sadness with despair and everything else." (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

*"I feel like I'm in prison. I got out of prison, but now I'm in a bigger prison. I felt desperate and paralyzed. This prison is much bigger." (A 3) (M, 14 years).*

In addition to the previous psychological problems, the results showed that twenty-five participants reported suffering from stress and nervousness. They were negatively affected by the prison process and they couldn't manage stress; thus, they became more nervous leading to uncontrollable anger without any reason.

*"I became very angry. If I want to walk a long distance, I'd get tired. I don't work well because I have back pain, and I can't work from the cold. My behavior have changed with people, I started to talk to them in a loud angry voice. I don't like people and I don't like to interact with anyone. I like to stay alone. I am psychologically tired. I can forget the experience that I've been through. I try to forget it, but I keep remembering. Even when I'm sitting with someone, I would remember, so I just leave and sit alone. I am always sad and angry. If I knew there is an army in the town, I will go away." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

*"My anger has increased. Before, when I faced problems, it didn't use to get to me. Since I went to prison and was released, any little thing can provoke me, and I could easily get angry and sad." (A 7) (M, 18 years).*

Furthermore, twenty-one participants indicated that they suffered from pictures, sounds and smells related to their prison experience. Therefore, they spent all their time thinking about their experience.

*"I keep remembering what happened with me. Sometimes, I even smell prison and the cell, and I become really angry that I refuse to talk to anyone." (A27)(M,15 years).*

*"The things that reminded me of prison, or made me upset in prison were if I smelled the bus. I lose control, I get angry, and I start vomiting. It still makes me upset till now. I can still smell the bus, every time I ride a bike with black windows." (A28) (F,15 years).*

*"When I am sitting with anyone or talking about anything, I suddenly feel as if I'm back in prison and I remember the horrible treatment and my friends who are still there and how they will come out suffering psychologically, I try to push these thoughts and images out of my brain but they won't get out". (A 5) (M, 14 years).*

One male participant reported how chips and shampoo triggered his memory about torture in prison.

*"Whenever I see chips, a bottle of shampoo or even this paper, I remember the torture in prison. Also the cup of tea and the tuna can and the guard. I remember how it was there, and I feel really upset. I become bored, and I try to forget by keeping myself busy with anything. But I remember prison by anything, and I dream of it. The first time I was imprisoned and the beating. I am always nervous, and till now, I keep imagining and thinking about prison." (A 9)(M, 16 years).*

Also, six of the participants reported that they had pictures in their minds of the stressful incidents that they experienced which they could not avoid. This happened particularly when the memory was recalled involuntarily.

*"The most recurrent picture is when the interrogator used to molest me during the interrogation. I still remember when he used to put his hands in my hair. When this picture comes back to my memory, I feel really pressured as if there is a stone on my chest. I become breathless. Can you imagine that after I got out of pressure, I started having high*

*blood pressure that reaches 170, while I'm still 15 years? I don't like anything to remind me of this experience, but I can't forget it." (A 24) (M, 14 years).*

*"I remember incidents from prison, precisely the interrogation process. I start thinking and remembering everything that happened with me. This makes me sad and angry sometimes." (A2)(M, 14 years).*

While some participants reported recurrent images and hearing sounds, some of them re-sorted avoidance. Avoidance refers to participants' attempts to stay away from the source of stress to prevent any future pain. For example, nine participants avoided a place, an area, or a street in their villages where soldiers would present because of their fear of being re-arrested

*"If I heard that the soldiers are in town, I go further away from where they are, and I don't go to the street where they are present. I try to get further away from the wall's area, and I go further away from anything that reminds me of them, because I'm scared that I will be imprisoned. I start remembering what happened with me." (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

*"Whenever the army comes to our town, I escape to another mountain. If they were present in a street, I go home. I don't throw stones with my friends; I don't want to be arrested again." (A 22) (M, 17 years).*

Also, five participants reported that they avoided loud sound or telling their story of prison because they reminded them of their experience in prison

*"After I was released from prison, I used to hate loud voices in the house, and get really angry, because before, there was silence, but in our house, my mother-in-law keeps singing, and today I wake up to a loud voice, and it really irritates me and makes me angry because it reminds me of what I experienced in prison. Even my fiancée when he used to sleep over and he used to scream at me from the other room; I would get angry at him. When someone wakes me up in a loud voice when I'm sleeping, I get angry at him/her. And I don't like to wake up anymore after prison, even my siblings and loud voice bothers me, because it reminds me of prison, precisely the daily inspection." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

*"I kept worrying a lot, and I tried to avoid anything that reminds me of prison, even if it was just telling my friends about my experience. I started to avoid anything that has to do with the country, occupation, and patriotism, even journalism. I didn't want to neither go out nor talk, but my dad encouraged me to go and talk. I was very scared to get back to prison, and I avoided places where Jews were present. I don't like to remember the experience, and I stay sad, and I'm scared of the arrest experience, and I am very careful in my behavior. I don't like anyone to pressure me, and of course after everything that happened to me, I stay sad all the time." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

In addition to all the previously mentioned psychological problems, fourteen participants reported their lack of trust in people. They indicated that they couldn't feel safe with people, particularly friends after their release.

*"I stopped trusting people. Sometimes I trust some of my relatives just a little bit, but not as much as I trusted people before I was arrested." (A 21) (M, 17 years)*

*"I became very cautious. I don't trust neither myself nor people. I am really bored and I hate myself. I feel like I'm in a new prison, and I don't have friends." (A24)(F, 14 years).*

Furthermore, fifteen participants reported that they suffered from daydream which affected their concentration

*"When people are sitting and talking, I feel like I'm in another world. I would daydream. I can't focus with them." (A9)(M,16Years).*

*"I daydream a lot, and I don't hear what they say. I think about a lot of things that happened with me in prison." (A2) (M, 16 years).*

*"I daydream a lot in class. I don't concentrate. They started referring to my mom about this issue. Also, during the break, I sit alone and I don't go out with girls or walk with them. When I want to study or read, I feel like my soul is getting out of my body. I can't concentrate on anything, and I daydream a lot. I try taking control over myself, so I can concentrate, but it never works." (A24)(F,14 years).*

For sleep problem, twelve of the participants reported that they suffered from such problem after their release.

*"I got used to staying up till the morning. I try to sleep, but I can't, it became a habit. I don't sleep except for two or three hours every day. This thing affects my integration with people, because I stay tired and I sleep in the morning instead of night." (A 7) (M, 16 years).*

*"I got used to staying awake till the morning. I try to sleep, but I can't. I keep remembering lots of things from prison days, and I think of my friends that are still there, and I keep thinking that I'm free but they aren't." (A 16) (M, 17 years).*

Furthermore, many of the participants weren't able to sleep because of their fear of being re-arrested.

*"I have started to stay awake till 4 in the morning. Then, I would sleep and wake up at 10. I can't sleep until it is in the morning, because I keep waiting, and I'm scared they'll come again, because they came at night. I don't know, I keep worrying. And in the morning, I stay tired every day." (A 20) (M, 18 years).*

In addition to sleeping difficulties, eight participants reported that they had nightmares at night which affected their sleep pattern. They always had dreams of their prison experience, such as the moment of arrest, interrogation and torture experience, being beaten or being strip searched.

*"I kept thinking and having nightmares about different moments in prison, precisely the beating, torture, and scenes of humiliation, such as being forced naked. I didn't use to go out of the house or move, just like prison." (A 15) (M, 18 years).*

*"After I left prison I used to keep dreaming of the head of intelligence at the prison, because he said after one or two months of your release we will send you notice to come back to prison." (A24)(F, 14 years )*

### 5.6.5 Social problems

Some of the participants indicated that also their parents faced multiple stress as a results of the detention of their children, which negatively influenced their psychological wellbeing. Frustration arose as a result of the ineffective relationships they had with their children - *the participants*. They worried about the future of their children, especially as they witnessed the negative consequences that detention had on them. Some described their problem with parents as a misunderstanding from the parents for their children's experience.

*"I felt alienated from my family, it felt as if I was a guest who was visiting them for the first time and they were pampering me. Once I started to wash the dishes so my mother started to laugh at me – I did it because I used to do the washing up every Sunday in prison. And I wake up for the daily inspection, and they become shocked, and they felt like I'm a stranger for a month, and I am. Then, I started to get really angry at my mom."* (A4)(M, 17 years).

Restrictions of participants' movement and curfews by their families were other major problems as mentioned by thirteen of the participants.

*"Families start to bother prisoners. Most of the families that have an ex-prisoner start to add rules, such as you shouldn't go out or you shouldn't go there, and that really irritates. Of course now my dad tells me to be home by 10. He tells me that I can stay up late at home only. This creates problems with my relationship with my parents. We keep fighting, and I can't stand them neither can they."* (A 13) (M, 16 years).

*"How you communicate with people and how you communicate with your parents, or your friends. Which means, the parents would allow their son to go out, but if he wants to go for trouble, they would tell him to stay at home, and he's not allowed to go out, why wouldn't he respect himself and not be involved in troubles. The parents should always know their son that he's not a trouble-maker and he hangs out normally".* (A10)(M,14 years) .

*"I have a lot of problems with my dad but I do exactly what I want and I also don't listen to my mother when she tries to control me, she keeps asking me where I'm going and why I'm late." (A1)(M,17 years) .*

*"When I went home my mother saw me smoking so she asked me to quit because it's not good, but she doesn't say anything else, however, my father beats me up when he sees me smoking. I feel they consider me a young boy, but it's okay I don't get upset with them". (A14)(M,14 years).*

Another female participant shared her difficult experience with her family as they did not understand the changes that she had in prison.

*"The thing I liked best was that I was amongst my family and they were around me, I was very irritated because they couldn't understand me or take into consideration the changes I had experienced, and my bad temper. I couldn't convince them that I had become different from them and I had gone through a terrible experience. They think I am acting or lying, my brother is very suspicious especially after I came out of prison he suspects all my behavior. once I went to Ramallah and saw a young man who used to take a course with me , he is quite mature 35 years old , I just shook hands and said hello but my sister's friend saw me and she told my family that I had been holding hands with a young man while joking and laughing with him. No one believed that I just said hello to him , my brother wanted to take me out of school. But there were only two weeks left so he let me go back and I have been grounded till now. I can only go out if my mother accompanies me or one of my brothers". (A24)( F, 14 years).*

Also the same female participant reported that her mother restricted her movement, and forced her to cover her head and wear Islamic clothes - the robe.

*"My mom made me wear the robe by force. I don't like the rob, I hate it a lot. If it's normal Islamic clothes, it's much better. I wore it just to avoid the discussion." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

### 5.6.6 Educational Problems

Most of the participants indicated that they faced difficulties, while trying to return to their schools/educational institutions after their release. Their problems arose due to the prohibition of children to return to school if the detention period and the absence of the child from school exceeded the '90-day limit', as stated by the Ministry of Education. The participants reported that the process to return to their schools varied depending on the school principals. Some principals were unwilling to have ex-detainee children back to their schools, as they considered them to be troublemakers. In addition, the participants reported their own personal problems related to schooling, including their lack of concentration, lack of motivation to learn, low self esteem, and the belief that they will not succeed.

For example, twenty participants reported that they lose their opportunity of education after being released, because they did not want to return to the same grade they were in before being released.

*"I lost my opportunity of education, because I couldn't get back to school. I was in the eighth grade, I attended school for a couple of days, but I can't go back. I left school." (A 2) (M, 16 years).*

*"I am not thinking of going back to school. I felt ashamed of going back to the eighth grade, because they are all kids. And the problem, I wanted to get back to school, and I asked them to put me back on the ninth grade, but they would only let me into the eighth, so it was very difficult for me to go back." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

*"I didn't go back to school because they wouldn't let me go back to my class where my friends were." (A11) (M, 15 years).*

Others found it was hard to stay in class, because they couldn't concentrate in class and also the teacher did not understand the prisoners' problems.

*“I went back to school but then I left again because I felt it was like prison and the teachers keep talking but I can't hear them. I just spent my time daydreaming, I couldn't focus at all”, (A8) (M, 16 years).*

*I can't concentrate and I feel very sad , how do you expect me not to be tired after coming out of prison” (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

Also two of the participant lost school because they didn't have the motivation to go to school due to the negative effects of their experience in prison. They were tired and frustrated, they became nervous, aggressive, sad, and lost energy

*“I left school after prison and I can't go back because I can't bear to go back and I don't have the energy and I feel frustrated by life. I am always tense, I even hit others or break things sometimes” (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

Further, four participants reported that they returned to school, but they didn't adapt with the school due to their age. They found it was hard to be with students younger than them.

*“When I was first released, it took me around a month and a half to go back to school. I didn't want to go back especially with younger girls, but my parents convinced me to go.” (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

*“When I first came out of prison, it took almost a month and a half before I could go back to school. I didn't really want to go back with girls who were younger than me, but my family convinced me to go back”.(A 5) (M, 15 years).*

Finally, one participant reported trust issues with his teacher.

*“I have a problem – I get high grades but the teachers don't believe it. They think I cheat” (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

### **5.6.7 Economic problems**

In addition to previous problems, the participants reported financial problems, particularly unemployment.

For example, fourteen participants faced the problems of finding a job. They reported lack of skills as a result of dropping out of school or university.

*"I'm trying to find a comfortable vocation, but I don't work now, and this affects my financial situation. I feel like I'm upset, I don't have the capability to come and go, and I become angry, pressured and bored." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

Another participant added: *"You stay at home, without finding a job. Once, I went to Israel to work. You start looking everywhere to work in Israel, through smuggling, but if they catch you, you'll go to prison, because you were previously imprisoned. We used to go out at 7, just to go to Israel. My life has deteriorated when it came to work. During these days, you can't find a proper job, except at the Israelis. I want to go to Israel, I want a permit, but after prison, it is difficult to take the permit." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

Finally, another participant explained: *"I didn't find a job, and I don't have money. I can't ask my parents for money, but there is nothing I can do." (A21)(M, 17 years).*

### **5.6.8 Physical health problems**

Also the participants reported developing health problems as a result of their detention and prison experience after release, including injuries, stomach problems, kidney problems, breathing problems and somatic symptoms. For example, many five of the participants reported that they suffered from eye problems.

*"I had eye problems, my eyes used to hurt me a lot. I used to sleep; I wouldn't be able to open them. The doctor gave me an eye drop, but I didn't use it, I can't guarantee it's for the eyes. He gave me a pill, I took it, but it was useless. No improvement occurred, it's like it's a pain killer only."(A 20)(M, 17 years)*

Six of the participants reported suffering from pain such as back pain leg pain, and headache.

*"My back hurts a lot, and the area where they hit me in my head during interrogation, particularly during cold. I also have nerve problems. I didn't go to the*

*doctor, because I heard that they give pills which ruin the kidneys, so I didn't go." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

*"If I have to walk for a distance I get tired and I can't work because of my back pain. The cold really affects my back and the place where they hit me on the head during interrogation also hurts a lot especially when it's cold. I didn't go to the clinic because I heard that they give you pills that affect your kidneys", (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

*"sometimes there is pain in my back and my leg and I have a headache so I get really stressed, before prison I didn't have these pains I also suffer from a sharp pain in my side sometimes I can't even walk but after I sleep a little the pain goes away " (A 19)( M ,14 years).*

*"I have headaches, and pain in my legs and back. That's torture" (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

*"I had severe pain in my waist. I don't go to the doctor. Every now and then, I would have difficulties walking on my legs. I sleep a bit, and it becomes better." (A 20) (M, 18 years).*

*"I kept having headaches, I went to the doctor, but he told me there is no reason for the headaches." (A 19) (M, 14 years).*

Another participant reported that he suffered from hemorrhoid.

*"After my release, I discovered I have hemorrhoid, and it keeps hurting." (A 29) (M, 17 years)*

Furthermore, a female participant reported that she suffered from high blood pressure after release. She was 15 years old and her blood pressure was 170.

*"Imagine I came out of prison at 15 years old with blood pressure that rose and reached up to 170 and imagine that I don't take any medication because if I go to the clinic, people will know that I have high blood pressure and that won't be good", (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

Finally, one female participant reported that she suffered from rheumatism after her release.

*"I got rheumatism in my bones, it leads to Osteoporosis. I have it because of the prison's humidity. Now, I'm getting the treatment." (A 28) (F, 15 years)*

## **5.7 Coping Strategies**

### **Introduction**

After portraying the children's prison experience and problems, it is necessary to explore how the participants coped with these problems. Analysis of responses indicated that children mainly used emotional coping strategies. Nevertheless, this study will reflect and illustrate these emotional coping strategies as adopted by the participants including tension-release strategies, aggressive strategies, religious coping strategies, social support and avoidance

#### **5.7.1 Tension release strategies**

Tension release strategies refer to activities that the participants used to relieve symptoms of stress such as singing, playing sports, walking, writing and reading, cooking washing, smoking, making fun, handcraft, self talk, praying, reading Quran, sleeping, computer& net, coffee, watching TV, daily bath, fantasy-thinking, roll model, imagination, and social supports.

- **Singing and music**

Singing and listening to music were reported by the participants as one way to cope with the difficult situations in prison and help them to relax. This strategy was effective to thirteen participants:

*"I spent a year listening to the walkman, the radio, and musical shows. This has helped me to cope with prison and tolerate all the suffering. Otherwise, I would've died, because whenever I used to listen to music, I used to feel really relaxed," (A 24) (F, 14 years)*

*"I used to always listen to music; it really helped to reduce the tiredness a bit. It really depends on each person, and how he deals with the situation. To me, listening to music helped me cope a little bit better with the situation" (A 19) (M, 17 years)*

*"I used to sit alone in the bed, close the curtains, sing and smoke. It was difficult to talk to someone and open up, especially that I barely knew them for two months or so, and the friends change. So singing was one of the ways that helped get out some of my pain, "(A 16) (M, 17 years).*

- **Joking and Laughing**

Other participants mentioned that they used joking to help them to release their stress and to feel better during their detention.

*"I used to like to sit alone since a long time. When the female wants to reflect her tiredness, she cries, but I ache from inside, and I can't let anyone see what's inside of me. I used to be sad and nervous all the time. Then I started to make fun of the soldiers, and make pranks. For instance, once, I would tell them that I want to go to the doctor, although I didn't suffer from anything, or I used to hide and they start to search for me. Also, sometimes I used to tell them things that they don't understand, and he used to get upset. I was just being sarcastic. It used to make me feel better, because laughing helps, especially when you can't talk about your pain and concern." (A 4) (M, 14 years).*

*"When the detectives used to pressure me a lot during the interrogation, I used to put one leg over the other and laugh. He asked me why I was laughing at them, and if I'm not scared. I told him whatever you think is right and that I am not scared and I am laughing at them. I used to always remember funny things to laugh and forget and concentrate on them so I can have the ability to tolerate what happens with me. It helped me a lot." (A 28) (F, 15 years)*

- **Writing and Reading**

Three participants pointed out that they used to read and write as a way to cope with tension.

*"I used to write anything that upset me, as if I'm talking to my parents. I had a diary book, and I wrote daily. After I finish writing, I feel like I'm relieved. It helped me a lot. I also loved to read at night, because in the morning I'd be busy and I wouldn't have time to read. So I used to read at night. It made me feel happy when I read. It helped me relax more, and sleep better," (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

*"I used to go to the library, it included old books, but I used to read and feel like I am in another world. I felt better after that," (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

*"I took over the cultural committee. I started to read a lot of books, and this helped me to relax and reduce my thinking." (A 30) (M, 16 years).*

- **Cooking and Washing**

Four of the participants mentioned that cooking and washing served as a coping mechanism for their stressors.

*"I used to feel so nervous and pressured, but when I start cooking, I feel better" (A 20) (M, 18 years).*

*"I used to cook always to the guys. I'm really good in cooking, so I spent my time cooking. It helped me a bit because I was doing something useful, and I feel more comfortable." (A30)(M,16 years).*

- **Daily Bath**

Four participants indicated that they used to bath daily as a strategy to deal with the stressors they faced.

*"I tried to adapt fast to the new situation. I used to take a long bath, which made me feel better and be more energized" (A 16) (M, 17 years)*

- **Drawing**

Others, participants reported using drawing as a coping strategy such as drawing on the wall of the room to relieve stress.

*"I spent interrogation while I'm drawing on the wall of the room, because I was good at drawing. I was upset, and I started to be angry, like I was suffocating, and then I saw a little spoon, I took it and I started to draw anything that pops in my mind. I drew my mom, myself and the detective. I used to draw my house, and green places, trees, gardens. Afterwards, it felt like something has been gone and I feel like I'm in another world. I used to draw in prison, in the cell, on the door. I drew myself. When I draw, I feel very relaxed, and when I finish drawing, I used to tear the drawing and throw it in the bathroom." (A 28) (F, 15 years)*

- **Imagination**

Moreover, many participants reported imagination, which refers to an over optimistic expectation that something would happen to change their situation or their reality.

*"In prison, I used to daydream a lot. I used to imagine that I'm sitting with my parents laughing. I used to think how we used to all sit together at the food table. This made me really happy". (A 15)(M, 17 years)*

*"I used to replace the people there - the soldiers. I imagined we were all Palestinians. When I see a soldier, I used to imagine that he is an old man, wearing the traditional Palestinian clothes. I used to entertain myself and waste my time by counting my family members, and remember the roads to my village. I used to remember how to walk to reach to another place. Think about which road is better or longer. For instance, I used to think about that certain wedding, what this girl was wearing, and whether her shoes were nice or not. If I see a small straw, I would do shapes from it, and I used to write my name wherever I can indicate that I was here. I used to hear what the people outside were saying. They used to speak in Hebrew, I didn't understand, but I used to imagine people, and create a story from their talks. I used to look at people and create stories for them and discussions other than what they were saying, and this used to help pass time. I*

*used to be really tired and exhausted. I used to feel like they want me to walk a bit, and I become better." (A 25) (F, 16 years).*

- **Watching TV**

Thirteen participants pointed out that watching TV helped them pass time and reduced their stress.

*"I used to watch TV until I'm able to sleep" (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

*"I used to watch Palestine Channel; I've spent most of my time watching TV." (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

- **Patience**

Being patient is another coping strategy that helped participants to deal with their stress.

*"What helped me is that I'm patient in nature. I had to be patient, because I knew that I'll get out one day. I used to wait patiently for this day." (A 10) (M, 14 years).*

*"I had patience and will because I am convinced that they do that because they are occupiers, and we have the right to defend our country." (A 6) (M, 16 years).*

- **Role Model**

One of the participants indicated that he noticed some prisoners laugh all the time, and trying to deal with their reality normally, although some were imprisoned for the second time, or they were imprisoned for long period of times. He used them as role models to perceive things more positively.

*"I saw the guys at prison laughing and acting normally. Some were sentenced for long period but they used to talk and act normally. I learned a lot from them, and it help me cope with the situation," (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

- **Handcrafts**

Eighteen participants indicated that they used to do handcrafts, and it helped them cope with the situation and to face their daily stressors.

*"The guys used to do things such as carving and rosaries. I used to do rosaries from olive beads. I used to be so happy because I felt productive." (A20)(M,17 years)*

*"I used to sometimes do some handcrafts, but not a lot. It helped me relax, and I get tired afterwards, so I don't think." (A24)(F,14 years)*

*"I used to create necklaces. It helped me pass time, and I become happy when I create something," (A28)(F,15 years)*

- **Breathing and Exercising**

Sixteen participants resorted they utilized breathing to help them to release stress, relax and gain self-control.

*"I used to play sports. I go to a new club, and I play football. And sports have helped me." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

*"Inhaling and exhaling (breathing) helped me relax. And over here, you taught me this technique." (A 18) (M, 14 years).*

- **Coffee**

Nineteen participants indicated that one of their coping strategies was drinking coffee.

*"I am disgusted by this life and by people when I was released from prison. I don't want to see anyone. I keep drinking coffee; it entertains me and helps me forget." (A 4) (M, 16 years).*

*"I drink coffee; I feel like it relaxes a lot and cleans the brains. I started to drink coffee a lot around five times a day." (A 3) (M, 15 years).*

- **Self Talk**

Another effective strategy that the participants used was to talk to themselves.

*"I also started to talk to myself, when I was really sad and I couldn't. 'C'mon you have to get us. You need to get a shower'. I called a prisoner's sister and asked if she wanted anything because I'm calling the radio station. Afterwards, I went out with a girl I knew." (A 25) (F, 16 years).*

*"I started to think, I tried to build friendships with the number. Imagine that I wanted to become friends with number 1 or 2 or 3. I imagined that the number is my best friend. I used to try for a minute or two, but then it becomes a number. I think if I'm insane. I try to think alone. It felt like I'm going insane. In that moment particularly, my mind would roam away. I don't know how can i become friends with the number. This is a number that you don't talk to or anything. I left the number. I started to look at him and see him as a number." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

- **Smoking**

Fourteen participants mentioned smoking as a coping mechanism

*" I used to smoke a lot. Smoking helped me a lot in coping" (A 21) (M, 17 years).*

*"I couldn't cope with prison at the beginning. I wasn't used to it. I started smoking two packs every day, and the guys used to give us. It made me feel better and I got along with the guys" (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

*"I started to smoke a lot. I smoke more than one to two packs. I feel more relaxed and comfortable with smoking." (A 19) (M, 17 years).*

*"I start smoking in prison. I didn't use to smoke, but when the girls used to tell me that smoking made them feel better. I decided to try, so I started smoking, and I started feeling better and more relaxed." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

- **Computer and Internet**

Twenty-five participants reported that they used computer and internet as coping strategy to release stress after being released.

*"I spend a lot of time on Face book and the computer, which helps me see my friends even while I am sitting at home." (A 15) (M, 17 years).*

*"The computer is my life. I have fun playing games, listening to news and talking to people. It helps me forget and stop thinking about prison." (A 22) (M, 16 years).*

### **5.7.2 Aggressiveness strategies**

The second type of coping strategies that the participants reported was aggressive coping mechanism. Aggressive strategies are acts that may cause harm such as hitting people or things, shouting or crying

*"Also, I keep knocking on the door with my legs, whenever I feel like I'm chocking. I was angry, especially when they interrogate with me, and then they leave me for a day and hours in a room, you feel like you're going to collapse. I used to feel like I want to get crazy. I didn't know what I want to do, and I couldn't control myself. I would suddenly knock on the door a lot with the loudest voice. This annoys them, but it was useless. That's why I used to sit down afterwards." (A 14) (M, 15 years)*

- **Crying**

Three female participants reported that crying helped them to cope with their stress.

*"I used to keep crying all the time, and I was alone, because I didn't like to cry in front of people." (A 24) (F, 14 years).*

*"And I used to always cry, because I don't talk so I stress out and I vent out alone by crying. I feel better afterwards." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

### 5.7.3 Religious coping strategies

Another coping strategy that was reported by the participants were praying and reading Qur'an. They believed that resorting to God was the best solution, and only God can help them.

*"I didn't always pray before I got into prison. But since I entered prison, I used to pray all the time. In prison, there is no one who can help you except God. I used to cry when I hear the prayer, and after I pray, I used to feel a lot better. It was amazing. I used to thank god. I also started reading Qur'an in prison, I memorized five chapters." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

*"Praying makes you feel better and help you feel at ease. Even if someone didn't use to pray outside prison, they automatically start praying when they enter prison. Religion helps a person tolerate the suffering of the prison." (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

*"I used to worry all the time, and I wasn't happy at all in the section I was in. I decided to try praying, I needed someone to protect me, and there was no one but God. I used to pray 10 times a day. I used to pray to God during the night prayer to be able to sleep. I once prayed more than 8 times. I recited all the Qur'an verses that I remember. It was only matter of moments when the -Soheir- came to transfer me to another prison. I was so happy. I was in hell, and I went to heave because of praying" (A 18) (M, 16 years).*

*"When I saw my friend trying to commit suicide and cut his artery, I was really affected. I kept remembering how he tried to cut his artery. I was really scared and worried that I'll do the same, or that I'll see that scene again, I kept imagining it over and over. My friends helped me get out of this as well as praying. I used to pray daily, it made me feel relaxed." (A 9) (M, 16 years)*

### 5.7.4 Social Support

Twenty five participants indicated that the prisoner's support helped them get through this difficult experience. They pointed out that their friends helped them deal with pressure and all the hardships they experience.

*"When someone spends time with his friends, they laugh, joke and play. You feel like the day passes by so fast." (A 14) (M, 15 years).*

*"The love of the people around me. In prison, the girls used to call me 'Debeq' - the gelation, as a reflection that I'm very sweet and adorable. This helped me strongly, and eased the pain of prison." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

*"My uncle was in prison and I used to see him in the playground. He used to talk to me and make me stronger. But my friends' support was the most things that helped me. They used to talk to me and encourage me. We were like family, and I knew they are willing to help me always." (A6) (M, 16 years).*

*"I used to pass time by playing and talking to the guys. They always introduce themselves to new prisoners, and they help them and they introduce them to the prison's laws and the prison's environment. Also, my brothers whom I saw explained everything to me, which made things better," (A22)(M,17 years).*

### **5.7.5 Avoidance**

Five of the participant stated that they resorted to avoidance as their coping strategy to deal with stress.

*"When I was in prison, I used to avoid thinking about anything that bothered me, particularly what happened with me during the interrogation. Although sometimes it just pops in my mind. But I try my best not to think, and that makes me feel better, (A1)(M,17 years)*

### **5.8 Prisoners' needs and perception of their future**

The last sub-theme that was explored in this study was prisoners' needs. Many of the participants reported that they needed work after release, as they lost school and they could not ask their family for money because of their financial problems.

*"I need lots of things. For example, I need to work, and be financially independent, because I feel shy to keep asking my parents for my allowance. Also, I need to build a house for me and furnish it. No one works except my brother." (A11) (M, 15 years).*

Other participants reported that they want to pursue vocational training and had a career, such as photography, or getting their driving license, or mechanic...etc.

*"I want to learn a workmanship, and I want to open a store, and start selling and buying and saving money. I want to build a house and get married." (A10) (M, 14 years).*

*"I want to take the license, and learn car mechanics." (A11) (M, 14 years).*

*"I wish I can take a photography workshop." (A25) (F, 16 years).*

*"What do you wish for? I need a car and a license. Whenever I see someone who has a car, I sigh." (A8) (M, 16 years).*

Also, two of the participants reported that their need revolves around recreational activities such as trips.

*"I like to go on trips, so I can have fun and change my mood." (A 3) (M, 17 years).*

As the participants reported, they suffered from many psychological problems, seven of the participants indicated that their needs were to have psychological support and treatment to help them to deal with their psychological problems, such as debriefing.

*"I need someone to talk to me from the specialists, because I feel like I'm suffocating and I want to debrief." (A 23) (M, 17 years).*

*"I want something to make me forget, I want a psychological support. Someone to listen to me, and help me forget what I passed through." (A16) (M, 17 years).*

*"I want to stop thinking about prison and get back to the old days." (A 5) (M, 15 years).*

Other participants reported that their needs were to have friends, as two of them felt lonely.

*"I wish I can get back the friends I had two years ago. I wish I'd have friends that will hold me by my hands and take me out." (A 25) (F, 16 years).*

*"I wish I can see my friends in prison, because I can't live without them. There is no one like them." (A 17) (M, 16 years).*

Finally, nine of the participants reported that their need was to return to school, before they lost the chance to stay in school after their release.

*"What I want the most is to get back to school. I want to take educational courses to keep up with the lessons that I missed." (A9) (M, 16 years).*

*"The first thing, and most important thing is that I need someone to help me in education, so I can overcome future problems." (A16) (M, 17 years).*

## **5.9 Future**

This theme reflects the participants' perception of the future. Findings showed that some participants were hopeful about the future, while others weren't.

For instance, thirteen of the participants expressed hope about their future after their release. They wished to find a good future after all the pain they suffered in prison. One of the participants who was 16 years old when she was arrested, hoped that she' would get married after her release and she would continue her education at university to get a Masters degree. She also hoped to be important in her society, to have children and to be accepted by the society.

*"I have hope. I want to work on myself more. I want to pursue my higher education and get my Masters. I want to be something important in the society. I want to build a small house for us. I wish that all the people that I like would be satisfied with me. My parents' love me, but I wish they're be satisfied with who I am." (A25) (F, 16 years).*

Another female participant also mentioned:

*"Despite everything that happened, I always have hoped in tomorrow. I have hope that it will be better. And my dream, I would very much like to be successful in my studies and go to university. I want to study journalism, and become a journalist." (A24) (F, 14 years).*

*"Hopefully, I'll have a great future and I'll excel in the scientific field. I want to continue my education, and build a house. I want to study psychology, if God permits." (A15) (M, 17 years).*

Nevertheless, fifteen of the participants were pessimistic about their future after their release. They felt despair, and they were doubtful that they' would find anything in the future. They reported that the future was unclear and there was no hope.

*"I don't know. There is no future. I can't dream of anything, there is no future in front of me." (A 27) (M, 15 years).*

*"I don't think about future now. After Tawjihi, I'll think about it. What I want to study? What I want to work? I usually do not think about future. I don't know, I can't determine my future, it's unclear. I'm living each day by its own. I don't think about the future now." (A 9) (M, 16 years).*

*"I think the future will be very difficult and I don't have much hope, I don't have now so I am afraid about the future. I wanted to work and build a house and get engaged , but first I have to study , afterwards I want to work so I can save money for a year or so but so far I don't have any work and I don't know what to do." (A 28) (F, 15 years).*

Finally another male participant indicated that he didn't have hope for the future. He was angry at the world and also at God, because Palestinians had to live in suffering, and because God supported the Israelis. He thought that life controlled by power. He wished he was never born.

*"I have a despicable view, there is no future. I don't know and I can't determine my future. It's unclear. I live each day by its own. If I get a chance, I will stick to it and try to*

*pursue it. I hope something good will be waiting for the future. Life, in my view, is a game. There is always a stronger person that comes up. And there is someone who's more powerful than all of us, and is controlling us, it's God. I am mad at God, why did I, in particular, had to come to Palestine be tortured like this? I think a lot about God, how we came, and where will we go after we die? My thoughts roam to a very far place, and I think a lot about who the devil is. There is no devil, because I never saw it. I feel like I am so small in this game, life. This life has to change, it's not nice, I wish I was never born."*  
(A 1) (M, 17 years).

# **Chapter Six**

## **Discussion**

## **Introduction**

This chapter discusses the main results of the current study and in relation to literature review including study limitations

### **6.1 Study limitation**

Different limitations may affect the validity of a qualitative study. In this current study, one possible limitation is the use of the convenience sampling. However, in the context of the current study, the sample strategy was probably appropriate, as the sample included young prisoners with wide range of perspectives.

Another possible limitation is the number of interviews. The total sample size was thirty participants (27 male, 3 female). The sample size was determined according to data saturation as the data was collected until no new information emerged. These principles were utilized in this study, as 5 interviews with young prisoners were conducted in the first stage of the research process. After extensive analysis and coding of all these interviews, another 25 interviews were done in the second stage. Most qualitative researchers believe that interviews are less likely to produce new data after 20 have been conducted (Green & Thorogood, 2004).

Further, validity and reliability of interviews are argued because there are no mechanical methods to ensure the validity in qualitative research (Patton, 2002). Mays suggests many measures to assess validity (Mays & Pops, 2000) and some of which were taken in this study. For example, validity related to the transferability which reflexes the degree of the results that helped to be generalizing or transferred to other contexts (Patton, 2002). Findings from this study were derived from a social interaction between the interviewees and the researchers. In order to keep rigor in qualitative research, it is important to explore reflexivity (Davies & Dodd 2002). Personal reflexivity refers to the contribution of the researcher's knowledge, values, experiences and characteristics on the research process from data collection to outcomes (Davies & Dodd 2002), (Banister, et al, 1994). The researcher wrote down difficulties and issues and discussed these with the supervisor. Also, validity in this study was assured by using analysis of deviant cases, which refers to the presentation of data from cases that contradict the explanation of the

phenomena under investigation. Both positive and negative instances were presented ( Mays&Pops, 2000).

To ensure reliability, all interviews were recorded and the data analysis process was documented. Also all themes and codes were created by the research team, which included the supervisor and the main researcher of the study. Measures were taken to keep the data accurate through description of what had been seen and heard, accurate interpretation of the meaning and perspective of participants and consideration of alternative explanations (Robeson, 2002).

## **6.2 Discussion of themes**

This qualitative study addresses the experience of Palestinian children ex-detainees and its underlying consequences on their lives. It targets the Palestinian children aged between 12 – 18 years old in Ramallah district who were arrested by the Israeli army during the year 2010 and 2011. As discussed in chapter two, adolescence is the life span of the individual when he/she is confronted by a series of developmental hurdles and challenges. They have transitions from childhood to adulthood, which is characterized by physical, social, psychological, and cognitive development. Also, during this period of life stage, there are certain developmental tasks to be accomplished before one can move on to the next stage of maturity (Frydenberg & Lewis, 1991). However, Palestinian children are exposed to one of the most difficult experience in their life which is being imprisoned in Israeli prisons due to political reasons which violate International Human Rights Law and International Humanitarian Law (DCI, 2007).

In general, the findings showed that children experience consisted of four stages: The arrest process, the interrogation process and court experience, the imprisonment experience and after-release experience

For the arrest process, findings showed that the Israeli soldiers arrested the children in systematic way at night and from their homes. Most of them (20 participants) indicated that the Israeli military entered Palestinian areas and often waits until the middle of the night to arrest them before conducting a military operation. The participants stated that through the arrest process, they were treated inhumanely by the soldier and they used

physical violence such as beating, curses, and screaming. Some of their homes were demolished as well. They were bombarded by a large amount of tanks and soldiers. Children were handcuffed and blindfolded during the arrest. They were intimidated by huge dogs. Some participants have also stated that they had head and hands injuries as well as nose-bleeding which were inflicted by soldiers. These findings were supported by DCI report findings (DCI, 2004) which indicated that it is a routine for the soldiers to beat and torture the children during the arrest (DCI, 2004, Addamir 2009).

As a consequence, findings showed that the children who undergo this process of arrest and torture develop extreme fear, horror and panic. Cohen indicated that children under stress, who experience loss, or who have attention, learning, conduct or anxiety disorders are at a higher risk for depression (Cohen, 2002). Also Chester emphasized that the worst experience is often not the torture itself but the anticipatory fear at the moment of arrest or between sessions of interrogation. Any aspect of humanity and self-identity is used against the victim in the cruelest and most painful way (Chester, 1992). These negative emotional reactions may affect prisoners' internal and external security, safety and stability particularly that the participants were tortured in front of their parents who failed to protect their children. Further, the aim of this process by the Israeli military is to destroy children's identity and personality in order to threaten them and take information. In addition, this sudden and unexpected separation of children from their families may affect them tremendously as most of the participants were young under the age of 18 years and more than half of them were arrested for the first time. Bowlby (1975) indicated that sudden separation from the family represents the cruelest cases of severe emotional crises experienced by the child. This experience leads to emotional vacuum considering that emotional attachment is one of the most important psychological resources enjoyed by a human being. Mahler (1973) stressed on the consequences of the separation from the family due to sudden arrest. She indicated that poor emotional connection with the family, precisely the mother, during the adolescent stage, leads to accumulated negative self-image and perception. Also, low self-confidence, low self-appreciation and other accumulative negative emotions will arise later due to such an experience (Mahler, et.al., 1973).

Furthermore, the participants reported their families' inability to protect them at the moment of arrest as they were shocked, silent and speechless. Muuss (1975) discussed the role model image that children develop of their parents and their direct connection of their

parents to protection. He claimed that parents' inability to protect their children destructs their sense of security and develops confusion regarding the role model of family protection (Muuss 1975).

The second stage that the participants reported is the interrogation process and court experience. The participants reported a wide range of torture methods including physical, psychological and medical torture which reflected a great degree of violation of international human rights and humanitarian laws such as being naked and beaten, captured in unhealthy environment such as small and dirty with insects, being exposed to sexual abuse, sleep problems, malnutrition, and maltreatment.

For example, the most traumatic experience that these participants were exposed to in pre- interrogation process was being searched and naked by the Israeli military. They described it as invasion of their privacy, being similar to sexual abuse, and it was against their cultural beliefs and how they were raised in their families. In adolescence, the most significant aspects are pubertal development and hormonal changes (Marshal, 1978, Sisk & Foster, 2004) in which a child develops secondary sex characteristics and has rapid growth and development (Jorgensen & Keiding 1991) (Lewis, 2001) These biological changes may affect gender identity (Brown, 1990). Appearance including cloths is considered one aspect of gender. For example; clothes help teens explore new identities, separate from parents, and bond with peers (Erikson, 1959). Hence, being naked and invading personal privacy may affect young prisoners' identities, self concept and self esteem (Rogers, 1959), which can cause severe distress and anxiety ( Rosenberg, 1986). Further, changes in self concept and identity in early age may affect the development of young prisoners' personalities for the rest of their life (Muuss, 1975), because most of the participants reported that they still affected by the experience of being naked even after their release and particularly that they were not able to do anything. Chester (1990) pointed out to the conflict within a tortured person between the image he had of himself and the image that comes up from the way of their behaving in a situation where certain responses are required

As a result of being naked, the participants reported developing a sense of self-blaming, guilty feeling, shyness and crying particularly female participants. These emotional problems may interact with other physiological and hormonal changes in

adolescence and increase negative emotions, such as moodiness, anxiety, loathing, tension (Muuss, 1975). In response, this may lead to identity confusion and may affect their psychological development later on because they were not able to defend themselves or to prevent the intrusion into their private life. Because their autonomy is violated, their maturity may be affected and may lead to suicide or suicide attempts (Muuss, 1975)

Also most of the participants confirmed the use of Israeli Force of tactics to pressure them to sign confessions through integration. These tactics varied between placing them in spy rooms to threatening their personal safety as well as their family's personal safety. For example, the participants didn't give any information to the interrogators were placed in the 'bird/' 'spy' room as a way to trick them and pressure prisoners. The participants reported that they were forced to sign confessions, written in Hebrew, and they were unaware and uninformed about the true content of these confessions. In most cases, the interviewees signed these confessions despite their invalidity which result in unfair judgments. These results are supported by Addameer (2005) and Karakea (2003) who confirmed the Israeli illegal policies to pressure children to confess, despite the accuracy and validity of the children confessions.

Further, the participants in this study indicated the presence of a systematic policy to recruit children. They offered children money and freedom in exchange of information about other prisoners or other people after their release. Chester, (1992) supported the use of physical and psychological tortures to pressure children to become collaborators. This reflects the prison's purpose to destroy prisoners' fidelity toward their society and increase the conflict between the body and mind (Chester, 1992). This action is considered very dangerous and contradicts with the Customary International Humanitarian Law, which states: "*Children must not be recruited into armed forces or armed groups*" (Customary International Humanitarian Law, Chapter 39, Rule 136; Recruitment of Child Soldiers).

Torture is the norm in Israeli detention centers and almost every Palestinian child reports some form of torture. This fact is widely acknowledged and thoroughly documented by local and international human rights organizations (Addameer, 2005). The findings of this study supported the use of different types of tortures such as physical torture, psychological torture or medical torture as most of the participants indicated. Physical abuse including Shabeh' and being hit on different organs of their body such as

back, head, neck , and legs which is the most common torture that the participants reported. Basic needs such as eating, sleeping or going to the bathroom were denied. Philip (1990) reported the use of physical torture by the Israeli Army and revealed that 85% of the prisoners were exposed to a various types of physical and psychological torture and abuse during their detention. Also these results are in consistency with Torture Rehabilitation Center study(2006) and (Al-Sarij,1996) study which showed that torture is still widespread approach inside Israeli prisons and the most common physical torture included severe beatings (86.3%) and stealth (83.3%).

The other common torture is psychological torture as the interrogators threatened to detain family members, interrogate and abuse them. This was especially directed at mothers and sisters as the participants reported. Also, verbal abuse including curses and screaming was another type of the psychological torture which interrogators used against the participants. The interrogators used words to insult children's mothers, sisters, and God. In addition sexual abuse and rape are prominently common in the torture against prisoners particularly women and girls. Many participants reported sexual abuse through actual physical contact, sexual harassment or through witnessing sexual acts between soldiers, which increased participants' sense of fear, insecurity, shame and lack of control. Torture Rehabilitation Center in Ramallah revealed that mental or psychological torture were used more with female prisoners than males such as deprivation of family visits to them, denial of treatment, enforced erosion, and the threat of rape (TRC,2006). In the current study, one female participant indicated that female prisoners were frequently exposed to sexual abuse but they did not talk about it because of their fear from the people in the community. It is reported that a third to two thirds of women and girls seeking treatment of torture report incidents of sexual violation (Cherter, 1992). Also Amnesty International revealed that women are vulnerable to rape and other sexual violation at all points in the process, from arrest and interrogation to refuge in detention (Cherter, 1992). The participants in this study reported that they were not comfortable with these behaviors because they were unacceptable and forbidden in their culture

Torture including sexual abuse may prone young prisoners later to mental disorders such as PTSD because torture is considered an extreme form of trauma (Chester, 1990). For example, it was found that the prevalence of PTSD in children prisoners on average was 42.5% and they developed other mental problems such stomata-form, obsessive

compulsive disorder, schizophrenia, generalized anxiety disorder and panic disorder (TRC, 2006). Moreover, one study revealed that 35% of prisoners suffered from PTSD (Al-Sarij, 1996). These findings may raise the question regarding the protection of these young prisoners from torture and sexual abuse that are inflicted by the Israeli military and the role of the national and international human right organizations in preventing and raising awareness about the dangers of these illegal behaviors locally and internationally.

For medical torture, the participants reported the use of unknown drugs, or addictive drugs that may affect them mentally such as "Trip" without the knowledge of the prisoners or the use of smoking to induce addiction and illnesses among prisoners. Addameer (2008) highlighted this issue stressing on its side effects and stated that drug torture can cause many mental problems that have future complications, even if the prisoner was released (Addameer 2008). These medical and psychological techniques of torture are used because they are almost impossible to be detected (Berger,1980). The Israel's policies towards the Palestinian child prisoners violate the international law stated in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which Israel was abided to. The convention stated: "*No child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment*" (Article 37 (a), UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989).

As a consequence of the harsh conditions that these participants were exposed to, the participants developed many psychological problems such anxiety, feeling restlessness, fatigue, irritability, lack of concentration, muscle tension, and poor sleep. Also, the participants reported that they had sadness, pain, despair, sense of helplessness, feeling hurt and guilty, and they had thoughts of suicide. Rasmussen (1990) reported that survivors of torture complained of memory, concentration, and other cognitive disturbance, sleep disturbances, irritability, depression, and suicidal thoughts which were registered in 68% of the survivors, anxiety, lack of confidence and self-esteem, fear of intimacy, minimization denial, persistent shame and humiliation, despair, and loss of previously sustaining beliefs. Kinzie & Miller, (1986) study emphasized the significance of these findings and indicated that some of psychological problems which emerged during detention might be improved such as sleep problem, while others might not improve and stay for long time such as shame, and social isolation.

The third stage that the participants reported is prison experience itself. The participants reported that they had two main authorities to manage their life when they entered the prison. This included the Israeli authority which forced their prison regulations and rules along with the Palestinian prisoners authority that help the prisoners to deal and cope with the prison environment and to protect the prisoners from being spied by the Israeli military. This double authority may add more stressors to these young prisoners as it is known that adolescence is the stage where adolescents reject authority. Erikson mentioned that a youth often rebel against their dominance, their value system, and their intrusion into their private life, since they separate their identity from that of their family and others. Also authority may restrict adolescents' autonomy and affect their maturity (Muuss, 1975).

Punishments were used by both authorities as mentioned by the participants such as being beaten in front of other prisoners or performing cleaning tasks if they spied for Israeli military or using positive punishment such as reading. This finding may reflect the difference between the external world where the young prisoners previously live with their parents and they try to control their life and internal world where the participants live in prison and do not have a control over their privacy and authority. Smetana (1988) indicated the arguments between adolescents and their parents concerning the issues of control and the adolescent's right to privacy over which their parents had complete authority over. It worth mentioning that most of these participants were not knowledgeable about the process of admission and the environment of the prison before they entered the prison as it was their first experience in prison. This may create more stressors for them, and prone those to mental or psychological problems such as adjustment problem which may affect their growth. Rogers stated that for a person to "grow", they need an environment that provides them with genuineness (openness and self-disclosure), acceptance (being seen with unconditional positive regard), and empathy (being listened to and understood) (Rogers, 1959).

After admission, the participants reported many problems inside the prison such as unclean environment, small rooms, lack of ventilation, the presence of insects, sleep problems, food problems including bad quality and insufficient amount, sudden inspections during the night which affected their sleep pattern, economic problems including lack of money, education problems as they do not have an access to formal education and social

problems such as being away from their families, lack of family visits and the death of family members without participating in their funerals. These findings are supported by Karaka (2000) who indicated that children inside Israeli prisons suffered from the lack of ventilation, lack of food and poor lighting in prisons which leads to significant humidity making it extremely inappropriate for living. Israel, as a detaining power is obligated to meet all of its prisoners' needs. However, Israel treats the prisoners as if they are not human beings and are without rights (Karaka, 2003). For example, the right to food is a fundamental right addressed in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), Article 11, the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, Rule 20 and the United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty, Rule 37. The prisoners see this policy as a systematic attempt to destroy their dignity and their humanity (Karaka, 2000).

As a result of unhealthy environment inside Israeli prisons and stress, the participants reported that they had various types of health problems such as skin diseases, headache, dizziness, malnutrition, eyes problems, back pain, kidney problems, epilepsy and cancer. Anderson indicated that an extreme amount of stress can have health consequences and adversely affect the immune, cardiovascular, neuroendocrine and central nervous systems (Anderson, 1998). Further, these findings are supported by Goldfield et al (1988) who found that the most common physical symptom among prisoners and victims of torture are severe headache, impaired hearing, gastrointestinal distress, joint pain, and scars on the skin, bone dislocations, and fractures. Also the Palestinian Ministry of Prisoner's Affairs reported that 25% of the total number of child prisoners suffered from various illnesses and is in need of treatment which they have been deprived of due to the policy of medical neglect adopted by the prison's administration against them (Ministry of Prisoners' Affairs, 2010).

The participants in the current study indicated that Acamol was the only drug that the doctor offered prisoners regardless of their suffering or diseases and the prison administration neglected prisoners' health complaints. As a result, the participants mistrusted the medical treatment and tried to avoid seeing the prison's doctor due to lack of treatment. These acts by the prison's doctors violate Article 24 of the CRC, the United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty, Rule 49-54 and United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners Rules 22-26,

which confirm that detainees are entitled to free medical treatment at all times (CRC, 1989).

Moreover, the new changes and challenges, the harsh conditions, and torture since the moment of their arrest, in the interrogation process and after their admission to the prison, prone these young prisoners to psychological problems such as mistrust, self blame, adjustment problem, crying, fear, nervousness, loneliness, frustration, and anxiety. (Compas, 1985) indicated that ongoing, day-to-day stresses and strains are harder on adolescents than major life events. If a major event causes stress, it is often because it sets off a chain of events that changes the on-going, day-to-day conditions of their lives (Compas, 1985). These day to day events inside the prisons may contribute to deepen other psychological problems, such as low self-esteem and low confidence resulting in increasing the risk of the child experiencing psychological disorders affecting their attitudes and behaviors (Erikson, 1968). Also, these psychological changes may put these young prisoners at more risk than other adolescents in community because in addition to the new problems that they faced in prisons, it is known that adolescence is a period of storm and stress that is full of contradictions and wide swings in mood and emotion. Also, thoughts, feelings, and actions oscillate between humility and conceit, goodness and temptation, and happiness and sadness. One moment for example, he may want to be left alone, but shortly thereafter desire to cling to somebody (Hall, 1923).

As discussed previously, being humiliated, tortured, and sexually abused were common in prison by Israeli military, which may affect prisoners' self esteem and self concept that refers to an individual's perception of "self" in relation to many characteristics, such as academics and non academics, gender roles and sexuality, and racial identity. (Rogers, 1959) In extreme cases, the changes in self concept can lead to identity crises (Markus and Nurius, 1986). Erikson stated that identity diffusion can lead to suicide or suicide attempts (Muuss, 1975). The finding of the current study showed that these young prisoners were not able to deal with their stressors inside the prisons, their emotions and thoughts and many of them reported their thought of death or suicidal attempt. This may raise the questions regarding the presence of health care system inside the prison and particularly mental health services and the role of international organization.

Also the participants complained about the lack of cloths the high prices of food in prisons and inadequate amount of money which they received from their families and Palestinian Ministry of prisoners which did not cover these high prices. It worth mentioning that Israeli uses prisoners as a market to sell their goods in high prices. This action is considered against international law which stated that prison authority should cover all expenses and needs of prisoners.

So the participants were asked about the role of international organizations such the International Red Cross (ICRC) and the lawyers in supporting and helping them inside the prison. The findings showed different point of views but mostly negative responses. For example, the participants reported that the role of the International Red Cross (ICRC) is restricted to visit prisoners, informing the parents about the visits, bringing clothes to prisoners and following up with the prisoners' condition, collecting information about the arrest, types of torture, type of food served and whether prisoners were beaten, humiliated or tortured and bringing games such as Tennis, Chess... etc. However, the ICRC according to the participants does not have a role in family visits for some prisoners, in preventing torture, and improving the health care services and treatment for prisoners which are its major goals as stated in its mission

*“Through regular visits, the ICRC strives to prevent torture, other forms of ill-treatment, forced disappearances and extrajudicial executions, and to ensure that detainees enjoy fundamental judicial guarantees” and “To provides detainees with medical and other supplies, either directly or through the detaining authority” (ICRC.org,2013).*

Also the participants complained about the limit role of lawyers in visiting them or decreasing their sentences. This might be because of Israel's practice of interrogating Palestinian children and preventing them from meeting their lawyers because Palestinian lawyers need special permits in order to enter Israel to meet with their clients and those in charge of interrogation have the authority to refuse lawyers contact with their clients for the first three months (DCI, 2004).

The fourth stage that the study assessed is what happened with prisoners after their release. Most of the prisoners were released at the city or checkpoint or village which they did not know and the soldiers told the child to go home without having money. They

returned home but with changes in their personalities, way of thinking, and different lifestyle which their family did not understand or did not have information about. This created new challenges and problems to these young prisoners in addition to their memory of the hard experience in prison. Mahler, et al (1973) mentioned that all suppressed feelings that were developed throughout the whole prison's experience accumulated to become a significant part of the children's personality dictating their behavior and attitudes, even after they were released. These suppressed emotions are reflected at later stages by the children's attitudes and behaviors towards their family, friends, society and future relationships (Mahler, et. al., 1973).

The findings of the study showed that these participants faced multiple stressors after being released so being released didn't end their prison experience in the gate of prison, but the negative impact of their experience continued, which negatively influenced their psychological wellbeing. They mentioned many problems related to their inability to continue education because of their age after release, lack of concentration and motivation, bad economic situation due to lack of employment opportunities, health problems such as headache, back pain, eye problems, and high blood pressure, social problems as the people around them and their friends avoided them and perceived them as spies or collaborators or criminals, family restriction of their movement and their relationships with others, political problems and their fear of being re-arrested another time.

Also they reported many psychological problems that to some extent similar to their problems in prison such as adjustment problems, fear and worry, loneliness, sadness, guilt, self-blame, despair, nervousness, mistrust, lack of concentration, suffered from pictures, sounds and smells that triggered their memory of prison experience, and sleeping problem because they had dreams about their prison experience, such as the moment of arrest, interrogation and torture (e.g. being beaten or being strip searched).

These psychological problems may occur because of many reasons. For example, adjustment problem may result because overtime, these participants built strong relationship with their peers inside prison as most of them mentioned that friendship was the most important benefit that they had in prison in addition to informal education about history, languages, and political issues. After release, the young prisoners may find it difficult to adjust to the new world and roles. For example, one participant mentioned that

they felt weirdly about their parents, their role, and their parenting style. Muuss stated that with the onset of adolescence, parents and teachers frequently decline as important models. (Muuss, 1975, 235) and it is the peer group and selected entertainment heroes who become increasingly important as models, especially if communication between parents and adolescents break down. The adolescent peer group is particularly influential as a model in the use of verbal expressions, hair style, clothing, food, music and entertainment preferences, as well as in regard to decisions related to rapidly changing social values (Muuss, 1975). Second, different torture methods that these participants were exposed to, may affect their psychological status which in turn may affect their health in general. For example, Stover and Night-ingle (1985) indicated that torture is used to silence political prisoners through the destruction of their health bodies and mind. Third, mistrust that is created between the prisoners and their community is considered as one major goal of torture. Sclapobersky (1989) supported this finding by stating that torture does not target individuals but a community as a whole by attacking the trust and the coherence which make the fabric of any society. Fourth, the meaning that the participants gave to their prison experience may affect their psychological state. For example, most of the participants reported negative perception of their experience such as tomb, hell, death, mountain, mistake, closed room or cage, humiliation and insult which may reflect their hard experience in prison. These negative meanings of prison experience may keep these participants "stuck" in their traumatic experience and "losing their world" (Mollica, 1988). So providing psychological treatment and support immediately after being released by qualified mental health professionals may be necessary for this age group in order to restore their personalities to the former healthy state (Chester, 1990).

There is a danger that these young prisoners may engage in risky behaviors in order to get rid of their problems that start from the moment of their arrest, escalate in prison and continue after their release. For example, many of the participants reported their ideas about death and their suicidal attempt or smoking. Compass indicated that adolescence under stress have a greater tendency to engage in unhealthy behaviors, such as excessive use or abuse of alcohol and drugs, cigarette smoking, and making poor exercise and nutritional choices, than their less-stressed counterparts(Compas,1985). Also Kurtz and Campbell stated that with the presumed increase in the number of stressors to which adolescents are exposed as they navigate this critical developmental transition, the way

adolescents respond to stressors may vary hormonally, behaviorally and neutrally from that of other aged organisms (Kurtz and Campbell, 1994).

Family plays an important role in improving the psychological wellbeing of the young prisoners. However, most of the participants complained about the negative aspects of overprotection by their parents and family members particularly female prisoners. They restricted their movements, their friendship relationship, lifestyle such as smoking and dressing, criticized the new changes in their personalities such as cleaning dishes, and awaking up at the inspection time. This created conflict in parent –child relationship and affect their adjustment after their release from prison. One female participant described the struggle that they faced to convene their families that they were not laying *"I couldn't convince them that I had become different from them and I had gone through a terrible experience. They think I am acting or lying"*

In puberty period, there is often a significant increase in parent-child conflict and a less cohesive familial bond (Smetana, 1988). After release, parents may do not understand the changes and the hard experience that their children go through which may create more problems in their relationships. Also the parents may try to restrict their child movement and relations because of the guilty feeling of their inability to protect their child and to prevent his/her arrest. This argument and conflict may affect identity development of young prisoners. According to Erikson (1968) appropriate social development in adolescence requires solving the major challenge of ego-identity vs. role diffusion. To resolve this life crisis, adolescents must form a strong sense of “who I am and what I stand for,” or they may suffer role diffusion (Erikson's, 1968).

Also, the participants were asked how they were able to cope with these tremendous stressors during their prison experience. They reported the use of a wide range of coping strategies particularly emotional coping strategies such as singing ,exercises, joking, playing, drawing, smoking ,fantasy-thinking, religion strategy such as praying and reading Quran, aggression, self talk, crying, smoking, using computer and internet, watching TV, imagination, writing, reading, handcraft, social support through friends, cooking, avoidance, and patience.

It is noticed that problem solving strategies which involve confronting (changing a stressful situation assertively) and 'painful' problem solving (solving through deliberate, problem focused strategies) were not used by most of the participants which is in contrary to the findings of Krenke (2000) study which found that most adolescents transition into adulthood processing functional coping strategies to deal with stressors. One possible explanation of this finding is that prison is considered as a problem that is beyond the control of these participants and problem solving strategies cannot be used in a situation where the environment is planned to torture and to place political victims in harsh condition. For example, avoidant coping strategy is effective when dealing with severe stressors such as imprisonment which is beyond the control of the individual while adolescents who use problem solving strategy in parenting conflict were found to have poor adjustment (Krenke, 2000; Compas, 2001). So the use of emotional coping strategies might be appropriate to decrease their stress and to help them to adapt to their new situation. However, Chester (1990) argued that the use of avoidant coping strategy is adaptive during torture and maladaptive if these victims reach safety as it will be not to let them to survive and grow as flexible in their community.

Other possible explanation is that these participants were arrested at young age and their coping strategies were not well developed. Seiffge Krenke (2000) indicated that around the age of 15, the adolescents start to develop and use more advanced coping strategies. So the large number of psychological problems that these participants suffered from might be related to the use of emotional coping strategies than the use of functional coping strategies as it was found that functional coping are linked to lower level of internalizing symptoms such as depression and anxiety while avoidant and withdrawal affect adolescents adjustment negatively. (Krenke, 2000; Compas, 2004). Also, it was noticed that none of the participants reported seeking help from mental health professionals. This might be because of their lack of knowledge about the access to mental health services or confidentiality issue as they get out of prison with mistrust problem

Finally the study assessed the need of these participants and their point of view regarding their future. Most of them focused on getting employed, continuing their education, pursuing vocational training, and having psychological treatment and creational activities. For future, some of them were optimistic half of them were pessimistic as they felt despair, had doubt to find anything in the future and they saw future as unclear and

without hope. This finding is not a surprise as torture is designed to break and damaged victims physically, emotionally, spiritually and socially. So these participants were released broken into the community to serve as warning to others and were forced by economic, social and political pressure to remain within their community and at a risk of re-arrest (Chester, 1990).

In summary, studying prison experience should include four stages which are arrest process, interrogation and court experience, imprisonment and after release experience. Psychological, social, environmental, political, and educational, health and economic challenges in addition to the coping mechanisms should be explored and investigated in order to help these adolescents to adjust in their community and improve their mental health.

## **Conclusion and Recommendations**

### **Conclusion**

The study tried to explore prison experience of Palestinian children in Israeli prisons. Findings showed that the exposure of children to prison experience may result in the development of mental problems in addition to the other health problem, educational, social, economic, and political problems. Also it is considered one of the traumatic events that these children face at early age which may affect their personality development and their perception of their future. The negative impact of prison experience may continue on children life for long years after being release so more attention should be paid by governmental, nongovernmental , national and international organizations to protect these children from being arrested due to political reasons, to prevent torture and supervise the services inside prisons particularly health and mental health services. The integration of children into society after being released should be one of the outmost priorities of mental health professionals and educational system.

## **Recommendations**

### **Implications for the Palestinian Ministry of Prisoners Affairs, international organizations and local organizations**

- Improve the mental health services for prisoners that are provided by (MOPA) centres or institutions
- Increase local and international organizations awareness about the prison experience of young prisoners including torture and the Israeli military policy to destroy their life inside prisons and after release
- Create a lobby to protect young prisoners and to prevent them from arrest by the Israeli military
- Supervise and improve health services in prisons and particularly mental health services by the international and local organizations
- Provide comprehensive plan of rehabilitation and to integrate the ex-detanees to sociality, in order to help them to deal with all dimensions of prison experience including their emotional, educational, political, economical and social problems.
- Provide psychological intervention immediately after the release of young prisoners in order to prevent deterioration and the development of mental disorders such as PTSD, suicide, orb depression and to facilitate their re-integration into their societies
- Provide family therapy for prisoners' families in order to improve their psychological status and improve their relationships with their children
- Increase adolescent and families awareness and knowledge about prison experience, and its impact on the life of children through media, in schools , youth clubs, and local community organizations

- Increase the awareness of health professionals and particularly mental health practitioners about prison experience of children and provide training in specialized and advanced psychotherapy such as cognitive behavior therapy for professionals to treat their mental health problems.
- Increase effective treatment program should be developed to target young prisoners and should be provided by well trained mental health professionals in psychotherapy and in the field of war, conflict, and torture and prison experience.
- Increase the knowledge and the awareness of mental health professional about the importance of assessing young prisoners' coping strategies in order to provide appropriate treatment and increase their ability to use functional coping mechanisms

#### **Implications of research**

- There is a need for further qualitative studies to explore in more depth each stage of prison experience and the emotional problems in addition to other problems and challenges
- There is a need for further qualitative study including more female participants in order to understand their prison experience and how it affects their life
- There is a need for quantitative study to assess the mental and psychological problems such as PTSD and depression among young prisoners after their release

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## Appendix (1)

### معلومات للمشاركين في الدراسة تجارب الاعتقال السياسي لدى الاطفال المحررين/ات في منطقة رام الله

#### معلومات للمشاركين في الدراسة:

أنت مدعو للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة حول تجارب الاعتقال السياسي لدى الاطفال المحررين/ات في منطقة رام الله، والتي ستقوم بها الطالبة لمى عوده تحت إشراف الدكتورة منى حميد بجامعة القدس من أجل إكمال متطلبات رسالة الماجستير.

لكن قبل أن تقرر المشاركة في هذه الدراسة ام لا انت بحاجة لان تتعرف على المعلومات التالية:

#### ما هو موضوع الدراسة؟

يهدف البحث الى التعرف على التجارب التي يمر بها الاطفال المحررين/ات نتيجة اعتقالهم السياسي في منطقة رام الله. وهذه الدراسة تهدف إلى التعرف على تجاربكم كاطفال في المعتقلات الاسرائيلية بشكل عام، واثار هذه التجارب عليكم، واهم التحديات التي تتعرضون اليها، وكيف تواجهون هذه التجارب بعد الخروج من المعتقلات، و كذلك سيتم الطلب منكم تقديم اقتراحاتكم من أجل تحسين اوضاعكم.

#### ماذا يجب علي أن اعمل إذا قررت المشاركة في هذه الدراسة ؟

إذا وافقت/ي المشاركة في هذه الدراسة، سيطلب منك/ي ان تشارك في مقابلة فردية. تتضمن مجموعة من الاسئلة للتعرف على تجارب الاعتقال السياسي.

المقابلة ستكون في المكان والوقت المناسب لك. ومدة المقابلة تقريبا ثلاثون دقيقة إلى ساعة. سوف يتم تسجيل المقابلة بعد موافقتك، وإذا لم توافق على التسجيل سوف اكتفي بأخذ الملاحظات. وايضا إذا وافقت على تسجيل المقابلة بإمكانك أن تطلب بايقاف التسجيل في أي وقت تريد. وإذا شعرت بعد انتهاء المقابلة انك تريد أن تحذف أي معلومات تشعر انك لا تريد ذكرها او تشعر انك تريد ان تضيف معلومات لم تذكرها اثناء الدراسة، بإمكانك أن الاتصال بالباحثة لمى عوده، وسوف تعمل على حذف أي جزء ، لا ترغب به من المقابلة عند ما تقوم بتدوينها.

#### هل أنا مجبر على المشاركة؟

لا، المشاركة هي غير إجبارية بل هي طوعية، وسواء وافقت على المشاركة أم لا، سيبقى ذلك قرارا شخصيا لا يناقش مع أي شخص آخر.

#### الثقة والسرية؟

سيتم حفظ كل المعلومات التي سنحصل عليها أثناء المقابلة او من مصادر أخرى بشكل سري للغاية لا يمكن لأحد الاطلاع عليها . كل المعلومات ستحول لرموز. ولن يذكر اسمك , وكل المعلومات الشخصية التي تذكر خلال المقابلة سيتم حذفها خلال كتابة المقابلة وتحليلها.

#### ماذا سيحدث لاحقا:

- اذا قررت المشاركة في الدراسة , من فضلك اتصل على لمى عوده

• واذا كان عندك أي استفسار نحن على استعداد للاجابة .  
شكرا لكم على قراءة هذه المعلومات ونحن نأمل ان تشارك في هذه الدراسة.

**لمى عوده**

**جامعة القدس**

**تلفون: 2959990 / 0598997474**

## Appendix (2)

### Information consent

(العقد المستخدم للمشاركين/ات في الدراسة)

	▪ لقد قمت بقراءة وفهم المعلومات الخاصة بالدراسة
	▪ لقد كنت قادرا على طرح الاسئلة ومناقشة الدراسة
	▪ لقد فهمت انني استطيع الانسحاب من الدراسة في أي وقت اريد بدون اعطاء تبريرات
	▪ لقد وافقت على تسجيل المقابلة
	▪ اوافق على المشاركة في الدراسة

التاريخ

التوقيع

الاسم (المشارك)

التاريخ

التوقيع

الاسم (الباحث)

### Appendix (3)

#### معلومات شخصية

#### رقم المشارك/ة ( )

الرجاء الاجابه على الاسئلة التاليه:

العمر..... العمر عند الاعتقال.....

مكان السكن

1-مدينة 2-قرية 3-مخيم

المستوى التعليمي

-ابتدائي 2-اعدادي 3-ثانوي 4-جامعي 5-غير ذلك

اسم السجن.....

عدد مرات الاعتقال.....

فترة الاعتقال حسب كل مره.....

• عمل الاب:.....

• عمل الام.....

• مستوى التعليم للاب:.....

• مستوى التعليم للام.....

• اعتقال احد الابوين سابقا:

لا

نعم

عدد الاخوة المعتقلين/ات (سابقا، حاليا).....

• هل خضعت لبرنامج تاهيل؟

نعم.....

لا..... اذا كانت الاجابه نعم، اين.....

## Appendix (4)

### Interviews Guide

	1. اوصفي حياتك قبل الاعتقال؟؟؟
طريقة الاعتقال، مخاوفك ، وبماذا فكرت في تلك اللحظة)	2. تحدث/ي عن تجربة اعتقالك؟؟؟ 3. كيف تم اعتقالك/ي؟؟؟
( سلبيات وايجابيات هذه التجربة )	4. تحدث/ي عن تجربتك داخل المعتقل؟؟؟
اهم المشاكل التي واجهتها في المعتقل اقتصادية، اجتماعية، دينية، نفسية،...؟ ولماذا؟؟؟ وكيف تعاملت معها؟؟؟)	5. ما هي اهم الضغوطات او المشاكل واجهتها التي في المعتقل؟؟؟
	6. ما هي اساليب التعذيب التي تم اتباعها معك خلال الاعتقال؟؟؟
كيف تعاملت مع الصعوبات التي واجهتها؟؟؟ شو ساعدك في هذه التجربة؟؟؟	7. ما هو اصعب التجارب التي واجهتها في المعتقل؟؟؟
"ايجابيات سلبيات" لماذا؟؟؟	8. كيف تنظر الى السجن بعد الخروج منه؟؟؟
( اقتصادية، اجتماعية، صحية، تعليمية، نفسية)؟؟؟	9. كيف كانت حياتك وتجاربك بعد الخروج من المعتقل؟؟؟
	10. ما هي مخاوفك في الوقت الحالي، والتي تشكل مصدر خوف؟؟؟
	11. ما هي المشاكل والصعوبات التي واجهتها/ واجهتها بعد الخروج من المعتقل؟؟؟ (فحص موقف العائلة والاصدقاء)؟؟؟
	12. كيف اثرت عليك هذه التجارب؟؟؟ وكيف تعاملت معها؟
تعاملت مع المشكلات والصعوبات التي واجهتك	13. ما هي احتياجاتك بعد الخروج من السجن؟؟؟
	14. كيف تنظر/ي الى المستقبل؟؟؟

## Appendix (5)

### Major themes and sub-themes of the study

#### Arrest experience

Arrest experience	Place of arrest	Street	-واخذونا من الشارع، انا ما كنت متوقع اني انسجن،كنا نازلين أنا وشب صاحبي عالشارع نضرب حجار ، مسكونا نيمونا على الأرض وضربونا، بعدين أخذونا عالسجن، مسكونا يوم الخميس بالليل، ليلة السبت دخلونا عالتحقيق، وفكرت إنه راح ياخذونا أك من ساعة ويروحونا، بس لمّا عبرنا عالتحقيق قلت خلص مش راح نطلع . (A14)( M,14Years)
Arrest experience	Place of arrest	Home	- أجو بالليل الساعة 3 الصبح وأنا نايم وهم صحّوني ، كنت عارف إنهم رح بيجو ياخذوني لأنه الشباب في السجن حكولي في عليك اعترافات وكانت الدنيا برد واصعب اشي فيها إنه تركونا ببيت إيل في البرد ساعتين مرتّبين، و كنت أنا وشباب صحاب ، وبعدين على عوفر، واحنا بالطريق بالجيب ضربوني كثير بس في البيت لا خزّبوا ولا اشي، (A2)(M,14Years)
Arrest experience	Place of arrest	Checkpoint	-انا راحت معي صاحبتني ، و مسكونا على الحاجز شافونا عالكاميرا شافوا السكينة معي بعدين أخذوني عن الحاجز انا وصاحبتني (A24)( F,14Years)
Arrest experience	Place of arrest	self surrenders	- قدمت نصف التوجيهي، وبعثولي تبليغ وسلمت حالي ، ولمّا سلمت حالي صاروا يضحكون علي ويستفزونني، (A6)(M,16Years)
Arrest experience	Night	Time	-أجو بالليل الساعة 3 الصبح وأنا نايم وهم صحّوني وقتها انا قمت على صوتهم وهما يكسروا الباب ويصرخوا ويسموا اسمي وانا خفت وقتها كثير من الصدمه ولاني كنت نايم(A2)(M,16Years)

<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Causes</b>	<b>Protest</b>	-انا تفاجئت لما اجو يعتقلوني وما كنت متوقع اني انسجن ،كنا نازلين أنا وشب صاحبي عالشارع نضرب حجار ، مسكونا نيمونا على الأرض وضربونا، بعدين أخذونا عالسجن، مسكونا يوم الخميس بالليل، ليلة السبت دخلونا عالتحقيق(M,14Years)(A3)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Prisoners reaction</b>	<b>Violence against family &amp; home damage</b>	-كانوا بيجو بطريقة همجية على البيت يطلعوا أهلي بالبرد، وكمان ستي مسنة عمرها 85 سنة يطلعوها بالبرد وهي ما بتقدر تمشي. وكانوا يخربوا بالدار لحد الآن الباب مطعوج من الشرب عليه، كانوا يدخلوا بطريقة غير قانونية بأدعائهم إنها قانونية ،(M,17Years)(A15)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Prisoners reaction</b>	<b>Crying</b>	-ولما اعتقلوني على الحاجز قتلهم بدي احكي مع امي واعطوني وحكيت تلفون مع امي يومها، حسيت حالتي اني رح اموت، وحكيت معاها ومسكت حالي ما عيطش وحكيت معها عادي وبس بعدها ظليت اعيط وحالتي حاله، وقضيت كل هذه المرحلة اعيط وبدي امي ، ويومها كنت مش قادر... ولما حكيت تلفون مع امي يومها، حسيت حالتي اني رح اموت، وحكيت معاها ومسكت حالي ما عيطش وحكيت معها عادي وبس بعدها ظليت اعيط وحالتي حاله (F,14Years)(A24)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Prisoners reaction</b>	<b>Fears</b>	--و انا كنت نائم وانا قمت وما لاقيتهم حطين الباروده فوق راسي واصوات وحسيت اني رح اموت قدام اهلي ، وصفنت فيهم وما تحركنش وقتها ، وصرت اقول الله يسترني وقتها شو رح يصير فيني، وحسيت انو نفسي انقطع وضربات قلبي وقف ووجع في صدري لانو الواحد بكون نايم وفجأة بلاقيهم قدام عينه ،وشكلهم بخوف ومليين الدنيا، وحسيت انو مش قادر اسوي اشئ وراحت عليه (M,26years)(A26)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Prisoners reaction</b>	<b>Humiliation</b>	-وشعرت و وقتها في حدا حاكمني ومش قادرين، و فش حرية يعني الواحد بقدرش يسوي اشئ لما بسبوا عليه وعلى شرف اهله ، و لما بيضربوك قدام اهلك والواحد مابقدر يحمي حالولما الواحد بربطوه قدام اهله وبخلوه يحط عيناه بالارض ويبجروه و هو مربوط، بحس باهانه وبذول ما اليش قيمة(M,15Years)(A14)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Prisoners reaction</b>	<b>Death</b>	-كنت متخيلة اني هلا بهاي اللحظة راح اموت راح يقتلونني خلص ما فكرت ولا اشئ ثاني، وبعد ما ضربوني عرفت اني انا مش ميتة، بلشت بطريق ثاني، تخطيت مرحلة الموت و صرت احكي اني هلا عايشة لازم اضل عايشة واتحمل.(F,16Years)(A25)

<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Prisoners reaction</b>	<b>Regret</b>	-تندمت بنفس اليوم ندمت، لاليش هودت بعيد عنك عاخط وأضرب حجار، والله كلهم شلط واعترفوا علي،وبعدها وأجا واحد عمره 22 سنة اعترف علي. (A5)(M,15Years)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Prisoners ' reaction</b>	<b>Nervous</b>	-وانا وقتها لما اجو اعتقلوني وصاروا يضربوني ، عصبت كثير لأنو فيها نل كثير وإهانة لما انا ما بقدرش احمي جسمي وهذا بخلي الواحد يشعر بالعجز والياس.(A6)(M,17Years)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Prisoners reaction</b>	<b>Threatening &amp; danger</b>	- مسكونا انا واصحابي الأربعة واحنا على الجدار ،وبلشوا فينا ضرب، حكالي مسكتك، و حسيت وقتها وإني في خطر، و أما رح استشهد أو نحبس،.(A17)(M,14Years)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Prisoners reaction</b>	<b>Anxiety</b>	وهم يضربوني وانا في الجيب كنت افكر باهلي وكنت خايف وقلقان عليهم و بدهم يعملوا ما كنت عارف وبن رايح ولا شوبصير كان الوضع صعب (A23)(M,17Years)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Prisoners reaction</b>	<b>Shock</b>	-انا انصدمت لما اجو اعتقلوني ،وما لاقيتهم الا وهما عندي ما اعرفت كيف دخلوا ،وانا كنت نايم ولما اصحيت لقيت الدار كلها جنود وبلش الضابط يحكي مع اخوي فكروه انا ، وانا في البداية فكرت لاخوي السجنه وبعدها اخذوا الهويات وسالوا ابوي عني ،و طلب الجندي مني التلفون (A27)(M,15Years)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Soldiers behavior</b>	<b>Hitting</b>	- انا لما اعتقلوني واجو يطلعوني من الدار ضربني بالسلاح وحزق الكلبشات على ايدي وظل يضربني عل واين مكان بايдахم وبالباروده و ضربوني واكثر اشي في الدبابه بالباروده واجراهم وعلى كل الجهات، وحطولي الكلبشات في ايدي وشدوها على ايدي ، وصرت اصرخ عليهم وكانوا يضربوني اكثر ونزل مني الدم من راسي (A4)(M,16 Years)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Soldiers behavior</b>	<b>Curse&amp; screaming</b>	-ويجوا يصرخوا زي الوحوش بدقوا على الباب زي الزلزال والناس نايمه، وبيصحي ببشوفهم زي الوحوش معبين الدنيا بصرخوا وبيسبوا على الام والخوات ، وكمان مرات كانوا يسبو بالعبراني ، بس انا بعرف انهم يسبوا علي باشي عاطلمع اني ما بفهم عبري ،(A13) (M, 16 Years) -كانوا يسبوا علي بالعبراني بس انا ما فهمت عليهم، كانوا يضحكوا و يتمسخروا و يسكروا، ما خلوني اغير او اعيني كنتن لابس شورط و نص كم، وصاروا يصرخوا علي و رفعوا سلاح على عمامي (A20)(M,17Years)

<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Soldiers behavior</b>	<b>Injury</b>	<p>ورحت على العيادة لان راسي انفتح من الضرب ع راسي وانا رفضت ادخل عند الدكتور، فدخلوا الكلاب الكبار وكانوا مخفيين بس انا صممت و رفضت اقطيب رأسي، ورفضت اني اقطب راسي ولما رفضت صاروا يسالوني لايش بدكش تقطب الجرح، ولا بدك ترفع شكوى وانا رفضت اروح اتعالج وقدمت شكوى، وحاولوا يخلوني انتازل عنها بس انا رفضت، و صاروا يهدوني عشان انتازل عن الشكوى بس انا رفضت انتازل، وبعدها عاقبوني وحطوني بالزنزين. (A4)(M,16Years)</p>
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Soldiers behavior</b>	<b>Demolished the furniture</b>	<p>كانوا بيجو بطريقة همجية على البيت يطلعوا أهلي بالبرد، وكمان ستي مسنة عمرها 85 سنة يطلعوها بالبرد وهي ما بتقدر تمشي. وكانوا يخربوا بالدار لحد الآن الباب مطعوج من الشرب عليه، كانوا يدخلوا بطريقة غير قانونية بادعائهم انها قانونية، وهم جايين ياخدوا طفل عمري 16 سنة كانوا يخربوا كثير بالدار، كل يوم بيجو يخربوا غرفتي وبيدوروا على اشي انا ما عندي اياه، وهو حيازة قنابل، و أنا يعني طفل كيف بدي أحيز قنابل؟ يعني انا عايش حياتي اليومية وبشتغل من وين بدي أحيب القنابل ، (A15)(M,17Years)</p>
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Soldiers behavior</b>	<b>Cold</b>	<p>- بلشت الدنيا برد حكالي الجندي بردان حكتله اه بعدها شغل مكينة السيارة على البارد ، تعذيب لسي اوسخ من الضرب ، وضليت ماسك حالي عشان ما يضريني . (A26)(M,16Years)</p>
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Soldiers behavior</b>	<b>Doges</b>	<p>-وكانوا يضر بوني في البرودة طبعاً و مرة حاولوا يجيبوا للكلاب، و بجيبو الكلاب عشان يخوفوا الي بحققو معهم ويعترف ويعصب عليهم، وبيكون الواحد عادي عالكوسي مربوط ، يعني الكلب لو هجم عليك بتقدرش تساوي اشي، وهما اذا بدهم يفلتو الكلب بهجم وبعض عادي بس انا الحمدلله ربنا رحمننا، هددني بس و طبعاً وبعدها قعدت اسبوع وروحت، وكمان مرات كانوا يسبو بالعبراني ، بس انا مابفهم عشان العبري مابفهمو ، (A13) (M, 16 Years)</p>
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Soldiers behavior</b>	<b>Coffs eyes and tie hands</b>	<p>- غمضولي عيوني وبطلت شايفاشي بعدها دخلوني عل جيب كبير كان له درجة عالية بدي يطلعني فيه تعرقلت انجرحت اجري بعدين طلعت على الجيب ... الكلبشات وجعولي ايدي نفخوا حكالي خليمم بتستاها بس ايدي بتوجع من الكلبشات بعدين اجا واحد ضربيني وشدهم انا بطلت اسال خلص (A16)(M,17Years)</p>

<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Family reaction</b>	<b>Fighting</b>	-امي انجنت صارت تصرخ وتعيط وتسب عليهم، لما انسجنت اول مره لان كان عمري 12 سنة لما دخلت على عوفر صاروا الاسرى الموجودين يصيحوا لم شافوني بهذا الطول لاني كثير صغير، (A27)(M,15Years)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Family reaction</b>	<b>Silence</b>	- بس ابوي ما حكي ولا كلمة وقعد على الكرسي ولا حكي اشي وابوي كان يومها مصدوم، ما حكا ولا كلمة طلبت من اليهود اني اودع اهلي. بست ايدين ابوي وسلمت على اخوتي وحكالي اخوي اوعي تغطي يا آلاء زي ما ريبناكي(A28)( F,15Years)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Family reaction</b>	<b>Crying</b>	-وامي صرخت وصارت تبكي وتقول خذوني معاه، حكولها بنحقق معاه وبنرجعه (A8)(M,16Years)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Family reaction</b>	<b>Praying</b>	-ولما امي عرفت انهم اعتقلوني و ما اجا ببالها اشي غير انه لازم تصلي،(A25)(F,16Years)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Family reaction</b>	<b>Sadness</b>	-و لّمّا أجو يعتقلوني من البيت وأهلي كانوا حزنانيين وما بدهم اياتي أروح بس هم مش قادرين يعملوا اشي.( A10)( M,14Years)
<b>Arrest experience</b>	<b>Family reaction</b>	<b>Shocked</b>	-لما اعتقلوني وكان اعتقال زي حالة صدمة للعائلة ، امي وابوي ما كانوا عارفين شو بدهم يعملوا ضلوا مجمدين ، لانهم مش متوقع يعتقلوني لاني اخر ولد في الاسرة ،(A21)(M,17Years)

### Integration and court experience

<b>Pre-integration experience</b>	<b>Measurement-inspectors</b>	<b>Naked</b>	- لما اجت وحدة تفتشني بصدري و جسمي، رفضت وما رضيت، كانت صعبه انهم يعرفوني قدام الكاميرات والناس بتتفرج علي فرفضت و اجا مسؤول السجن حكيتله انا مستحيل اتفتش، حكالي انه لازم أي حدا بدخل السجن يتفتش، بالآخر كلبشوني وضربوني وفتشوني، واغمی علي بعدها وصار معي نزيف (A25)(F,16 Years)
<b>Pre-integration experience</b>	<b>Measurement</b>	<b>Photo &amp; fingers tip</b>	-وبعدا رحنا عملولي ملف واخذوا معلومات عامه عني وبلدي وعمرني وعن اهلي وهيك وبعدها بصوروني وبخلوني ابصم بالعشره وهذا اشي روتيني (A13)(M,16 Years)
<b>Pre-integration experience</b>	<b>Measurement</b>	<b>Medical examination</b>	-وبعد التفتيش أخذوني على الدكتور عشان يعملني فحص طبي بعدين وهذا الفحص كان روتيني يعني بسالك في عندك امراض وفحص بسيط الضغط والصدر وهيك (A 1)(M,17 Years)
<b>Pre-integration experience</b>	<b>Measurement</b>	<b>waiting room "amtana"</b>	- وبعدين حطوني في قفص، كان معسكر جيش وغرفة التحقيق فوق، غرفة كبيرة فيها حيط وحداي وشيك. قعدنا طولنا 6 - 7 ساعات وكان في جيش على الباب بس نحكي يحكولنا اسكتوا. وجابوا اكل، كبيناه لأنه مش طبيعي وأجو طلبوا واحد واحد للتحقيق، كانوا يسألونا أسئلة، شو اسمك، كأنهم بتهللوا علينا، وكانوا يحكو معنا بطريقة عادية، قعدنا ندخن بس حكولنا ممنوع وإحنا برّا. أجي الكابتن وحالنا دخنوا، قعدنا نحكي، صاروا يحكولنا أسكتوا ما نرد، ورفضوا نروح على الحمام، ومرات يبطلوا يخلونا ندخن، حسب مزاجهم. (A17)(M,16 Years)
<b>Pre-integration experience</b>	<b>Measurement</b>	<b>Police report</b>	-وبعدين رحنا على الاستخبارات، وما اخدوني تحقيق، بس استجواب عادي، إفادة شرطة،(A20)(M,17Years)

<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Integration</b>	<b>Times</b>	-انا سلمت حالي وكان التحقيق صعب كثير ومن اصعب اللحظات الي عشتها في حياتي واستمر التحقيق معي لمدة 40 يوم ثم أخذوني إلى الرملة وتم عوفر. (A6)(M,17Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological torture</b>	<b>Bird room/spay room</b>	-وبعدها ودوني على المسكوبية في المسكوبية بس في غرفة العصافير وكل دقيقة ببعثوا جاسوس كنت خايف اوقع مع الجواسيس كل واحد عنده قدرات عقلية معينة ممكن اوقع ، (A21)( M,17 Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological torture</b>	<b>Threaten</b>	-وكمان انا حكو لي في التحقيق بدي أجيب أمك وأختك قدامك في ناس بعترفوا ويكون قلبهم ضعيف ما بتحملوا بس انا قتلهم جيبوهم اذا بدكم بس هما ما جابوهم. (A16)(M,17 Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological torture</b>	<b>Picture</b>	-وعرض علي صورة ابوي ، عشان يربكني اكثر ولما شفت صورة ابوي حكتله ابوي عرض علي اسماء شباب كنت بحكيه هدول اعملت معاهم طوشة (A21)(M,17 Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological torture</b>	<b>Photoshop</b>	-جانب الصور بحكلي هاد انت حكيته مش انا، اسمعني انا انسان مثقف، بتعرف برنامج اسمه الفوتوشوب؟ يوم سمع الفوتوشوب سكت وقعد يفكر ، حكالي اه يعرفه، قتلته انا بشتغل عليه وأنا درسته بالمدرسة وحكيته هاتلي صورة الك وهلا قادر أحطك على مدفع قرب علي بحكلي أنو علمك على البرنامج؟ حكيته أنا درسته بمدرسة بلعين الثانوية المختلطة بكل أريحية، بحكلي انت إنسان كثير واسع وأول مرة بمر علي زيك، بعدها سكر الدقتر وما سألني على الصور نهائيا(A15)(M,17Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological torture</b>	<b>Curse&amp; screaming</b>	- بعد شوي دفع الباب ودخلو علي 3 مع بعض وأجا علي واحد ختیار سب الذات الإلهية بصوت عالي وسب علي أهلي على إمي بكلمة بذيئة جدا وحدة وقعدت يحكلي بدك تجنن(A18)(M,16Years)
<b>Integration</b>	<b>Psychological</b>	<b>Sleep</b>	-كل ما اجي انام تيجي تبطل علي ما يخلونيش انام، وما كنت أعرف طعم النوم كل ما

experience	torture		أنا تيجي السجنانة تخبط عالباب عشان ما أناموكانوا يجبروني أكل مع إنه الأكل كان مقرف على الآخر وكنت أكل بس حبة الفاكهة بس هيك بس عشان أقدر أوقف على رجلي، (A24)( F,14 Years)
Integration experience	Psychological torture	Isolation	- أول ما دخلت على غرفة التحقيق مش عارف شو حسيت حسيت إنني "وحداني" قاعد لحالي ولا حدا معي كانت الوحدة صعبه،وقعدت فيها ساعتين بعدين اعترفت ما قدرت اتحمل الوحدة(A22)(M,15 Years)
Integration experience	Psychological torture	Confrontation	-وبعدها حكالي المحقق أنه عليكي اعتراف بحزامين مش واحد حكته للمحقق جبيلي الي اعترف علي حكالي ابن خالك حكته جيبوه جابه، وأجا ابن خالي خلونا لحالنا وطلعوا برآ، مع أنه في أجهزة تنصت، بس انا سألت ابن خالي ليش معترف علي حزامين حكالي لأ حزام واحد، و دخل المحقق وخلص التحقيق، وأخذني بعدها على السجن. (A28)(F,15 Years)
Integration experience	Psychological torture	Barging & recording	-حكالي انا ما بطخ حدا وبتش يصيح وحكالي هاي الكلمة تعيدلش اياها رجاء، لأنه هو عنده مسجل صوت مخفي بده يعطيه للنيابة وللمحكمة ويوم احكيه طخني وهو يحكي ايه بطخك هاي إدانة أله. بعدها أجاني بالأسلوب الهادي، صار يحكي لي إهدا يا حمزة وانت ليش معصب وإحنا بدنا اياك تحكيلنا انك ضربت حجار ومتأسف وبس قتلته انا ما ضربت حجار ليش بدني اعترف، حكالي احكي هيك وبنروحك وبك نفطرك عنا كمان بنفطرك، حكته ما بدني،(A15)(M,17Years)
Integration experience	Psychological torture	Spy	-انا ضغطني كثير في التحقيق وضربوني كثير وبعدها صار يقولولي احنا بنطلعك من السجن بكرة ، اذا بتوافق تعطينا شويه معلومات عن اوضاع البلد والنشطين فيها، واحنا رح نعطيك مصاري كثير بتساعد ابوك وبتعيش اخوتك ، وانا صرت اصرخ بدون وعي واقله انا الحمدالله مش بحاجه لمصاري حرام (A5)(M,14Years)
Integration	Psychological	Light& Sounds	-والضوء كان مزعج وكنت لما بيظفي الضو ويضوي ، صرت احط الحرام على

experience	torture		وجهي عشان ما اشوف اخذ الحرام مني وحط الكلبشات في ايدي وانا في البرش (التخت) (A4)(M,16Years)
Integration experience	Psychological torture	Testing data	بلش بأسلوب شوي شوي معي، يعني وين ما بتبين ومين صحابك وشو بتشتغل ومن هالحكي يعني حكي طبيعي، شو بتدرس شو بتحب أكثر اشي وين بتدرس وين داركم بتخرج بالمسيرات(A15)(M,17Years)
Integration experience	Psychological torture	Kindness	-التعامل النفسي معنا، و الهدوء والتعامل الكويس وهذا عمل صراع داخلي هل احكي والا لا. (A30)( M,16 Years)
Integration experience	Psychological torture	Forced signature	- - وحكالي وقع حكيتله لا ما بوقع وبعدها صمت ثم قال مش معقول اعمل نفس الغلظة فانا عشان هيك انا رفضت اوقع وقلته ترجم الورقة او جيب حدا زي رئيس القسم وقرالي اياها وبعدها بوقع، وبعدها انزلت ع المحكمة، وتم تزوير اوراقي من قبل المحقق بتهم رمي الحجار وتأكدوا ورجعوا الكاميرات وبين انه مش انا وبعدها خلاني ا وقع على الافاده غصبن عني، وانا اولها رفضت بس لما صاروا يضربوني انا وقعت وانا مش عارف على شو وقعت، ولا كنت بعرف اشي،(A4)(M,17Years)
Integration experience	Psychological torture	Imagination	- طلب مني اوقع وانا رفضت اوقع وضغط علي كثير وانا رفضت حكالي هدول بالعربي حكته بعرف اقراء، وظليت اكثر اكثر من 8 ساعات وانا تعبت نفسيا وجسديا ، يعني 8 ساعات بنفس القعدة وعقلي صرت افكر باهلي ونفسيا ضل بعيد علي الاسئلة صرت انا مشنت، وقعدت 5 شهور ما احكي مع حد بس صباح الخير وطلبو مني اوقع ما وقعت غصب عني بالقوة خلوني اوقع وابصم (A23)(M,17 Years)
Integration experience	Psychological torture	Sexual abuse	-وكان لحظة التحقيق، ولما الجندي كان يعرى قدامي او يمسخ جسمي وهي اللحظات المقرفه بالاعتقال والتحقيق، ما بنساها ، وبظل أفكر وأتذكر كل المشاهد الي صارت معي و كنت اموت خوف لانهم بدايقوني وكان الجندي يظل يشلح او اعيه وخاصة لما يجيبوا الاكل ، وكان بيجيلي وبعمل حركات ويحكيلي تعالي، ووصلت انهم بدهم يناموا معي ، وصلت مرة انو

			واحد شلح كل اشني قدامي ، دخلت عالحمام وسكرت عحالي الباب عبان ما انقلع (A24)(F,14 Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Physical torture</b>	<b>tied hands &amp; chair</b>	-انا كنت في التحقيق مشبوح لاكثر من اسبوعين مكلبش بايدي واجري وقاعد على الكرسي وعيني معصبين وبدون نوم وحتى اكل بسيط مقرف وحتى الحمام ما كانوا يسمحولي الا مرات ، وصار عندي وجع في ظهري واجري وايدي”(A23)(M,17years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Physical torture</b>	<b>Hitting</b>	- انا استخدموا اكثر اشني معاي الضرب بالتحقيق، دخلوني على التحقيق شوي بعدين رجعوني على السجن وبعدين رجعوني على التحقيق لمدة 5 أيام وكان أصعب إشي الضرب فيها ، كيف ما تبجي معهم بتبجي، على الوجه على المعدة ، وفي كل الاماكن، وكان في إشي يستفز منه ،اني ما اعترفت على إشي ،وما رضيت أحكي وزهق مني ورجعني على القسم، (A22)(M,17 Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Physical torture</b>	<b>Electric shock</b>	-وكم ان استخدموا معي في التحقيق الكهربا ضربيني بعصاي بطلع منها كهرباء، وهي ما بنساها في حياتي كانت صعبه علي، وظلوا يستخدموها لساعات ويحطوها على ظهري وراسي مرات وكنت اصير اصرخ من الوجع عشان اعترف ولاني ما اعترفت وطولت كثير وانا من يومها عندي وجع في ظهري وصار عندي اعصاب (A23)(M,17years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Physical torture</b>	<b>Dog</b>	-و مرة حاولوا يجييووا لكلااب، اه بجييوها عادي، عشان يخوفوا الي بحققو معهم ويعترف ويعصب عليهم، ويكون الواحد عادي عالكرسي مربوط. يعني الكلب لو هجم عليك بتقدرش تساوي اشني، وهما اذا بدهم يفلتو الكلب بهجم وبعض عادي بس انا الحمدلله ربنا رحمنا، هددني بس و طبعاً وبعدها قعدت اسبوع وروحت، (A13)( M,16Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Physical torture</b>	<b>Cell</b>	- وكم ان حطوني في زنزانه صغيره كلها حشرات وبقولها الخزانه لانها تشبه الخزانه فيها تخت وحمام بالغرفة وفش شبابيك ومكيف بارد ومعزول عن العالم ، وغير الضرب على الوجه وعلى البطن وكل الاماكن في الجسم عشان اعترف على صحابي ، (A6)(M,17Years)

<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Medical torture</b>	<b>Smoking</b>	-كمان كانوا يعطوني دخان وأنا بالزنزانة بس أنا طبعاً كنت أرفض،مرة أجا على بالي أجربها، أخذت منه سيجارة حبيت أجربها ووقتها حطولي مجنده وعلمتني على الدخان كيف اشفط،وحدة مجندة قعدت عندي بالزنزانة وصارت تعلمني عالتدخين كيف أخذ نفس ووين أطلع، وصرت ادوخ كثير وراسي يصير يوجعني وما أقدر أوقف ، وصرت ادوخ وارتمي على التخت وراسي يوجعني ، وبعدها تركت الدخان مارضيت أدخن ، وكمان خفت يكونو حاطين فيها إشي مخدرات بدهم يعودوني عليه. (A24)(F,14years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Basic needs problems</b>	<b>Bath problems</b>	- والحمام فيه روائح زي المزبلة، وجورة حمام وفايحة وإذا استعملت الحمام بتزيد الريحه كنت ما اعرف انام من ريحة الحمام الي هناك، كان في خنافس ميتة و هاد اكثر حيوان ريحته بتسطل بالدنيا احط المخدة على وجهي استعملت الحمام مرتين وكان في كرتونة اسكر فيها فتحة الحمام، والحرام عملته مخده، والفرشه والحيط ابر، وكان فيه صراصير كبيرة بس ما كنت مضايق كثير بالزنزانة لاني ارتحت شوي من التفكير(M,16 Years)(A30)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Basic needs problems</b>	<b>Food problems</b>	-وكانوا يجبروني أكل مع إنه الأكل كان مقرف على الآخر وكنت أكل بس حبة الفاكهة بس هيك بس عشان أقدر أوقف على رجلي، (A2) (F,14Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Basic needs problems</b>	<b>Cold</b>	-لانو، حطوك في غرف يعني أحياناً يكون في غرف باردة وهيك ، و في كان في زنازين بس انا ما صارت معي بس في واحد في القسم الي انا كنت في قاعد شهر ، أحكيت مع ابن خالي سالتو اذا لفلان لفلان رجح حكالي لا في زنازين،(M,16Years)(A13)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Environment problems</b>	<b>Room</b>	-انا اكثر اشي كان صوت المحقق وهو يصرخ علي وريحه الغرفه ريحه عطبه الغرفه ولما كانت اشم الريحه اصير تسيطر علي هي الريحه واطل تعبان بعدها واشعر بتوتر واعصب وهي كانت اكثر اشي يتكرر"(M,15 Years)(A27)

<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological problems</b>	<b>Fear</b>	- في التحقيق صرت اخاف خاصة لما حكالي ببعثك على المسكوبية مع اخواتك وصار يهد د فيي يجيب امي واخواتي و هيك صرت اعصب واتوتر من جوا بس انا ما كنت افرجي هذا الشئ ، بس كنت مكلبش بايدي ورجلي، وصار عندي رجة في ايدي ودقات قلبي كنت سامعها كان في خوف شديد واحاول ما اخلي هالي خايف، (A21)(M,16Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological problems</b>	<b>Sadness</b>	- كنت افكر في صحابي وانا في التحقيق واتذكر الايام الحلوة، واشعر بكابه وحزن والعجز وفش الي قيمه وكنت اظل اللوم حالي لانني عايش زي الاموات ، صار عندي حزن كبير في جواي مش قادر اتخلص منه، وفش طعم للحياه وما بنبسطش وبحقد وما بتسامح مع الناس وانا عايش عشان اهلي وانا مقيد ومش قادر اعمل اشئ الا اني اصبر ( A4)(M,16 Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological problems</b>	<b>Sexual abuse</b>	-وشعرت في ذل، و شعور بالعجز اني مش قادرة اوقف الاعتداء علي، و بكيت كثير هي اللحظة الوحيدة الي ببكي فيها قدام عدو، كانت صعبة كثير ما بحب اتذكرها مع انها موجودة، وبتعرفي انو التفتيش قعد 10 دقائق بس اثره ما خلص مني، لهلاً بتمنى انتقم منهم، وانا طلبت نقلني من السجن، رفضوا،(A25)(F,16 Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological problems</b>	<b>Night mare</b>	- كنت انام واطل احلم بالتحقيق احلام كثيرة والمحقق بيضرب في وانا بتوجع ومرات اونو الجنود بلاحقوا فيي واصحى وقتها واصير اصرخ واصحى بعدها وانا مرعوب من الحلم في الليل ، ما بحس حالي" (A26)(M,16 Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological problems</b>	<b>Tension</b>	-وكنت دايماً أكون متوترة وأفكر على طول،(A28)(F,15 Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological problems</b>	<b>Thinking</b>	-كنت أفكر لأقدام شو بدو يصير معنا يعني صرت أقول اذا انحبسنا يعني كديش راح ننحمل، وصرت افكر كيف الواحد بدة يفارق البلد وبدة يفارق أهلة، وكانت صعبة علي، صعبة كثير ويعني الواحد بيحس حالو رايح وين ومش عارف وين رايح وكديش. (A14)(M,15Years)

<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological problems</b>	<b>Nervous</b>	- وكنت اعصب واصير اصرخ على الجنود وكمان ادق على الباب واجنن الجنود واتقاتل معهم بدي ارواح على الحمام ومرات اسب عليهم وهيك لان الواحد بينجن، العقلات بتغيرن في ساعة،(A27)(M,15 Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological problems</b>	<b>Flashback</b>	- واول 3 ايام ظلت الصورة الاخيرة عالقة في ذهني لما اعتقلوني من البيت وكيف كلبشوني وربطوني وطلعوني من عند اهلي، والواحد بعد ما يطلع من البيت وبيظل يشوف اخر صورة شافها بتظل بوجهك وبظل يفكر في صورة اهله وانا كنت وانا قاعد لحالي بستنى اظل افكر في اهلي واخر صورته(A27)(M,15 Years)
<b>Integration experience</b>	<b>Psychological problems</b>	<b>Food problems</b>	- انا ضعفت كثير من الزنانة صار وزني 47 نزل من 54.(A28)(F,15Years)

### Court experience

<b>Court experience</b>	<b>Inspection</b>	<b>Naked</b>	و كان في أزود من تفتيش خلال المحكمة ، لما بتدخل على مواكن وتفتيش عاري ومن هالحكي تدخل على المحكمة دقيقتين وبرتو يرجعو الواحد بس تأجيل وبروح وبنرجع نتفتش.”(M,17Years)(A15)
<b>Court experience</b>	<b>Admission proces</b>	<b>Waiting rooms</b>	-“كانوا يفتشوني ويحطوني أمتنات، والأمتناة،(غرفة الانتظار )غرفة صغيرة فيها حمام. وفي حوالي 10 أمتناة، وما بتكون واسعة بحطوا اكثر من 15 واحد في نفس الغرفة وبنظل نستنى ينادوا علينا للمحكمة” (M,16Years)(A17)
<b>Court experience</b>	<b>Basic needs</b>	<b>Room</b>	-“ولما ودونا على المحكمة يحطونا بغرف صغيرة بنكون عددنا كبير، وبنقعد نستنى فتره طويله، ولما ينادوا على اسمنا”، (M,17Years)(A23)
<b>Court experience</b>	<b>Basic needs</b>	<b>Food</b>	-يعني في المحكمة لما بدنا نطلب اكل يقعد يلف انة يجيب ساندوش لك واحد وحدة عطول اليوم ، يجي يقعد يعد اكم من واحد بالغرفة ثم يعطينا زيادة، و الأكل مرات بقى ينقص يجبوا اكل قليل ومرات بقى يكفي وهيك(M,15Years)(A14)
<b>Court experience</b>	<b>Basic needs</b>	<b>Bath</b>	-وكننت احكيه بدي ارووع على ( الشروتيم) يعني الحمام بعد نص ساعة يفتحولنا الباب (M,16Years)(A18)
<b>Court experience</b>	<b>Basic needs</b>	<b>Cold</b>	-وفي الغرف الي في المحكمة، جو الغرف بتكون سبعة وخاصة وقت الشتويه بتبقى سبعة كثير (M,15Years)(A14)
<b>Court experience</b>	<b>Court</b>	<b>Number of courts</b>	-”رحت على المحكمة 9 مرات، كل مرة اصعب من الي قبلها من العذاب الي كنا نتعرض له من الصراخ والاذلال والانتظار وقله الاكل والانتظار وانقل كله عذاب (M,17Years)(A22)
<b>Court experience</b>	<b>Court</b>	<b>Sentences</b>	-انحكمت 13 شهر و دفعت 6000 شيكل، وكننت عارف اني راح انحك 13 شهر، واجت القاضية بتحكيلي بتعترف بالتهم الي عليك حكيتلها بعترف، حكنتي بنحك عليك 13 شهر مع 4 سنين وقف التنفيذ، وما ازعلت من الحكم عادي، قعدت 10 اشهر في عوفر و 3 في النقب، ممنوع احكي م اهلي في المحكمة. (M,17Years)(A20)

## Imprisonment experience

<b>Prison experie</b>	<b>Admission process</b>	<b>Naked</b>	<p>-بعد ما حققو معنا عبرونا ع سجن، عبرونا يفتشونا التفتيش العاري وفيه بالتفتيش بشلحونا كل او عينا وكان كثير مهين يعني و كانوا يوخذونا يفتشونا عشان تلفونات، خوف ما يكون الواحد مهرب معو تلفونات بياخذوا أو عينا وتلفونات إلي معنا، وهاي التعرية اشي مهين ، واحنا كنا نعمل مشاكل معهم ما كنا نرضى” (A14)(M,15 Years)</p>
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Admission process</b>	<b>Special uniform “Brown uniform”</b>	<p>سوقبل ما نروح على السجن بيعطونا لبس موحد هذا بكون لونه بني " اللبس البني" يعني ما في حرية تصرف حتى باللبس ومكلبش وتفتيش، أنا من وقت الأحداث هديك من اللون هداك انا رسمي لليوم زهقت هادا اللون كنت أفكر بيني وبين حالي ومع الشباب صحابي بس نروح اي اشي بهادا اللون بدي أحرقه لو أحلا بلوزة عندي و اللبس الي بلبسه، ممنوع يدخل اللبس على السجن. (A15)(M,16Years)</p>
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Authority structure inside prison</b>	<b>Description</b>	<p>-وفي السجن بكون فيها 15 اسير. بكون فيها كمكم "إبريق" و بلاطة السخنة لتسخين والطبخ. بكون فيها 11 برش و طابقين، و تلفزيون للخيم، واول ما دخلت على خيمة 1 على غرفة اسمها غرفة الادارة فيها 10 اداريين، بسالوني اسئلة مش انه تحقيق بس معلومات عامة لازم كل المساجين يروحو هناك. وبعدين بنروح على خيمة رقم 2 بسالوني اذا معي دخان و بيعطوني بعدين خيمة رقم 3 بكون فيها ( الدوبر ) و ( ازجان الدوبر) هو المتكلم باسم المعتقلين و نائبه.خيمة 4 بحكولي ايش لازمك و بيعطوني. بعدين خيمة 5 بروح على الحمام و بتحمم فعدت نص ساعة تحت الدش الماء سخن بجنن و بخلوني انام شوي. بعدين بحكولي اختار وين بدك تنام. بعدين خلوني انام على البرش " سرير" عالي مش الواطي. كنت انا اصغر واحد في القسم ، دللوني و خلوني انام . اجا الدوبر" مسؤول القسم "بحكيلي انت متدايق من القسم، حكيتله لا بس انا بدي اروح على قسم يكون في حدا من مخيمي، قسم 2، و اول شي حبيته على الخيمة كنت مبسوط وفخور بنفسي، لاني هلا انا في السجن مع ناس شرفاء اصحاب قضية، الواحد فيهم محكوم 25 سنة بكفي الثقافي الي راح اخذها منه طول فترة السجن. (A18)( M,16 Years)</p>

<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Authority structure inside prison</b>	<b>Rolls</b>	-وبعدين سألتهم شو قوانين الغرفة عشان ما أتجاوزها؟ أول اشي حكولي إنه ممنوع بنتين يناموا على نفس التخت،(A28)(F,15years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Authority structure inside prison</b>	<b>Responsibility</b>	- استصعبتها بالأول بعدين خلص رضيت، وبعد فترة صرت مسؤولة بس كنت خايفة إني أكون مسؤولة ويحطوا البنات برفيتي. حكيت لمسؤولتي إنه خيلنا نجمع مجموعات فتح كلنا مع بعض نتوحد زي عند الشباب. حكلي هاي تنظيمات وإحنا ما بنقدر نتصل فيه(A,28)(F,17years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Authority structure inside prison</b>	<b>Representative</b>	- وفي القسم بيكون في ممثل المعتقل وهو مسؤول عن كل الاقسام في السجن وهو المندوب عن كل الشباب وبحكي باسمهم ، ومسموحة يطلع وينزل في الاقسام (A16)(M,17 Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Authority structure inside prison</b>	<b>National Commission</b>	-وفي السجن يكون في ممثل المعتقل المسؤول عن كل السجنا وبفاوض اداراه (A1)(M,17Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Authority structure inside prison</b>	<b>The Sergeant's (Al-Shawish)</b>	- كان الشاويش مسؤول الغرفة من عمري تقريبا، ونحكي مع بعض مثل اصحاب عشان ينظم امور الغرفة بعده يكون ادارية القسم ، وهما الي بيساعدوا الاسرى على حل مشكلاتهم وتديبر امورهم مثل الزيارات والاكل والاكل والمرضى وغيرها، وهي من انجازات ونضالات الاسرى تحققت لحماية وتسهيل حياتهم في السجن.(A21)(M,17 Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Authority structure inside prison</b>	<b>The Sergeant's assistant</b>	- في مسؤول عن السجن ، والشاويش (المتحدث والمسؤول عن الغرفة ) ومساعد الشاويش والتنظيم كل 6 اشهر بتصير انتخابات وبيعين لجنة تنظيمية (A27)(M,15 Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Authority structure inside prison</b>	<b>The counselor</b>	وكمان الاسرى زي النسوان بحكوا على بعض وبحكوا على بعض ، وبحكوا عن كل اشي بصير في السجن، بس لازم الواحد يكون قوي، وين ما ترميه الدنيا ببيجي واقف. وانا كنت في السجن موجه غرفة يعني مسؤول عن الشباب وكنت اعملهم الاكل ، مثلا اذا صارت مشكلة بين تينين انا

			<p>بجلها بوقتها، ولما واحد برفع ايده على اخوه انا بجلها، واهم اشي انا بحكيلهم احنا اخوه وعائشين مع بعض ولما بقول الواحد بيمرض بيقول اخ انت بتكون اخوه الي جنبه، والي بتستجد فيه، وهذا كان بحتاج اني اكون على قد المسؤولية (A16)(M,17 Years)</p>
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Daily life</b>	<b>Routine</b>	<p>- كان نظام السجن قاتل فش اشي نعمله بس على التلفزيون، يعني ع 10 لازم تطفي التلفزيون وكنت انا عالمغرب، والواحد لازم ينام "(A5)(M,15Years)"</p>
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Daily life</b>	<b>Counting</b>	<p>- وايام السجن زي بعض وكل يوم الساعة 6 الصبح بنصحى على العدد، وبرجع بنام ع ال2 وبصحى ع 4، ما في وقت محدد للفطور لما نصحى بنعمله، أول واحد بصحى بعمل فطور وبصحى الشباب، يعني حسب أحيانا ع 10 أو ال11. وبعد الفطور بنطلع على الفورة، نشترى من الكانتينة ونتحدث مع الشباب. (A17)(M, 16 Years)</p>
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>The Role of International Organizations (Red Cross)</b>	<b>Important</b>	<p>- في السجن بيجو الصليب الاحمر ومره اجو وكانوا يساعدونا اذا بدنا نطلع رسائل او اشي للاهل خدماتهم كانت مهمة لنا كانوا يطلعوا الشباب من جو السجن ويشوفو اوضاع السجن ويجيبو معهم اشياء مش موجودة جوا مثل الشوكولاته بيجو 3 او 4 بصيروا ينادوا على واحد واحد في السجن بسالونا اذا بدنا نوصل اشي للاهل. (A19)(M,17Years)</p>
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>The Role of International Organizations (Red Cross)</b>	<b>Routine and ineffective.</b>	<p>- والله الصليب ما بيعملوا اشي ولا بيشوفونا بس ببلغوا الاهل الزيارات، و هما فش الهم اي دور على فاضي وجودهم هيك بس ببسجلوا انهم زاروا"(A9)(M,16Years)</p>
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Lawyers role</b>	<b>Routine</b>	<p>-المحامي عاطل"، يعني حبستي انا ما كنت راضي عنها وعن الحكم والصفقة، وعالفاضي ما يعملوا اشي. (A17)(M,16Years)</p>
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Environment problems</b>	<b>Room</b>	<p>- وكمان الواحد بقعد بغرفة صغيرة وبتسكر عليه الباب الساعة 5، لما الواحد يكون محبوس باتهامات موجهة إله زور (A16)(M,17Years)</p>

			- وكان في الغرفة 9 معتقلين آخرين، وكانت تفتقر إلى أدنى مستويات المعيشة الانسانية، وما قدرتش تأقلم بسهولة، ولما بحطونا بغرفة وبكون كتار وعلى أعصابنا (A9)(M,16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Environment problems</b>	<b>Insects</b>	-“والله الغرفة مليانة مليانة حشرات وصراصير ومقرف تخيلي ، وأنا من الله بخاف من هاي الأشياء عنجد وكنت اقوم بالليل اصرخ من الخوف واحلم في الحشرات ، زمان كانت امي بتعمل اكله ما ارضاش اكل بس هلا باكل كل اشئي،(A24)(F,14 Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Environment problems</b>	<b>Sewage</b>	جميع السجن مش مريح، وأكثر شي كان (البيوف) المجاري، كنت اشمها واتضايق وأسكر أنفي، وتقع انطبل على الباب، وحكوا الشباب مع واحد يهودي ونقلونا من الغرفة (A8)(M,16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Environment problems</b>	<b>Weather</b>	- كان مستوى المعيشة في عوفر صعب جداً، كان هناك خيم كنا عايشين فيهم، كنا نربطهم مبمسامير ويطيرو أيام البرد وواذا طارت ينزل علينا المطر ونغرق بميه المطر".(A7)(M,16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Environment problems</b>	<b>No sun</b>	- فش شمس، فش حمام، كمرات، مذلة.(A15)(M,17Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Sleep problems</b>	<b>Sleeping conditions</b>	- والواحد كمان لا بيعرف ينام لا بالليل ولا بالنهار، لما ينام يبقى متذايق ما يعرفش ينام الليل ، وبينام ساعتين ويرد يصحى ويرد نام ويرد يصحى، عشان هيك بظل تعبان وما بحس حالي بنام الا ساعات قليله"، (A14)(M,15Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Sleep problems</b>	<b>Security</b>	-لما يجو يفتشوا ع الأقسام، يبقى الواحد نايم في الليل يجو يصحو فينا يوخذونا ويحصرونا في ساحة، ويعبروا يفتشوا الغرفة كلها وينبشوها، وبعد ما يرجعونا ع الغرفة نقعد نصف في الأغراض، ولأنو الواحد بكون بدو يتريح أكم من ساعة بيجوا يقعدوا يلققوا في بالنوم ، و النوم يعني مش كويس كثير لانه الواحد بدو ينام المغربيات عالساعة سبعة بيجي العدود عالساعة 6 الصبح بيجي عدد، بنبهوه من النوم، و عالساعة 12 ازا بصيرش تفتيش، يعني فش نوم، وكنت اطل تعبان ، والواحد ببقاش مصدق حالو ويتنا بدو ، ولما بفكر و هيك بحس انه اليوم طويل”(A4)(M,15 Years)

<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Sleep problems</b>	<b>Thinking</b>	- وما اقدرش انام يوميا، وكنت اضل افكر ببرا وامي لو كانت عايشه شو صار فيها، وكان البرش تاعي بالزاوية ، أروح كأني بدي أنام عاد ما انام ويناموا وانا صاحي وكنت كسول وما أمشي".(A30)(F,16 Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Sleep problems</b>	<b>Self blaming</b>	- في السجن اغلب الايام بقدرش انام الا الساعة 3 الصبح لاني بفكر في الي صار معي وبلوم حالي عشان انا بالسجن".(A17)(M,16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Sleep problems</b>	<b>Nightmare</b>	- وانا كان عندي مشاكل في النوم كثير لاني وانا نايم كانت كل احلامي عن كيف اجولي في الليل واعتقوني وعذبوني والتحقيق دايمًا، وكنت اقوم اصرخ بعد الحلم وبعرفش انام بعدها ، وحتى صرت امشي ما بحس حالي،(A27)(M,15 Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Food problems</b>	<b>Bad food</b>	- والأكل كان مقرف جداً مقرف لابعد الحدود، وعشان هيك كنت أشترى من الكانتينة معلبات، و أكل السجن مقرف جدا ولا أدوقه، أحياناً كان يكون فيه صراصير وحشرات"(A24)(F,14 Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Soldiers punishment problems</b>	<b>Night inspection and security</b>	-وفورة الاداره التفتيش صعب كثير لاننا بنكون نايمين وما بنشوفهم الا وهما عاملين كبسيه وهذا التفتيش الليلي ما ينساه لانه مرعب بيحوا عادة على 3 بالليل بنكون نايمين و ييهجموا علىينا في القسم، بالكلاب وبالضرب بالعصي وبشكل مفاجيء وخاصة وقت النوم عشان ياخذوا التلفونات وييهجموا علينا كانا حيوانات وهما زي الوحوش وهذا كان مرعب الي، وكمان بعدها بنحرم من الزياراتوبطلعونا برا وبفتشوا الغرفة وبعدها بيتقلوا الشباب على قسم ثاني او يودوهم على الزنازين"(A6)(M,16Year)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Prisoners punishments</b>	<b>Negative punishment</b>	-أكثر اشي أثر علي هو تعامل التنظيم مع الأشبال( الاطفال الأقل من 18 سنة)، و لما دخلت على مجتو اعرفت شو يعني سجن وندمت إني دخلت السجن، لأنه الإهانة والضرب الي شفته من التنظيم هناك والذل ما حدا بقدر يتحمله، والحكي كمان بجرح كرامة الإنسان، و حتى على مستوى استعمال الحمام بدون إذن بحكوله انت جاسوس، وقعدت في مجتو من 5/20 لـ 7/28 بس كانوا كانهم سنه، واصعب اشي في الحبسه، معاملة الشباب بالمعتقل السيئة والمهينه في العقاب يعني بضربوك

			قدام الاسرى كلهم على ايديك او بالعصاي لانني صرخت او سببت وهذا مهين للكرامه". (A10)(M,1417Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Prisoners punishments</b>	<b>Positive punishment</b>	-حسب التنظيم في تنظيمات بطبق عقوبات تأديبية كالضرب والاهانة ،وبس انا كان التنظيم بعمل عقوباته كلها تعليمية كالقراءة والنسخ والكتابة والجلي وهي طرق منيحه وبيتعلم الشخص من خلالها وليست مهينه كالضرب وغيرها"،(A30)(M,16Years).
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Disease occurrence</b>	- أول ما وصلت على عوفر مرضت وقعدت 3 أيام بالفرشة، بعدين صارت عدوى، ، في شب مرض وسخن سخونة قوية وبطل يقدر يمشي منها، وبعده شب ثاني وكمان كثير من الشباب وانا مرضت وقعدت بالتخت وضلت العدو تنقل لوصلت الـ 21 أسير، وظلينا فترة طويلة بدون علاج، وصار الوضع صعب وصرنا خايفين نموت بدون علاج". (A7)(M,16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Headaches</b>	- وانا بالسجن صار راسي ايوجع دايمًا ، عندي ودخه، وما اعطوني علاج أخذت اربع حبات دوا خلال الـ 3 شهور(A6)(M,16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Low Blood Pressure</b>	-وضغطي كان يهبط كثير من قلة التغذية" (A28)(F,15Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Dizziness</b>	"كانت تصيبي الدوخة كثير ومرة وقعت وكان رأسي بدو ينطيش بس ما كانوش يعملولي اشي"(A28)(F, 15Years).
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Fainting</b>	-مرة في سجن رامونيم وقعت على رأسي غميت اخذوني على المستشفى عملولي طبقتين وحكولي معي ارتجاج في المخ صحيت على 12 بالليل مش عارف شو صار معي لقيت السوهاري درزي يجرب بالتخت وكنت مكبلش بايدي واجري ويكون في حراسة 3 سوهارية وما بليغوا اهلي ما عرفوا الا لما روحت وقلقت من المرض في السجن وكانوا يعطوني بس اكمول" (A19)(M,17Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Eye Problems</b>	- انا مريضت بعيوني، و كانوا لما يوجعوني كثير بس انا ما أقدر أفتحهم، ورحت على الدكتور أعطاني قطرة بس ما استعملتها لأنه ما بضمن تكون للعيون"،(A1)(M,16 Years)

<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Pain</b>	-انا مرضت في السجن من ضهري ورقبتي ما كنت انام من الوجع وطلبت ارواح على الدكتور وما رضيو الجيش يطلعوني على الدكتور، و الشباب راحوا جابو اشي زي الخشبة ونيموني عليها، وانا تحسنت بعد فتره بس اولها كان صعب كثير علي ولو الواحد بده يموت الادارة ما بياخدوه على الدكتور صعب الواحد يلاقي العلاج المناسب" (A23)(M,17Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Fractures</b>	- كان عندي كسرين في رجلي لاني قضيت فترة طويلة بدون علاج بس اعطوني اكمول، و قاعد اثرت علي اكثر وكان عندي وجع في رجلي كثير بدون ما يعطوني علاج (Years)، (A21)(M,17)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Infections</b>	-وانا مرضت طلع على رجلي حب حساسية، من السجن وما عالجوني ولهلا بعد ما اطلعت بتعالج"، (A11)(M,15Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Poison</b>	- انا تسممت في السجن ، وحسيت وجع كثير في بطني ، اخذوني على المستشفى وقالوا اني متسمم من الاكل و عملت عمليه وبعدها تحسنت بس كنت حاسس اني يموت وممت من الخوف". (A18)(M,16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Epilepsy</b>	-انا كنت منيح، تمام، و شفت واحد كان معنا بنفس الخيمة معاه كريزا يمسك الحديد بصير يصرخ كنت ارواح اعطيه حبة دوا و كاسة مي، وما كان يآثر علي بس كنت انقر، وكانت مسؤولية". (A18)(M,16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Kidney Stone</b>	-وصار عندي وجع بالحصىة من شهرين الى ثلاثة شهور وانا بعاني من الالم وكانت بالكلى وضليت اسبوعين ارواح العيادة اخذ ابره مسكن ، وبالليل نفس الشيء، واحس بشلل بكل جسمي، واخذوني بعدين ع هداسة عملت عملية ليزر ونزلت الحصىة على المثانة وضلت بالمثانة واتألم الالم شديد ومسيطر ع كل شيء، وخف الالم مع المسكنات". (A30)(M,16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Cancer</b>	وهاي الحالات بتصير كثير بالسجن ، و كثير بصير معهم مرض السرطان بالسجن من أجهزة التشويش إلي بحطوها اليهود ورا الغرف ، هاي الأجهزة بشوشوا فيها على بليفوناتنا، وأكثر إثني أثر علي إبنو صاحبي كان معي بالسجن صار معه سرطان و كان أعز أعز صحابي، كان صعب صعب صعب علي كثير ، وكنت زعلان عليه لإنو قاعد بعد أيامه"، (A22)(M,17Years)

<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Health Problems</b>	<b>Acamol treatment</b>	-و في السجن اذا حدا بمرض بس يعطوه اكمول وما بيتعالج" (A9)(M,16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Educational problems</b>	<b>No education</b>	-كان اكثر اشى مدايقني اني خسرت التعليم، و في المعتقل فش تعليم" (A18)( 16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Economic Problems</b>	<b>Expensive</b>	-صبرت كثير في السجن وصرت اعمل حالي انسى الاكل وما اكلش واقول بدي اصوم، لان السجن غالي، ويعني علبة التونة كان يكون حقها 15 شيكل، والكولا 10 شيقل واهلي بيعتولي 400 شيقل، والكانتينة "دكان السجن"، و كانت غالية كثير، وانا ما كنت اشترى فش معيصاري وكنت اتحمل الحرمان واصبر" (A5) (M ,15Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Social Problems</b>	<b>Being away from family</b>	- بس المشكلة انو الواحد بينقطع عن امه و يوم يوم كن افكر بامي لما اتذكرها كنت اعيط بس ما اورجي دموعي لحد. وانا تفكيري عند النوم، مش طول نهار، يعني و انا بفكر باشي بروح انام، بتذكر امي و صحابي، و الناس الحارة، بنجلط بصير احكي بدي اطلع، مرة صرخت على شباب صحابي تحملوني بس ما بصير اصرخ عشان انا دايماً الي كنت اواسيهم و اصبرهم. (A18)(M,16Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Social Problems</b>	<b>Communication problems</b>	- والبنات يضلوا يسألوني لاش قاعدة هيك؟ شو دخلكم كمان القعدة بدكم تحاسبوني عليها، هم كلهم متخلفين كلهم من الخليل ودايماً شو بتعملي ولما يمرق حدا يسألوني بتطلي عليه، بالأخر زهقت حكيتهم أه بطلع عليه ما دخلكم، هناك البنات تفكيرهم متخلفات من العصر الحجري كانوا من الخليل وقرى نابلس وجنين، انا ما كنت منسجمة مع البنات الي كانوا هناك، وقرت حالي منهم أكثر من السجن، ليس الشباب جنبه في من المدن بس احنا البنات من اغلبهم من الخليل وقرى نابلس وجنين، وانا ما احكي معهم بس بعد فترة اجت بنت من منطقة الخليل وطلانا مع بعض نلعب" (A24) (F,14Years)؛
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Social Problems</b>	<b>Death of family member</b>	-آخر فترة من الضغط عشان اخوي توفى وانا بسجن بطلت حدا يقدر يفتح ثمو معاي يعني بقى الواحد يجي يمزح معاي نتقاتل انا وياه". (A14)(M,15 Years)

<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Social Problems</b>	<b>age gap</b>	-وكمان بالغرف اخذت فتره حتى اتاقلم كل واحده بتكون مضغوطة، وما كانوش يراعوا بنت 14 سنه ، وانا كنت أصغر وحدة في المعتقل وكلهم من 25 سنة فما فوق وأكبر، والاسيرات ما يراعوا بنت صغيره بس فش فايده، عشان هيك انا من مرة ما اتأقلمت معهم، وكنت اسلي حالي اظل اجاكرهم، وقرفت بدني اسلي حالي اعمل عكس ما يقولني واي اشياء اعمل عكسه، وا استنقزها ، وما ارد على حدا ، وعنيده ، وما انتازل لحدا ولا اقعد مع واحده منهم و ما اعتذر وعلاقتي رسميه واحيانا انا ما ارد عليهم، وهما البنات الي في السجن ما كانوا يحكوا معي ، وكثير كان الحق علي بس الواحد بكون زهقان حاله"،(A24)(F,14years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Psychological Problems</b>	<b>Adjustment problems</b>	-بس بعد شهر شهرين حاولت اني أتأقلم أبني شخصية جديدة جوا السجن الي أحاول أقضي حبستي، بدأت أعود بتفكريري الطبيعي وحاولت أقسم وقتي الي أقدر أتغلب على سجنتي وأقضي وقت فراغي، وكنت أضل أفكر وأغلب الوقت سارح بس تفكير بالأهل والدار وما في اتصالات، كنت أفكر شو بساوو هلا وبين قاعدين، يعني أنا قاعد بين أربع أشياء شو بساوو هلا بالدار، كنت أتذكر يوم نقعد على الأكل مع امي مع أهالي وخواتي وأخوتي، هون ناس لسة جداد ما بعرفهم بدني وقت أبني صداقات جديدة (A15)(M,17Year)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Psychological Problems</b>	<b>Self blame</b>	"وبيظل الواحد يلوم حاله وشاعر بالعار والذل علي بصير معي في التحقيق والعيشه الي بنعيشها و لايش عمل هيك ولايش هو بالسجن وشو بدو يصير معه بعدها وهيك"، (A14)(M,15Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Psychological Problems</b>	<b>Sexual abuse</b>	-وانا كنت اشوف المجندة 7حوالي مرات في السجن بحالة جنسية وفي سجن النقب (مجند+مجندة)، والقسم مفتوح 24 ساعة ونسمع صوت المجندة دائما ، وانا كنت شبل هذه الاشياء كانت مقرفة وكنا نحاول ما نتفرج حتى ما تاثر علينا ونخاف منهم انهم بدهم يورطونا ويصورونا وهذا بخوف وهما هدفهم يشوهونا بس يهمني هدول يهود يعملوا عادي واحنا بنتوقع هي الاشياء منهم"، (A27)( M,15 Years)

Prison experience	Psychological Problems	Crying	- "يوم يوم كن افكر بامي لما اتذكرها كنت اعيط بس ما اورجي دموعي لحد. وانا تفكيري عند النوم، مش طول نهار، يعني و انا بفكر باشي بروح انام، بتذكر امي و صحابي، و الناس ، الحارة، بنجلط بصير احكي بدي اطلع وبصير ابكي كثير"(M,16Years)(A18).
Prison experience	Psychological Problems	Fear	-وصار عندي رجة في ايدي ودقات قلبي كنت سامعها كان في خوف شديد واحاول ما اخلي هالي خايف عشان ما ايسيطر علي ، كنت احكي اني ازعر بس كنت من جوه خايف كثير ، وحتى وانا قاعد وافكر وعند ما كنت اروح انام كنت اشعر بضغط وتعب و حابب انام وما اعرف وبعدها وقعت عشان في السجن طول الوقت على هذا الوضع (M,17 Years)(A21)
Prison experience	Psychological Problems	Jin	- في اسير يكون راكبه جن، يكون زي المجانين، يضرب و يكسر و لو بيجوا 10 يمسكوه ما بقدروا. كان يكسر و يطبش، و قعدنا نقرأ عليه قرآن، و تحسن الشب و راح الجن. (A18) (M,16Years)
Prison experience	Psychological Problems	Nervousness	-واول ما رجعت على الغرف من بعد التحقيق كنت أصرّخ بالكل وافيع فيهم ولا احس بحالي ، أي بنت تحكي معي كلمة صغيرة أصبح فيها ، وبعد ما أصيح يحكولي إنك صيحتي وهيك وأنا ما أصدقهم ، ما كنت أحس على حالي، واول يوم في وحده كان عندها مشاكل رمتلي حكي ، وضربتها ضرب كثير كسرتها يومها ضربتها بشكل مش طبيعي بكل قوتي وشعرها صار هيك ، طلعت وانا بضرب فيها كسرتها، أول مرة بحياتي بضرب لها الدرجة" (F,14 Years)(A24)
Prison experience	Psychological Problems	Loneliness	- وانا كنت اظل افكر لحالي، وما كنت اختلط بحداء، كنت حزين علي بصير معي فش نفس لاشي، (M,16Years)(A4)
Prison experience	Psychological Problems	Despair and hopeless	“-انا كنت ياس، ينست من كل شي بدي أروح عالبيت، وكنت أحسب الوقت الي ضايل عشان أطلع ما كان يمرق، وما كان عندي أمل بان رح اطلع من السجن من مره ، وكنت متدمر نفسيا”.(M,15 Years)(A14)
Prison experience	Psychological Problems	Frustration	"حسيت باحباط اني مش قادر وفش عندي طاقة مش جاي عبالك يعمل اشني ، وبشوف انو هالدنيا سودة يعني هيك ، وكمان الواحد ببقى يصير قول وكديش بدنا عشان نروح، وكنت اضل

			متذائق" . (M,15Years)(A14)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Psychological Problems</b>	<b>Anxious</b>	"انا كنت اشعر بالاحباط وخاصة في اول السجنه شوي عشان اول مرة انا بنسجن وكان السجن بالنسبة الي صعب يعني الواحد بحس انه محشور ومقيد وبقدرش يعمل اشى عشان هيك كنت اظل قاعد وما اعمل اشى بس افكر شو صار معي وكيف بدى اعمل"، (M,16 Years)(A13)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Psychological Problems</b>	<b>Lack of Trust</b>	-بطلت اثق بالناس لانو صحابي الي كنت أضرب معهم حجار هم الي بلغوا عني لليهود، هذه القصة أثرت علي وانا في السجن وصرت وانا مع الشباب بالغرفه ما اثق باصحابي ولا بحدنا واذا بدى اعمل اشى مش لازم أحكي لحداء،(M ,14Years) (A10)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Psychological Problems</b>	<b>Death</b>	- وانا كنت اظل عندي كابه وقاعد لحالي ما احكي مع حدا واضل افكر وما اعمل اشى وحاسس حالي وحيد وعاجز وكنت كسول وما أمشي واطل افكر بالموت . (F,16 Years)(A30)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Positive experience in prison</b>	<b>Friendship</b>	- والحياة الاجتماعية في السجن يعني الواحد بيصير بيتعرف على السجنا وبصير عنده صحاب ويبيعيشوا مع بعض زي الاخوه والي معه مثلا او اعى بيعطي الي ما معه وييساعدوا الاسرى بعض بيصيروا زي الاخوه".(M,16 Years)(A30)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Positive experince in prison</b>	<b>communication skills</b>	"تعلم اشياء زي تقوية العلاقات الاجتماعية، يعني صرت اجتماعي وصرت اعمل صحاب واعرف اعمل علاقات قويه واصاحب اكثر من قبل السجن"(M,17 Years)(A19)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Positive experince in prison</b>	<b>Social events in prison</b>	-كانوا الشباب يلبسوا ويشخصوا، والتنظيم يوفر لنا حلو وكولا عشان نحس أنه هنا في العيد. أول اشى بطلعوا الشباب ع 5 الصبح بكيروا ويبيجي الشيخ بخطبلهم ويصلوا صلاة العيد ويبتخلو ويبيسلموا على بعض، وبعدين بلقوا على بعض في الغرف وبعيدوا عليهم وخلص يرجعوا عالغرف.(M,17Years)(A16)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Positive experince in prison</b>	<b>Educational sessions</b>	- اهم اشى الثقافة كنت اصغر واحد في السجن بس كانوا يحبوا يسمعوا لتعليقاتي، كنت اقعدهم كل يومين جلسة، كانت تساعد كثير" (M,16Years)(A18)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Positive experince in prison</b>	<b>History of Palestine</b>	- كنت اقعدهم جلسات تنظيمية كل يومين جلسة، وكانت مفيدة وتوعي الاسرى ويتعلموا منها عن فتح والتاريخ وبيتنفقوا بامور البلد والسياسه(M,16 Years)(A18)

<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Positive experince in prison</b>	<b>Political history,</b>	-كنت اعد جلسات تنظيمية كل يومين جلسة، وكانت مفيدة وتوعي الاسرى وتعلموا منها عن فتح والتاريخ وبيئتقوا بامور البلد والسياسه(A18)(M,16 Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Positive experince in prison</b>	<b>Political sessions</b>	- بس الاشى المنيح بالسجن انوا الجلسات التنظيمية اجبارية مفيدة كثير بتعلم اشياء كثير وتثقفنا وبتهدبنا كثير بصير احسن وبتعلم منها من تجارب الغير، وكمان الشباب الكبار في العمر بقدونا بتجاربهم في السجن وكيف نتعامل معه" (A6)(M,16 Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Positive experince in prison</b>	<b>communication skills</b>	-بتعلم الواحد عن بلده وبتعلم تاريخه. وبتعلم مهارات اجتماعية كيف يتعامل مع الناس ويتواصل معهم.(A16)(M,17Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Positive experince in prison</b>	<b>Languages</b>	-أخذت دورات عبري وإنجليزي، الأسيرات نفسهم هم يعلمونا، لما الوحدة تكون إلها فترة في السجن بتصير تحكي عبري أحسن من اليهود، تعلمت عبري وأخذت دورة تجويد ". (A28)(F,15 Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Positive experince in prison</b>	<b>Literacy courses</b>	-وكان في محو أمية، كانوا يدرسوا الواحد الي ما يعرف القراءة والكتابة".(A1)(M,17Years)
<b>Prison experience</b>	<b>Positive experince in prison</b>	<b>Reuniting with Family Members</b>	- كنت حابب أنسجن عشان بس أشوف أخوي وشفته وكانت احلى لحظه بعيشها معه في السجن " (A3)(M,17 Years)

### Experience after release

Experience after release	Release process	Description	- وبعد ما طلعتوني حطوني في (أفرادة) غرفة منعزلة طلعتوني على الصبح، وحكيت لهم رجعتوني لتيجي البوسطة ما رضيو، كلبشوني والغرفة كانت منعزلة وبرد كثير. وما روحت معي ولا إشي من أغراض عشان وجع إيدي من الكلبشات والسجانة حكيتي ما بساعدك، و أخذت أغراض البنات إلي بدهم يودوهم يس. (A28)(F,15 Years)
Experience after release	Release process	Checkpoint	-ورحت على محسوم (الجملة) في جنين، حطوني على المحسوم ومش مصدقة إنهم تركوني، نزلت مش عارفة إشي، واحد فهم إنني أسيرة ساعدني ومشاني قدام الطابور، أبوي وأخوي كانوا بستتوني بعداد كثير، وشفتهم ومشاني الزلمة من بين الناس عشان أروح عند أهلي،(A28)(F,15Years)
Experience after release	Release process	Village	- ونزلوني في بيت عور في الجبال، شفت فورد حكيتله موضوعي ووصلاني على رام الله. (A18)(M,16 Years)
Experience after release	Release process	City	-وبس اطلعت من السجن رموني في نابلس وما كان معي مصاري وحكيت مع السفير اني بدي اروح وما معي مصاري فروحتني(A6)( M,17Years)
Experience after release	Prisoners perception of prison	Tomb	-مقبرة الأحياء، هي مقبرة والي فيها بس عايشين ، مش ميتين ، في المعتقل الناس بنقبرو وهم احياء، الواحد هو بحس هيك كانه مقبور وهو حي (A14)(M,15Years)
Experience after release	Prisoners perception of prison	Prison	- بس سجن، يمنعك عن كل إشي حلو بالدنيا، ويحرمك من الحياه كاتك ميتة في عالم اخر زي جياه الموت ما بعد الموت وهو أصعب إشي بها الدنيا. (A28)(F,15 Years)
Experience after release	Prisoners perception of prison	hard experience	-هي تجربة صعبة فيها وضع صعب ظروف صعبة السجن صعب جدا تحمله (A23)(M,17 Years)
Experience after release	Prisoners perception of prison	Suffering	-عذاب السجن عذاب، وكله سلبي وفسني إيجابي فيها وذل وإهانة. (A1)(M,17Years)

Experienc e after release	Prisoners perception of prison	Hell	- هو قيد الحرية. يعني اشي بمنع حريتك. ويعني زي الجحيم. هو أكبر من الوصف من ناحية التعذيب، الإرهاق، انتهاك الحقوق، التعرض للخصوصيات (A15)(M,17Years)
Experienc e after release	Prisoners perception of prison	school	-انا بشوف السجن زي المدرسة، وأكثر من المدرسة مش ممكن اتصور انه في اشي الواحد بتعلمه زي السجن والتي بتعلمه في سنه بدي برا السجن عشر سنين عشان اتعلمه. (A4)(M,16Years)
Experienc e after release	Prisoners perception of prison	Mistake	-دائما بتذكر السجن و لما بتذكر السجن بتذكر اشي مش منيح، وغلطة وغلطتها وخلص، وبلوم حالي لانه وجع راس،(A 9) (M, 16Ye)
Experienc e after release	Prisoners perception of prison	Mountain	-جبل ع رأسه ، غم والسجن ما بقدر اطلع منه يعني مش مريح وضاعط عليك بضل يضغط عليك. "(A8)(M,16Years)
Experienc e after release	Prisoners perception of prison	Grounded and surrounded	-الحشرة بس، ولانو السجن كانك محبوس في قفص ومسكر عليك من كل النواحي زي الصيضان الي محشورين في القفص ، واحنا حتى النفس مش مسموح نتنفس ، واحنا الشباب صعب علينا يحشرونا زي الجاج ، كنا نحس انا مخنوقين و الواحد بصير بدون يموت في العيشه. (A20)(M,17 Years)
Experienc e after release	Psychological problems	Adjustmen t problems	-وانا كنت احس حالي جاي على حياة جديدة، ومتصعبة عشان تركت حياتي إلي في السجن لأنها هي حياتي، واطل اتذكر البنات وشو كان يصير معنا وكل تفاصيل حياة السجن والقصص الي كانت تصير وكاني لسي معهم. (A28)(F,15Years)
Experienc e after release	Psychological problems	Lonelessness &isolation	- وانا صرت أحب الوحدة ، و بحب أقعد لحالي، وأخوي بصير يصيِّح عليّ ليش قاعدة لحالك وبطلني هالوحدة ، وأنا ما بحب حدا يغط عليّ ما بدي الضغط ،بس انا صرت احب الوحدة، وبطل سرحانه، وما بحب الخلطة بالناس كثير،(A24)( F,14ears)

Experienc e after release	Psychological problems	Stress&ner vousness	- اول ما طلعت كنت عنيف كنت اصرخ وعصبي وافقد اعصابي على اي اشي، و كنت اكسر ، تطحين بالدار ، كنت اعمل مجازر.(M,16 years)(A18)
Experienc e after release	Psychological problems	Self blaming &guilty	-ودايما يكون قاعد وبراجع حالي وبظل لوم حالي واقول لو اني ما عملت اشي وممرت بهذا الاشئ(M,17Years)(A23)
Experienc e after release	Psychological problems	Pictures, sounds &smelles	-وبظل اتذكر شو صار معي وحتى مرات بشم ريحة السجن والزنازه وبصير عصبي وبديش احكي مع حدا (M,15 Years)(A27)
Experienc e after release	Psychological problems	Triggered experince	- بخطر بيالي لقطات من السجن وخصوصاً لحظة التحقيق وبصير أفكر وأتذكر انه شو صار معي، وهذا بخليني اصير حزين ومعصب بعض الاحيان (M,14Years.)(A2)
Experienc e after release	Psychological problems	Avoidance	- انا اذا بسمع الجيش ببلد ببعد عن وايم موجودين والشارع الي بيحوا عليه بروحش عليه وبيبعد عن منطقه الجدار ببعد عن اي اشي بذكرني فيهم لاني بخاف انسجن وبصير اتذكر الي صار معي" (M,17 Year)(A21)
Experienc e after release	Psychological problems	Lack of Trust	خلتني حذرة أكثر، ولا اثق بحالي، ولا بالناس، وزهقانه حالي وكرهانه حالي وانا بحس حالي بسجن جديد، وفش عندي اصحاب، (F,14Years)(A24)
Experienc e after release	Psychological problems	Daydream	-ولما يكون في ناس قاعدين وبكحو بحس حالي بعالم تاني وبسرح وما يكون مركزه معهم"(M,16Years)(A9)
Experienc e after release	Psychological problems	Sleelping problems	-وتعودت أضل سهران للصبح، بجرّب أنام بس ما بقدر انا صرت طبيعتي ما بنام الا ساعتين او 3 ساعات باليوم وهذا الاشئ بيؤثر على تاقلمي مع الناس لاني بظل تعبان وبنام بالنهار بدل الليل(M,16Years)(A7)

Experienc e after release	Psychological problems	Nightmare	- كان في تفكير وكوابيس بلحظات السجن وخاصة الضرب والتعذيب ومشاهد الاهانه زي التعري، وما كنت أطلع من الدار وما أتحرك عشان زي السجن. (A15)(M,17Years)
Experienc e after release	Social problems	Family restriction	العائلات بضايقوا الاسرى اكثر العائلات الي فيهم أسرى ، العيلة بصير ماتطلعش ماتجيش وهاد الشئ بذايق، طبعاً هسة ابوي بحكيالي اكثر من العشرة طولش برة الدار بدك تسهر اسهر في الدار يعني بس هيك. (A13)(M,16Years)
Experienc e after release	Social problems	Friends problems	-في ناس كويسين بس ناس عصبيين ويسبوا وصرت افكر لازم ابعد عنهم وتركت كل اصحابي وهما تركوني وصرنا الاسرى اقرب لبعض لانا عارفين شو عشنا جوا مع بعض وكانوا الناس الاخرين عندهم تكبر واحسن مننا. (A4)(M,16Years)
Experienc e after release	Educational problems	loss of school- same grade	-انا خسرت المدرسة لاني ما قدرت ارجع للمدرسة انا كنت بصف ثامن، روحت داومت يومين بس مش قادر ارجع تركت المدرسة (A2)(M,16Years)
Experienc e after release	Educational problems	Lake concentration	- ارجعت ع المدرسة وتركتها بعدين، احسها بعد المعتقل زي السجن و المعلمين بضلوا يحكو وما بسمع، وكنت اقصيها سرحان ومش مركز دان تسمع ودان اطير (A8)(M, 16Years)
Experienc e after release	Educational problems	Not motivated	-انا تركت التعليم والمدرسة بعد السجن ومش قادر ارجع لاني فش الي نفس ارجع الي المدارس لاني فش عندي طاقه وحاسس حالي محبط من كل الدنيا بعد السجن وكل الوقت بعصب على اي اشئ حتى ممكن اضرب واكسر ، ومش مركز وشاعر بحزن وكيف بديش ارجع انا تعبنا من تجربه السجن (A21)(M,17 years)
Experience after release	Educational problems	Adopt with school	- أول ما طلعتي من المعتقل، أخذت وقت تقريباً شهر ونص لحد ما رجعت عالمدرسة ، ما كنت حابة أرجع وخاصة مع بنات أصغر مني، بس أهلي أقتنوني أرجع (A24)(F,14Years)

<b>Experienc e after release</b>	<b>Educational problems</b>	<b>Trust issues with techers</b>	- المدرسة رحلت اعمل المدرسة بحكيالي بتكمل السنة ساقط. حكيته لا بديش، بدي ارجع السنة الي بعدها،(A18)(M,16Years)
<b>Experience after release</b>	<b>Economic problems</b>	<b>Un- employment</b>	-وبحاول ادور على صنعة مريحة بس هلا ما بشتغل هادا باثر على وضعي الاقتصادي بحس حالي متذايق ما في عندي القدرة اني اروح واجي وبصير عصبي ومضغوط وزهقان (A23)(M,17 years)
<b>Experienc e after release</b>	<b>Health problems</b>	<b>Eye problems</b>	-انا مريضت بعيوني، و كانوا لما يوجعوني كثير بس انام ما أقدر أفتحهم، على الدكتور أعطاني قطرة بس ما استعملتها لأنه ما بضمن تكون للعيون، أعطاني دواء شربته بس عالفاضي ما صار اي تحسن كأنه بس مسكن، كنت كنت أحس أنهم بتخوتوا علينا لأنه مش دكتور ما بفحص ولا شي (A20)(M,17Years)
<b>Experienc e after release</b>	<b>Health problem</b>	<b>pain</b>	- انا اذا بدي امشي مسافة طويلة بتعب شغل ما بشتغل منيح عشان وجع ضهري ومن البرد ضهري بوجع كثير والمنطقة الي ضربوني عليها في راسي في التحقيق وخصوصا بالبرد ومعني اعصاب كمان ما رحلت على الصحة لأنني سمعت انهم بيعطوا حبوب وهاي بتخرب الكلى ما رحلت (A23)( M,17 years)
<b>Experienc e after release</b>	<b>Health problem</b>	<b>High blood pressure</b>	-وتخيلي طلعت من السجن 15 سنة معني ضغط كان يرتفع يوصل 170، وتخيلي ما باخذ علاج عشان إزا بدي أروح عالعيادة الناس بعرفوا إنه معني ضغط وهاذا مش منيح (A24)(F,14 years )
<b>Experienc e after release</b>	<b>Health problem</b>	<b>Rheum atism</b>	-رماتزم في العضم بعمل هشاشة عظام ، من ارطوبة الزنزانة وبتعالج لها هلا. (A28)(F,15)
<b>Experienc e after release</b>	<b>Health problems</b>	<b>Eye problems</b>	-انا مريضت بعيوني، و كانوا لما يوجعوني كثير بس انام ما أقدر أفتحهم، على الدكتور أعطاني قطرة استعملتها لأنه ما بضمن تكون للعيون، أعطاني دواء شربته بس عالفاضي ما صار اي تحسن كأنه

			بس مسكن، كنت كنت أحس أنهم بتخوتوا علينا لأنه مش دكتور ما بفحص ولاشي (A20)(M,17Years)
Experience after release	Prisoners' needs	Work	-محتاج اشياء كثيره يعني اشتغل واصير اصرف على حالي لان بستحي اظل اطلب من اهلي مصروفي وعشان ابني دار وبدي عفش للدار ما في حدا يشتغل إلا أخوي(A11)(M,15Years)
Experience after release	Prisoners' needs	Vocational training	-بدي اتعلم صنعة واقتلي محل ، واصير ابيع واشتري الواحد ، يحوش مصاري ، بيني ، واتجوز (A10)(M,14 years)
Experience after release	Prisoners' needs	Recreational activity	- انا بحب اروح رحلات عشان ننبيسط ونغير جو.(A3)(M,17Years.)
Experience after release	Prisoners' needs	psychological support	- بدّي اشي ينسيني محتاج دعم نفسي وحدا يسمعني ويساعدني اخلص وانسى الي صار معي. (A16)( M,17 years)
Experience after release	Prisoners' needs	Friends	-نفسي صاحباتي إلي كانوا معي قبل سنتين يرجعوا ، نفسي يكون في اصدقاء و بمسكوني من ايدي ويطلعني.(A25)( F,16 years)
Experience after release	Future	Hope	-بالرغم من كل شي صار بس دايماً عندي أمل بيكرة أنه راح يكون أحسن وحلمي ، أنا حابة كثير إني أنجح بدراستي وأروح عالجامعة ، حابة أدرس صحافة وأصير صحافية.(A24)(F,14years)
Experience after release	Future	No hope	-ما يعرف ما في مستقبل ولا بقدر احلم ابشي وما في مستقبل قدامي(A27)(M,15 year)

## Copping strategies

<b>Copping strategies</b>	<b>1.Tenttion released</b>	<b>Singing&amp; music</b>	-قضيت سنه على الوكمن والراديو وبرامج واغاني هذا هو الاشي الي خلاني اتحمل السجن وقرفه والا كان منتمت لانو بعد ما اسمع موسيقى كنت احس حالي مرتاح"(A24)(F,14Years)
<b>Copping strategies</b>	<b>1.Tenttion released</b>	<b>Joking and fun</b>	-كنت من زمان احب اقعده لحالي وكل اشي وقت الجد جد والمزح مزح، والانثى اذا بدها تبين تعبها بتبينها بدموعها بس انا بتوجع من جواتي ما بخلي حدا يعرف شو جواي وكنت اظل زعلان ومتوتر والله بدني افقع وبعدين صرت اظل اتخوت على المجندين واعمل افلام فيهم مره بدني اروح على الدكتور وانا فش فيني اشي بس افلام واتخبي وانادي ويصير يدور علي ومرات احكيه اشياء ما يفهمها وينقهر كله تخوت وهذا كان يخليني اشعر احس ومرتاح لان الضحك بريح وخاصه اني مش قادر احكي عن همي وتعبني لحد وصرت احسن. (A4)(M,14years)
<b>Copping strategies</b>	<b>1.Tenttion released</b>	<b>Writing&amp; Reading</b>	- وأنا كمان كنت أكتب، أكثر اشي بدايقتي أكتب كإني بحكي مع أهلي، كان عندي دفتر مذكرات أكتب عليه يومياً، وبعد ما اخلص احس حالي ارتحت كان يساعدي كثير وكمان كنت احب اقرا في الليل على ضوء القمر كل ليله لاني في النهار يكون باشتغل وما بصحلي اقرا زي الكل عشان هيك كنت اقرا في الليل، كنت اشعر بالفرح لما اقرا لاني بحب اقرا وارتاح شوي وانام احسن " (A28)(F,15 Years)
<b>Copping strategies</b>	<b>1.Tenttion released</b>	<b>Cooking &amp; Washing</b>	-وكننت اكون معصب وضغوط بس لما كنت اروح اطبخ احس حالي احسن"، (A20)(M,17 Years)
<b>Copping strategies</b>	<b>1.Tenttion released</b>	<b>Daily Bath</b>	-أحاول إني أتأقلم بأسرع وقت مع الوضع الجديد. كنت أروح أخذ دش أقعد فيه، واحسن اني صرت احسن مرتاح وانا مع الشباب وانتشط"، (A16)(M,17 Years)
<b>Copping strategies</b>	<b>1.Tenttion released</b>	<b>Drawing</b>	-انا قضيت التحقيق وانا في الغرفه وانا ارسم على الحيط لاني شاطره في الرسم وكننت مقهوره

strategies			وصرت معصبه بدني انخفق وبعدين شفت معلقه صغيره واخذتها وصرت ارسم اي اشي بخطر على بالي رسمت امي وحالي والمحقق وكنت ارسم بيتي والاماكن الخضره شجر وحدائق وبعدها كانه اشي كان ينزاح عني واصير في عالم اخر وكنت ارسم السجن والزنازة والباب. رسمت حالي لما ارسم كنت ارتاح كثير وبعد ما اخلص الرسومات امزعها وارميها في الحمام. (A28)(F,15Years)
Copping strategies	1.Tenttion released	Imagination	-وانا لما كنت بقعد في السجن كنت اظل قاعد و بتخايل وانا قاعد مع أهلي نضحك ونسهر وكيف يكون مع أهلي لما نقعد ناكل وهذا كان يخليني اكون مبسوط" ، (A15) (M, 17Years)
Copping strategies	1.Tenttion released	Watching TV	-اقعد اتفرج عتلفزيون عبين ما يجي الليل وأنام" (A14)(M,15Years)
Copping strategies	1.Tenttion released	Patience	-في كل الوقت بس انا والاسرى في التعذيب ما بقدر نعمل اشي الا انا نصمد ونصبر عشان تمر هذي المرحلة الي ما بتمر بتظل معنا وبنعيشها حتى بعد التعذيب والتحرر بظل نتذكرها دايمًا حتى لو حاولنا ننساها وخاصة لحظات الالهانه زي التعري والشبح والزنازه. (A27)(M,15Years)
Copping strategies	1.Tenttion released	Role Model	-شفت الشباب الي في السجن بضحكوا ويتعاملوا مع الوضع عادي، في واحد محبوبس حبستين وعادي واحكام عاليه بس كانوا بيحكوا ويتعاملوا عادي ، وتعلمت منهم ولقت خلص وهذا خلاني احسن (A 5)(M,14Years)
Copping strategies	1.Tenttion released	Computer net	-وبقضي وقت كثير على ال face book والكمبيوتر وهذا بساعدني اشوف اصحابي وانا قاعد لحالي. (A15)(M,17Years)
Copping strategies	2.Aggressive strategies	knocking doors	-وكمان كنت اظل اخبط على البواب برجلي كل ما حسيت بخنقه وكنت معصم وخصوصا لما يكونوا يحققوا معك وبعدها بتركوك يوم وساعات في الغرفه بتصير بدك تققع وكنت احسن اني بدني انجنن وكنت ما اعرف شو بدني اعمل وما امسك اعصابي الا انا ابوا وبصوت قوي انخبط على

			الباب كثير، وهادا الإشي بزعجهم، بس ما كان في فائدة ا عشان هيك بعدها اسكت". (A14)(M,14Years)
<b>Copping strategies</b>	<b>2.Aggressive strategies</b>	<b>Crying</b>	-كنت اظل ابكي كل الوقت وانا لحالي لاني بحبش ابكي قدام الناس(A24)(F,14 years)
<b>Copping strategies</b>	<b>3.Religious strategies</b>	<b>Praying and reading Qur'an</b>	وأنا كنت أقطع في الصلاة برا بس في السجن ما في فرض إلا كنت أصليه، وكمان أزيد الصلاة، لأنني في السجن ما في الواحد إله غير ربنا. لازم نتذكر ربنا دائماً وندعيه، أملي كان بس في ربنا، لأنه ما في حدا بطلعني من السجن غير ربنا. كنت أبكي لما أسمع صوت الأذان، وبعد ما أصلي ارتاح بشكل مش طبيعي، وكنت أصلي صلاة الشكر، واقتنعت إنه لازم أفضي لربي 5 دقائق أصلي فيهم، وكمان صرت أقرأ قرآن في السجن، وحفظت 5 أجزاء من القرآن".(A28)(F,15 Years)
<b>Copping strategies</b>	<b>4.Social Support</b>	<b>Friends</b>	"بس لما الواحد بيقتضي اليوم مع اصحابه ضحك مزح ولعب بحس انه اليوم بروح بسرعه".(A14)(M,15 Years)
<b>Copping strategies</b>	<b>5.Avoidance</b>	<b>Thinking</b>	-انا بالسجن كنت أتجنب أفكر بكل الأشياء الي بتزعجني وخاصة الي صار معي بالتحقيق مع اني يفكر ويتخطر على بالي غصين عني بس ارتاح اشوي واحسن احسن".(A1)(M,17 Years)