Impact of Peace Treaty on Psychological Well-being

A Follow-up Study of Palestinian Children

Samir Qouta, M.A. Psychology
Raija-Leena Punamaki, Ph.D. Psychology
Eyad El Sarraj, M.D.

Gaza Community Mental Health Programme
1994
Impact of Peace Treaty on Psychological Well-being. A Follow-up Study of Palestinian Children

Abstract

The article reports the impact of Israeli-Palestinian peace treaty, children's perception of it, the amount of traumatic experiences, and their personal resources on their self-esteem and neuroticism. The sample is a follow-up group of 64 Palestinian children of 11-12 years of age, living in the Gaza Strip. The results showed that the level of neuroticism was significantly lower after the peace treaty than before. Participation in peace treaty festivities revealed a "healing" function in showing that exposure to traumatic experiences was related to a high level of neuroticism and low level of self-esteem only among children who refused to participate in the festivities. Traumatic experiences, however, significantly predicted high neuroticism and low self-esteem still after the peace treaty and one-year follow-up. Yet, creativity and Intifada activity promoted children's well-being: the more creative the children were, the more their neurotic symptoms decreased due to the treaty and the higher self-esteem they had after the treaty. The more actively children participated in the Intifada, the more their self-esteem increased due to the treaty.

KEY WORDS: Political violence, mental health, follow-up, peace treaty
Impact of Peace Treaty on Psychological Well-being. A Follow-up Study of Palestinian Children

Research on the determinants of children's mental health predominantly focuses on individual factors, such as the child's temperament or his/her social and cognitive capacity. The spheres of life accounted for mental health are foremost the child's family and school (Bronnfenbrenner, 1985), whereas historical and political events are rarely studied as factors affecting children's well-being. The exclusion of socio-political issues from the mental health model may be appropriate in societies where children enjoy protection from social upheavals and political violence. We know, however, that socio-political tranquillity is a rare phenomenon in our globe.

The experiences of Palestinian children living under Israeli military occupation serve as an example of childhood on turmoil. Children have been subjected to curfews and night raids, they have lost and witnessed assaults on their family members, and have been tear gassed, beaten, injured, and detained themselves (Abu Hein, Qouta, Thabet, & El Sarraj, 1993; Nixon, 1991).

More invisible ordeal of military occupation has been the complete condemnation of any expression of Palestinian national identity. Showing nationalistic sentiments, whether on a military, social, or cultural level has faced severe consequences. (Murray, 1991; Punamäki, 1986). Scenes which now may sound absurd, were commonplace under occupation, and many of
them were motivated by outlawing the green-red-white-black Palestinian flag. There were occasions when children invented and glided hundreds of kites of the forbidden Palestinian colours, and the soldiers were outrageously shooting at them and the holder of the kites. There were arrests of youths whose shirts displayed the forbidden colours of the Palestinian flag. Naturally many jokes were told, for example, how Israelis forbade the watermelon, because it composes of the green and white skin, red flesh, and black seeds.

Intifada, The Palestinian national uprising, broke the rule of silencing the nationalistic expressions. It aimed at getting the occupiers to leave and establishing an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian children took very active roles in the initiation, planning and organization of the Intifada. For instance, children who joined the Intifada were assigned different tasks according to age (Kuttab, 1988).

The Intifada has been described as a collective therapeutic process that turned Palestinians from victims to masters of their destiny (Nashef, 1990). But it can also be described as a war against Palestinian children, if the number of injured is accepted as a criterion of war. In the years of Intifada, one in every 22 children had been seriously injured by gunfire, beatings or tear gas in the Gaza strip. In the West-Bank the ratio was 1:41. (B’tselem, 1989, PHRIC, 1989).

Children were also detained for raising the Palestinian flag, and soldiers frequently forced them to take away the flag from the roof tops or electric pools. There were some cases of
children being killed in these incidents. (Graff & Abdolell, 1991).

The peace treaty signed between Israel and PLO in Washington on 13th of September 1993 was, undeniably, a great historical occasion also for Palestinian children. One may assume that peace treaty connoted international recognition of Palestinian national rights, and proved the effectiveness of the Intifada struggle.

Visually the pivotal meaning of peace treaty for Palestinian children in Gaza was the possibility to rise the Palestinian flag. Children who were the core of Intifada went to the streets, cheering, dancing and carrying the Palestinian flags. Majority of them raised the flag on the roofs of their homes, on the back seats of their bicycles, and carried it on their shirts.

The breathtaking moment of rising a national flag is important both in psychological and political terms. There are, however, few empirical research depicting the impact of major political and historical events on psychological responses. However, some Middle Eastern studies illustrate the fact that psychological responses vary according to major political events.

Hobfoll et al. (1989) showed that depression in the Israeli population varied according to the events of the Lebanon War. The outbreak of war coincided with an increase in depression, and peak of depressive mood occurred at the time of the Sabra and Shatilla massacre. Milgram (1982, 197) reported that the mourning and rehabilitation patterns among Israeli war widows were healthier from in June 1967 war than October 1973 war. The differences were attributed to the national mood, characterized

Milgram and Milgram (1976) studied psychological responses of Israeli children before and after the 1973 war. They discovered, contrary to their hypothesis, that anxious children were less affected by the outbreak of war than others. The researchers interpret their result to indicate that children who perceived the world as safe before the war were shaken by the experience, whereas those whose world was already anxiety provoking did not change their level of anxiety due to the war. Israeli boys showed the lowest anxiety before the outbreak of the 1973 October War, but the highest anxiety after the war.

Punamäki (1988) showed that the personal exposure to political violence initiated different coping process depending on the political situation. Exposure to violence increased active and courageous coping modes among Palestinian children before the Lebanon war, but decreased them after the war. The pre-war society provided strong ideological support and collective determination to overcome the hardships, which was reflected in children’s coping responses. The war resulted in the Palestinian military defeat and submission to ‘iron fist policy’ in the occupied territories, which, in its part, discouraged active and courageous coping.
The present study focuses on the question how the historical occasion of peace treaty, the way the children welcomed it, and their personal resources affect the psychological well-being. We at understanding what psychological purpose the participating in flag rising festivities serves. Apparently it enables the ventilation of feelings of frustration, anger, as well as joy and hope. Moreover, belonging to a national, religious, and ethnic group is vital for the healthy development of a child’s identity. Therefore we assumed that expressing the nationalistic pride with significant symbols would have a positive effect on a child’s well-being.

We hypothesize that if the ventilation function would evolve, a positive impact on children’s mental health would follow due to the peace treaty and participating in flag rising festivities. If the identity function is salient, an increase in children’s self-esteem would follow due to the peace treaty and participation in flag rising festivities.

Our earlier research showed that exposure to Intifada-related traumatic experiences increased children’s neuroticism, and that traumatic experiences together with active participation in Intifada decreased children’s self-esteem (Qouta, Punamäki & El Sarraj, 1994). In this study, we like to know whether expression of nationalistic feelings, as indicated by participating the flag rising festivities, would mitigate these negative impact of traumatic experiences on children’s well-being.
To conclude, the impact of peace treaty, participating in the flag-rising festivities, and amount of traumatic experiences on children’s self-esteem and neuroticism were examined. Furthermore, the relative importance of personal resources indicated by creativity and intelligence, and political issues, like traumatic events, Intifada activity and participating in flag rising festivities, in affecting children’s well-being were studied.

METHOD

Subjects
The original sample of this study consisted of 108 Palestinian pupils who were studied in their schools in the Gaza Strip in January 1993. They were tested for their intelligence, creativity, Intifada activity, neuroticism, and self-esteem. Of them 64 children were retested for their neuroticism and self-esteem in January 1994. Follow-up assessment was done in the same schools with the assistance from teachers and headmasters. The children were identified by their names. The sample consisted of 35 girls (55%) and 29 boys (45%) who were all 11-12 years of age. Of the studied children, 78% lived in a refugee camp, and 22% in a town.
Measurements

To measure the children's emotional well-being the Eysenck neuroticism scale, J.E.P.Q was employed. The applied Arabic version consists of 20 items. El Khalek (1978) has translated the test and has found its reliability to range between .78-.83 in Arab populations.

Self-esteem was measured by Rosenberg's scale as translated into Arabic and further developed by Hofman, Beit-Hallahmi and Lazarowitz (1982). The scale is composed of 11 Likert-like statements scales using describing attitudes towards oneself.

Participation in flag rising festivities was operationalized by asking the children whether they (a) were carrying the Palestinian flag and participating in the peace treaty festivities, and (b) Why did they participate or refused to participate. Their responses were coded as (1) rising the flag and participating festivities, (2) not rising the flag and refraining from festivities.

The scores for traumatic experiences were those that had served the selection of the original sample of 108 children before the peace treaty. They were taken from a pool sample of 1323 children using the level of traumatic experiences as a criterion. The pool sample included randomly selected schools in the Gaza Strip. Children were given a checklist of 14 items.
depicting events that were typical during the Intifada, such as night raids, beating and wounding and detention of the family members. The group exposed to many traumatic experiences are those randomly taken from the upper quartilium of the distribution and the group with few traumatic experiences are those randomly taken from the lower quartilium of the distribution.

**Intifada activity.** A context-bound measure depicting activity and passivity in concrete situations was not available, and therefore a new method was developed for the purpose of the study. Children were shown a photograph of a typical Intifada scene: a demonstration against the occupation forces has culminated in soldiers shooting at the group of children and youth. The picture shows some of the children escaping, some confronting the soldiers, and some observing the scene. These three groups were circled and named as (A) escape, (B) confront, and (C) observe groups. A sheet of questions followed the picture, and the child was asked: (a) "Please tell me your opinion about the behaviour of these three groups." (b) "Imagine that you are in a similar situation confronting the army. Which of these groups would you join?" (c) Children were also asked about their opinion of the Intifada and its continuation. Finally, (d) they were asked if they themselves participated in events like those shown in the photograph, and were asked to give details if they so desired. Each response was given a score in the active-passive dimension.

To measure children's general intelligence, the **Saleh Picture IQ Test** was used. It consists of 60 tasks, each including
five pictures showing objects, actions, or symbols. One of the five pictures is conceptually unrelated to the rest, and the child is asked to mark this picture. For instance, five vegetables are presented: carrots, radishes, potatoes, lettuce and onions. Lettuce is different from the rest because one eats the leaves and not the root. In another example, animals and plants are distinguishable from a lamp because the latter is not a living creature. The conceptual difficulty of the tasks increases gradually. The performance time of the test is twenty minutes. The raw scores are derived from correct answers and are in the range 0–60. These were then translated into IQ-scores according to Saleh's tables (Hefni, 1980, 177). The test was developed in Egypt, and the reliability has been found to range between .75–.85 in Arab populations (Hefni, 1980).

To measure creativity The Abraham Creativity Test was used. This test consists of eight verbal tasks. Children were asked to list as large a number as possible of objects and functions relating to certain criteria. For instance, children were asked to list as many different purposes as possible for buttons and empty cans, or to list things that can be heated, used to make sound, have smells, or can be rolled. Also, children are asked to give as many ideas as possible for things that can be done with lots of paper or shoes. The test was translated into Arabic by Habieb (1990), and he found the reliability of the test to range between .46–.90 in Arab populations.
RESULTS

Peace treaty, flag rising, and traumatic experiences on well-being

In order to examine the effect of peace treaty on children's psychological well-being, paired t-tests were performed comparing the self-esteem and neuroticism before and after the treaty. The results showed a very significant decrease in neuroticism between the first (M=7.40±2.87) and the second (M=5.76±3.09) assessment, t=4.43, df=63, p=.0001. No differences were found in self-esteem before and after the peace treaty, (t=.70, df=63, p=ns.).

Figure 1 shows that in fact the decrease of neuroticism due to the peace treaty occurs only among children who participated in flag rising festivities. The decrease is very significant among children exposed to many traumatic experiences and participating in flag rising activities, t=6.84, df=63, p=.0001, and significant among children exposed to few traumatic experiences and participating in flag rising activities, t=2.11, df=63, p=.003.

To examine the effects of participation in flag rising festivities and traumatic experiences on psychological well-being, a two-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were separately...
performed on self-esteem and neuroticism after and before the peace treaty. The independent variables are participation in flag rising festivities (yes/no) and amount of traumatic experiences (few/many).

After the peace treaty. Results revealed significant main effects of traumatic experiences ($F(1, 63) = 7.89, p < .007$), and a very significant interaction effect of traumatic experiences and flag rising ($F(1, 63) = 13.04, p < .001$) on children's self-esteem. Traumatic experiences were related to a low self-esteem still after the peace treaty. But Figure 2 shows that traumatic experiences were related to low self-esteem only among children who refused the flag rising festivities. Whereas among children who participated in the flag rising, self-esteem did not vary according to the traumatic experiences.

Results showed a significant main effects of participation in flag rising festivities ($F(1, 63) = 4.83, p < .03$), and traumatic experiences ($F(1, 63) = 6.46, p < .01$) and their very significant interaction effect ($F(1, 63) = 16.01, p < .0001$) on children's neuroticism after the peace treaty. Figure 3 show that the relation between traumatic experiences and neuroticism is
different among children who raised the flag and those who refused it. There was a very substantial increase of neuroticism with the traumatic experiences, but only in the group that did not participate in flag rising festivities.

Before the peace treaty. Results show that traumatic experiences had significant main effects on self-esteem ($F(1,63)=8.71, p<.005$) and very significant on neuroticism ($F(1,63)=13.36, p<.001$), indicating that neuroticism and low self-esteem increased with the exposure to traumatic experiences. No relation between indicators of children’s psychological well-being and the forthcoming participation in flag rising festivities was found. However, significant interactions between traumatic experiences and forthcoming participation in flag rising festivities on self-esteem ($F(1,63)=6.58, p<.01$) and neuroticism ($F(1,63)=5.08, p<.02$) indicate the same dynamics as was found after the peace treaty: Traumatic experiences increased neuroticism and lowered self-esteem only among children who would not participate in the forthcoming flag rising festivity.

To conclude, rising the flag and participating in peace treaty festivities served a healing function between traumatic experiences and self-esteem and neuroticism. Exposure to traumatic experiences decreased self-esteem and increased neuroticism only among children who refused the flag rising festivities. Whereas no relations were found between traumatic experiences and psychological well-being among children participating in flag rising.
Determinants of self-esteem and neuroticism

In order to get a more comprehensive view about factors affecting children’s well-being due to the peace treaty, four sets of standard regression analyses were performed. The dependent variables were the scores of self-esteem and neuroticism after the peace treaty, and changes in the self-esteem and neuroticism scores due to the treaty, and the independent variables were traumatic events, Intifada activity, creativity, intelligence, and participating in flag rising festivities. Results are presented in Table 1.

The results show that the regression models were significant for the scores of post-treaty assessment of neuroticism and self-esteem. Whereas the independent variables were not able to explain the changes in neuroticism and self-esteem scores before and after the treaty.

The correlation analysis between the independent variables showed that the more traumatic experiences a child had, the more actively he/she participated both in the Intifada \( (r=0.46, p<0.001) \), and flag rising festivities \( (r=0.22, p<0.05) \).

The results of a regression analysis for the post-treaty neuroticism show that 18% of the variance was accounted for, \( F(4,61)=2.95, p<0.02 \). Of the independent variables only the traumatic experiences were related to neuroticism. The more
traumatic experiences the children had, the more they suffered from neuroticism. Correlation between flag rising and neuroticism ($r = 0.25, p < 0.05$) indicates that children who participated in the flag rising festivities suffered less from neuroticism.

The results of the regression analysis for self-esteem showed that 22% of the variance was accounted for, ($F(4, 61) = 3.76, p < 0.009$). Of the independent variables, exposure to traumatic experiences and creativity were related to post-treaty self-esteem. The highest scores of self-esteem were found among creative children with low level of traumatic experiences.

Correlation analysis shows that children participating in flag rising festivities had better self-esteem than those who refused to participate ($r = 0.22, p < 0.05$).

The regression analysis for changes in pre- and post-treaty neuroticism showed that 12% of the variance was accounted for ($p = NS$). Of the independent factors, only creativity contributed for the variation of changes in neuroticism, ($Beta = 0.23, t = 1.76, df = 60, p < 0.05$). The higher the child scored in creativity before the treaty, the more his/her neuroticism decreased due to the peace treaty.

The regression model was non-significant for change in the pre-and post-treaty measurements of self-esteem. Only the Intifada activity contributed significantly to the variation of the change of self-esteem scores. Self-esteem increased due to the peace treaty more among children who had actively participated in the Intifada than among passive children.

To conclude, regression analyses confirmed that the level of traumatic experiences was still a powerful determinant of
children's neuroticism and self-esteem after the peace treaty. Even if participation in the flag rising festivities correlated with neuroticism and self-esteem, it was less powerful predictor of the child's well-being than the traumatic experiences. Of the personal resources, children's creativity was an important factors in explaining the changes in neuroticism: The more creative the child was, the more his/her neuroticism decreased due to the peace treaty. Also, activity during the Intifada increased children's self-esteem due to the treaty.

DISCUSSION

In this study we were curious to know whether peace treaty and the way children welcomed it would affect their psychological well-being. We studied this question among children who have personally suffered from political violence, but who also have participated in the struggle for national rights. We liked to understand how important personal resources, indicated by creativity and intelligence, and political issues, such as traumatic events, Intifada activity, and participating in flag rising festivities were in affecting children's well-being.

The results showed, indeed, that the peace treaty signed between Israel and PLO positively affected Palestinian children's well-being. This was indicated by decrease in their neuroticism due to the treaty. A more detailed analysis showed that there was a substantial decrease in neuroticism only among children who participated in the flag rising festivities. The result is quite
self-evident: the peace treaty has psychologically positive effect only if the child supports it and considers it just and agreeable.

The studied children were exposed to severe political violence, such as beatings, loss of their family members, and night raids upon their homes. We found during the Intifada, that these experiences increased children’s psychological suffering. It was therefore important to know if the peace treaty and participating the flag rising festivities were able to heal the negative impact of traumatic experiences on mental health.

According to our results, participating the flag rising festivities served a healing function between traumatic experiences and children’s well-being. Exposure to traumatic experiences increased neuroticism and decreased self-esteem only among children who refused participation. Whereas no relations were found between traumatic experiences and psychological well-being among children participating the flag rising festivities.

On the other hand, the follow-up results show the persistence of the negative effect of traumatic experiences on children’s well-being. Even if the peace treaty and participating flag rising festivities decreased children’s neuroticism, the traumatic experiences, as they were assessed two years earlier, were still related to a high level of neuroticism and low level of self-esteem after the peace treaty. The highest levels of neuroticism both before and after the treaty were found among children exposed to many traumatic experiences and refusing the flag rising festivities. The lowest levels of both pre- and post-treaty neuroticism was found among children exposed to few
traumatic experiences and participating the flag rising festivities.

The results of the negative impact of Intifada-related traumatic events on children's well-being two years afterwards are important for two reasons. First, we lack follow-up data on the mental health consequences of political violence. Second, we lack knowledge about the mental health needs of Palestinian children after the military occupation.

We hypothesized that decrease in neuroticism would indicate a ventilation function of participation in peace treaty festivities. Whereas increase in self-esteem due to the peace treaty and participation its festivities would indicate the positive effect on children's identity. The results advocate the idea of ventilation of feelings to be the 'healing' component of the peace treaty and festivities. Also children's own explanations for their participation in the flag rising festivities refer to the ventilation function.

Arguments supporting the peace treaty and participating the flag rising festivities were almost entirely emotional in their nature. Examples given: "I felt happy because army will go out." "I felt proud because of peace." "I felt that I get rid of the grief, because we will have a state of our own."

Whereas arguments opposing the peace treaty and refusing the participation the festivities were mainly grounded by cognitive and political terms. Examples given: "I refuse the treaty, because we need the whole Palestine." ,"We like peace', but we did not need necessary to make friendship with Rabin, our enemy." , I disagree with the treaty, because Jerusalem is still occupied."
The results showed that the most substantial decrease in neuroticism due to the peace treaty occurred among children who had been exposed to many traumatic events. One may assume that for the traumatized children, the peace treaty and its joyful well-coming played an immense ventilation function. It may further indicate their suffering had served a meaningful purpose. Whereas, for children exposed to few traumatic events, the peace treaty and participation in flag rising festivities may not have been personally as meaningful event.

We tested a model of personal resources, indicated by creativity and intelligence, and political issues, such as traumatic events, Intifada activity, and participating in flag rising festivities explaining the variation in neuroticism and self-esteem and in the changes of the scores. The results portrays children struggling between political ordeals and personal endurance: Traumatic experiences negatively affected children's well-being also after the peace treaty, but their creativity insisted maintaining the mental health and self-esteem intact.

An earlier study on Palestinian children (Punamäki & Suleiman, 1990) indicated that exposure to political violence may simultaneously increase both highly resilient responses, such as active coping, and responses indicating vulnerability, such as psychological symptoms. It accords with the stress models by Lazarus (1991) that state that as soon as stress occurs, human beings attempt to employ psychological counter forces to fight back the harm. In this follow-up sample, the role of creativity in fostering the decrease of neurotic symptoms due to peace.
treaty may refer to similar dynamics.

A study on Palestinian children also suggested that psychological processes, like appraisal and coping do not follow only intrapsychological rules, but also the rules of the military, political, and nationalistic atmosphere (Punamäki, 1988). The result of the present study substantiating the positive impact of peace treaty and participating the flag rising festivities on psychological well-being may be used to support that rule.

Furthermore, activity during the Intifada played a salutary effect on children's well-being, as indicated by self-esteem: It increased due to the peace treaty only among children who had actively participated in Intifada. Interesting enough, our study on children's responses before the peace treaty showed that active Intifada participation decreased self-esteem (Qouta et al., 1994). These results opposed other research showing that active participation increase self-esteem among Palestinian children (Baker, 1990) and rejected the idea that the Intifada activity functioned as a psychological healing process. We concluded that exposure to traumatic events increases children's active participation in national struggle, but that this activity did not save children from psychological suffering. Especially so when the traumas were overwhelming, as was the case during the last and very tragic months of the Intifada. The positive relation between Intifada activity and high self-esteem after the peace treaty indicates that historical and political changes, indeed, affect the psychological dynamics.
Research on the transaction between major political events and psychological processes is in its infancy. It is necessary to extend the research to depict the dynamics and context that are relevant in a special political situation. Our results indicate that both personal resources and political issues are important in predicting the well-being of children who have suffered from political violence. We have to remember, that traumatic experiences may still impair children's well-being even if peace arrives. But we should not forget, that creativity as a personal resource, and Intifada activity as a political resource played their healing effects.

REFERENCES


Table 1. Standardized regression coefficients and correlates of neuroticism and self-esteem on traumatic experiences, Intifada activity, intelligence, creativity, and participating flag rising.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variables</th>
<th>Neuroticism</th>
<th></th>
<th>Self-esteem</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After treaty</td>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>After treaty</td>
<td>Difference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traumatic experiences</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.34***</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.31**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intifada activity</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligence</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creativity</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.23*</td>
<td>.26*</td>
<td>.25*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flag rising</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.25*</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R^2</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F(4,61)</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>&lt;.002</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>&lt; .009</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001
Relation between Neuroticism and Trauma according to flag rising

Neuroticism scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Trauma</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flag Rising</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Flag Rising</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Relation between self-esteem and trauma according to flag rising

Self-esteem scores

- Flag Rising
- No Flag Rising

Amount of Trauma

Low

High

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

Self-esteem scores