

Music in contrast to military occupation:

On the significance of community music in occupied territory.

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Master thesis	[publication type]
Cult. Anthr. & Dev. S.	[Program]
Media and Mat. Cult.	[Specialization]
Leiden University	[Institution]
August 6, 2015	[Date of submission]

Thesis Abstract

This thesis dives into a question of relevance and connection between musical experience and geo-political conflict. Based on fieldwork with the Palestine Community Music Project in the West Bank, it concludes that the musical activities of Palestine Community Music are meaningful *in contrast* to the participants' lived experience of the Israeli occupation as a source of relief and an aid in the construction of hope. By choosing a field that does not fit the war-peace framework usually maintained in music and conflict studies, and by exploring the mechanisms behind the constitution of meaning and significance of the musical activities, this thesis ventures towards a more complete understanding of the construction of socio-political significance in music. In addition to the main conclusion of this thesis therefore, light is shed on the dependency of social relevance in music on sensitive dimensions of daily life, as well as on the experience-structuring embracing capacity of musical practices.

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Introduction

This thesis lies before you as the result of a three-month field research in 2014 with the Palestine Community Music project: a project run by the international non-governmental organization (NGO) Musicians without Borders in collaboration with the Palestinian NGO Holy Land Trust which operates mostly in the Bethlehem region in the West Bank. Located between Israel and Jordan, the geopolitics of the West Bank are nothing if not complicated, and its history of war, uprising and military occupation and lack of governmental capacities created fertile ground for a myriad of NGOs offering humanitarian services of all kinds. The Palestine Community Music project organizes five music programs which take place mostly in and around the Bethlehem Area, inspired by its belief in the capacity of music to contribute to the betterment of social reality in conflict areas. Musicians without Border is not unique in its focus on music projects in conflict areas; the use of music as a means to overcome political conflict is becoming more and more popular, and is exemplified by organisations such as *MasterPeace*, *the Voice Project*, *Playing for Change* and *Music for Global Peace*.¹

When I first came across the organization Musicians without Borders in 2011, the idea of supporting the resolution of war by means of music was new and intriguing to me. The idea of using something aesthetic as an antidote for something as terrifying as organized violence appealed to me, but has an idealistic taste to it. How can a music project be meaningful in relation to conflict, let alone such a polarized, accreted situation such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? After the first contact was made, I was invited to visit the project in Palestine, which would commence my exploration of the realities of military occupation and community music, both of which had been unknown to me before.

Tensions in what has been known as the Holy Land, Palestine and Israel, took over a century to grow to their current state, as the first Zionist foreigners started to move in during the reign of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century (Caplan, 2011). The withdrawal of British rule and the proclamation of the state of Israel, and subsequently the first Israeli-Arab war in 1948 (won by Israel - this event is called the 'Naqba' – the catastrophe – by Palestinians because of the massacres that took place in its wake) became a cornerstone to all understandings of this conflict. Two other moments that contributed in their own ways to the current entrenchment of the Holy Land are the agreements with the United Nations in 1967 and the early 1990s, which ended a war and the first uprising ('Intifada') respectively and brought forth the Palestinian Authorities and the 'Green Line' (a land-division between Israel and the Palestinians). These moments in history have left a legacy of a troublesome 'peace' process, a second intifada, and the current so-called 'status-quo' of Israel with the Palestinian people. Violence continues as disputes over land access and human rights accumulate without resolution after decades of violent clashes, sieges, terrorism, military raids and bombardments. What might a music project achieve where local and international diplomacy and NGO support cannot prevent the situation from deteriorating? With this question as focus, and the

¹ MasterPeace works from the Netherlands; the other three organizations are each based New York, California and Hawai'i (United States of America) respectively. The first three support musical project for local causes around the world, while Music for Worldwide Peace supports the production of songs and the organization of prayers in the support of world peace (MasterPeace website, The Voice Project website, Playing for Change website and Music for Global Peace website).

Palestinian areas of the West Bank – mostly those of Bethlehem and environment – as my field, this thesis is about the people who work and participate with the musical activities of the Palestine Community Music project of Musicians without Borders and what their participation means for them in relation to this conflict. Beyond academia, the insights of this thesis will be relevant for people, organizations and projects that seek to use music in a way which is constructive and sensitive to local circumstances. Due to the sedimentation of polarization in Palestine/Israel, the choice of field contributes on a grassroots level to thoughts about conflict and its resolution.

Field research

The music project *Palestine Community Music* works with adults and children in refugee camps, and other places which are considered to suffer most from the conflict.² To determine the contribution this project makes to the betterment of the conflict situation, I focus this thesis on the perception of those who are directly involved. In the research question I use the word “participants” for everyone involved in the Palestine Community Music project: the employees, trainees, workshop leaders, trainers, facilitators and other participants. I use the term “their musical activities” to refer to their musical involvement with Palestine Community Music. To the geo-political situation in the Bethlehem area I will refer as ‘the (Israeli) occupation’ in the following chapters; as this requires some elaboration (see chapter 2) in this introduction I here refer to ‘the Israeli-Palestinian conflict’.

The field and the focus mentioned above combined with these considerations resulted in the following research question:

How do participants construct the meaning of their musical activities in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

In order to answer this research question I employed the following sub-questions:

1. *What are the backgrounds of those participating with the Musicians without Borders activities?*
2. *What forms of music-making take place as part of Musicians without Borders?*
3. *In what ways is geopolitical conflict present in the participants’ daily lives?*
4. *What does their involvement with Musicians without Borders mean to the participants?*

The methodology used for answering these questions is addressed in the introductions of each chapter in this thesis, and an overview of the methods and the data they generated is given in the first appendix.

Entering the field

As suggested by Fabian (1971), my social positioning in the field gave me access to data that would otherwise not have been accessible, and is therefore relevant to share. This thesis and the field research that preceded it were part of my academic master in Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology in Leiden. The program involved three months preparation, three months of field research followed by the writing process. My previous contact with Musicians without Borders and my one-month visit to their project in Palestine in 2011 was a tremendous help in preparing my field research, as it gave me a first impression to inform the research proposal. The Project Manager (who is Dutch, which facilitated our contact) arranged my housing and was my primary contact in the field. As an internee – taking on an ‘activist character’ in the field, in Marcus’ phrasing (1995:113-

² One might argue that this is a ‘multi-site ethnographic research’, although on relatively small scale, in which I “followed” the musical activities and people of Palestine Community Music (Marcus, 1995)

114) - I could accompany her in the execution of the project programs, offer practical help and do my research. Her support was invaluable, as she had a great network and is greatly admired for her kindness and hard work. Her colleague commented on this: "Since I know her, even before I started cooperating with her, she was very active in teaching music [...] I used to see her carrying her cello all the time in the refugee camps and the city, working here and there with people. And many people, they just adore her, they are happy when they meet with her. [...] She works a lot. This person has her respect by the Palestinian people, they respect her a lot. And they perceive her all the time in a friendly way, and they consider her as a friend and part of their family. Because she also treats Palestinians with an open heart, and she has this kind of compassion towards them and openness with them. [...] Many times in our culture in Palestine, [doing something for] 70-80 percent is good - no for her it needs to be 100 percent then it's good. Also this gives more credit and credibility for her work. [...] So since we met her, she was [...] famous in the street" (int-E-8, M, 42:00-44:44)³. Her support of my research earned me not only the contacts but also the goodwill and trust required to do this research.

Ethical practice of field research generally involves honouring the hospitality of the state hosting the research, in my case by first getting an official research- or internship permit. The Palestinian Authorities did not require a special permit for any kind of internship taking place in their legislature, and as that was where my research would take place this was my primary concern. The Israeli government however, who controls the borders I needed to pass in order to reach Bethlehem and military controls and affects the entire West Bank, could refuse entry or give out visas for only a few days or weeks if they suspected a foreigner of intending to stay in Palestinian territory or to work with Palestinians. Considering the chances of Israeli hospitality for this research, I decided to apply for a regular tourist visa with Israel, giving the border control only information about my intention to visit friends in Jerusalem and that I could not tell them when I would leave again. Although the Israeli border control was not pleased that I did not put an end date to my stay, I was given the tourist visa for three months – enough for my field research. Although I did not feel that my presence and choices harmed or even affected Israel in any way, the Israeli state will probably perceive it so: giving incomplete or wrong information at the border is considered a violation.

Language

Although one of my interviewees shared my native language (Dutch), most of the interviews needed to be done in a foreign language. Some could be done in English without interpreter, but for the majority I needed an Arabic interpreter. I employed two people for this. One was an English Studies graduate who had no previous interpreting experience. She turned out to be invaluable as an interpreter; she interpreted most the interviews, participated actively in reflection sessions and became wonderfully attuned to my needs and wishes as a researcher. The other interpreted was a professional; he relieved my other interpreter with a few of the male interviewees and when my other interpreter was busy. In addition he translated the leaflets that would inform people of my research⁴ and my questionnaire. When translating, of course my interpreters spoke in third person

³ References to interviews first cite the code of the interviewee (the material is all anonymous), then the title of that particular interview, and then the time within the recording of that interview from which the quotation is transcribed. See the Appendix for a full overview and explanation of the data.

⁴ This leaflet stated that I was doing research for my studies, informed the reader of the topics of the interviews and my contact information, and assured anonymity. Although few interviewees were actually concerned with

about what my interviewees had said; for the sake of clarity and trusting the correctness of the interpretation, I cite the interviews in first person (i.e. “she doesn’t know” has been transcribed as “I don’t know” when “she” was the interviewee). The language barrier forms a challenge when it comes to language-sensitivity in the construction of meaning, as highlighted by Fabian (1971): although some terms return consistently enough in their English translation to form a theme and be included and examined as a socio-culturally informed parts of perception, I only use and examine original Arabic (emic) concepts in the fifth chapter.

Researching conflict

Each social ‘field’ for research poses its unique challenges. In many respects I was well off, with a rented apartment, access to the internet, Palestinian friends who cared for me as well as fellow internationals to talk to. I could quickly find my way independently, and safety was such that I felt safe enough in the street at night as a woman alone; the Israeli soldiers do not target foreigners as they do Palestinians, and criminality was quite low. My greatest challenge doing research in the Bethlehem area, beyond the challenges of solitary research in itself, was dealing with the depressing nature of the situation there. It meant dealing with the stories, the indignation and struggles of friends and strangers. In order to answer my research question, I needed to know more about how the conflict was present in my informants’ lives. There was no way however that I, as a stranger and student, could ethically ask them to discuss those things which were too painful for them, so I devised an interview which would give them the space to avoid such subjects. The interviews remained difficult nonetheless, and more often than not my insides twisted for asking people to spend any length of time discussing such difficult experiences.

The writing process afterwards posed another emotional challenge. “For the Arabs [...] and for the Israelis, Palestine and Israel are highly charged emotional entities”, Hage writes in his essay (2009:66). When immersing myself into the material of the conflict during my writing process, this involved its emotional implications as well. It was during the first two months of my writing process in 2014 that a few Israelis disappeared in the West Bank, and my social media started to fill up with pictures, stories, fear and anger as the Israeli Defence Forces violently upturned home after home - especially in the refugee camps. I worried for my friends, and could not contain my anger when hearing about the first rocket being fired on behalf of Palestinians; I predicted Israel would use it as an excuse to step up their efforts, and indeed shortly after that the bombing of Gaza started. The newsfeed of my Facebook account now filled up with death and destruction: videos of children killed while playing, of young aid worker seeing their colleague being shot, then killed while he was on the ground; pictures from the hospitals where doctors were getting neither new materials nor sleep as people were brought in filled with shrapnel, burned, shot, missing limbs. Although my emotions were different from those of Hage (2009) – who had had an even more painful fieldwork experience with Israeli violence and for whom this fuelled hate - it took great effort to negotiate my emotional self and my relationship with both nations.

Thesis Outline

The five chapters following this introduction will serve to substantiate the following thesis:

The musical activities of Palestine Community Music are meaningful *in contrast* to the participants’ lived experience of the Israeli occupation as a source of relief and an aid in the construction of hope.

their anonymity, keeping all data anonymous was both the most practical and ethical choice for this research. The coding of the data is explained in the first appendix.

The first three chapters of this thesis will offer the context needed to substantiate the analysis in the other three chapters: chapter one will offer academic context to the study of music in relation to conflict and a theoretical framework for understanding music in general; the second chapter will address my informants' lived experiences of the conflict in its local context ; and chapter three will address the nature of the musical activities and the organizational context of the Palestine Community Music project. From experience I decided that an elaborate discussion of the latter two is necessary as the (political) circumstances and (musical) content of Palestine Community Music are unfamiliar to many audiences; as these chapters do not offer an argument in this thesis they may be considered references to be consulted when reading the chapter that do build up the argument of this thesis. The substantiation of the contrasting relationships happens in two chapters that are deliberately empirical in nature: they draw mostly on the interview data to demonstrate how the musical activities are meaningful as a source of relief in contrasting relation to the conflict (chapter four) as well as a supporting the construction of hope in contrast relation to the conflict (chapter five). The last chapter returns to theory in order to tentatively propose a reading of this data that further explains the construction of these contrasting relationships.

Chapter 1: Musical experience and conflict in theory

This thesis is addressing the phenomenon of music-signification: the construction of meaning in music, and more specifically in relation to conflict. This phenomenon is not a straightforward one to analyse, as there are many kinds of musical activities possible – even within categories such as in-ear listening, recitals, music lessons, dance occasions, background music or improvisation there may be a wide range of different occasions and activities, each informing the signification process differently. Still more variety in signification comes in when considering that different people may signify one kind of musical activity differently due to their different cultured understandings of that activity, or through other influences on disposition such as a person's mood. Moreover, the signification process seems to draw on a full range of subjective experiences rather than a single signification mechanism. Literature addressing the potentials of music in general and in conflict situations specifically account for or imply our human ability to both interpret music to model subjective states and bring it into action through embodied appropriation, thus presenting music as a source for agency and empowerment (Grant et al. 2010, DeNora 2004, Kartomi 2010, O'Connell and El-Shawan Castelo Branco 2010, Pettan 2008). Its ergonomic potential to inform subjective states as well as its fleeting nature, which makes it easier to control than more material aspects of our environment, gives music a capacitating quality – and it is through this quality that music can be used to transform the construction and lived experience of social reality, writers like Pettan (2008) and Kartomi (2010) propose. Aforementioned scholars strongly suggest that it is in our subjective experience of music that it may become meaningful in relation to conflict. The common ways of talking about both music and subjective experience quite mystify the understandings of signification for either of them. In English we commonly speak of how 'music' *makes* us feel, but the assertion that music is an independent object - let alone an active agent - is by no means unproblematic. Our common way of speaking of subjective experience similarly leaves us none the wiser: terms like feeling, emotion, affect, mood and state of mind are normally used intuitively in a way that makes definitions and distinctions subject of debate.

In this chapter I wish to lay the theoretical groundwork with which I mean to understand music and experience in general in this thesis. In doing so, I will mostly draw on theoretical tools from DeNora's book *Music in Everyday Life* (2004) and Berger's book *Stance* (2009). DeNora's work pays elaborate attention to empirical substantiation of her theory, drawing on her own anthropological fieldwork and on sociological vocabulary to inform her own approach. Berger's work on the other hand is denser in theoretical tools, which he takes - together with the vocabulary – from phenomenology, anthropology and practice theory. Although their vocabulary and foci are different, their understanding of music and experience runs strikingly parallel. On the matter of affect and emotion, theory is elaborated and debated beyond the concerns of this thesis; as my discussion of experience will not be limited to any specific domain of subjective experience, I will avoid problems in definition and understanding by referring to the experiences of my interviewees and myself without classifying them. The concepts used will mostly stay on the level of abstraction of *lived experience* and *subjective state*; when needed, the experience will be specified in the terms used by my informants (e.g. happy, comfortable, depressed).

What follows, are those parts of the theoretical understanding of experience and musical experience that I borrow from DeNora(2004) and Berger(2009) and will use throughout this thesis, and those that form the groundwork for these theoretical tools. Most of these need to be considered

in parallel; the order of discussion is not meant to prioritize one over the other. The concepts drawn from Berger's work are in his book explained using a larger amount of conceptual tools than this thesis required. For the sake of clarity, a graphic and textual explanation using the most relevant of his concepts – with a few phrases of my own for conciseness – can be found in the second appendix. This chapter will attempt clarity using only those concepts that will be used further throughout this thesis. After having laid this theoretical groundwork, I will draw the academic context of music in conflict situations and address the academic relevance of this thesis.

Before moving into the actual theory however, there is a need to address a risk in using this theoretical framework. The data that will be presented in following chapters demonstrates a great many dimensions of my interviewees' lived experiences of the occupation, as well as the experiences that are part and parcel of the significance of the musical activities in question. With this data a relationship is substantiated and the meaning of these musical activities in relation to the occupation is accounted for. However, thorough observations on the processes by which the significance of the musical activities in relation to the occupation are constructed (as is done in the field of phenomenology) requires a level of awareness of (musical and lived) experience that is challenging to achieve and which I will not presume to possess. Despite the richness of the empirical data at my disposal, the data itself lacks the experiential detail necessary to completely remove the risk of academic 'fantasy' in my theoretical reconstruction of these mechanisms. However, by attending to these mechanisms none the less, some dynamic elements of meaning and experience in the musical activities (which are essential in understanding the meaning of the musical activities) become accessible for discussion.

With various theoretical concepts to introduce – the last building on all the preceding - this chapter is highly dense in theory, and can be used as a reference for theory to turn to throughout this thesis.

Musical practice

Before addressing the mechanisms of constituting musical experience, it is important to address our understanding of music in general. Upon investigation, it turns out that no music exists without a human being doing something – making it, perceiving it, consuming it. Richard Small (1998:17) is often cited for his contribution to music theory by coining the term *musicking*, which conceptualizes music as something people *do*. Henk-Jan Honing (2014:27-62), from the perspective of cognitive sciences, relays the accumulated proof that music does not exist without the mind of the beholder: it is in our *perception* that sound becomes music. DeNora follows this idea in criticizing previous scholars for ascribing non-musical qualities to a composition ('the work itself') instead of to their own active perception and proposes an 'affordist understanding' of music instead (2004:38-45). She argues that the experience and meaning of music does not come about as a direct result from external input – instead, music can afford a certain range of experiences. To illustrate, a sad song does not automatically make one sad, in the same way that a chair cannot make a person sit. The object or musical material offers the possibility of a certain practice (sitting on a chair or feeling sad with a sad song), but might also be used for something else or might not be used at all: the subjective experience is actively achieved on the part of the subject. Berger complements these positions by exploring music as social practice: the socially and culturally constituted practices of creating and perceiving music – or, as he also describes it, the social practice of bringing music into experience

(2009:38)⁵. DeNora likewise (in later work) proposes “a paradigm that understands music and musical activity as embodied social practice” (2013:24). This means that our cognitive efforts bring the sounds we hear – and to some extent the images and other sensory input we perceive with it – into experience as music is socially and culturally informed.

Constituting experience

Berger (2009) describes various ways in which anything⁶ may be brought into experience. For musical experience he emphasizes that in a ‘pre-reflexive’ moment of cognition, people (a.o.) recognize that which we experience as (related to) a *subject* – an entity that has experience like we ourselves do. Especially in art works and performances, we are often culturally informed to ‘see’ the work or performance ‘as’ (2009:93) a product of one or more kinds of subjects: composers, acrobats, shamans, photographers, or even non-human subjects such as deities. Depending on cultural background, different features of an art work or performance may be accredited to different subjects: maybe most of a singing performance is accredited to divine intervention and only the voice timbre to the singer, or maybe a musical performance is considered a collaboration of musicians, sound technicians and producer’s staff (following Berger 2009:98). Also the abovementioned common conception of music as a semi-independent object - e.g. a song, composition or traditional improvisation scheme existing seemingly independent from individual experience and pre-existing any new rendering - are part of the culturally informed, ‘pre-reflexive constitution’ of musical experience, provided that the perceiver is cultured with the capacity for this recognition⁷. Other noteworthy mechanisms discussed by Berger that are detailed further in the second appendix include mechanisms which put elements of experience in more coherent units of time and space: for constituting the overall experience of a festival visit for example, one might disregard experiences that took place before or after the visit and try to background anything taking place outside the festival grounds (2009:70-76).

DeNora cites Moores’ use of the term “inter-discursive” when she argues that a significant part of the constitution of meaning in music involves context. Berger explains how elements of our experience – both musical and non-musical - are brought into experience *together*, and together inform our experience and understanding of each separate element (2004:27; see also Berger on *context*, 2009:120-121). Dibben’s argument for “a culturally informed approach to research in music perception” (2012:352) resonates with this view, as she proposes that (musical) sounds and materials are not only integrated into compositions or other larger units of music through associative links, but associative links with non-musical elements based on historical contexts of use strongly informs (music) listening and signification practices as well. Integration of musical elements of experience with non-musical elements (including historically informed associative links such as Dibben addresses, but also with the event and environment as well as body movement, personal memories and more) is not a simple matter of adding up elements; it takes going back and forth reflexively and possibly prioritizing some over others. DeNora emphasizes the importance of what I call integration for the way we bring music into our experience: “musical affect is contingent upon the circumstances of music’s appropriation; it is, as I wish to argue, the product of ‘human–music interaction’, by which

⁵ Practice theory is best known by the work of Bourdieu, who theorized that culture informs social practices rather than static structures and rules of behaviour (Barnard and Spencer, 2010:459).

⁶ ‘Anything’ in its broadest sense, ranging from tangible objects to intangibles like rules or a headache.

⁷ As addressed before, I do not utilize terms like ‘mood’, ‘affect’ or ‘emotion’ in any particularly defined sense; I treat them as intuitive categories of subjectively embodied impressions.

I mean that musical affect is constituted reflexively, in and through the practice of articulating or connecting music with other things”(2004:33). In the case of an indoor concert for example, the concert hall, audience, the dresses of the performers, the programme information and so many more elements involved in a concert are taken into experience together with the music, and all these elements affect the experience of each element separately. I propose that the choices of integration are closely connected to abovementioned grouping of experiences in units of time and space (see ‘event’ and ‘integrative domain’ in the second appendix): units of time and space may determine which elements of experience are closely related and which are not.

Berger (2009:62-70) speaks of the “expansive nature of meaning” in music. By this he refers to the way a holistic associative field may be inspired which expands upon itself in the progression of experience. For example, ‘wearing a concert dress’ is not only seen as a special dress, understood in relation to the on-going concert event (the stage, audience, other performers, the musical phrase currently performed as well as the programming, etcetera); wearing the dress can simultaneously be expanded to a bodily composure associated with it, as well as memories attached to wearing the dress, the unpractical feel of the dress or rather a sense of glamour. These elements of experience brought in by association can draw further associations – maybe the bodily composure inspired by the dress in combination with the performance in turn inspires a sense of professionalism that in turn can inspire further expansions.

Latching

This term is coined by DeNora (2004), and used for the process of locating (musical) material as a resource. She argues that a person is always looking to employ the environment to create a coherent experience: “to locate resources with or against which to ‘gather oneself’ into some kind of organized and stable state [...] [to] situate oneself, bodily, with an ergonomic environment” (2004:85). Locating such resources for attaining ‘embodied security’, that coherent experience of self and environment, she describes as a process of *latching*: a process of finding “some kind of synchronous connection with an environment” and appropriating it (2004:85). She illustrates this with the way an infant – through trial and error – learns to latch on to a nipple when hungry – the infant creates a ‘synchronous connection’ between the nipple and its own bodily experience. In a similar way, she argues, people can latch on to elements of the (auditory) environment, making a synchronous connection with their embodied experience – for example to steady the pace of their movement and the manner of their commitment during physical exercises (2004:89-102). DeNora thus understands music practices “as an organizing device, one that is implicated in state transformation” (2004:87). I understand the process of latching as described by DeNora as a mechanism that is part of the expansive nature of meaning such as described above. The expansion of meaning in experience happens by connection and association, and the mechanism of *latching* is expanding the meaning of a phenomenon in the direction of achieving a certain *purpose*. For example, the performer wearing a concert dress (which I used for illustration above) may be struggling with the uncomfortable feel of the fabric, and in order to make herself more comfortable, she might *direct* the expansion of the meaning of wearing that dress by latching on to the looks of the dress in order to experience ‘wearing a concert dress’ as glamorous, and to background her discomfort.

Stance

Berger (2009) coins this term to describe the way in which we bring something into experience – not in terms of the mechanisms used, but in terms of the quality of the act: experiencing something *with enjoyment, with care*, etcetera. I may listen to a song *attentively* (to judge the singer’s skill perhaps); I may latch on to the beat of the music during my aerobics class *with difficulty*, or I may wear my concert dress *with pride*.⁸ Berger argues that although stance is the quality of subjective experience and not of performance, traces of a performer’s stance on her own performance may become apparent to an audience that possesses the capacity to identify them. As mentioned before, Berger argues that our pre-reflexive constitution of the other individual and his or her performance makes us presume that the performer has subjective experience, and therefore has a stance on that which (s)he brings into experience. We base our identification and interpretation of another person’s stance - for example the stance of the performer on wearing her concert dress - on vast knowledge of and experience with human behaviour and capacity, which is in culturally informed but also based on basic knowledge of the human body. Observers may be misled or mistaken in their interpretation of traces of stance.⁹

Concerted experience

This final concept builds forth on the preceding theory and is elemental for my understanding of the activities of the Palestine Community Music project, and it is inspired by an essay by Harker (2005) which discusses children’s play. In his essay, Harker raises the issue of his struggle of a particular quality of play which he notes is hard to describe in words: “something elusive, embodied at both a physical and emotional level” (2005:13). “I wish to address the challenge of finding ways of talking about the playing performance (or ‘action’) that my research diary cannot represent [...] I think this is important, because it is *precisely these aspects that many people value in their playing experiences*” (2005:20-21, my emphasis). Harker brings in an example from his field research at a primary school in which a young boy playfully hits two classmates: “The subtlety of this gesture – the way in which he hit them only so hard – was not something I cognitively recognized, but rather ‘felt’” (2005:22-23). Harker argues that an important experiential dimension of play is not located in the playing subject or any particular entities (what he calls ‘bodies’) involved, but exists in between and independently from them: “affect can be thought of as flowing between bodies and is thus intersubjective, or better still a-subjective, since it ‘escapes’ actually existing structure things. We have probably all at some stage experienced the rather cliché ‘wave of fear’ or ‘mummer of delight’ when in a crowd situation, which are both ‘the capture and closure’ or the result of a particular affect or intensity” (2005:23).

⁸ Berger makes a distinction between three kinds of stance based on people’s perception of a music composition: *compositional stance* (a person’s stance on a thing he/she is inventing), *performative stance* (a person’s stance on a thing he or she is/will be performing) and *audience stance* (a person’s stance upon something he or she consumes). ‘Music composition here may be considered a ‘recipe’ for musical practice (following Honing 2014:39) which is understood as pre-existing the performance, and distinguishable therein (Berger, 2009:28-29, 97).

⁹ Or, alternatively, different observers may each have read a different stance of a performer on the same performance by paying attention to different elements of the performance – in Berger’s terms they would all have been paying attention to different *facet-stances* that are part of the overall stance (e.g. the performer’s overall stance on wearing her concert dress was proud, yet her facet stance on this when having to take the small stairs on stage was careful, and in retrospect satisfied). Berger also speaks of *meta-stance*: the stance the perceiver has on the (traces of) another person’s stance. For example, an audience member may notice with amusement the pride with which the performer wears her (terribly unpractical) dress.

During field research I faced the same challenge of bringing into words the experience of participating in the musical activities during my empirical research: a significant part of this experience seemed shared and substantiated between us participants, and was of a subtle and changing quality that is hard to specify in words. What is more, words don't seem to do the experience justice: *knowing* about a certain shared experience that took place with a certain quality is simply not the same as experiencing it. In the chapter four, I describe a particular situation embedded in the musical activity participated with in which I face the same challenge of capturing that part of the experience which I felt to be shared within the group (pp. 44 in this thesis). Although I made my account as detailed as I could, I failed to convey – really- the quality of that special moment and how I perceived that quality as something 'in the air': something filling the room for all of us to perceive. I will return to Berger (2009) for analytical tools to understand this phenomenon.

Berger raises the subject of shared experience when he discusses *stance* as a tool for social coordination: he argues that in any interactive practices – but in expressive cultural practices especially so - “mutual attention to each other’s stances is the key factor” of completing this practice successfully (2009:101). Although moments of coordination and mutual understanding¹⁰ do not necessarily involve the kind of ‘in the air’ shared experience that I wish to address, the mechanisms he describes do contribute to understanding it. Attention for another person’s performance (the sound and embodied presence) and their stance on that which is being performed do not simply allow for the practical coordination of musical interaction (e.g. to keep in time) but also to *attend* to “*the ongoing maintenance of each other’s stances*” (2009:101, my emphasis). Following this line of thought, we could say that each participant in a musical practice is complicit, not just in the creation of the concerted performance, but also in the creation of a concerted *quality* (stance) with which each participant brings the performance into experience. As a participant of a musical practice in which I bring other participating subjects into my experience (e.g. taking part in a band rehearsal), both my stance upon what each of us is performing and my meta-stance upon the stances I identify with my fellow participants leave traces in my own performance that can in turn be read by my fellow participants. Berger describes how the performance, stance and meta-stance which person A identifies with person B may inspire person A to change their own performance, stance and/or meta-stance (2009:96). Following DeNora one might say that a person can latch on not only to script and performance features of the musical practice, but also to the stances and meta-stances identified with all participants involved as *resources for concerted experience*. As these are already of a dynamic nature, in accordance with the dynamic nature of their performance, the result is an intensely concerted coordination of stances which can be observed by anyone present who is bringing the whole integrative domain and event - involving all implicated subjects - into their experience. This of course requires the perceiver to have similar cultural and practice-based knowledge as the other participants present, which (s)he needs to identify those elements of the performance which are more or less pre-existing, those that are the ‘work’ of the performers and those that are traces of stance upon any of these elements (Berger 2009:88).

¹⁰ On the subject of to what extent one person can ‘know’ of another’s subjectivity and stance, Berger argues that bringing another person and his/her stance into experience happens along the same processes as we bring ourselves into experience. The resources of bringing your own person or another person into experience are, of course, different: only I have access to my thoughts and can them into experience. Yet how often did I discover my own embodied tension only after another person pointed out the frown on my face? Others, similarly, have access to impressions which they can bring into experience as a resource to know me; impressions to which I myself may not have access. Berger argues that bringing a person into experience, be it yourself or another, is *always* partial and always mediated (2009:ch 3 49-51/92).

I propose that the closer the participants engage in this concerted coordination, the easier the dynamics of this coordination can be identified in their performance and stances, which in turn facilitates that coordination. In the performance as a whole, the *dynamics* in the traces of stances and meta-stances of all participants can become identifiable, and can be brought into experience as something located in between the participants – something independent of each separate person experiencing it. When a complete group thus takes part in concerted experience, each member partaking in the stance dynamics of their musical practice, it might well be felt or ‘seen as’ something ‘in the air’. Note that the way in which these dynamics are brought into experience may involve all the above processes, from *integration* to *latching* and – again – *stance*, which in turn contributes to the very dynamics taken into experience. With which the circle – or infinity symbol,¹¹ if you will – is complete.

In addition to my use of Berger’s theoretical tools to understand this dimension of the musical experience, I would like to return to the challenge pointed out by Harker (2005:13). Concerted experience is a comprehensive and multilayered experience, yet it also a single unit of experience for any one experiencing it: it’s not an agglomerate of clearly distinguishable elements, although a few foregrounded elements may be distinctly identifiable (e.g. that particular glance we exchanged). Such elements however are only the tip of the metaphorical iceberg. It is hard to do concerted experience justice in language as a single thing. I see it as singular in the same way that I see the sea as one thing; although there is a vague sense of quantity¹², identifiable parts¹³, and dynamic nature¹⁴, the elements are experienced as one whole.

Music and conflict

This thesis specifically looks into the signification of musical experience in relation to geopolitical conflict. Drawing on such an elaborate treatise on the mechanisms behind (musical) experience is a great addition to existing work on music and conflict. Finnegan (2012:353-363) describes how attention to experience in the study of music is a relatively recent trend in music studies, and one that has started to overcome traditionally hierarchical ways of thinking about music and mind, soul, body and the within Anthropology notorious notion of Culture with a capital ‘C’. She describes how one of the directions academia has moved to do so, is that of focussing on the area of tension and negotiation between “cultural pressures” and “individual agency” (2012:361) by understanding the social environment as offering a range of possibilities rather than being a determinant factor. This thesis, too, can be aligned with this trend as it focuses on individual experiences, and the way these actively and dialectically draw on (political) circumstances and (culturally conditioned) opportunities. Some of the most noteworthy scholarship on music in conflict specifically is provided by O’Connell and Castello Branco (2010): their book includes a wide variety of ethnomusicological studies on conflict, each demonstrating cases where a music practice was meaningful in relation to a particular conflict situation. They give special attention to musical practices that are latched onto for particular ‘ways of being in conflict’, where musical materials are integrated to symbolize, imagine and frame social positions and behaviours of discord specific to that culture and situation (e.g. a war dance or military band performance). In a similar way, they show musical practices that support the resolution

¹¹ ∞

¹² E.g. the amount of sea surface versus the intensity of concerted stance-trace dynamics

¹³ E.g. waves versus a meaningful exchange of glances; areas of depth versus moments of intensified concentration

¹⁴ E.g. colour, form and movement versus script, performance, stances and meta-stances

of discord with musical materials integrated to symbolize, re-imagine and reframe social positions and behaviours of common purpose, mutual respect and cooperation (for example, in a cross-cultural orchestra (2010:4-5, their examples). This shows that ethnomusicological studies are notably productive in locating and analysing cultural narratives, styles and power relations specific to situations of conflict or revolution situation. Writers like Pettan (2008) further show that an ethnomusicologist can affect the creation and transformation of musical practices in a way that enables new creativity in conflict transformation by making (locally meaningful) musical materials and technologies available.

Not many ethnomusicological accounts of conflicts and/or their resolutions however inquire *how* the musical practice becomes meaningful in experience; how did these music practices come to signify 'just another song', how are they politicized? A protest song will not get picked up by the masses if it does not speak to their lived experience, and the same can be said of any other cultural production: in order for a sounded cultural production to become musical practice, it has to be *made* that by active signification in experience. Grant et al. similarly observed that, case studies of music contributing to conflict resolution notwithstanding, "a common criticism passed on the implementation of music therapy approaches in conflict transformation is the lack of substantial and systematic research to account for its effectiveness and sustainable outcome" (2010:192). What makes people take certain musical practices seriously as transformative, socially-focussed tools, while ignoring other musical practices in their efforts in relation to larger-scale discord? These are large questions, and this thesis will make but a humble contribution to understanding the societal significance of musical practices in conflict situations.

This thesis also adds to the literature on music and conflict by the choice of field with the Palestine Community Music project. Many cases of music and conflict studies can be fit within the framework of either 'music for conflict' (music which advances or structures the continuation of discord) or 'music for peace' (diminishing the continuation of discord and structuring alternative (power) relations). A noteworthy example of this is the rich and insightful work of McDonald (2009) who takes an ethnomusicological approach to the experience and significance of violence in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Studies like his offer significant depth to the themes of war and peace, but do not consider musical practices like those of the Palestine Community Music project, which does not fit the war-peace continuum. The relationship between the diverse musical practices of this project and the Israeli occupation does not neatly fit either conflict-advancement or conflict-resolution. It should be considered that as political discord increasingly affects (and possibly politicizes) daily life, a greater diversity of societal purposes arises beyond those of achieving 'peace' or furthering 'conflict'. Especially in situations such as in Palestine/Israel, where political and personal grief has aggregated generation after generation and continues to do so day after day, the conflict and (on the part of Palestinians) the military occupation often have to be dealt with for different reasons than those of advancement or resolution. Palestine Community Music does not shape the general purpose of 'betterment of social reality in conflict' (or in this case under occupation) into the purpose of advancing the discord and violence, which is in plentiful presence already, but does not counteract it necessarily either. Instead it aims to remedy some of the 'symptoms' of the geopolitical conflict that are most real in the daily lives of my Palestinians interviewees – at least as real as clashes with Israelis are, and definitely more real than 'resolution'.

Chapter 2: Experiences of Occupation

“The occupation here is just like.. putting you under curfew, surrounding you from all the sides here. You can’t move, you can’t mobilize, you can’t plan for the future”

~Studio manager, occ, 8:40-57

In the last week of my field research, the field coordinator inquired how I was planning to refer to the geopolitical situation in his country. In my research question, I use the term ‘conflict’, as this would be suitable for linking the situation to academic theory. However, during my interviews I quickly switched from the term ‘conflict’ to the term ‘occupation’, which adheres more to the local experience. The word ‘conflict’ is felt to assume that there are equal parties, and (I am reminded by the Field Coordinator) is therefore deemed a misconception. In order to understand how the musical activities of Musicians without Borders are meaningful in relation to the geopolitical situation in which they take place, this chapter seeks to contextualize my interviewees’ lived experiences resulting from Israeli military occupation. In order to make the sensitive material of lived experience of military occupation accessible, I prepared unstructured interviews about everyday life under occupation, in which the informant had the freedom to bring up those experiences that were safe and felt important to discuss. To open up the interviews I asked interviewees to think of, and preferably bring along, something that to them represents how the Israeli occupation is part of their lives. The interviews were lengthy and touched upon an enormous variety of topics, all in relation to the Israeli occupation. Fourteen of these unstructured interviews and one semi-structured follow-up interview resulted in the data that is presented partly in this chapter, partly in the analysis of the following chapters. In order to connect my own observations to my interviewees’ experiences, I mapped one place that was mentioned multiple times in the interviews and which I visited frequently myself: the ‘gate with the key’ in Aida refugee camp. I address this site when discussing the refugee camps in the Bethlehem Area.

A Geography of Suffering

Whenever I was on the road in the West Bank, I took in the landscape. My eyes saw shags and palaces, agriculture, rocky hills and amazing sunsets. Sometimes I passed a checkpoint: a young soldier would wave me through, regularly even without checking my passport and visa. The colour of my hair and skin told them enough: *not an Arab*. I had an apartment next to a busy road in the Bethlehem Area – one of the island-shaped areas in which the Palestinian Authorities are granted civilian and military control. My visitors admired the view from my apartment: no Israeli settlements, security fences and walls to be seen – though there were some close by, just out of sight. The only sign of the occupation visible from my balcony was a small military base, located right next to the local amusement park. When walking streets, even near borders or in refugee camps, I did not experience much of the Israeli occupation; most of places appeared before my eyes as the arenas of ‘business as usual’. For my informants however, many places are inscribed with the stories of their fear, pain and loss. Maybe a friend or relative was killed, arrested or beaten up there. Maybe they had been keeping quiet there, not to attract more attention from the Israeli soldiers. Or maybe they had been running for their lives from the same soldiers. The knowledge of the places they live in and move through affects the choices my informants make in everyday life: not to travel out of their respective areas too much and not going out of the house at night because of the Israeli soldiers, and

always taking into account that a trip might get cancelled, that plans might not work out. To check if the doors are properly locked, even if the locks won't keep the soldiers out. Calling your kin on the phone when they are on the road or when they are late, to check if everything is alright. All these weary anticipations, memories and news items of harm done, and experiences of hurt and frustration, together build up to a conception of what people called the 'Palestinian suffering'. The discourse of the 'Palestinian Suffering' has an explicit presence in Palestinian daily life: "for those living the occupation, daily life involves navigating an ever-constricting matrix of apartheid-like checkpoints, depravity, and the pervasive threat of violence and terror. Such conditions have fostered a discourse of suffering, whereby collective victimization and appeals to 'bare humanity' are the primary means of fostering national intimacy and communal sentiment" (McDonald, 2009:61).

In one entry in my field notes, I describe my growing frustration about the personal accounts in the narrative of suffering that many people gave me when I first met them. I do realize that as a listener, I am a source of hope: telling me about their suffering means that one more person 'from outside Palestine' is aware of the situation, and - who knows - when enough people are aware something might actually be done about it. I listened and nodded to their stories and frustration, while secretly I thought at them: *I know, what do you want me to do about it?!*

But nothing more is needed from me than to listen.

Impediments on mobility, impediments on life

One of the most structurally returning themes in the accounts that I took in was mobility; having access to places and opportunity to travel. A taxi driver told me with indignation that he hadn't been to Jerusalem for thirty years while the holy city was just around the corner (Bethlehem is located only a short distance south from Jerusalem). In one interview, I am told: "Look, if you go and just stand in Bethlehem, look to the left, the right, the north: all you see is the wall, the settlements, a small city that is under siege... bad economy, tourists coming from the busses and go in the busses, they don't see anybody, that's all. This is what's going on in Bethlehem. You can't do, like, 'in the weekend I want to go to Jerusalem', you are not allowed. And 'in the weekend I want to go outside Palestine'. The only place you can go is Jordan, and some people can't. Like, Bethlehem is *very* small to stay on; [but] where you want to go? Other cities are not [sic] better than Bethlehem" (Int-E-9, MwB, 26:27)

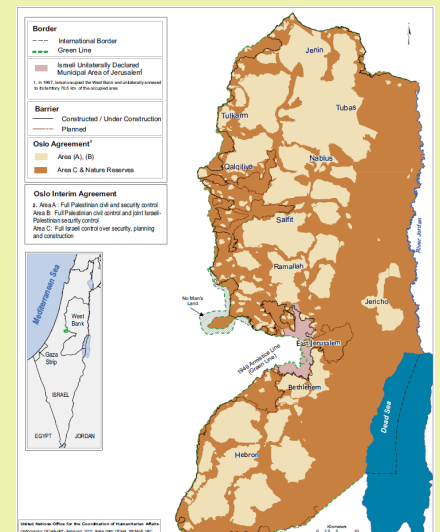
The West Bank is governed through a dual geo-political system, one administered by the Israeli Defence Forces, the other by the Palestinian Authorities. The latter divides up the area in several

Israeli signpost at a road to 'Area A'



Steves, 2013.

The West Bank



UN-OCHA (2011). Light areas are 'Area A' and 'Area B' combined, dark area is in full Israeli control ('Area C' and nature reserve). Black lines are fences and walls. Bethlehem is located directly south of Jerusalem and west of the Dead Sea.

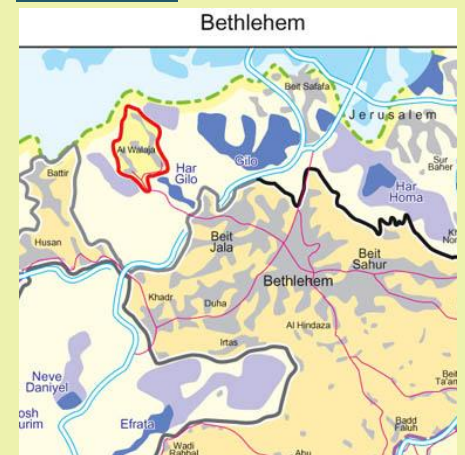
districts, which form governmental units on regional level.¹⁵ The system that is designed and administered by Israel on the other hand splits up the region in a complicated multitude of areas, as is illustrated by the maps in the boxes. The Palestinian urban areas, such as Bethlehem, Ramallah and Nablus, are considered ‘area A’ and the Palestinian Authorities are given civilian and military control there, although the Israeli military will enter the area when they consider this to be in their interest. Roads leading into these urban areas are provided with a big red road sign saying (in Hebrew, Arabic and English): “This Road Leads To Area “A” Under The Palestinian Authority / The Entrance For Israeli Citizens Is Forbidden, Dangerous To Your Lives, And Against The Israeli Law”.¹⁶ Adjacent to Area A, there are also small islands of Area B (Palestinian civilian control, Israeli military control; containing small Palestinian villages). Much of the easternmost parts of the West Bank is, in this system, considered Israeli territory, and separated from the rest of the West Bank by security fences and walls. Between all these areas are pieces of land that are named Area C or Nature Reserve, both in full Israeli control and forbidden for Palestinians. There are checkpoints on the roads leading past the security fences and walls, and on fixed places surrounding A-areas, and there can be ‘flying checkpoints’ in any place under Israeli military control. The tasks of the soldiers at the checkpoints can vary and are unpredictable. One checkpoint near my apartment east of Beit Sahour for example, was usually open: cars used the busy road without being stopped. On two occasions however, I experienced the traffic jams that result from cars being searched and ID cards being checked at this particular checkpoint. When travelling to a different urban area, one can never be sure how long the journey will take.

Tawil-Souri, who writes in the academic fields of Middle Eastern studies and Media, explains that “the rationale of defensible borders, even if they are blurred or ever shifting, is deeply tied to Israel’s view of its own existence or threat to its existence. [...] Israel has yet to define either its external borders [...] There is an important contradictory logic here of not having stated borders but wanting to enforce and defend them.” (Tawil-Souri, 2012:154) This, she explains, means that border-policing needs to happen everywhere, rather than just on the borders with neighboring

¹⁵ There was surprisingly little reference made by my interviewees to the Palestinian Authorities or the various political parties, apart from a few cases in which they had not been able to help out or when expressing distrust in the integrity of the apparatus of the Palestinian Authorities. Rather than expressing their political orientation, my informants spoke with me of their ideals and societal goals in NGO-terms, speaking from a grassroots perspective rather than a top-down.

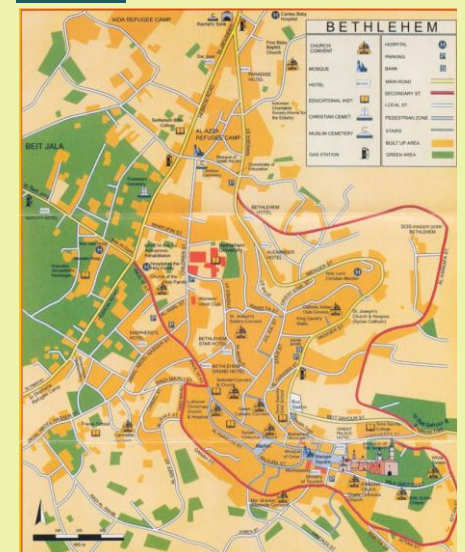
¹⁶ Source: Steves, R. (2013). Photograph of ‘Area-A’-sign, Huffington Post <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rick-steves/palestines-complicated-bo_b_3289084.html>

Bethlehem Area



Bethlehem-city.org (2011) Section of a map of the Bethlehem region. The lines indicate constructed or planned walls. For a full overview, see UN-OCHA (2015).

Bethlehem



Tourist map of Bethlehem (Planet Ware). Al Azzeh refugee camp is located between the two yellow main roads where they come together in the north, close to the wall surrounding Rachel’s tomb. Aida camp is indicated north-west these roads. Beit Jalla lies west of centre and Beit Sahour on the eastside, both just beyond the borders of this map. Deheisha camp is also just beyond the borders of this map, on the south-west.

countries. Places that my informants describe as the '48 and '67-lands,¹⁷ "what is called Israel" or simply Israel, are not accessible for Palestinians with a Palestinian-Authority ID-card, unless they receive a special permit for the occasion. Though 'Area A' and 'B' within the West Bank are accessible, the checking of ID-cards and car-control at the checkpoints, plus enforced detours around Jerusalem or around roads that have been blocked may cause an unpredictable amount of delay. Apart from being practical obstacles to all forms of transport, the checkpoints and roadblocks are also inscribed with the experience of violence. Roadblocks often occur as a result of (Israeli settler) attacks on (Palestinian) vehicles, and checkpoints are often chosen as a site for planned demonstrations that may turn violent. For those people who fear the armed soldiers, travelling does not only require good luck and patience, but also a great deal of courage.

The limits on mobility for Palestinians in the West Bank indirectly limit many other aspects of their society and daily lives. Villages are affected deeply, as agriculture is an important source of income and the farmers need to transport their goods. I was told that the farmers of Battir can no longer sell their products in Jerusalem, and find the market in Bethlehem saturated; the farmers of Walaja find themselves separated from their lands by the separation wall.¹⁸ Finding a job in the urban areas is hard, not only because jobs are scarce but also because employers prefer employees that do not need to travel from different areas. The detours do not only make the road to the next city longer, but also more expensive; the Musicians without Borders studio manager only recently started the study of his preference in Ramallah, because earlier because the daily trip from Bethlehem to Ramallah was too long and expensive before. As such, the restraints on mobility are associated with a range of other problems: the bad economy, hardship in finding a job, hardship to find a market to sell one's goods, hardship to sustain the family, hardship to pursue one's dreams.¹⁹ For want of income for their families, the brothers and fathers of two of my female interviewees stay in Israel to work. Family life, then, is experienced as affected as well. This may be because family members live or work beyond each other's reach; because of the emotional pressure which results from low income and (the possibility of having) confrontations with the Israeli military; or because of family members being arrested, under house-arrest or involved with a court case at the Israel court.

The restrictions on mobility are a major contribution to the general sense of being stuck and not having any control. "The occupation affected our past, is affecting our present and will affect our future; everything is basically controlled by them [Israel]. We have few jobs because of the existence of the occupation; we have no control, *they* control all the resources, economically and professionally... they control everything. This situation will stay for the future, for sure. I am a refugee; if it were possible that I was in my original village which is called Beit Attab in Jerusalem, if I were still living there, I would not need to look for a place where I can have my own land and build my own house. [...] I would have my rights, as older than eighteen, to move out like any other person, but here there is no space."(int-E-3, occ, 13:40-15:50)

¹⁷ The land that was lost in 1948 and the land that was lost in 1967.

¹⁸ The border between Israel and Palestinian Territory as understood by the Israeli Defence Forces are in many places maintained with fences or a huge wall; the walls are in the process of being expanded to cover more and more of this border, and are referred to as 'the separation wall', 'the Israeli wall', as well as 'the Apartheid wall'. The term 'separation wall' is very commonly used as the walls often separate farmers from their land as well as families, and isolates Palestinian villages located in this border zone.

¹⁹ In 2012, the unemployment rate for all Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza over 15 years old was 23.0; of the employed population, 9.7% was employed in Israel or the settlements. (Source: Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, retrieved on July 25, 2014 from <<http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/>>).

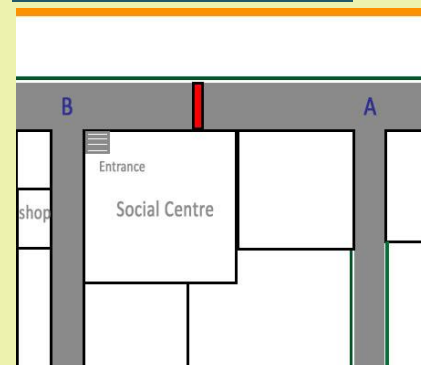
Inside the Camp

There are three refugee camps in the Bethlehem Area. The smallest one is located just north of Bethlehem city centre, in between two main roads. The inhabitants of this camp originally came from Beit Jibrin, and most of them belong to either of two big families. The camp is usually called Azzeh-camp, as the biggest family in the camp is the Al-Azzeh family. Due to the little space which is available, this refugee camp is most densely populated. In July 2011, a family feud between AlAzzeh and the other dominant family in the camp turned the place into a fighting zone, and the situation has remained tense ever since. Close to Azzeh-camp, on the west side of the Hebron-Jerusalem road and adjacent to the Israeli security wall which envelops Rachel's Tomb, is Aida-camp. During the first month of my fieldwork, my Arabic lessons took place in one of the homes in this camp. Also the music lessons of an organization called 'Sounds of Palestine' took place here, for both children from Aida camp and Azzeh camp as the latter was unsafe for some children.²⁰ Until Februari, most refugee children stayed home because the schools in the camp, set up by the UNWRA (United Nations Works and Reliefs Agency), were on strike for higher salaries. Many boys who would otherwise be at school and young men from all over the Bethlehem Area would hang around near the wall and provoked the Israeli soldiers there.

As a result, the north-eastern part of the camp was bathing in teargas every day. One time, I was stuck in the house of my Arabic teacher, because the gas was too strong. We breathed through tissues with perfume – anything with a strong smell seemed to make breathing easier – and my host told me: “don't even think of going outside now” – if it was this difficult to breathe inside the house with all doors and windows closed, one would definitely choke outside. I waited an hour before I took the chance to leave, holding my breath and hurrying until I reached the end of the cloud, from where I could breath more or less comfortably again. I thought of the old people, the babies and the small children breathing in this gas every day. Some young men turned around the corner, looking over their shoulders and grinning at each other; I felt they had successfully overcome their weariness and boredom at the expense of the people living here. The situation calmed down when the schools reopened and the teenagers returned to their classes, bringing clear air into the camp until the end of my fieldwork. The Aida camp streets near the wall continue to be one of the gravitational points were situations escalate easiest and quickest,

²⁰ See chapter three, Partnerships, for more information about Sounds of Palestine

The Gate with the Key, Aida Camp



Orange line: the Israeli wall. Dot A and B represent vantage points. When standing at point A with one's back to the wall, looking to left one sees that the wall makes an angle there – it envelops Rachel's Tomb. The road that leads to the other side is cut off by a metal gate where it intersects with the wall. From the same vantage point, looking straight ahead is the way out of the camp. On the left of this road – and next to the wall around Rachel's Tomb (a historical monument of great significance to Jewish culture and religion) - there is a cemetery. The quickest way out of the camp runs along the cemetery and up to the Jerusalem-Hebron road, next to the Intercontinental Hotel. In between point A and B there is the gate with the key, a place that is often chosen to take a stand against Israeli soldiers. Next to the gate is a social centre, where a great variety of social activities are held on a regular basis. At point B I was playing soccer with a young boy, and met people for appointments at the social centre; on other occasions, I hurried past, uncomfortable with the great many young men hanging out there, awaiting their clash with the soldiers. With my back to the wall at point B I would look into a narrow street with the entrance of the centre on the left, a shop that was usually open on the right and one of the places where I received Arabic lessons straight ahead.



and have seen their share of teargas, bullets, skunk water and more. That counts for one site in particular: a road that is considered the entrance to the camp, with a gate over it in the form of an enormous keyhole with the key on top of it (see textbox), referring to the keys of the lost homes of the refugees and their 'Right of Return' to these places. The road through this gate is right next to the separation wall. On the side of the road, right next to the keyhole-gate is a social centre; all refugee camps have at least one social centre to host their communal activities such as sports, meetings, trainings and weddings. 'Sounds of Palestine' - a musical organization that employs people from the Musicians without Borders project - offers weekly music lessons in Aida camp. Because the UNWRA-school is higher up the hill and away from the wall, this was used as the location for these music lessons. When the staff of the school went on strike however, they had to find a new location, and several times ended up in the social centre next to the keyhole-gate. The children had to be evacuated when the soldiers would start to shoot teargas again.

In spite of the above, the keyhole gate was a pleasant place to be whenever I visited; once, while waiting for an appointment, I played soccer with a small boy there. The sun shone, the volunteers in the centre were kind, the shops added colour to the place... I passed by that road very regularly, on the way to appointments for interviews, musical activities or language lessons. I was never present when there was trouble; yet the pictures show this familiar and friendly site filled with soldiers holding their weapons and young men holding the rocks they pick up from the street. Two of my interviewees that have to frequent the same social centre for their work, brought visuals with them from this place to start out with the interviews about the occupation. As I had asked them to bring along something that captures their experience of the occupation, one of them showed me the photo of the small children attending Sounds of Palestine being evacuated from the social centre, with their hands covering their mouths and noses. The other showed me a video of a raid in which Israeli soldiers were shooting near the gate, shooting at a boy who was walking in the cemetery near the gate, and were hiding on- and shooting from the roofs of the houses. The video showed people trying to hit the soldiers with their stones, and dodging the ammunition that was shot at them. The interviewee that showed this video told me that once, when she was working at the social centre, trouble began and the soldiers were shooting teargas into the building, even though the director and she were the only ones there. As the soldiers were also shooting bullets, she was frightened to death; the director told her to hide, and she did, until her fiancée (who lives in Aida camp) came to get her out of there. She said the bullets were coming from all directions as they fled into his car and cleared away from the place. The event greatly affected her. "The situation is very scary; I cannot go to the centre or even be near the camp... [...] because I am afraid of the soldiers. [...] Whenever something similar happens I remember the situation, and I cannot go there alone. With the time I got used to the situation; before, when I heard the sound of the bullets and the teargas I started to run, but now I can walk fast. But when something really happens I will run." I asked whether she expected this to happen regularly; "of course", she answered. "The soldiers can enter any time; Aida-camp is now C-area so they can walk in any time they want" (Int-N-3, occ, 15:50/18:30-25:10).

The third and largest refugee camp in the Bethlehem Area, located more southwards, is called Deheisha camp. The inhabitants of this camp have a reputation of political activism, which is especially noteworthy since all refugee camps are activists for the refugees' 'right of return' to their 'original village' by existence. The camp knew a time of military siege, when the camp was completely fenced by the Israeli military and its inhabitants could not come and go freely; the left-over gate at one of the entrances to the camp is only one of many visible reminders of oppression.

Inside the camps we find similar scenes. Each camp is situated inside the perimeters that were bought by the United Nations Works and Relief Agency (UNWRA) to harbour the Palestinians who fled their homes around 1948. Fully expecting that they would be able to return to their homes once the threat passed by, the first generation passed on the keys of their houses to the next, who in turn passed them on to the third generation of refugees living in the camps. The tents with which the families were provided to offer immediate shelter, were after some years replaced by small concrete one-room houses, which were expanded by the families themselves over the years to harbour the growing number of family members, and to offer some basic necessities. As a result, the streets have organically grown narrow and the houses high. The walls of the camp houses are a canvas on which refugees have been expressing their position, identity and experiences: portraits of martyrs (relatives, friends and neighbours who have been killed by Israelis), texts that were put on the walls in the colours of the political party they represent, and symbolic depictions such as the 'key of return', the olive tree wrapped in barbed wire, and scenes with the famous cartoon figure Handala, which was created by the activist artist Naji Salim Al-Ali. These images construct a narrative of problem and solution: the injustice and cruel treatment by Israel and a lack of belonging are the problem, and returning to the lands that belonged to the family is the answer. The 'original village' has acquired a mythical status: it is the key to a refugee's identity, it is the absent part of a refugee's geography, and it offers fertile ground for a refugee's imagination of a better life. "It is one of my dreams to build a house by the sea for example, [...] to build a house by the sea or on a hilltop, in the middle of nature, but it is not possible because of the occupation. *Although Palestine has this nature, like, these places, either the sea or the hilltop and the nature.*" (Int-E-3, occ, 13:40-32-05)

These imaginations stand in stark contrast with the camp, which can count on little appreciation from its inhabitants. The camp is considered a bad place: there is no privacy which often results in tensions and problems, there is no space for children to play, the poor sections of the camp are considered "a dump",²¹ its inhabitants stand apart from the other Palestinians because of their lack of citizenship as refugees awaiting their return home, and the walls tell the stories of hardship that reinforce this experience. The narrative of suffering is also sustained by the operations of the Israeli soldiers that take place under the cover of night and which result in invasions a couple of times a week on average. "They never just do one thing", my interpreter said once about these raids. I have heard stories in which possessions were taken (valuables, or in one peculiar case everything that runs on electricity) and a brother beaten up; other possibilities are verbal humiliation and arrests. Such events can also take place on the streets if a Palestinian is walking the streets at night and runs into the soldiers there. "Everyday there is occupation and everyday there is a problem. There are always soldiers in the streets [at night], there is always a problem, and I am worried. In the camp there is a saying: *the night is not for us*. We can move on the streets during the day but not at night. [...] When I hear shooting at night, I expect to hear that someone has been arrested in the morning. They come every two-three days, sometimes every day; they do not always arrest someone. [...] I am used to it now. I don't want to put myself in this situation, that they find me in the streets at night. In the night, when it is something important, I will go out and I don't mind if they arrest me or hit me. [...] One time I was coming home late, there were soldiers in the camp, and I tried to avoid them in order to reach my house. Every time at night I expect that they are around the corner or in the street hiding somewhere" One of my interviewees from Deheisha camp explains. (E-2, 9:21-17:55) Later on, when I ask if the children still make a game out of throwing stones at soldiers the way he and his friends did

²¹ Some refugees have managed to acquire wealth, and in Deheisha camp there is also a camp section where the housing is quite luxurious.

during the second Intifada, he explained: “the soldiers don’t come in the daylight often. The young children are afraid of the soldiers now. Now the people try to stop the children from throwing stones at the soldiers, because it is not a game anymore and it is dangerous.”(24:35-26:26)

The nightly visits of soldiers happen multiple times a week on average in the refugee camps but can happen in any Palestinian home. “They don’t have to kill anybody in your family to be really affected by the occupation; you can be affected many ways. You can wake up with a soldier standing next to your bed... everyday there is something to remind you of the occupation” one of my informants from Battir said (Int-E-11, occ 45:00-47:12).²² The tidings of neighbours and the geography of the camp with its visuals blend with the personal memories people carry around and of which they are reminded as they pass through places. “In the camp I remember... For every road and way in the camp, I remember what happened here and what happened there. [...] There were some places where I remembered something and became afraid, but now I walk by and I am not afraid anymore. [...] nobody would forget their childhood and where they lived their life”(Int-E-2, occ+mwb, 36:05-36:30)

The Message and the Palestinian Cause

In an interview with the studio manager of Musicians without Borders, we discussed working with internationals in his voluntary work. “What do you think about working with internationals?”, I asked. “It is *very* important to get the *message*”, he answered. “The occupation controls the [international] media, out there [in the media] you can’t really talk; but here when I am working with the internationals it is obvious, I can easily give them the message about life here. Which they can see with their own eyes; you don’t have to speak about it. But they can move this message, they can carry this message home”

“The message of...?”

“Of the situation, of the truth”.

“So for you the internationals who come here are a medium?”

“For sure. Not just a medium – they are an aim. To get the message to them.”

(Int-E-3, occ, 1:31:30 – 1:34:30).

In many situations “the message” was considered an obvious given, something that did not need to be explained. ‘The people from outside need to know’ is the driving sentiment behind ‘the message’. The content of the message was never strictly defined or limited, but it has to do with the reality of the Israeli occupation and the Palestinian Cause. The Palestinian Cause - much like ‘the message’ - is not something people explained to me: this ‘cause’ likewise is obvious to them. It has to do with receiving basic rights, living a happy life and building up their society. As Palestinians stand relatively powerless in the face of the Israeli Defence Forces and their walls and weapons, “getting the message” to the international community is an obvious source of hope as a means to realize their cause. A variety of forms of activism, creating services and community building together form another source of strength and hope. The plenitude of Non-Governmental Organizations and networks can offer all these things to larger or lesser degrees, and form an important part of the Palestinian economy.

²² The IDF (Israeli Defence Forces) are in possession of machines that can open a front-door lock without a sound. They do choose to break down the door violently sometimes as well.

Organized Music

Palestinian culture has a strong musical tradition that is much practiced in the private sphere, but my two interviewees from Walaja told me interest for music was running low in their village. Both told me that young people are not interested in learning to play, nor encouraged to do so, and even considered time spent idly while there is a family to sustain. One of my informants from Deheisha camp, too, does not feel music is given much value in his environment. “Music is a strange language in the camp; people are not used to it. There are not many people who are doing musical activities, and they do not know how to do music, like to create it. And there are people who wouldn’t agree with... there are some people who do not accept the music, they think it is something strange and they are not used to it”, he explained. “But now the children are better, and a lot of people are getting the chance to discover what music is”. (Int-E-2, occ+mwb, 21:47-25:50) Many people learn to play an instrument from relatives and friends, but some schools offer music education in their classes and the Edward Said Music School offers music classes in a growing number of cities as well, and can offer talented children a scholarship to finance these lessons. Cultural Centres, too, often offer some musical activities. As these are not for free and a musical instrument has to be bought and cared for as well, music education remains a pastime that is poorly accessible for people who are stretched thin financially – of which there are all too many. NGOs sometimes offer support for groups of performers. One of the rap-workshop leaders was supported in this way with his rap-group: “The Palestinian Rapprochement Centre adopted me [...] and we recorded our first song; the PCR helped us to manage many performances in all the places in Bethlehem, in every public festival, in every national [event]” (int-E-5, Pal Mus, 24:00-25:03). The only NGOs in Palestine of which I heard that they support music education for people who cannot afford to pay for it are Musicians without Borders, Sounds of Palestine and Music Harvest.

NGO-economy

The economical sphere of the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the Palestinian territories is regarded both with hope and a great deal of scepticism. “We have different kinds of NGOs in Palestine...”, the Field Coordinator explains. “Some of them work in the cities, some of them work in the refugee camps, some of them work in the villages even. (...) I will talk about the NGOs that give services in non-violence, because it is my speciality. (...) We have NGOs that are walking the walk, some NGOs are talking the talk [laughs]. We have NGOs in between, they talk and they walk. What do I mean by this – some NGOs they are committed to their mission and vision they are announcing and working for. So they stick to it, and they believe in it, and they are trying to achieve it. These people, I call them the people that are walking the walk, not just talking the talk.

“Some other NGOs are good in publicizing, marketing their ideas, marketing their vision, great in fundraising and bringing money, but on the ground Palestinian people almost benefit zero from them. Except just some empty promises and talking talking, but nothing on the ground. (...) Those who have brilliant, perfect websites, brilliant, perfect publicity, they have brochures, leaflets, everything. They talk very nicely, they go to America, they are really.... convincing. (...) They do some work, but very little”. The Field Coordinator experiences finds that such organizations harm the goodwill of people for other NGOs by not living up to their promises. As a result, he said, “we have a kind of gap between the work of the NGOs and the people. So for the committed NGO, it will take a lot of time to bridge the gap and build the trust with the people” (excerpts from int-E-8, NGOs).

One particular event during my fieldwork illustrates how some organizations are merely ‘talking the talk’. Some journalists had been taking interviews with the organization Sounds of Palestine and their musical activities, interviewing the teachers of the kindergarten in Azzeh-camp and taking pictures as well. The news article that resulted cited from these the interviews and used the pictures that were taken, but changed the name of the project, changed the source of the funds, changed the names of the people involved and claimed it was all about a music project in Gaza. After intervention from Sounds of Palestine the article was removed, but the Project Manager concluded from this affair that there was a fraud music-project, supposedly in Gaza but existing only on paper, receiving funds based on a fake report based on the Sounds of Palestine Project in Bethlehem.

Each NGO seems balanced between its commitment to the work and its commitment to the income it provides. As there are

few jobs available in Palestine, some people find work for an NGO or set up an NGO themselves where they would otherwise be jobless or forced to take a job outside their professional field, such as construction work. My interpreter explains how this may affect the quality of their services: “you have these organizations that are funded properly and organizations that are not funded properly. Sometimes they give the same level of work and services, but [the poor] one is based on voluntary work, which is more committed, and the other is just like, based on [creating] a job” (int-O-3, NGOs, 2:50-3:35). Content wise, the work of NGOs is very diverse. “[There are] grassroots organizations, international organizations; most of them work with social justice, human rights watch, and community empowerment” an Anthropologist working with Holy Land Trust and specializing in Christian-based NGOs in the Palestinian Territories tells me. She notes that any kind of service can be categorized as ‘community empowerment’. Some organizations, she observed, act in their own specific field; human rights watch organizations for example always go to protests and clashes to record the events. Other organizations are active in many different fields: Holy Land Trust for example has many different projects. “So you have different [points of interest] and each organization is like this”(O2, NGOs, 3:07-3:37 and 9:39-10:24). The choice to do a wider variety of work is made by many organizations. My interpreter, who grew tired of working for NGOs at some point, wearily comments: “Mostly they do all the same work... all of them have youth groups... voluntary groups that offer services to the community [...] different kind of services, but the whole idea is very similar [...]we have... like, more than eight hundred NGOs serving all the people and doing mostly really similar things. They kind of do social work, strengthening... environmental, political... human rights... ecology... but many of them do *everything*”(int-O-1, NGOs, 4:23-8:10). Many organizations offer some support for cultural and artistic activities. They may support a Debkeh-group²³ or a music band, or may have a preservationist heritage-project which is generally concerned with preserving Palestinian clothing and embroidery, architecture, food, and other Palestinian arts. The support of music-making by NGOs often happens by ‘adopting’ a specific band or group of musicians, and depending on the preferred style of music made by these musicians it can be considered a youth-development or a heritage project.²⁴ “Many organizations don’t mind having a music band – it’s nice having a band...” my interpreter ponders (int-O-3, NGOs,23:55-24:05).

Conclusion

The geo-political conflict that takes place in Palestine/Israel mostly takes the form of Israeli military domination over the Palestinians, which is done in two major ways. Firstly, control is exercised through the geographical divisions of land that are made and siege-like control over transport from one area in the next. The second form of control is exercised by the provocation of fear, anger and humiliation through a variety of acts by soldiers and settlers (Israelis living in the West Bank on confiscated lands or in confiscated houses) that could be anything from a nuisance, such as having to reschedule an appointment, to extreme hurt such as bringing damage to people their bodies, their loved ones, and their material property. The presence of these two forms of military dominion in Palestinians’ daily lives is as much overwhelming as it is the normal state of affairs. “Everyday is worse than the day before, and life is getting hard” one of my informants from

²³ Debkeh is a popular traditional Palestinian dance.

²⁴ See De Cesari’s work about heritage preservation, where she shows that “restoring the Palestinian past is [] a creative act of defiance” (2010:633) while in other contexts heritage preservation is considered a conservative and hegemonic endeavour, also shows how easily any (community) work becomes politicized under Israeli occupation.

the village said. "Now there are people who get permission to work inside Israel, but tomorrow maybe they will not. The wall will maybe cut through this land [...] and it will take a lot of land. [...] I am not pessimistic, but the situation makes me think like that." (Int-E-11, occ, 29:35-32:30). It is a daunting experience in a situation that defies all hope that things might change for the better. My inquiry in one interview, as to whether the musical activities help in any way to change this experience, was met with little understanding. My interpreter reflected that it was hard to imagine that something as small and temporal as a music training could change something as big as someone's experience of the occupation. A lack of resources - be it material resources such as an income or psychological resources such as hope - has been and continues to be compensated in a variety of degrees by the NGO economy, of which Musicians without Borders inevitably has become part.

Chapter 3: Palestine Community Music

“The most appropriate place of music would be with Non-Violence”

~Field Coordinator, M, 8:44-50

This chapter will describe and contextualize the musical activities of Palestine Community Music within the partnership of Musicians without Borders and Holy Land Trust. In the course of doing fieldwork, I used various methods to collect information about the activities and actors of Musicians without Borders in Palestine (see sub-question one, two and four). Firstly, a questionnaire provided the qualitative, partly demographic data of about thirty six people who to some extent participated in the Musicians without Borders activities. This is only a small selection of the hundreds of children and adults that participate with the musical activities each year, and therefore this data was mainly important for making first contact and as preparation for the later interviews. In addition, it gave a sense of the different ways in which a person could be involved with the project.

Secondly, I observed, and in varying degrees participated in their activities. I participated in two training days for international volunteers of a partner organization (Music Harvest) from the Music & Non-violence Leadership program, and witnessed (and participated to lesser extent with) various workshops given by the Musicians without Borders to children of all ages and one with adults. Thirdly, I did seven structured interviews about the content of the activities, choices that were made in the design of the activities and the various types of materials used for these activities. Lastly, twenty semi-structured interviews were done about the meaning her or his involvement with the Palestine Community Music project had for the interviewee, with special attention for their expectations. Questions addressed among others the way the organization was presented to them; what their initial reason was to start participating and whether this reason changed; whether they wished to achieve anything in particular by participating; and how their musical activities with Musicians without Borders related to their other musical activities, if they had any.

The data resulting from the methodology of the second sub-question is not only used in this informative chapter, but is also subject of analysis in chapters to follow. More detailed information about each type of interview can be found in the Appendix.

Musicians without Borders

“War divides, music connects”, the official website of Musicians without Borders spells out on its homepage, capturing the focus of the organization of bringing music to those people who suffer from or are recovering from the violence of war. The organization was founded in 1999, and its first long-term project started in 2003 under the name “Music Bus Srebrenica”, a multi-ethnic music training program in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although this project was discontinued in 2011, since then eight more projects have been initiated - among them two inter-ethnic Rock Schools - of which six are still on-going as part of Musicians without Borders. All projects are the result of collaboration between Musicians without Borders and a local humanitarian organization except for the Mitrovica and Mostar Rock Schools (see box page 29). Though there is a repertoire of community music techniques available within Musicians without Borders from which all projects can draw, each project is designed to meet local circumstances and needs (Musicians without Borders website).

At the time of my research, the organization was not only present in the locations of its projects, but also worked from their main office in Amsterdam, the Netherlands as well as an office in the

United Kingdom. The office in the Netherlands was manned by the founder and director, five employees and three volunteers. The department in the United Kingdom has since become independent as Music Action International. Other than the in-office staff, the staff consists of the music trainers who travel to the projects to offer new content in the local trainings and the project managers each project.

The organization depends financially on funding and donations. The projects are supported by the fundraising activities of individual supporters, as well as by other organizations. Some organizations that produce musical materials or offer services support Musicians without Borders in kind. In addition, the project managers write and submit proposals to funders, in response to the calls for proposals from these funds, in order to finance their salaries and the material and logistical costs of the organized programs.

The project manager of the project in Palestine commented that it is sometimes hard to find a call for proposals that can support them: accessible musical activities that pursue social empowerment fall in the twilight zone between funds for culture and the arts and funds that offer community services or therapy in conflict areas. She observed that culture and arts funders usually prefer to see an end-result with the project that contributes to the development of the artistic scene or measurable performance skills, such as a final performance in front of an audience. Funds that support community services give priority to the supply of food, water or shelter – what is considered the basic needs - over artistic development. Funds that support community support in conflict areas in the form of therapy do not support a project if it does not employ therapists. Because the projects are in the peripheries of the interests of specialized funds, the sources for funding are always diverse and are regularly unable to cover all expenses.

The project in Palestine: structure and background

Initiated in 2008 as “Music Bus goes Middle East” - a musical training program based on the earlier Srebrenica Music Bus - the Musicians without Borders project in Palestine is a collaboration of Musicians without Borders and Holy Land Trust. Holy Land Trust is a non-governmental organization (NGO) based in Bethlehem. The collaboration was initiated between the two organizations: the current Field Coordinator of Palestine Community Music - who was working for Holy Land Trust at the time - and employees of Musicians without Borders met in brainstorm sessions to determine what form the collaborative project should take. The current Project Manager was at the time volunteering as a music teacher next to her regular work in neighbourhoods of Jerusalem where children would otherwise never get the chance to learn music, and when

Musicians without Borders projects:

- ***Srebrenica Music Bus*** (concluded)
Location: eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina
- ***Mostar Rock School***
Location: Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina
Independent since 2014
- ***Mitrovica Rock School***
Location: Mitrovica, Kosovo
Independent since 2013
Partners: CBM, IKV Pax Christi, Musicians without Borders, Fontys Rock Academy
- ***From Woman to Woman***
Location: Srebrenica region, eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina
Partner: Snaga Žene
- ***Stone Flowers***
Location: England
Continued as part of Music Action International
- ***Palestine Community Music***
Location: the West Bank, Palestine
Partner: Holy Land Trust
- ***Rwanda Youth Music***
Location: outreach across Rwanda
Partner: WE-ACTx for Hope
- ***Tanzania Youth Music***
Location: Moshi, the Lower Moshi region, and Arusha, Tanzania
Partner: FEMI
- ***Music Bridge***
Location: Derry-Londonderry, Ireland
Partner: Culturlann Uí Chanáin

Palestine Community Music project programs (winter 2014):

- ***Music & Non-violence Leadership Training***
Trainees learn to lead music workshops
- ***Assistant trainer training***
Advanced training in assisting in training new trainees
- ***Rap program***
Rap workshop series with children and teenagers
- ***Samba program***
Percussion-band training, workshops and/or coaching combining Samba instruments and rhythms with Arabic rhythms and non-violence
- ***Deaf & Proud program***
A variety of Music workshops and the Music & Non-Violence Leadership Training tailored for deaf participants, and video-making

Musicians without Borders heard of her work she was approached for the job of Project Manager. As the project developed over the years, the name “Music Bus Goes Middle East” was replaced with the name “Palestine Community Music” to better reflect the content of the project.

Partnerships

The primary partner of Musicians without Borders in Palestine, Holy Land Trust, has the space available to host workshops, as well as an office. One of the Holy Land Trust employees became the Field Coordinator and non-violence trainer of the project, bringing in local expertise and networks. Like many NGOs in Palestine, Holy Land Trust covers a great variety of projects, rather than focussing on a single concern; however, it does specialize in the general approach of non-violence direct-action (on which I will elaborate below) for the support of Palestinian culture and society. From its previous work, the organization has a network throughout the Bethlehem Area and beyond, which opened the door for the collaborative project to cooperate with social and cultural centres throughout the West Bank. The first program (the Music & Non-violence Leadership Training) involved music workshops given by trainees to practice what they learned during the training. Both for finding trainees and for finding groups to give music workshops to, first collaboration was established with the social centres of the refugee camps around Bethlehem, and later other social and cultural centres across the West Bank were approached too, as well as schools, orphanages and organizations that organize summer camps for children. At the time of my field research, the network of organizations that could bring in new trainees or workshop groups was established enough that the demand for trainings and (especially) workshops exceeded the capacity of the project. Also, this network was used to spread the word of upcoming trainings; one of my interviewees told me she heard discovered the project because the training was advertised in the Facebook group of a social workers network. The social centres in the refugee camps, for example Ibdaa in Deheisha camp, offer a great way to reach young refugees from this camp who are interested in community work, as it is a place kept by the refugees to allow for sports, trainings and social events. The Al Ghiras Cultural Centre in Bethlehem offered a great network from its outreach program with schools, cultural centres and orphanages in further-off villages. Another party that is interested in the training is the Ministry of Education of the Palestinian Authority, which can bring together new groups of teachers from public schools.

Two other NGOs in the West Bank have become a partner with Musicians without Borders due to their affinity with each other’s work. Music Harvest is an organization stationed in Nablus – an urban area much farther north than Bethlehem – that works with foreign music students as volunteers. New foreign volunteers as well as some Palestinian voluntary translators come to work for Music Harvest every three months, to give music lessons and workshops in the Nablus area including in refugee camps and villages. In order to prepare these volunteers for their work with Palestinian children, they are given a written manual with, and are sent to Bethlehem for a curtailed version of the Music & Non-violence leadership training. One training day is organized before they get started, and a second takes after they have given their first lessons and workshops.

The other collaborating NGOS is Sounds of Palestine. This organisation offers an educational program which takes place in Aida refugee camp, in which children from Aida and Al-Azzeh camp can learn to play cello, tableh, or violin. Each child participates in the group lessons, and receives a short individual lesson while the others are involved in activities without their instruments. The collaboration takes form in the commitment of Sounds of Palestine only to hire teachers and social workers for the educational program that have taken part in the Music & Non-Violence training of the Palestine Community Music Project. The Field Coordinator of the Palestine Community Music is

also employed as the project manager of Sounds of Palestine, and the Project Manager of Palestine Community Music is employed by Sounds of Palestine as a cello-teacher. The other employees were selected from Palestine Community Music trainees, or were required to follow the training as part of their job. As a result, it was hard for some of my informants to remember that the programs of Palestine Community Music and the educational program of Sounds of Palestine were indeed from different organizations. One of my interviewees, a Music & Non-violence Leadership trainee who works as a social worker for Sounds of Palestine, commented: "I feel like I am working with Musicians without Borders when I am working with Sounds of Palestine. Because there is nothing different: I do the training in Musicians without Borders and use it in Sounds of Palestine." (Int-E-6, MwB, 39:38-41:00).

Programs

The project started with the Music & Non-violence Leadership program. In this program, a group of participants three times a year are to receive a week-long training. Like the other programs, this training combines training sessions in music and in non-violence direct-action. The participants are taught many musical games, songs and exercises, as well as the skills to work with a group and to make a strategy for a self-set (societal) purpose. Some of the music training is given by the Project Manager herself, but when the budget allows for it, foreign trainers employed by Musicians without Borders are brought in; the non-violence training is given by the Field Coordinator himself or one of his fellow practitioners. In the periods between the training weeks, the participants are taken to schools, cultural and social centres, hospitals and other organizations to practice their acquired skills. They try to visit those people and children that are considered to benefit most due to their vulnerable position (for example because they live in villages isolated by the Israeli Defence Forces, in orphanages or refugee camps, or because they are ill or otherwise in need of extra care). The Project Manager herself works as 'music coach' to support the trainees when they practice giving music workshops, and regularly gives such workshops herself as well. As a result, not only the trainees themselves profit from the training, but also the hundreds of children and adults that receive the workshops, plus the children and others that the trainees work with in their daily lives and at work – for example as social workers or teachers, or as parents.

The second program was the Rap program. Among the first two groups of trainees were some young Palestinian rappers, who as volunteers initiated the "Rap Across the Wall" program. In this program, they brought children from Silwan, a Palestinian neighbourhood in East Jerusalem (on the Israeli side of the wall), into the Bethlehem Area to learn how to rap and to make rap songs together with children from the Bethlehem Area. When this project was terminated, the rap-workshop leaders continued to give rap workshops (mostly for teenagers) in the West Bank through the Rap program. Every year, they approach an organization (such as an NGO, social or cultural centre) for a workshop-series of ten workshops in which the group learns to write their own rap song and use it to articulate their personal struggles, experiences and opinions. The host-organization organizes the location and the group of participants, and the workshop leaders divide the groups among themselves so that each group is taught by two workshop leaders. In 2013, for example, four groups completed the workshop-series. In the workshops, the children learn about the genre and a diversity of styles within rap music; they learn to reflect on, write about, memorize, and rap their stories musically; and they learn to perform: to use a microphone, to use their bodies and to use the stage. The workshops are about finding words for sharing opinions and experience, and about venting energy. Depending on the subject and general tone of a rap-text written by the participants, the workshop leaders prepare

a couple of beats for the background music. From these the participants can pick the one that suits the song best, by matching the mood and intensity with which they want to perform their song. Often, the workshop-series is finalized by a performance in front of family and friends. Since 2012 it has also been possible to record the songs: a studio was built and a musician from the Netherlands came to teach the rap workshop leaders about the recording and producing techniques that became available to them.

Another program that resulted from the initiative of a trainee in the Music Leadership training is the Deaf & Proud program. This trainee, a social worker and sign-language interpreter, took one of her deaf sisters with her to the training to see if the musical activities were also accessible for deaf people, and to everybody's surprise most of the activities were completely doable and enjoyable for her; some were even easier for her than for her fellow trainees without hearing impairment. As a result, a program was set up which focuses specifically on the empowerment of deaf Palestinians through the activities that are also used in the other programs, with some adaptations to the needs of the deaf participants. Four Deaf & Proud participants wrote a rap about their position in the Palestinian society as deaf people. The song was performed by four of the rap-workshop-leaders in Arabic together with the deaf participants themselves, who performed in Palestinian sign-language. The studio-and video recordings were rendered into a video clip, shared a.o. in the Palestine Community Music blogs. In the Deaf & Proud Music Leadership program, attention to singing skills was replaced by attention to the use of their voices, which they could explore through exercises in which they felt the sound they were making by touching specific places on their throats and chests. In the Deaf & Proud samba training, they learned to use several types of drums, how to keep the beat, how to stay synchronized with fellow drummers, and all other skills that come with playing in a band. The band has since performed on several occasions.

The fourth program which was set-up is the Samba-program. In the first year a group of trainees received a one-week training in which they learned how to play samba-drums and samba-rhythms together with more familiar rhythms, and non-violence training focussing on organizing music band that practices regularly and performs during events in a way that supports their community. Each training day involved some hours of samba-lessons followed by one hour of non-violence training. In the second year a different approach was tried: in different locations a band was created in multiple locations and given workshops to keep themselves organized and work together towards community-supporting goals. After my departure from the field I heard that another new format for this program was being negotiated.

The last program of the project, which had not been part of the project for very long yet when I entered the field, is the Assistant-trainer training. In this training, participants learn to support the trainers who give the Music Leadership training, and learn to give training in musical activities themselves as well. The goal of this training is to increase the capacity of the Music & Non-violence Leadership program, and to release some of the workload of the Project Manager who is also Music Leadership trainer herself.

“The most important thing was to be convinced about how you can use samba, what samba *means*, and how to use it... how to be convinced about using samba. During the training we had sessions about non-violence resistance, and how you can use samba in that. The last two days were harder, more intensive, we learned a lot [...] it was more interesting, the way of playing, how to work on stuff, how to play. In the training we learned one way, [...] but because we fell into it, we liked it, we started creating sounds and adding more sounds, it became creative. So [...] this kind of creativity, of creating new things. [...] It was all beautiful, it was all nice.” (int-E-12, 32:54-37:47)

Non-Violence Direct-Action

“You know we have a mixed training, with music and non-violence”, the field coordinator and non-violence trainer tells me. “I am responsible for non-violence. We use the non-violence that comes originally from Palestinian legacy and Palestinian history [...] we call it the silenced part [of our history] because no-one speaks about it. [...] Within the Palestinian history, if you read deeply, you will find that non-violence was part of the Palestinian movement.”(int-E-8, M2, 00:20-1:20)

Before starting the project with Musicians without Borders, he was an activist and trainer in the ‘Non-Violence Direct-Action’ movement, which uses its own style of activism for the improvement of Palestinian society and circumstances. “We went back to the Palestinian history of non-violence, we studied it, and took whatever we could from there. Then also we studied and read other international experiences, like the great experience of Ghandi, in India, Badshah Khan, Martin Luther King Jr., and other people who used non-violence in their struggle or in their daily life.” In Non-Violence Direct-Action the techniques and philosophy are applied to everyday life. “We see it as a way of life. It is not just about ending the Israeli occupation, but it is also about building the Palestinian future, Palestinian civil society, developing the Palestinian situation, challenging and facing corruption, struggling against it, trying to do things better socially, economically and politically.[...] When I say ‘us’, I mean everybody who believes in non-violence direct-action, and I mean everybody who is involved with us. Of course we are as Holy Land Trust and Musicians without Borders working on this, but also it could be any Palestinian activist who adheres to the same idea or carries the same principles.”(Int-E-8, M2, 2:55-4:36)

The Non-violence Direct-action activists draw on their past work which resulted in a developed theory, exercises and techniques, manuals and trainings. The Field Coordinator was working as a non-violence direct-action trainer for Holy Land Trust when their collaboration with Musicians without Borders started. The training involves role-plays, exercises in strategy-development for dealing with social issues in a constructive way, and team-building. “We believe the music is an essential part of the human being, so you could integrate the music with *everything*. But we find the most appropriate place of music would be with non-violence, because students in the schools could use it; youth in the streets could use it; adults could use it; you could use it in different aspects and with different meanings and to achieve different goals. So instead of people marching, [...] they could march and sing” (8:34-9:11, Int-E-8, M2).

The non-violence training is part of each program and given next to the music workshop and training sessions. Although in trainings the music and the non-violence parts are given separately, they usually address the same themes, and often a final exercise is the creation of a strategy for a societal cause in which music is used. In workshops, both parts of the training are applied. The training can be given to nearly all ages of participants, although within Musicians without Borders the groups are rarely younger than in their teens. “Every level has a different approach [...] When me and colleagues developed a training for non-violence, we developed three manuals, [each] for different ages. [...] Sometimes the same game, we give it to children, while you could give the same game to adults but in a different way: deeper, with more details, it depends. And sometimes you can give the same game for everybody. [...] It is *almost* impossible to go to children under fourteen years old and talk about abstract issues... For example, I used to give training in a kindergarten. How can I give non-violence training in a kindergarten? So I go there, I tell them ‘Hello, good morning, we have a non-violence training’, or ‘we have a conflict-resolution lesson today’? [makes sceptical sound] It would be as if I come from Jupiter. No. You give the training in an *implicit* way. So you don’t tackle it

abstract, as a theory; you don't talk about philosophy, but you *practice* it with children. Because as a trainer we understand that every child is a philosopher". (20:15-23:13, Int-E-8, M2)

I propose that, for Palestine Community Music, Non-Violence Direct-Action informs a particular style or type of what I described in the first chapter as 'concerted experience' through its stance-ideology. Berger describes stance-ideologies (2009:132) as those stances which are explicitly valued in social practice. He argues that a person's stance upon a performance is not something that comes out of thin air; taking a preconceived performance-practice into experience in different ways is something a person must master through practice, and the stances that are mastered are socially informed. As such, not only performance but also the (highly personal, contextualized) stance with which one brings performance into experience is drawn from a cultural repertoire, and within this stance-repertoire some stances are more valued than others. In the Music & Non-violence leadership training in particular, trainees are taught to bodily perform a musical and non-violent style of leadership. More than a form of leadership, this also informs a stance-ideology that values sensitivity to the needs of the participants, goal-orientedness, clarity, caring, joy and playfulness. These are in my own observations and experiences clearly encouraged through explicit explanation of aspects of leadership-performance as well as by setting the example. One foreign lady I interviewed (who was only involved with Palestine Community Music as a facilitator of workshops) especially noted a change in attitude of teachers towards a group of children in the workshops and classes she witnessed. Where she noted an authoritative air with most teachers who did not participate with Palestine Community Music, she noted how the Project Manager and the trainees acted with more joy and kindness in the way they expressed themselves and interacted with the children. "[The project manager] does everything – it's not just about the music but the *way* she does it – she does it with a *smiling face*, she does it with joy. [...] The teachers are often like this [takes a stern pose], very authoritative. But [the project manager] smiles, and she makes jokes, and it is a very nice energy" (int-O-1,mwb, 2:37-3:10). Trainees told me that the non-violent style of communication they were taught made them more aware of their body-language, the kind of impression this could make (for example, that for children that had experienced domestic violence, a commonly used raised-hand-gesture could give the impression of hitting), and how one could use the body to control the group while creating a safe and comfortable atmosphere. One interviewee explained that in his work as a social-work student, the training by Musicians without Borders was most beneficial to him as a means for "ice-breaking": to create the circumstances in which the people he worked with could warm up to him, to make them feel at ease with him.

The Musicians

The central team of the project consist of the Project Manager who also works as a trainer and music coach in the Music Leadership program and the Field Co-ordinator who also gives the Non-Violence Direct-Action training in all programs. Another staff member is the Studio Manager who is also a rap-workshop leader. All three are paid positions as far as the budget can afford them; all three regularly need to face a lack of funds, in which case the money is invested in the continuation of the programs rather than salaries. Apart from working for Musicians without Borders, the Project Manager (whose interview-code is int-E-1) is also a cello-teacher. Her main job is her position as cello-teacher at a music school in Jerusalem, and she plays cello in concerts and writes about community music. She attended the conservatory in The Hague, the Netherlands, where she specialized in music education. During the first part of my stay she was still on maternity leave, and her professional attention went mostly to the preparations of a new year of Palestine Community

Music and her work with Sounds of Palestine. She met the field-coordinator and non-violence trainer (int-E-8), an activist whose family and children live in AlAzzeh camp, as a result of the collaboration

Informants

Music & Non-violence Leadership training:

Fifteen of my interviewees participated in one way or another in the Music Leadership program. These include the sign language interpreter, her deaf sister, the studio manager, one of my interpreters (who worked as interpreter for the international trainers of this program as well), two participants of the training for volunteers of Music Harvest, and five other participants from Deheisha camp, Al-Azzeh camp, Battir, Beit Sahour and Bethlehem. Of the seventeen people who filled out a questionnaire but did not participate in any other interviews, fifteen had also been involved with this program. Of the Music & Non-violence Leadership trainees I interviewed, at least two interviewees had been participating in the **Assistant-trainer training**, and of one I knew he would start participating that year.

Rap program: Three rap workshop leaders contributed to this study as interviewees: the Studio Manager and two others who do this work next to their studies and work as a lawyer respectively. Two more rap workshop leaders have filled out the questionnaire, both of them university students. Of the participants in the rap-program, no-one has been interviewed.

Deaf & Proud program: Three sisters participating in program contributed to this study: all three filled out the questionnaire, and two have been interviewed (the sign-language interpreter and one deaf sister). The sign-language interpreter also works as a social worker for Sounds of Palestine, and the deaf interviewee works as a special education specialist on a school for handicapped children.

Samba program: Two participants from the Samba program were interviewed; both still run a percussion band in the cultural centre of their village next to their jobs.

between Musicians without Borders and Holy Land Trust. I was aware that during my stay he had to be careful with his presence in AlAzzeh camp due to the tensions (see chapter two, *Inside the Camp*), and he divided his professional time between his work with Sounds of Palestine and Musicians without Borders and his studies in Human Rights and Democratization in Ramallah. The studio-manager (int-E-3), who lives with his parents in Deheisha Refugee camp (where the studio is also located) studies Media studies in Ramallah and has work and voluntary work on the side. He was among the first trainees of the Music & Non-violence Leadership Training, was involved with the creation of the Rap program and still volunteers and works for this program as a rap workshop leader and by managing the recording studio. Project Manager, Field Coordinator and Studio Manager have all three contributed to this research with multiple interviews. Their team is often supported for differing time periods by an international volunteer for writing the blog on the Musicians without Borders website, making pictures and assisting practically; this was my role as an internee as well for the three months of my presence. As mentioned, additional foreign staff sometimes visited to give training, especially in the Music & Non-Violence Leadership Training. I did not meet or interview any of these as the trainings would only start after the period of my field research. These international trainers were volunteers; only their flight, travel and living expenses during their stay were paid. The trainees taking part in this training are nearly always young adult Palestinians – most of my respondents from this group are women, although there are plenty of men among the trainees. Many participants either do social work or teach for a living, or do voluntary work next to their studies.

As the rap program builds on the expertise of local rappers who already used their art to express their thoughts and comment on societal issues before getting involved with Musicians without Borders, sharing that skill and opportunity through the Rap program can count on the enthusiasm of the local hip-hop scene. The rap-workshop leaders (ten in total during my stay) that give the rap workshop series every year are all young men and mostly refugees. They sometimes receive some financial support for their work (when the funds allow). They also work mostly with children from the refugee camps, but also in orphanages and other organizations working with youth. The samba-training has so far involved an international trainer and participants forming bands. The band in

the isolated village Walaja became most active and successful due to the commitment of two trainees, young men who remained motivated and active as leaders of the band next to their regular

work; both of them did the training in 2012 and contributed to this research as interviewees. The Deaf&Proud program makes use of activities from the other programs, and may similarly involve international trainers. The participants were hearing-impaired children and adults which are reached through the special schools and humanitarian organizations they attend. For the Music Leadership program, preferably three foreign trainers are brought in; one for each training week taking place that year. This year, due to the lack of funding, only one visit by an international trainer was planned; the other two trainings would be given by the Project Manager herself. Other than the normal Music Leadership training, this training was not available for anyone; for the coming year, the Project Manager was working on a group of participants who were either musicians or people who had shown talent within other programs.

Groups to give workshops and trainings to within the several programs may be different each time: often an institution, organization or school facilitates a group (such as the group of a certain grade, a certain department of a hospital, the cultural centre of a small town, or a professional association or a non-profit organization). Sometimes there is a stable group that gets to participate and whose members are well-familiar with one-another, in other cases the group consists of people who do not know each other mostly.

The Music

Having addressed the organisational context of Palestine Community Music, it is time to address musical content: to return to the theoretical language of the previous chapter, I will here discuss the musical and performative elements of the Palestine Community Music program activities. The possibilities for designing musical activities are endless. For the Music & Non-Violence Leadership program, the activities are regularly renewed and reconsidered. "I try to... to use music which the children don't know yet, so not the songs which they also hear on the television... a mix of Arabic music and music - world music so to say, all kinds of music... [...] the older the children, the more you can do with making music yourselves, so with younger children I often use music that is especially written for young children", the Project Manager tells me (E1-M1 6:41-7:30). Regularly changing the songs and other music material which is used is not only done for the workshop participants but also for the trainers and trainees themselves, to make sure that it stays interesting for them as well. The project manager is regularly approached by former trainees asking for new musical material.²⁵

Some of the activities - like the waterdrop dance (see box page 38) and the exercises with the sticks (see page 39) - come from the international Musicians without Borders repertoire which is renewed and expanded when new trainers come to contribute to the training; also the Project Manager herself sometimes brings in foreign music in the Palestine Community Music which she uses alongside the Palestinian musical materials which are not too familiar with Palestinians to use in a workshop. Whenever I asked interviewees about the genre of the music used in the various programs, especially of those activities I knew to be foreign for them, they said that indeed it was unlike any other they knew. Instead of alienating them, however, it seemed to invite their wonder and approval. One of my interviewees felt that the music used in the workshop was an 'international children's language', a music speaking to everybody (int-E-11, MwB).

²⁵ The instances were a Music and Non Violence Leadership trainee managed to invent a new musical activity are few – only one or perhaps two that were mentioned in my research data. The 'Assistant-trainer training', which is done with only a select group, pays more attention to the development of new activities.

Instruments and other musical technologies

A great variety of technologies are used in the different programs. They are chosen for their accessibility; both for trainers and workshop leaders who need to obtain and transport them for the musical activities they are going to lead, and for the participants who generally do not have much opportunity to practice with musical instruments. Especially the Music & Non-violence Leadership training needs to take this into account as their trainees may lead groups of children of all ages and adults, healthy and sick, mentally or physically disabled, small groups and large crowds, close to home or a long drive away. Depending on what kinds of groups the trainees are most likely to work with, a selection is made for the training. “At the moment, I am still in doubt about using tableh, the dambukas [Arabic drums]. We bought them and we used them a lot in the trainings, until I discovered – it is always the largest success in the training, but if they don’t have dambukas [themselves], how can they use it with their [groups]? So the first years I always took about fifteen dambukas with me, you can use it only with small groups anyway, and usually our groups are bigger than fifteen or twenty kids”, the Project Manager reflected. Other than the tableh, instruments that may be used in the Music & Non-violence Leadership training include the participants their own bodies (for body percussion and singing), drumsticks, small percussion instruments such as tambourines and bells, A-4 paper (for the paper orchestra, see box page 38) and sometimes random other objects that are found in the environment. In addition, many activities are supported with guitar by the workshop leader or by recorded music. For the latter, the project manager always takes her smartphone (using it as an mp3-player) and a portable amplifier with her; trainees receive a CD with the recorded songs they learned to use in the training.

The other programs have their own materials. In the Rap program, the rap-workshop leaders are given portable amplifiers in loan to use in their activities. Also, they are provided with the access to Musicians without Borders recording studio in Deheisha refugee camp: this small studio has been mostly used to record the rap songs of the participants. When money comes available, the project manager plans to provide them with a camera as well, so that the groups will be able to make their own music videos. The Samba-program again has its unique set of tools: Samba-drums. The participants learn to use these instruments, create some basic Samba rhythms and combine them with Arabic. Also random materials from the environment can be introduced to make rhythms. The choice for Samba was meant as a lively enrichment upon the traditional and sterner Palestinian scout drum-rhythms. The project gave a set of Samba drums to the participants from the village of Walaja, as they actively took up the things they learned in the training to create and sustain a band in their own village. This band has given shows during the visit of the Prime Minister of the Palestinian Authority, and during two protests, which were received with enthusiasm. In the Deaf&Proud program, materials and techniques from all other programs are used. In addition, there is even more emphasis on non-verbal communication, and if a workshop leader is deaf, she or he might use a metronome as an aid for staying on the beat. The singing activities were also adapted as the attention shifted from being in-tune to using their voices expressively, by sensing their voice and tone through touching and different spots on their bodies.

Songs and dances

In the music workshops, especially those with children, songs and dances are often used, supported by guitar or recorded tracks. Some of the activities I witnessed went to recorded tracks that were especially made for that purpose and which provide extra game-elements. The waterdrop-dance, for example, is a dance with recorded instrumental music which consists of different parts,

each with a different musical style and sound, each asking for different kinds of movements (see box). Other examples are the song about an air balloon which travels to strange places, and the song about visiting an amusement park, in which events and situations are made audible in the music and are enacted in the movements with which the group supports the music. When using recorded music, the workshop leader has the freedom to give the example and lead the children through the song or dance without having to create the supporting music at the same time. Yet when the he or she needs to adapt the tempo of a song to the needs of the group and/or wants to teach the activity in separated parts, using the guitar can be preferable to the recorded music. The Project Manager found that recorded music for supporting songs often goes too fast to her taste.

But also music which was not specially composed for a game can be used to accompany a song with movements, or movements only (for example in a dance or in a warming-up activity). One example of recorded accompaniment for a musical activity is warming up on a song from the soundtrack of the movie “Le Fabuleux Destin d’Amélie Poulain”, to be precise the track called “La Valse d’Amélie”. The piece follows a fairly clear structure of sixteen measures per part. It starts slightly timid and calm, and becomes more filled in with notes and active as the track progresses. The final part is calm again. When used for the warming-up, the leader organizes the group in a circle and does the warming-up in a way that invites the group to follow her/his example. A simple movement is made and repeated for the length of each part of the movement. For the first movement, for example, the group stands on their toes and comes down to flat feet; next, the shoulders are loosened; then the neck and head. The exact movements made on each part are prepared by the workshop leader. The warming-up as I witnessed it, always ended the same way: when the music suddenly calms down, the participants hug and rock themselves until the end of the track, creating a sense of calm, warm relaxation. Another track from the Amélie soundtrack, “la Valse des Monstres”, similarly allows for warming-up because of its clear structure. As it is a much livelier track, the movements are also more active and quicker. Music from the Palestinian-French Trio Joubran has also been used for the same warming-ups, and one of the trainees that used this particular warming-up explained: “It doesn’t matter if the music is Arabic or English or whatever kind of music [genre] we use; it is the music itself [that matters]. [...] I used Amélie with adults, men and women, and with people with disabilities also; it has the same effect for all people. The kind of music [genre] really did not affect the main parts of the warm-up. Also when I do the same warm-up here myself” (int-E-6, musact, 16:30-19:35). The melody, and energy level and structure of a piece of music were generally considered to be more important than genre.

Where such a warming-up activity as described here uses movements that are prepared by the workshop leader, however there are also some songs and dances in which participants – usually

Two Examples

Waterdrop Dance: This is a dance with recorded instrumental music which consists of different parts, each with a different musical style and sound. The dance is introduced with a story about needing to wash with just one drop of water – especially the children from refugee camps have experience with the water being shut off – and the movements of the dance visualize the drop being thrown from one part of the body to another, then making a dance movement for that particular body part.

Paper Orchestra: The workshop leader makes an introduction about these very special instruments (s)he brought, and that the group may be trusted to play them if they were very careful. Then a pile of A4-paper is fetched, and every participant is given one of these ‘instruments with special care. There is an introductory exercise in which all the sounds one can make with the paper by hitting it, stroking it, waving it, tapping it, and so on and so forth. Then similar activities can be done as with the body percussion or sticks: following the example of the leader, and having every one take turns as a leader, as well as name-games with the paper sounds. One more advanced exercise involves one person becoming ‘conductor’: this person non-verbally appoints group members to make a certain sound after his or her example and continue this until the next instruction while the conductor makes the rest of the group play as well, creating a layered composition of paper sounds.

children - are asked to make their own gestures and movements with the music. This goes especially well while learning a new song with guitar accompaniment, as it is easier to repeat parts and take the time for inventing new movements this way. As the project manager tries to find musical materials that participants are not familiar with yet, she draws on the materials that are at her disposal through her work as a cello teacher in Jerusalem. She mostly uses Arabic songs she finds in a Palestinian songbook for children from the 1950s – she said she found this book in at her work once, and although the songs are original Palestinian children’s songs, nobody seems to be familiar with them. Through her work in Jerusalem she also has access to newly made Palestinian songs and musical activities, which she can introduce in the music workshops. In addition, she has taken some musical games from the Netherlands: the waterdrop-dance is an example of this. also she developed material herself by recording something on the cello or combining existing recordings of arab drums.

Games and exercises

Although I heard of some games and exercises that are especially for children, the ones I witnessed and participated in could usually be adapted to the group and could be used with adults as well. Some involved recorded music or a song – for example in activities that resemble ‘musical chairs’ by having to do something (or stop doing something) when the music stops, or by having to stop making music at a certain sign from the leader. The possibilities of designing activities based on such a principle are endless.

But the musical exercises that were used most – and with the greatest diversity of groups – were percussion exercises. The exercises that can be done with body percussion, with drumsticks or with the ‘paper orchestra’ (see box page 38) can be similar, even though the sticks provides a different experience by the sound and feeling of its wooden impact on the surface that is used (the floor, the chair, other sticks). The activity with the sticks was *by far* the most often mentioned activity from the training in my interviews. The workshop leaders often chose for a follow-up percussion exercise where the leader can start making percussion, allowing the group to follow-up. This can be done according within two interactional structures. Firstly, the leader can choose to do something continuously, in which everybody can join in, and play together. For example, the leader can start to make as much noise as possible by hitting the sticks on the floor. This is a good way to attract the attention, and especially more active children seize the opportunity to do the same; the bodily posture and eye-contact of the leader tells them they can join in. Again with non-verbal communication, the leader can indicate them to bring the volume up or down, or can initiate a different timbre by hitting the chair – or whatever else - instead. A second interactional structure which the leader may use, involves the leader making a rhythm and indicating to the group to copy it. By sticking to the beat – four beats example, four beats follow-up – the group will quickly understand the intention of the leader and follow up on the rhythms. This latter technique does not allow for an equal sense of liberation and intensity as hitting the sticks as loudly as possible together, but does allow some new possibilities. The leadership-role can be passed-on through the group, giving each participant the opportunity to make their own sound and rhythm and have it repeated by the group. This can be combined with a name game, in which every participant says his or her name and then makes his or her own rhythm, after which the group repeats the name and the rhythm. The games can be expanded and complicated by letting the group play different rhythms simultaneously according to a scheme or spontaneous intervention of the leader, by mixing timbres and techniques to higher degrees, by bringing in vocal sounds and by giving participants a more conductor-like

position when they get to be the leader. Obviously, not all variations on the rhythmical games are equally suitable for all ages and people.

When using instruments, especially the sticks, the handing out and receiving back of the of the materials has to be included in the game-design; especially with younger children it is important that they do not have the sticks unless they are participating in the activity, because if given too much freedom to entertain themselves they might experiment with hitting one-another. When the activity needs to be wrapped-up, an activity needs to be done in during which the children are already separated from the sticks and the workshop leader can collect them without losing contact with the group. For handing out the sticks with small children I once witnessed a workshop leader playfully making the children handing the sticks to their neighbours until everybody had some, then immediately drawing them into the next part of the activity; one way of getting back the sticks that I witnessed involved having the children join in with the movements of the leader, the last of which was holding the sticks up high above the head and then stretching the arms forward, finishing by putting the sticks on the ground in the middle of the circle. With the paper orchestra, the activity was opened with a story by the leader that (s)he brought some very, very valuable instruments, and that (s)he trusted them enough that she would let the group use them if they would be careful. This act would be continued while reverently handing out the A4-paper and during the activity itself. As the group playfully participates in the act, the leader controls the way the instruments are handled.

So far the activities described are mostly those of the music workshops and trainings from the Music & Non-violence Leadership training. Songs and dances are mostly –possibly exclusively - used in that program, as they are less accessible for hearing-impaired participants than the musical exercises and games are, and the rap- and drum programs focus on the creation of new music rather than existing songs and recordings. Games and exercises however are used in all programs. Although I did not personally witness much of the other programs, the exercises and games for the Deaf & Proud program do much with percussion and simple sound exercises (which are not only audible but fully embodied in movement and impact), where the other two programs combine rap- and samba-specific exercises, combined with some extra theory. In the rap workshops, lessons are given in the history of rap music and different styles within the genre, and exercises for reflecting and opinion-development, for writing and memorizing and developing a performance style take the form of demonstrations by the workshop leaders, rhyming games, making stories from fixed sets of words, and practicing together and in front of each other with the microphone. The workshop leaders create five or six beats using software for each rap written by the participants from which the participants can pick one that suits their song. Reflective songs usually end up with a relatively quiet beat, while emotional songs with a sense of anger or rejection usually end up with a stronger beat.

Activity design

The musical activities described above are only some examples among a plenitude of musical games, dances and songs that are taught in the Music Leadership training; especially since the repertoire is regularly renewed, there are even too many to sum up. The project manager explained that the hardest thing to teach to new trainees is the intuition they need to select musical activities for their group. Sometimes, hyper-active children can calm down through an easy-going musical activity, but usually a more active and intense activity is needed to vent their energy. New trainees tend to stick to the workshop-plan they made in advance, even though it is sometimes needed to be flexible and react on the needs of the group; sensing what kind of music is most suitable at a specific moment however is a skill that needs practicing and experience in order to develop. Considering the

It's all in the game

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"I don't think there is only one thing in the project or in the teaching... for example with [teaching] the colours: yes I could bring some different coloured papers and say 'this is red' and they all say 'this is red' and 'green', and all these things just repeat and learn. But with music, also with having fun with the music, with all the aspect together, this is the important thing. I mean, I can't choose one thing, say, that the educational side of it is most important. But it is important so I can't like... I guess the music is the most important thing, but with music comes: to teach, to have fun, to know about music..." [me:] "So basically the aspect that is most important is that all aspects are combined?" [interviewee:] "Exactly, I mean, otherwise it wouldn't be the project it is, and it wouldn't have the same effect that it has now. That's what I feel at least." (int-N-5, MwB, 21:30-22:45)

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"Everything [in the musical activities] is important, and everything is building upon the other." (int-N-3, MwB, 16:54-18:03)

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"It was beautiful, they taught us something beneficial. [...] Reading the sheetmusic, and how to perform the music in the right way [...]" [Me:] "What part of the activities did you enjoy most?" [Interviewee:] "All of it." [Me:] "Not a single thing that stands out?" [Interviewee:] "[laughs] No, all of it was nice!" (int-E-13, MwB, 10:58-11:06, 18:23-20:13)

~

"The smiles on the children's faces! This is the most important way to start with children." (int-E-11, MwB, 10:25-10:55)

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theory from the previous chapter, it is possible that the capacity to latch on to a musical activity to achieve an active yet relaxed body-awareness depends on what is needed to change to achieve this. An excited person needs a musical activity in which the excitement can be expressed with an intensity in movement and sound, whereas someone who is tense and perhaps insecure might look for musical resources to latch onto which can be integrated with an assuring sense of predictability and accessibility; such qualities are further discussed in chapter four. In any case, the workshop leader must be able to read the traces of stance with the group in order to lead them towards a concerted experience that is accessible to all: instead of seeing a participant participate with difficulty, the leader needs to recognize their traces of stance as for example 'excited' or 'insecure', and know which musical practices will be accessible to take into experience with these stances. Once a participant is in an activity accessible to her or him, the opportunity to latch on to musical elements as well as the leader and the group's performance and stances that are part of the concerted musical experience, may allow that person to reconfigure his or her subjective state in a way that makes other activities more accessible as well.

Conclusion

The Musicians without Borders project in Palestine, based in the Bethlehem Area with Holy Land Trust, relies on a small team and is relatively unknown by name on the one hand, yet on the other hand it has an immensely large range due to the diversity of its programs and due to the fact that its activities are taken home and to work by new groups of trainees every year. Each program within the project aims to develop the participants' musical skills, but also focussed on social development: the Music Leadership program teaches to work with great varieties of groups; the assistant trainer program is the next level up and teaches to become a teacher of leadership; the rap program teaches critical reflection and freedom of expression for (often frustrated) youth; the samba-program teaches teamwork and community support on special occasions; and the Deaf&Proud program supports the

emancipation of the deaf population in Palestine. In the local NGO context this approach is far from familiar.

With its great variety of possible activity designs, and the integration of these activities with different purposes and interactive dynamics, the activities take on meaning that includes the different aspects holistically. Upon asking, in the interview about Musicians without Borders, which aspect my interviewees found most important, a surprising amount of respondents did not wish to pick a single thing: "I think it has to go all together", one interviewee said, echoing the responses from multiple fellow interviewees (int-E-5, MwB, 29:57-30:07).

Chapter 4: Relief

This is a place, Palestine... for children, for youth, for old people: it's a place where from time to time you feel depressed. And you feel that you are closed [in], and you want to breathe in... Breathe some fresh air, you want to- ...to feel the freedom!

~Int-E-9, MwB, 26:00-26:20

“Relief” – I use this word imagining a very deep sigh and the urge to take my muscles out of a torpor that maybe I wasn’t even aware of before. Relief is a feeling, it is a change of awareness and it is a physical act – all in one. In this chapter I propose that it is relief that connects a few of the most important qualities of the musical activities of Musicians without Borders to the lived experience of the occupation. My interviewees spoke of creating a safe space, being free, becoming comfortable and bringing people into a joyful place as qualities of the musical activities that were to them most important.

In this chapter, I will draw on the interview- and observation data to demonstrate that the musical activities of Musicians without Borders are meaningful in relation to the Israeli occupation: it offers relief from feeling embattled by limitations and concerns. The analysis of the interviews was done using color-coding. As will be demonstrated, this sense of embattlement is an important part of my interviewees’ lived experience of the Israeli occupation. The subjective states which figure prominently in this chapter have been taken at face-value: although the overarching terms like ‘relief’ and ‘embattlement’ are mine, the specific states are taken up in the wording of the interviewees . Although these subjective states are intriguing topics for investigation in themselves as well, any cognitive and psychological experiment or method that may determine and compare these more precisely were beyond scope and purpose of this research. Rather, this chapter demonstrates how the states mentioned by my interviewees inform the meaning of the musical activities in relation to the Israeli occupation.

Have a little space

My informants regularly spoke of the musical activities as creating a ‘space’ or ‘place’ with a certain quality. They also used the imagery of space and place to describe the lived experience of the Israeli occupation. More than one interviewee described the occupation as a prison, and the musical activities were described as a place or space of freedom, comfort and joy.

Appealing though this imagery is, in a way it is also mystifying: musical activities did not physically alter the places and spaces in which they took place and my data gives no evidence that the built environment affected the significance of the musical activities. The activities took place in a variety of locations – outdoors, indoors, in large halls and tiny rooms, in schools and studios and other places. Of course the locations did affect the musical activities to some extent by shaping the circumstances, but they did not significantly alter the meaning these activities had to my informants. The space-imagery was also not consistently used: the same qualities were equally often referred to with and without mentioning a sense of place or space, sometimes within the same interview. It would seem, then, that the concepts of ‘space’ and ‘place’ are inadequate to analyze the qualities mentioned by my interviewees as ‘a safe space’ or ‘a happy place’. Yet the use of these terms occurred often enough to invite some examination. I will argue that these experiential qualities mentioned by my interviewees – freedom, comfort, joy – are examples of ‘concerted experience’ as

elaborated in the first chapter (page 12, using theoretical tools from Berger, 2009 and DeNora, 2004) and that their 'in the air', atmospheric quality is responsible for the way these experiences are related to space and place. I hasten to say here that with this argument I am venturing away from empirical substantiation and into the arena of theoretical interpretation.

In the first chapter I proposed (following Berger, 2009) that the dynamics of concerted experience result from the coordination of performance, stance and meta-stance by those involved, and that when these dynamics are clearly noticeable it may be seen as something 'in the air' between the participants. I would like to expand on this by noting that different kinds of places and spaces are associated with specific kinds of concerted experience as part of their 'habitus' – a concept Bourdieu uses to signify a set of "predispositions towards certain behaviours", consisting of those social practices associated with that place (Barnard and Spencer, 2010:459). When a certain kind of concerted experience is thought typical of a place, it is often referred to as 'atmosphere' and projected on the material environment rather than the subjects therein. For example, the solemn and quiet atmosphere in a church can be considered a coordinated experiential practice, performed by church visitors and dynamically concerted between them. This concerted experience however is very much associated both with the predispositions towards behavior in a sacred *place* and the physical attributes (including acoustics) of the physical *space* that makes up the church. Other kinds of locations similarly take on 'atmospheric' meaning as safe, productive, cosy, bleak, hectic or romantic places in relation to their place-specific meaning (i.e, an office, a restaurant, a concert hall) and its material architecture. It is through the anchoring in 'habitus' that an atmosphere can be projected in a material environment even when the occurrence of concerted experience is absent (when being alone for example), as the predispositions for behavioral and experiential practice can be implicated in the signification of that material environment. As atmosphere, produced in concerted practice, can be perceived as part of a particular place or temporal locality – can indeed sometimes be considered a feature of that location that is situated 'in the air' – it is maybe not so surprising that concerted experiences of musical practices are referred to as producing a sense of place or space. This can be exemplified with DeNora's work on 'music asylums', where she describes asylum as "not a place made of bricks and mortar (...) but rather a conceptual space, an anytime/anyplace of health promotion" (2013:175). The asylum-seeking practices she describes (including musical practices) are not physically creating or changing a place or space but engage with a person's 'habitus' of well-being. Part of this 'habitus of well-being' is the creation of an atmosphere – an 'in the air' quality of performance and stance dynamics that is either taking place or preconceived – of comfort and what DeNora calls "flourishing" (2013, throughout). As such, different habituses affording the same kind of experiences (e.g. a physical personal space at home or a sense of personal space in music) can be mutual *substitutes*, something one of my interviewees alluded to with the following: "I especially work with refugees, they really don't have spaces. So, I think that... [...] [the musical activities] it's an alternative... it's like a *compensation* for them" (Int-E-5, 14:00-16:11).

This chapter focuses on two experiences of the musical activities that are expressed as important elements of the meaning of these activities, those of comfort and freedom, and I demonstrate that these musical experiences are signified as relieving in contrast to their lived experiences of the occupation. The two sections that follow, dedicated to these two experienced forms of relief, will demonstrate that dealing with a plentitude of concerns and restraints is part and parcel of my Palestinian interviewees' lived experience of the occupation. In addition, it will be

demonstrated that they find relief from this experience in the sense of freedom, safety, comfort and joy they get from their involvement with Palestine Community Music.

Comfortable

During the training I attended, we (the trainees) learned a few warming-up activities. One of them was especially placid and comforting. The Project Manager warned us that although this musical activity is comforting, it is not suitable for all groups and situations because of its placidness; it does not allow for venting any suppressed energies.

It did however work for us trainees that time. When the music was finished we were all very quiet and at ease. Then, one of Palestinian participants said in a soft whisper: “thank you”.

The Project Manager, who did not hear him well the first time, asked him what he said and then what he thanked us for. He in turn clearly could not explain his sentiment better and repeated, still softly, “just... thank you”. We all felt magically warm and comfortable, and we felt what he meant.

The Project Manager then asked us when we would use such an activity, and what makes it different from other activities. We discussed how there was a lot of immediate interpersonal contact, as we had been looking at each other and bowing to each other and holding each other’s hands. The activity is strong in creating a sense of safety and relaxation due to the low energy level of the music the confidentiality that resulted between the participants. It is not especially strong as a venting activity; it was soothing rather than directing our tensions. If participants would have too much suppressed tension and energy, this activity would not be accessible for them – they would find it difficult to move so calmly and would be easily distracted, especially if they all share this subjective state. .

What is interesting is that I felt like this activity brought us all in the same state of mind, and it was very special to us – and we could feel how real the gratitude of our fellow trainee was, who had thanked us in such a confidential atmosphere. I felt we all knew then how having and sharing this experience had been helpful and meaningful to him. I felt we were all equally comfortable. This fellow participant as well as many interviewees gave clear significance to the comfort experienced with the musical activities. The comfort was not simple another, in this case pleasant, subjective state; it was a relief. Relief found in comfort is hard to relate: we may often not be aware of what causes the tensions and discomforts that creep into our minds and muscles due everyday affairs and which may stick around, and therefore it can be hard to establish what it is exactly that we find relief from. Yet the data demonstrating the

Description of a relaxing warming-up

The *music* that is used for this activity has a floating feel and is quite repetitive. The music begins with a melody consisting mostly of three tones on clean electric guitar. Then the music progresses with a more developed melody in major, going up and down in an activating yet calm way – then coming to rest in the dreamy notes from the introduction. A second progression follows – contrasting, in a way - with the melody going down. Then the cycle of ‘introduction – progression one – progression two (contrast)’ is repeated. In one of the repetitions of the cycle, the contrasting part uses slight distortion. This is repeated before music goes back to the beginning of the cycle, with the familiar, simple, soothing sounds. The *routine* with this music starts with the group sitting on the floor crossed-legged. On the introduction, we bowed forward slowly on four counts, and slowly came up again, until the first progression arrived. On the first progression we made eye-contact with the person next to us and bowed to this person with our hands on our hearts and while keeping eye-contact. As the Project Manager remarked, it is hard not to smile while doing this. The same we repeated to the other neighbor. On the second progression, we first stretched one arm in front of us, then the other. Then we crossed them, and captured the hands of those sitting next to us, and rocked ourselves to the left and right while holding each other’s hands with crossed arms. Then the routine was repeated: bowing down twice, bowing to a neighboring participant four times (twice to each), then stretching our arms, crossing then to take each other’s hands, and move together slowly on the music. Then, we did the routine standing up, while the music was still continuing. When the sound of the second progression became rougher, we stretched our arms with fierce gestures, investing the movements with more power and speed. Next, instead of crossing our arms, we clapped our hands together. Then we calmly sat down again to resume the routine of relaxed, joined gestures.

significance of comfort found in the activities of Palestine Community Music and the experience of tension and concern that is part of lived experience under occupation, show definite relationship. My informants accounted of their lived experience of the occupation as one of discomfort, and valued the comfort, sense of space and place for joy as among the most important qualities of the musical activities – in a few cases the interviewee related its significance vaguely to difficulties in everyday life or ‘the situation’. In the next part I will demonstrate that in fact it does not matter if the discomfort was caused by Israeli occupation directly: anything can be connected to that pervasive military presence, surrounding people with concerns and draining their sense of space– their sense of breathing space.

All entangled

Everything is always about the occupation.

Not because everything is caused by it, or even necessarily has to do with it in one way or another. “The songs the children [participating in the rap workshops] had written themselves – all about the occupation”,²⁶ one rap workshop leader said; “it’s not a stereotype but it’s *all their lives*. It’s a fact” (int-E_9, MWB, 27:14-27:22). The Israeli occupation is so pervasively present and has such a history that it is near impossible to imagine what life would be like without the occupation – where people would live, what they would do, what possibilities they would have. But it is clear to my informants that due to the Israeli presence and control, any struggle they have is made much, much more difficult than it ought to be, and plenty of these struggles would not even be there. Dealing with the limitations and frustrations imposed by the military occupation – both those that are structural and those that are unpredictable – is an everyday affair. Whether one faces an unnerving or deeply upsetting incident, or simply needs to take certain limitations and risks into account for making a plan, people will simply have to take it in stride. “In Palestine the people cannot do [anything] to avoid the situation; when it gets to [the soldier’s] mind to humiliate people, they will do it anytime anyway” (int-E-6, occ, 50:04-22). Many people mentioned in interviews and regular conversation that they or the people they work with are ‘used to it now’. “Every day I remember there is the occupation, every time I walk on the street” (Int-E-2, rock+mwb, 10:35-42).

Although the interviews about the occupation were interesting and productive, I disliked interviewing Palestinians about the occupation. In regular conversation, frustrations and anecdotes about the Israeli military presence sometimes came up. But in the interviews I questioned my interviewees at great length to establish which parts of their lives were affected and to what extent. It was difficult in the first place because the pain and despair caused by the occupation at times is upsetting in itself, even while we spoke only of the relatively ‘safe’ subjects my informants could discuss with me. This was made more challenging due to the difficulty for my interviewees to differentiate between the different ways in which they were affected by the occupation; sometimes ‘everything is affected by the occupation’ was felt to have said it all – no further explanation needed. Being an outsider who is ignorant of what ‘everything’ actually is like, I did however require further explanation, and a lengthy one. When before or at the start of the interview I asked my informants to think of something that to them represents the Israeli occupation in their lives, most of my informants were puzzled at first: how can one thing – a picture, a small object, a keyword – cover something so big? Only after my interpreter translated my explanation that it need not represent the

²⁶ It seems that there have been a few songs written about other subjects such as a song about school or a song by girls about the (sexual) harassment they experience on the streets; however, other workshop leaders similarly testified that the occupation is by far the most-occurring topic chosen by the children.

occupation completely, but that we would use it as a starting point, could my informants think about it and pick something. In short, it took special effort to break down the omnipresence of the occupation into concrete descriptions and anecdotes.

Chapter 2 already demonstrated the discomfort which is continually created by the Israeli occupation. As is explained in that chapter, dealing with the restraints on mobility and encounters with Israeli soldiers means extra effort goes into travelling and into anything that is done while fearing and awaiting what the Israeli soldiers might do. It also demonstrated how these causes of discomfort in turn create more causes for concern: the bad economy, struggling to get enough income for the family, reminders in the everyday environment of what upset people before, problems created by the bad travelling opportunities, a difficult atmosphere in the neighborhood or at home because of people being upset. During the music leadership training I attended, we were informed that sometimes children could feel quite unsafe at home, if for example a father had been humiliated at a checkpoint and took out his frustration on his family.

The concerns created directly by the occupation somehow color all other concerns with the same sense of struggle and tightness. One of my interviewees illustrated this very well, as she gave me much information on her circumstances. Being the only hearing daughter in a nearly all-deaf family, she explained that there had always been a lot of responsibility on her shoulders for taking care of her family and providing an income. I was explained that many Palestinians believe that a deaf person has no potential beyond begging on the street, and even if deaf people can find a job they are paid much less than others doing the same work. My interviewee started to work at an early age, and only later became a social worker and sign-language interpreter by education, but paid work remained hard to come by even for her. She said she was dealing with great financial and psychological problems at the time she heard of the training given by Musicians without Borders. One time when I joined her and the project manager home after a workshop, she got hurt accidentally and broke down in tears – not over the pain, but because she could not hold them back at that moment. During our interview about the occupation, she told me about her worries; her concern over her parents and siblings, her difficulties in finding work, the days when she cannot go to the work she has because of the presence of soldiers in the refugee camp where she needs to go, how she is always checking the locks on the doors at home to feel safe. She recounted to me how her brother was beaten up by soldiers in front of the house once – she had not seen it, as she stayed inside the house for her own and her family's safety, but they had been able to hear all of it. She also told me about how she had screamed, that time when she was still a child and witnessed soldiers bashing her uncle's head against a wall. He had died of his injuries a few days after.

The situation makes it hard to draw a line between the lived experience of the occupation and the concerns that are not directly related or caused by the occupation; the way this interviewee is under pressure of her responsibilities towards her family is not caused by the occupation, yet the way these concerns are part of her lived experience makes it inextricably connected to the Israeli occupation as well. It all adds up: the responsibility, the practical concerns, the memories and fears. Taking daily challenges in stride is an exercise in 'getting out' of the problems, continuously finding solutions. An different interviewee told me: "just like every other guy in the world I want to live my life, a youth-life: work on myself, do things. But the occupation is surrounding me from all the sides" (Int-E-3, occ, 30:10-40).

A safe space

The sense of safety is an important provision for the other dimensions of the musical activities: the learning, the moving, the music-making, the interaction, the creativity and the actual enjoyment of the activities, the complete experience of being there and participating. The same interviewee whose concerns I described above, told me in the other interview (about the activities of Musicians without Borders) that the Music Leadership training had been very significant for her personally: “when I got involved in the workshop I felt very comfortable... and this was the first time that I was feeling like that” (int-E-6, MwB, 5:38-52). She was not the only one who observed (with themselves and/or with the children and other participants in the workshops) that the musical games, songs and exercises made them feel comfortable; it allowed them to vent their energy, to discharge their feelings, and created a safe time-space.

In a few cases, I was even told that the musical activities lent them courage: the courage to be a leader in different kinds of group activities, to express their thoughts and experiences in a way they otherwise wouldn't (especially in the rap program) and sometimes to perform on stage, in front of family and others; in case of the Deaf & Proud program (described on page 32), deaf participants grew more comfortable with using their voice. The capacity of the musical activities to make the participants comfortable, feel safe and gain courage for self-expression, was not only asserted in many of the interviews but was also part of my own, personal experiences and observations. I noticed that the sense of comfort was carefully created in several ways.

During the Music Leadership Training days for international volunteers, in which I participated, the Project Manager (who was giving the training) said that she always likes to give the children in her workshop something familiar and something new. The new element makes the workshop interesting and engaging, but the familiar element is needed to make it accessible. The participants feel more at ease when there is something they can already do. For participants (like me) it is comforting to realize that the activity lies within the scope of our abilities. This is guarded at all times: not only by using familiar activities together with the new, but also by making sure that all activities are accessible to participants regardless of their musical proficiency. In the Music Leadership program, workshop activities are designed to be accessible to the trainees, and special attention is paid in the training to how the trainee can make their music workshop accessible to their own group of participants. In the training days that I participated in, the Project Manager regularly challenged us to find a way to make a game easier for young children, or how to make another game more interesting for older children, or to find other special variations.²⁷ Also, she made us aware of why one or more participants might drop out of an activity – in other words, why a specific activity might or might not ‘work’. In relation to the samba and the rap programs, too, several interviewees mentioned that the techniques are accessible, easy to learn. For the Deaf & Proud program, all activities are specifically adapted to be accessible for the deaf participants. When an activity turns out to be accessible to all participants (which provides a basic safety to participate and be comfortable), the nature of this activity further determines the affective states it allows. This means that especially the warming-up activities are selected for their accessibility in relation to the mindset and energy level of the participants as they come into the workshop. The Project Manager told me that she finds it a challenge to teach trainees how to judge what kind of activity will ‘work’ with a group of participants in a certain state of mind, as it is something you have to empathize. During the training she taught us trainees that a very active group children for example usually requires an

²⁷ These training days gave special attention to making workshops for children, because they were especially intended for the volunteers of Music Harvest, which give music classes to school children of various ages.

active warming-up activity in which they can vent their energy, and that a calm warming-up usually does not work with such a group. The group would be too restless to latch on to it. The warming-up is a vital part of the workshop, one of my interviewees explained; she felt that the rest of the workshop depended on it (int-E-4, sticks). From the interviews about materials used in the activities, it became clear that accessibility was a major consideration in the musical activities. The Project Manager's dilemma of using the tableh (see also page 37) was about accessibility as well, as activities with the tableh are familiar and accessible instruments for her Palestinian trainees, yet the instruments themselves are hard to keep and transport in the numbers needed for a workshop.

Apart from the accessibility of the activities and instruments in and on themselves, a sense of safety was also created by the leadership skills taught in the program. The Project Manager explicitly mentioned the importance of group-wide attention and a clear workshop structure. Both of these are comforting, as I experienced in the trainings and workshops: the equal spreading of attention makes everybody feel included, and a clear structure makes it easier to participate in the activity. The supportive attitude of the workshop leader and the Non-Violence Direct-Action techniques (see also chapter three, *Non-Violence Direct-Action*) taught to the participants of all programs further encourage a safe atmosphere: to interact without judgment and to teach active listening, among others, is an important part of this. Also, one of my interviewees tells me, as a Music Leadership trainee he learned to use the kind of body-language that children understand and feel comfortable with; a 'peaceful' and safe way of communicating. "I learned how communicate [using] movements with it that will make the children understand me, and how to use my hands in the right way, [in a way that] will be comfortable with the children. And also not to use a hand-[gesture] when I see children misbehave, if you want to warn them, this [specific] movement, but to keep my movements in a peaceful way (...) To be loose, relaxed and with open hands, and not make movements like hitting, or that will children [that impression]. (...) [when I am giving a music workshop] I want to take the time to give my activity, and to be comfortable doing the activity" (int-E-2, MwB2, 22:25-25:28, 30:15-'38).

A happy place

I interviewed a European lady who did not participate in the programs of Palestine Community Music but was there helping to facilitate music workshops. At the beginning of the interview she directly started to tell me about the work of the project Manager, whose work she's witnessed most. "It's not just about the music, but the way she does it, she does it with a smiling face. She does it with joy (...) [she] smiles and makes jokes and it's a very nice energy!" (int-O-1, MwB+Mus, , 2:35-3:05). A little later in the interview she added: "In my opinion it's not just the music and the games, it's also the attitude... as I told you before, not dealing with the child like [authoritative]... -[but] seeing into the eyes of the child, smile, making a joke, doing it joyfully" (14:22-'46). She found this the most significant aspect of the musical activities as taught by the programs of Musicians without Borders. The happiness, laughter and fun are a hugely valued part of the musical activities for nearly all my interviewees and seemed to go hand in hand with the comfort the activities gave them. A trainee of the Music & Non-violence Leadership program told me: "Musicians without Borders gave me the experience and how to make eye [-contact], how to gain the trust of the children, how make them smile, how to get them out of depression (...). [I use it for] ice-breaking, in general. And I use it not only with children but also with adults" (int-E-2, MwB, 14:10-15:35). The fun had in the musical activities plays an important role in achieving the degree of comfort that makes these activities effective and meaningful for the participants. Another trainee told me enthusiastically: "I want to

continue [working with Musicians without Borders] forever! (...) because I saw a results from the work, and I got people from their misery and depression to a happy and joyful place” (int-E-7, MwB, 5:00-’15). To her, what is most important about the musical activities is to “relieve psychological pressure with the handicapped children [I work with], to make them feel comfortable. (...) Even when they are alone [the handicapped children] continue to sing the songs and make the same body movements I taught them” (19:55-21:06).

All three rap workshop leaders whom I interviewed emphasized the importance of play and laughter in their interviews: that the rap workshops offer children a safe place to play, and that the most enjoyable about the workshop is the laughter of the kids and playing games (int-E-5, int-E-9, int-E-3; rap, MwB). An international volunteer²⁸ for Sounds of Palestine, who participated with the Music Leadership training and lead activities in kindergartens of Aida and Al-Azzeh refugee camps, said: “of course it’s the playing part [that is most fun], like we say in Arabic ‘habal’, just *craziness*, we just put some music and do move-stop dance. There’s not much in it, like, to educate, other than learning that when there is music we dance and when there’s no music we stop. But it’s nice to just... they have fun, they have a great time!” (int-N-5, MwB, 22:48-23:18). Another interviewee was laughing as she remembered the fun she had had with a group of children to whom she had given a workshop: “I noticed that when the children [play] with the sticks and hit other things they feel happy and comfortable after that. And when the workshop finished and I wanted the sticks back everybody tried to hide it and said ‘I don’t have any!’, because they are (...) enjoying playing with the sticks! You may notice this when you are watching a workshop, how very beautiful it was with the children” (int-E-6, MwB, 34:30-36:48). When I asked my interviewees who had participated with the Samba program, what they liked best about the training, they both said they enjoyed all of it (int-E-13, MwB, 19:35-20:05; int-E-12, MwB, 36:35-’55).

Free

One of my interviewees brought a seashell to the interview about the occupation (int-E-4, occ). It had been gifted to her by a friend who had been so fortunate to receive Israeli permission to visit one of the cities on the Mediterranean shore. When I asked her why she choose to bring it, she told me that it reminds her of the sea, which is a great symbol that is deeply connected to the occupation: it reminds her of the freedom of creatures of the sea on the one hand and stands for the way the occupation affects her mobility, as shells cannot be found in the areas where she is allowed to go. “It always reminds me of the sea... I always wanted to go there without [having to pass] checkpoints or to face problems when you go there. [Every]one wants to go there without facing problems, to have problems with checkpoints and Israeli soldiers. (...) It’s about going anywhere. You don’t have the extreme ability to move freely; a simple example is my movement from Bethlehem to my university; you have to face a container checkpoint. Sometimes I find it closed so you have to wait half an hour or an hour. Then you will be late. Or if you have an exam, the exam [will be] finished, so what to do? It [happens] often, as it comes to [the soldiers’] minds” (20:30-3:00, 4:47-6:00). As such, the sea in general has come to stand for all places she cannot reach without overcoming the obstacles put in place by the occupation; it stands for her lack of freedom. It was not the first time I heard a Palestinian speak with special significance of the sea. When I asked her why the sea in particular bears this special meaning, she answered: “I like the smell of the sea and I thought it looked like,

²⁸ Normally, the programs of Palestine Community Music are meant for Palestinians exclusively. An exception is made for training offered to the volunteers of Music Harvest, which always works with internationals, and Sounds of Palestine, which works with a few internationals as well. See also chapter three, *Partnerships*

somehow, life in general. (...) the sea contains soft organisms and... living things... there is the big, the small, the strong and the weak ones. (...) I feel like it's an example for freedom. Because these small living organisms are living together in peace. Why [don't] humans live in peace?" (45:15-47:15). My interpreter commented near the end of the interview: "Imagine if they put a container or checkpoint in the sea, and the living creatures could just swim around it! How the creatures live in the sea, they have a lot of freedom" (48:00-49:00).

A sense of captivity is maybe one of the most obvious parts of the lived experience of the occupation. But sometimes a sense of confinement is also resulting from living only in and around the house - a small space shared with others. One of the rap workshop leaders commented: "especially the Palestinian kids, if they have *any* opportunity to go out of their homes, they won't refuse it. So it [the rap workshop] is also just an opportunity for them to go and meet new guys, meet their friends away [from home], have a place to play in safely, where they are not afraid from many things... And I especially work with refugees; they really don't have spaces. So I think that... [...] [the rap workshop] it is an alternative... it's like a *compensation* for them." (int-E-5, rap, 13:21-16:11).

Boxed in

Among all ways in which the Israeli occupation of the West Bank affects the lives of my Palestinian informants, its impact on their sense of freedom is most prominent. The wall, checkpoints and tight geography of the refugee camps are physical reminders of the confining nature of Israeli military control, and the restrictions and frustrations go even deeper. "The occupation here is just like... putting you under curfew, surrounding you from all the sides here. You can't move, you can't mobilize, you can't plan for the future", the studio manager told me (INT E-3, occ, 8:40-57). Every time there is a lack of money for unexpected costs (int-E-10), when permission to visit Jerusalem to pray during Ramadan is first granted and then denied last-minute (int-E-11), when traffic congestion at the checkpoints means sleep deprivation and having to make up for a missed class at university (in-E-3, int-E-4), when a trip to Hebron is suddenly cancelled because the road has been closed (int-E-11), when there is no public transport to go to work (int-E-12), when the water or electricity gets closed off, when property is taken during a raid (int-E-2, int-E-11), when there are no job opportunities (int-E-6, int-E-10, int-E-11), when there is no access to a certain service (healthcare, education) because the employees are on strike for better salaries (int-E-1); in all these situations, dealing with the occupation is not simply a matter of perseverance. New possibilities and alternative courses of action to overcome all the foreseen and (especially) unforeseen obstacles need to be found. Prohibition, difficulty, fear and discouragement eat away the scope of possibilities – from my interviews I made out a general sense of being surrounded by the impossible.

The impossible is not only there in practice; the impossibilities of life under occupation are at times visibly emphasized by the presence of the Israeli soldiers, walls, fences and settlements. Although the more and less concrete artifacts, places and anecdotes make up most of the representations of the Israeli occupation in my interviews and in the media, the lived experience of the occupation seems to have much more to do with possibilities in life for my interviewees. For example, more than one refugee mentioned his original village to me in order to describe his situation as a Palestinian refugee, but from the accounts it seemed that the *lived experience* of being a refugee is more defined by *not being able to return* than by the original village itself. Within the Palestinian narrative of suffering, and especially with the refugees and their narrative of the Right to Return (see chapter two, *Inside the Camp*), courses of action that are considered normal yet which are frustrated by the policies of Israel are often referred to as rights. One of my interviewees told

me: “here [in Palestine] I have to do these things, I have to do *all these things* to get something back... to get what I consider my rights. I have to put in all that time and all that effort. Which, compared to abroad, you don’t have to put so much effort to get your rights, what you deserve. [...] you don’t have to be tired abroad, to get your rights, you don’t have to spend an effort, or time. It’s obvious.”

“So what do you mean exactly when you say that you get ‘your rights’, what kind of things do you think of?” I asked him. He answered: “[To have the] freedom to... feel safe first. And feel freedom of movement, and feel free to choose what I want to be. [...] The freedom to find a job... [...] We are dreaming of having our rights, we are dreaming of getting married [and] building a house. These [should not be] dreams, these are obvious rights” (Int-E-3, occ, 1:24:50-1:28:00). There is a “sense of legitimate expectation”, to use the phrasing of Ferguson (1999:12), that regular wishes for life *should* be possible to realize but are prevented by the Israeli occupation. The same interviewee also mentioned how the occupation dominates the possibilities of regular conversation: “my relation with my friends and the family is strong, but the current situation has obliged us to... that the occupation will take a bigger space in our talks, bigger space in our stories and daily talks [...] with the family or friends, we don’t have the right to talk about something else, we became so much political and so much aware about political issues... because of the existence of the occupation, we don’t live, kind of, a normal life: like other men or other youth, other people in the world who do not interfere in politics and who barely talk about it, who barely talk about these things and they have talks just to be happy and express themselves differently. We became experts in everything related to politics because of the existence of the occupation.” (int-E-3, occ, 18:00-19:20).

The different kinds of impediments all pose a challenge to a person’s creativity and resources. This contributes to a sense of captivity which cannot be taken literally as just a lack of space (even though actual space is an important factor): “Everything is basically controlled by them [Israel] [...] they control everything” (int-E-3, occ, 13:54-14:13). The impossibility to travel or to access one’s land property comes to figure for the whole scope of impossibilities: ‘being who you want to be’, to have some degree of control over one’s own life. Two of my interviewees (Int-E-2 ; int-E-3) mentioned that they were first attracted to the training offered by Musicians without Borders because of the name of the organization. “I like the idea of ‘Musicians without Borders’”, one of them explained (int-E-2, MwB, 4:20-’25); “We have borders and limits in our life all the time... The word ‘without borders’ [appealed to] me a lot (...) I liked the term.” (7:00-’40).

An alternative (to) Space

My interviewees often mentioned the exploration of new possibilities – the chance to be creative – as one of the most rewarding experiences with the activities of Musicians without Borders. One of the samba trainees mentioned: “because we fell into it, and we liked it, we started to do more. We started creating sounds and adding more sounds and we became creative. So it helps with this kind of creativity and how to get *new things*”(int-E-12, MwB, 35:48-36:12). To him, this was one of the things he found especially important and enjoyed about the Samba training. Another trainee, of the Music Leadership training, was very certain that more people should participate with Musicians without Borders: among the benefits for participant she mentioned that “you can find a space to try new things” (int-E-4, MwB, 13:20-14:12).

For every program of Musicians without Borders, comments were made by my interviewees that it offered ‘creative space’. This never referred to a physical space but rather to the experience of creative space, even in the case of the rap program which was the only program that made use of a

fixed physical space as well (the recording studio). Although my interviewees mentioned the studio as a great resource and a place to go in order to create something, the comments on the creative experience and the importance of getting the opportunity to develop one's creativity were mostly related to the workshops and trainings – be it rap and samba workshops for teenagers, a music workshop to people who require special care, a music lesson in a kindergarten or school or the training days for workshop leaders. One interviewee actually pointed out to me that, in fact, the musical activities did not so much offer *space*, really, but offered a *compensation* for the lack thereof. It is worth to note that this was pointed out to me by one of the rap workshop leaders, despite that they have access to a recording studio; apparently, the compensation results not from the actual space or place offered, but from the musical activities themselves. The impossibility of finding access to places outside the daily routine, and sometimes even those (when having to travel for work or education) and the resulting sense of captivity my interviewees related was not relieved by giving them access to places per se, but rather by giving them access to an activity in which the 'impossible' simply does not take part. It was relieved by offering a sense of capacity and possibility.

In any given musical activity of Musicians without Borders that I witnessed or was told about, the participants discovered that they could do something new – something they never tried before. And not only were they able to do this new thing, the activities made them improvise and invent new possible variation and implementations of the activities. The creative exercise in the activities of Musicians without Borders in Palestine usually came down to creating new sounds – as the samba trainee mentioned in the citation above –, new rhythms and new movements, and in case of the rap-workshop also new words. The spontaneous search for a new act which would be one's personal contribution to the group activity was inexhaustible: there seemed to be endless possibilities, and a movement, sound, rhythm or word that was invented earlier could be used in new, different ways as well. The impossible which is part and parcel of the lived experience of the occupation was not so much rendered possible but insignificant for the purposes of the musical activities: to experiment, to express, to learn and to enjoy.

A free mind

Where the music in itself offered relief from 'the impossible' by having nothing to do with these impossibilities directly, the framing of these activities within the non-violent direct-action approach offered its share of relief. It made sure the musical activities did not only offer a way to be away from a reality of impossibilities, but also a supplement to a person's resources within this reality. One trainee, who had followed a Music leadership training for her studies in social work, told me: "[This training] is very good for our community, it will change a lot in the community and the people will act differently. It will change the people for the better (...) their way of thinking, they will know how to deal with children and their problems, both [their own] and the kids' problems. (...) Before the [training], the people's thinking is closed, and when they take the [training] it will be more open, and they will think about the benefit of other people and the benefit of children, how they can help them! At first I didn't know how to deal with children. And in my workshop with [the project manager] when some children did naughty things. In my opinion, I would scream to the child to stop doing that thing. But then I saw that [the project manager] turned the bad behavior into a good behavior, and how I can deal with the children like that. It taught me to do the same thing, and how to deal with the children's problems." I asked her: "when you say that people's minds are open [or] closed, (...) what do you mean by that exactly?" She answered by explaining: "Before the [training] when they see a problem and they do not know how to act, they just scream, or hit the children.

After the [training] they see other ways to solve the problems. They will start to think in another way; after they take the workshop they will feel *free* and comfortable with themselves and the problems and that will affect how they solve the problems”, she explained. (int-N-3, MwB, 24:00-30:00)

In this case, the trainee found new freedom in her work as a social worker with the experience and musical resources she acquired during the Music Leadership training. Her description of coming to find new possibilities for working with children, which she predicted to be very important and meaningful to others in her community as well, very much applied to herself. Although speaking of people as closed minded was done by different people I met in different ways, this trainee spoke of it as a matter of being captive, as it were, by having only one or two possible responses to a situation, and finding freedom and openness in the discovery of new alternatives.

Other interviewees too found special value in the way the musical activities offered them new possibilities in everyday life. The samba-trainees, for example, were quite passionate about the importance of ‘the meaning of samba’, which to them was especially how to *use* samba for a social cause. When I asked the studio manager, what the most important reason for him to continue working with Musicians without Borders was at that moment, he answered: “it opens for me more space... to express [myself] and reveal my abilities into something positive. (...)Also on a social level, the experience I get is very important. (...) It changes my way of expressing myself and gives positive effect on my personal, professional and social habits” (int-E-3, MwB, 7:55-10:00).

Conclusion

When I finalized my interview with the Project Manager by asking her if there was anything that she found important that we didn’t discuss yet, she reflected on how foreigners usually put the occupation as either dramatically bad or actually not so bad (probably depending on what they expected to see). She indicated that this was the wrong approach to understanding the situation: “A lot of problems here are not about the conflict, but on the other hand the conflict is always there, and it is very different for a foreigner with a foreign passport who can always go back. That makes everything different from when you are stuck here”, she said, touching both on the sentiment of besiegement and the way the occupation impregnates everyday life (int-E-1, passport, 1:53:10-‘34).

“The work with [the music workshops] is very interesting”, one of the more recent trainees said, “and I [find] relief and feel more free when I am [doing the musical activities] with [the children]”(int-N-3, MwB, 12:20-13:00). The meaning their involvement with Palestine Community Music had for my interviewees was that it allowed them to experiment and feel free, to be at ease, have fun and be comfortable. Although these would be pleasant experiences for anyone, they bore special significance for my interviewees. My interviewees spoke of these experiences as fulfilling a great need; some of them specifically mentioned that this was of great value, even a necessity, to their community or to the people they worked with, while others implicated the value it had by the way they emphasized these qualities. Where my interviewees’ accounts of the occupation gave me a sense of oppression and disappointed frustration, their accounts of the musical activities conveyed to me a sense of relief: relief in being able to set aside all worries and limits for a moment.

As access to space and particular places is a key-component in the methods of the Israeli occupation and the spatial dimension of the occupation is the most visible one, the challenges and worries my interviewees were dealing with contributed to a sense of captivity, of lacking space. “Palestine”, a rap workshop leader painted the picture, “...it is a place where from time to time you feel depressed... and you feel that you are closed [in], and you want to breath in, breath some fresh air, you want to- ...to feel the freedom” (26:00-26:20 Int-E-9 MWB). My interviewees experienced the

occupation far more than as a siege of soldiers, checkpoints and walls: it is a siege of restraints, prohibitions, worries and fears.

The musical activities on the other hand are time-spaces of freedom, comfort, enjoyment and experiment; of venting, of calming down and of safety. They offer a time-space where my interviewees can be at ease and where the sense of captivity makes way for an entire landscape of new possibilities. My interviewees found relief in these activities from their lived experience of the occupation, and often felt they were able to offer this relief to the people they work with as well.

Chapter 5: Prospect and purpose

Every day is worse than the day before [...] I am not pessimistic but the situation makes me think like that. [...] I am used to this situation, [...] the people already know what will happen in the future. [...] I already know what there is in the future, and there is no hope.

~Int-E-11, occ, 29:35-34:10

In this chapter, I argue that both the military occupation and the musical activities of Palestine Community Music affect the participants' sense of hope and prospect. Where the occupation makes it hard to envision a future and drains the prospects of the Palestinians I interviewed, these same Palestinians continually seek new ways to maintain their hope and ambitions, and to overcome the fatigue of living under occupation. Their involvement with Musicians without Borders helps them in this struggle as well, as (also due to the Non-Violence Direct-Action approach) every musical activity has purpose. Purpose is the kind of meaning an activity has when it works to achieve a certain end; when it works towards an envisioned, meaningful future, be it modest or ambitious. One might see this particular significance of the activities of Palestine Community Music as relief from a lack of prospect, using the same framework as has been used in the previous chapter. However, here there is more going on: the *malal* of the occupation ('weariness', described and substantiated below) is not only relieved with a contrasting alternative experience, but it is also overcome *within* the construction of prospect.

The weariness and the fight of Palestinians against this weariness, as I identified from my interviews as well as observations in the field, can best be understood along the Arabic concepts of *amal* and *malal*. These concepts will be introduced first. Then, I will demonstrate that *malal* is part of the lived experience my interviewees have of the occupation. Then I move on to present the four ways in which the musical activities of Musicians without Borders in Palestine have supported my Palestinian interviewees in nurturing hope (*amal*) and fighting their weariness (*malal*), which I have identified in the interviews.

Malal (ملل) & Amal (أمل)

During one of my Arabic lessons in the local dialect, my teacher taught me two new words, with the purpose of teaching me something about 'the situation in Palestine'. In Palestine, she explained, people are in a struggle for keeping *amal*, which means 'hope', and fighting *malal*, which means 'boredom'. She explained that in some cases people did things for no other reason than fighting *malal*; according to her, this counted especially for the young men. As an example, she mentioned young men that would call after young foreign women like me on the streets. According to my teacher, some young (unmarried) men might think of the possibility of escaping Palestine by getting a relationship with a foreigner. Not as something that will actually work or that they will seriously try, but nice enough a dream to give a foreign woman some attention.

I cannot make any claims myself about why a young man would or would not call after a foreign woman – as far as I know, this particular behaviour can take place in any part of the world. However, my teacher's lesson about fighting *malal* made me aware of the way my Palestinian friends used the word "boredom", and gave a name to the weariness that I sensed during all interviews about the occupation. The people that I spoke with during my field research that described how something was boring or that they were bored, *could* be simply have nothing much to do, but most of the time they

were very busy people. The people who used the word “boredom” to describe their state of mind to me were usually dealing with a lack of motivation or energy for what they were doing, regardless of whether their activities counted as ‘doing nothing’ or ‘working hard’. Hearing my teacher explain the word *malal*, the Arab equivalent of ‘boredom’, together with the Arab word for ‘hope’, made me understand that *malal* can in fact go deeper than what I am used to understanding as ‘boredom’: *malal* is what happens when the things you do stop being enjoyable or meaningful because there is a monotony to it and you’ve lost a sense of purpose. Or as Schielke put it: “Boredom is born out of frustration about monotony, of there being no realistic prospect of progress” (2008:258). Schielke distinguishes between what he calls ‘situational boredom’, which is close to the most common use of the English word ‘boredom’, and ‘existential boredom’, which “implies a denial of hope”; “It is a more existential state of lack of future and hope, intimately coupled with frustration, and often close to despair (2008:266 and 256 respectively). The latter resonates closely with the notion of the *malal* of the occupation that speaks from my data. The Arab-English dictionary Al-Mawrid by dr. Ba’albaki (1995) gives the following translation for the words *Amal* and *Malal* in classical Arabic:

أمل *Amal* *Hope; expectation* (pp. 171)

ملل *Malal* *Weariness, boredom, ennui, tiredness, tedium* (pp. 1107)

The classical, standardized Arabic Language is often different from local dialect, however these two words are also used in the same sense in Palestinian dialect.

Amal and Malal under Occupation

During the unstructured interviews about the occupation my interviewees usually brought up events and living conditions. Only occasionally the state of mind these conditions brought them in was mentioned. Yet even when these states of mind (being hopeful or worn down) were only shortly mentioned, or sometimes not even mentioned, they did seep through and set the tone of their stories. Interviewees could be deeply negative about their experiences and especially their expectations of their living condition, to a point where their following comments on the importance of hope and staying positive was very striking. One young woman, who gave up on finding work as a teacher and was now learning for a different profession, said: “Everyday is worse than the day before [...] I am not pessimistic but the situation makes me think like that. [...] I am used to this situation, [...] the people already know what will happen in the future. [It is the same with trying to find a job as a teacher:] I already know what will happen, [...] I already know what there is in the future, and there is no hope, I will not get a chance. [...] I can help myself by looking for something else, because I know nobody will help doing other things and getting a job. There are a lot of people like me, ninety percent of the [graduates] have the same problem. They cannot sit in their house and do nothing, they should help themselves to find work” (int-E-11, occ, 29:35-36:30).

Another interviewee followed a similar line of thought, in which hopelessness is followed up directly with the assertion that things might still work out. “Occupation, occupation, occupation... they will occupy more and more, in the future they will take this land and there is no peace; peace is like a dream [...] when they talk about peace, it is like giving us medicine [to keep us calm]. [...] My general expectation of everyday life is that today is gone, and tomorrow will be better! This is what I hope, there’s nothing to do other than hoping this” (int-E-6, occ, 35:25-44:50). Other interviewees were decidedly more vague about the future, rather not dwelling on the matter. An interviewee from the village Walaja told me: “For my future, I want to build a house on my land, but there is no land so

the plan is cancelled. And if I want to build a house here I have to buy new land. I do not know what my future is, also if I would live in Bethlehem it would be hard, I will stay in this village [Walaja]. [...] For the future, I really don't know what will happen. No-one really knows what will happen to us. But I hope something better will come, that good things will happen" (int-E-12, occ, 46:13-47:00; occ2, 23:00-24:45).

Different interviewees approached their future and their everyday expectations in different ways, so that it helped them to maintain hope to higher or lesser degrees. Two interviewees made a point of being optimistic. "I just live my day. I do not expect too much. I see myself as an optimistic person, so I always expect the good to happen, not the bad. [...] if I was that person who had bad thoughts or expect the worse to happen, then I will not think of my future, or I will not draw a plan of my future or what I want to be in the future. Even if my dreams do not come true, I believe that one day one of them comes true, whatever it was. [...] Even if sometime I get depressed I quickly get over it [...] I hate negative feelings" (int-E-4, occ, 30:13-33:11), one of them explained. The other interviewee told me: "Even with the current situation I want to challenge the situation and make my ambitions happen. One of them is going back to university [in Ramallah]. I want to challenge the whole situation, [which] shouldn't stop me from what I want to do. I am taking [the occupation] as just another bump in my way" [...] "Mostly, [my emotions] give me the positive [push]. I never experienced that I am depressed, I never reached the point of just 'sit down surrender'. I will always try to get out of the situation, of the trap of reality, to positive ways. [...]" (int-E-3, occ, 34:50-35:30, 41:39-44:50).

Fighting *malal* and keeping *amal* are very connected: people lose motivation and purpose for their daily affairs, when it is hard to connect them to the prospects that are meaningful to them. When people spend their time doing work they dislike in order to sustain the family, and are not getting the opportunity to achieve those things that have meaning, for example. One of my interviewees (int-E-10, occ) is not happy with her work in Bethlehem at all, where she is working three days a week. She makes fifty shekels (about ten euros) on a day, which is just enough to pay for the public transport to and from Bethlehem and for her food. She tried to make her own business in handicrafts, but had to give it up because she lacked the support and know-how to make this work; she did not succeed in finding a different job yet, because employers prefer to hire people from within the urban area, for whom transport is less of a cost. "If I spend all my payment on transport, what is the benefit of working?" she asked, frustrated (int-E-10, occ, 23:00-23:08).

Another example would be the people who get stuck in a routine of unemployment, because they are no longer in school and cannot find a job. During my stay in the field, there was a non-violence direct-action training for youth from the street in Beit Sahour; they were aged from young teens (eleven years old) to some that were around twenty years old. I was told that these young men and boys were normally just hanging around on the streets, smoking cigarettes. One of the people whom I encountered regularly in Singer Café had started to make contact with them, and tried to help them as much as he could; when I met them, they had already participated in the samba training and the rap programme thanks to his efforts (FN3, 24 Januari).

A similar position, I was told, is a given for the hearing impaired: most people in Palestine (including deaf people themselves) underestimate their possibilities, and many of them become beggars. This kind of tedium in everyday life was presented as something that engenders passivity; people give up on finding a prospect for themselves. None of my interviewees was in such a position however; some of them even mentioned that they were too busy. Having enough to do however does not mean that they did not have to fight the tedium of the occupation. An interviewee who

participated in the Samba program wakes up every morning with a view on the wall, which is twenty meters from his front door; he hardly gets any free time from his work throughout the year; and (as the eldest son) he has a responsibility to support his family, especially since his father is very ill most of the time due to the way he has been tortured in Israeli prison (Int-E-12, occ)²⁹. Every Friday morning he walks from his home to the next village, Beit Jalla, in order to get a ride from his friend to his work, as there is no public transport on Friday. The connection between his village, which is surrounded by the wall and security fence, is discouraging for the traffic (int-E-12, occ). His whole village has to deal with the tedium of the ongoing court cases to maintain access to their land, which is cut off by the wall and the fence; every family has their own court case going on, but there is also a court case for the whole village which has been postponed for more than ten years (int-E-12, occ). More than one interviewee mentioned the financial hardship of having insufficient income, making it hard to maintain their households (int-E-6, int-E-10, int-E-11). My interviewees expressed exhaustion from the financial hassle of making a living, of travelling through restricted areas, of the fear, the bad experiences, of not being able to achieve their goals, limiting their ambitions. “Every day you try to make plans [...] you don’t know what will happen, it could get cancelled the last minute. [...] Everybody is suffering from the occupation, I am bored with the occupation existing here. (int-E-11, occ, 42:50-44:55), were the words of a trainee from the Music Leadership program living in Battir. “I want to feel free from the whole situation. [...] I don’t want to be afraid anymore of getting out in the night, not be afraid because there are soldiers here and there”, another trainee from Battir told me (int-E-10, occ, 36:10-40:00).

Also the Project Manager, who is not Palestinian and therefore has quite a different experience, mentioned that many people she works with are either easily panicked (triggered by for example checkpoints and teargas), or in the other extreme have grown apathetic, feeling that there is no point in working hard, as plans will get cancelled anyway (int-E-1, occ).

The moment when I started to connect the fatigue which I sensed from my informants when they spoke of the occupation with the concept of *malal* came quite late during my fieldwork. During one of the last interviews I undertook, my interviewee was telling me about situations in which a new genre of music was accepted or rejected by ‘society’. He started telling the following about an institute which was supporting musicians who were using waste as instruments: “It was a very new, modern act... [a modern] idea, that was accepted from the society because it was creative. And most of the Palestinians are looking for creation and creativity, and they accept it easily as something new”.

“Because of fighting *malal*?” I asked him.

“Yes, because of boredom... yes [laughs] it’s fighting *malal*!” (Int-E-5, palmus, 1:57-2:32)

Amal and Music

Music can do many things, and some of those may help to fight *malal* and sustain *amal*. An immediate - and short-term – way to fight *malal* is to get out of the daily rut and loose the tedium – have a change of routine. Another way to fight *malal* is by nurturing *amal* by building a sense of prospect. In *The Handbook of Hope*, Snyder proposes that prospect is constructed from a sense of imaginative and practical power (agency) to find ‘pathways’ to achieve this goal (2000:8-12). This means it is important to see possibilities to overcome potential or certain obstacles. One way to do

²⁹ He was detained in the 1990s three times for periods of six to nine months; this interviewee (int-E-12) was still very small back then.

The story of... (int-E-6)

This is the story of the sign language interpreter, a lady is very involved with the musical activities of Musicians without Borders, participating in several trainings as well next to her interpreting work for the Deaf&Proud program. The first time she participated with Musicians without Borders she worried if she could use the musical techniques in her work with deaf people. She decided to take one of her deaf sisters with her to the training, and discovered that the musical activities were mostly feasible and enjoyable for her, too. This meant she could expand her work with deaf people. When the director of Sounds of Palestine witnessed her work, she remarked that (int-E-6) would have a talent for working with hearing children as well. (Int-E-6) was sceptical, but when she took on the challenge she found out that it was actually easier for her to work with children without such disabilities, Now she is employed by Sounds of Palestine.

"I want to develop and improve myself. And I want to get involved with music, and I want to be a musician myself", she told me, "because I feel like I will be very creative with [the cello] if I get the right training [...] when I first heard the sound [of the cello] it touched my heart" (int-E-, MwB, 41:40-44:10). She told me she discovered her own creativity, and even wrote a song. The greater purpose of the musical activities is very important to her; it annoys her when she feels a fellow participant comes just for fun, or doesn't apply the techniques properly. Yet even the hopeful nature of her work can be disrupted by the occupation. "we were giving a music lesson and they were throwing teargas... it affect me a lot because as a social worker we work with children many times, just...with the occupation, we do not get the chance to achieve things with children. [...] I was going to the centre that day and they stopped me and told me to go back. [...] [Because of the occupation] the kids couldn't come to the centre and second, I didn't go to work for a while [...] if there is no work, there is no money" (int-E-6, occ, 2:48-8:22)

this which the Handbook suggests, is by breaking down the steps to be taken into smaller steps, making it easier to find new possibilities.

In the previous chapter it was already discussed that the musical activities of Musicians without Borders in Palestine offers a wide variety of possibilities to make music, play and work with groups, thus giving a sense of freedom. But making music, playing and working with groups are not simply considered goals in themselves; it is not comparable to only playing for the fun of the game. There is always a sense of purpose constructed within the musical activities. From my interviews, I found that there are four ways in which the musical activities help to fight *malal*, of which three also actively nurture *amal*. First of all, they can take people out of their routines, something that is also part of the relationship of relief substantiated in the previous chapter. Secondly, most of my informants felt that the activities helped them in their personal and professional development, supporting a sense of personal prospect. Thirdly, by supporting the community and therefore working towards a better future; and (connected to the previous purpose) finally, supporting a new generation. One of my interviewees summarized nearly all these points in one sentence, when I asked if more people should participate (and if so, what kind of people): "Anybody! Anybody could join. Because it is a new thing that they can learn. They can get out of life routines, from the work routine. You can find a space to try new things, and develop yourself.

"You think it's important that more people join?"

"Yes".

"Do you think it's good for society somehow?"

"Yes. Just meeting new people" (int-E-4, MwB, 13:30-15:00).

Out of routine

Eight of my interviewees referred to the refreshing nature of the musical activities in either of the following ways. First, some literally mentioned the importance of how Musicians without Borders take someone out of their routine, like in the quote above. "I just liked what they do, it was kind different workshops, they combine music and something that changes me psychologically... you learn how to be creative [...] and also how a good leader works, to be a leader and how to deal with children and other people.[...]The main reason [I started to participate] is that it was different. You just don't keep in the same routine. In each workshop you create new things, you learn new things. [...] It is important because [I didn't feel bored], variation is an important thing! [...] Yes, it took away the boredom and gave variation and [...] new things" (int-E-4, MwB 0:55-4:55). Also (int-E-11) said that one of her

first reasons to participate with Musicians without Borders was to “change routine”(MwB, 3:00-02).

Second, and close to these kinds of statements are those that mention the struggle against boredom. For example, for the Project Manager, renewing the activities and songs regularly was of primary concern, “I always look for new things [songs/music] because otherwise it gets boring for me and also for the assistant trainees, they always want new things as well... So I look for new things myself.” (int-E-1, M1, 10:47-11:00); she mentioned that there is great demand for new activities (int-E-1, mat+fund). Also of significance of their activities, according to her, is the fact that the things Musicians without Borders does in Palestine are completely new there: “Last year we did a performance in Deheisha camp, with the deaf drummers, for a group of refugee widows. And it was such an *amazing* thing for both sides, because they (the Deaf & Proud participants) could give a performance, and the widows received a performance especially for them, they didn’t understand that deaf people could drum. You know, these kind of things, it’s not there yet. Imagine we would simply give music lessons, ok, you already have the Edward Said [music schools], you already have[...] these kind of things. But this isn’t there yet. And also, everywhere we go, all the schools where they say ‘oh, it’s something *new*, oh, what is this?’. And also [like] Al Ghiras [cultural center in Bethlehem] [...] they have enough [activities] in their centre [...] they have really good activities, but even they also like to have this [what Musicians without Borders offers] [...] we do fill a gap that nobody else is filling... Except Music Harvest since some years which is now doing similar workshops in Nablus [much further to the north][...] But we can’t go everywhere, so it is super that they can have the whole area of Nablus, and that our workshops actually reach there [through them].” (int-E-1, mat+fund 31:50-34:55). One of the trainees of the Music Leadership training argued that during her voluntary work in summer camps, she really needed new activities; “I would like to learn more, on how to deal with children, for them to be comfortable to discharge their feelings. Because a lot of children just sit alone... [...]I work a lot with summer camps with children, and I [started to participate with the training because I] wanted to learn new things to introduce to the children. [...] I want to learn more, and to learn other activities, and to develop in this way. I feel I can do more.” (int-E-10, MwB, 0:55-1:19; 5:55-8:00)

Third, also close to the theme of boredom is the way the Project Manager comments on the value of the samba program, when she told me that samba is an alternative to hanging around (int-E-1, M1) . A similar statement is made by one of my interviewees who participated in the training for Music Harvest volunteers: “In a lot of the villages that we work in the kids don’t really have any other activities, they have school but the after that a lot of them are just down on the streets, just doing nothing, or maybe causing trouble. [...] Just some entertainment, cause so many of them are just so bored [...]getting them off the streets, stopping them from causing trouble , which inevitably kids do when they are bored... and giving them something to work towards and hopefully, their passion is ignited by music [...] it’s just something for them to do” (int-N-1, MwB, 12:15-13:32). In the village of Walaja, where the samba-trainees used what they learned to start a samba band in their cultural centre, this unfamiliar activity: was at first not taken seriously: “in the beginning it was hard because people didn’t accept it, [they] thought it was silly what we were doing, but it because it [got] a lot of attention as a new thing, and a new activity, a new way of getting the attention, more people felt it [was] a good and nice way [...] it’s something that attracts attention, something attractive” (int-E-12, MwB, 25:55-27:15). The fact that it was something new was also one of the primary reasons why they started to participate in the samba-program (int-E-12, MwB). Now, they are considering the possibility to make a combination of the more familiar drum bands of the Palestinian scouts, which make a different kind of music, with samba.

One of the rap workshop leaders told me that when he started to participate, it was just because he liked to go to all activities that were available to him, as something to do against boredom and in order to be helpful – especially in his summer holidays, when he felt that he wasn't doing anything useful (int-E-9, MwB). He was already doing rap at the time. The importance of how renewing an activity really is in order to get positive feedback from other people, comes out strongest in the backgrounds of the rappers. Performing amongst others for some time under the name Bad Luck Rappers, when they sought to find support from organizations, they were most criticized for whether this foreign music style could be seen as something refreshing, or something counterproductive of creativity. "Some center refused to make us sing rap songs on their [festivities]! [...] They refused to allow us to sing rap, 'because it's against our traditions', 'it's a western idea', 'it's an American way to brainwash you'! [...] So people started to think that rap is an [external] thing. They stopped looking at it like a creative idea that *we created*. No-one, no foreigner, no international side [told] us how to sing or told us that we must sing rap" (int-E-5, blog+musorg, 33:36-35:13)

From my interviewees, I got the sense that fighting the tedium of living under occupation by having a change of routine is not as simple as doing something different or in a different way. It needs to be new in a way that it can be considered creative; something that is not only a new occurrence in your daily life, but also takes you out of your daily way of thinking.

Some interviewees also mentioned their desire to do new things as something they identify with, as an appreciated part of their character: "[the kind of people] who don't like to be a volunteer or to be engaged with something [do not want to participate with Musicians without Borders]. I like to volunteer in many things, [paid or not] that doesn't matter, I like to meet new people and to learn new things!" (int-E-10, MwB, 27:45-28:48) "[I expect myself to] to be more open and to change the routine that I live every day" (occ, 57:45-58:15).

Personal/professional development

Out of the seventeen interviewees who had been participating in the programs of Musicians without Borders in Palestine as rap workshop leaders or trainees, fourteen mentioned the value of the musical activities for their personal and/or professional development. For eight of these,³⁰ the Music Leadership training had special relevance for their study or career in social work (the Palestinian equivalent to psychology) or (music) teacher. The training taught them new ways to work with children and groups, and offered them the chance to practice what they learned in the training, as they were taken to schools, orphanages, hospitals and other places to give music workshops. They received support as well as follow-up training days, after which they were given a chance to practice again. One of these eight interviewees was a student in social work.

The student in social work (int-E-2) was part of the first group to receive the Music Leadership training. He was planning to start his studies in social work and wanted to work with children, but had no experience with any work of the kind; his Music Leadership training gave him his first working experience with children and other groups. His positive experience during the training confirmed for him that social work was what he wanted to do; he could picture himself doing this kind of work. Since then he has also participated in the Assistant Trainer training³¹. He has been able to combine what he learned in the trainings with his studies and practiced the techniques in his work with both children and adults with psychological problems. For him, the music training and workshops helped him to match the theory of his studies with the practice of his work. It made him aware of the

³⁰ Int- E-2, E-3, E-6, E-7, N-2, N-3, N-4, N-5

³¹ See chapter 3, *Programs*

importance of body language in working with people, and he discovered that using his body in the right way really works with different kinds groups. For him, the musical games and activities help with “ice-breaking”: to make contact, to relax, to build trust with all kinds of people that he is working with for his studies and with the children receiving music lessons with Sounds of Palestine. As I conducted a follow-up interview with him, I asked several questions about his experience of the occupation and the way this might have changed since or due to his involvement with Musicians without Borders. After making clear that the training did not change his experience of the occupation (it was only a couple of training days in a week, and only a couple of weeks spread over the year), he explained to me how Musicians without Borders is part of something bigger, that did slightly change his experience of the occupation. “Before I had a lot of free time, and I had time to go and check what happened in the camp and what is going on. But now I am busy with the activities with music and my studies. I pay little attention, and I am not really interested [in the occupation]. [...] I’m sick of the news of the occupation, I get bored, I don’t want to hear anything [of what they] are doing, I don’t want to check the news to see what’s new. [...] [I lost interest because] when I first entered university, I started to make plans for my life. [...]Every day I remember that there is the occupation, every time I walk on the streets. But I can be bored from the news of the occupation. The news is the same news every day.[...] [Musicians without Borders] encouraged me to continue [working with children] and [...] it changed my thinking about my work”. (int-E-2, mwb+occ, 4:18-18:55) He told me he hoped for a special training from Musicians without Borders about dealing with specific ‘special needs’³², something that had apparently been planned once but had gotten cancelled (int-E-2, MwB). The importance of his ambitions was also clear in our unstructured interview about his experience of the occupation; when I asked about what he hoped for and expected of himself, he answered that he wants to specialize further in his studies. Four other interviewees mentioned their desire to get experience in social work for their studies as one of the reasons for participating; the other three were more involved with education. One of them for example, had studied special education, and was working on a school for children with special needs. After her participation with Musicians without Borders, she was able to become the music teacher in this school, even though she is deaf herself (int-E-7).

The development of social and musical skills as well as insights through the training was regularly mentioned as useful for professional development, as part of studies and careers. But even more often they were thought to be helpful in their general personal development. There is some overlap between these two categories (personal development and professional development) as some forms of development were mentioned for both, or not specified for either. For example, where some mention that the training is a good opportunity to expand their professional network (int-E-11, MwB, 3:00-30), two others simply appreciated how they got to meet new people and learn from each other (int-E-4, int-N-3). Also, one of those doing social work noted that it is important to give attention to personal development, before helping others (int-N-3).

The skills, experiences and insights that were mentioned to be valuable, were mostly the musical skills³³ and the experience of working with children.³⁴ Also, quite some interviewees mentioned the value of learning and personal development in itself³⁵: “I want to work on my

³² Children and adults may have special needs due to a condition they have, requiring care givers to deal with them differently than with others.

³³ (int-N-5, int-E-9, int-E-11, int-E-10, int-E-13, int-E-12)

³⁴ (int-E-2, int-E-3, int-N5, int-N-4, int-E-4, int-E-11, int-E-10, int-E-6)

³⁵ (int-N-3, int-E-4, int-E-11, int-E-10, int-E-13; int-E-12,occ2, 23:30; int-N-2, int-N-5,)

personality more, to work on myself... [...] I wish to be sure of my personality, to *do* things. And not to [need] support by other people, I wish to stand by myself. And to get results through that, not to waste [effort]" (int-E-10, occ, 57:45-59:00).

Supporting the community

The programs that Musicians without Borders offers in Palestine are considered humanitarian 'community services' both by the staff and the participants in the sense that people can participate for free, and it is meant to give them something that they need but normally do not have access to. This idea is also incorporated in the way my interviewees thought about and experienced the musical activities. "It's like a community service in our way, in a very beautiful way for us. And very fun, and enjoyable, and interesting way and pleasant" (int-E-5, MwB, 26:48-27:10). For quite some interviewees, doing something that supports their community, country or society in some way was what made their participation with Musicians without Borders meaningful. One interviewee who studies Biology, for example, started with the Music Leadership training for no other reason than trying something new, yet found importance in continuing and using what she learned in order to do something humanitarian. She felt especially concerned with children with cancer, as she gave a music workshop in a hospital once and had been touched by their circumstances and the pain she saw on their faces (int-E-4, MwB). Many interviewees do voluntary work next to their jobs or studies.³⁶ "Some people said: 'it [voluntary work, giving samba] is useless and meaningless, they don't even pay you for this', but I insist that it is important. Because me and my friend have something [in mind]: if you don't work for your country, who will? [...] [The people who say unpaid work is meaningless] are pessimistic, and every time someone says that what we do is worthless and meaningless, [...] we will go to that person and show them what we do. And every time we do that people will agree with our activities. [...] We almost convinced half of the village, but still some people do not agree. But we insist on doing our work and it will not stop us"(int-E-12, occ, 58:35-1:01:25).

Working for the betterment of the community, society, or country, can happen in many different ways. Some of my interviewees hope to contribute to a structural change in society through their involvement with Musicians without Borders. Though two of my interviewees mentioned a revolution (the Field Coordinator who is a non-violence direct-action activist, and one of the rap workshop leaders (int-E-9), many limited their views to what they could contribute in their direct environment, hoping it would also contribute to a community-wide change. The rappers are consciously concerned with wider society, as their music helps to send out a message about any issues they observe in their society; with Musicians without Borders, they have also been able to record some songs, and have allowed the same for their participants. Also the Special Education teacher (int-E-7) has a dream for improving society at large, in this case by changing the position of deaf people in Palestine. She wishes to contribute to this by both raising awareness about the possibilities of deaf people, and about the drawbacks of cochlear implants (a medical intervention involving surgery that allows deaf people to hear), which she has found to be dangerous for children, as well as by giving deaf children the sense that they are capable despite their condition. Especially in raising awareness and encouraging deaf children, she finds the Musicians without Borders programs very useful, as the Deaf&Proud program proves the point. If deaf people can even make, perform and enjoy music - despite their inability to hear the sounds - their possibilities must be far greater than many people assume. Giving music workshops, as a deaf workshop leader, to deaf children,

³⁶ Of twelve out of twenty-two interviewees I am certain they do voluntary work next to their regular jobs and studies, which is not a requirement for their studies.

making promotional material on video, writing and recording a rap song in sign language; all these Musicians without Borders activities are contributing to her cause.

In other cases, my interviewees felt they were supporting their community by answering the needs they observe on a smaller scale, for example by enhancing a public event or protest with a samba-performance and allowing the people of their town to learn to play music (int-E-12), by improving their private sphere (int-E-11, int-E-3) or by improving the way they give community service in their profession (int-E-6, int-N3). The small-scale approach can easily be connected to greater ambitions, however; the Studio Manager (int-E-3) explained: "I am ambitious about change, and if you want to start a change, you should start with changing yourself and then you go for the surrounding community on a small scale which is surrounding you. And then you reach the bigger community, where you would really want to live in; a community which is aware and educated, and which is nice to live in" (int-E-3, occ, 1:07:10-55).

Several interviewees also implicated that music-making is good for society as well. The field coordinator credited the Project Manager for making music visible "... really she's the one who put music in a visible way" (int-E-8, M 42:50-54); one music student expressed that people should appreciate music as more than mere entertainment, as an important part of life (int-N-2, MwB); and another music student praised the Musicians without Borders programs for making people aware that they themselves and their children can actually make music. "It helps to let people know about music. [...] They should know that their children could make music. They know music from songs, they don't know that they themselves can do music!" (int-N-6, MwB, 4:36-5:40) Also one of the Samba trainees spoke of "convincing" people of music, convincing them of the meaning and the use of Samba in this case. In the beginning the new Samba Band which he started with his friend in the cultural centre Ansaar in Walaja attracted a lot of negative opinions: people thought it was "silly", messy and noisy. He said that he himself had not been sure of the value of learning samba, yet that the training convinced him; by the time of our interview, their band had performed at the end of the summercamp of Ansaar, during two different protests (one in cooperation with a theatre act) and even at a reception with the Prime Minister of the Palestinian Authority. When people dismissed their activities as useless, he tried to convince them by getting them involved, and also went to the parents of the children to explain what they were doing and why it is useful (int-E-12, MwB). Making music is not commonly done in his village, he told me; a few older people can provide music for weddings and dancing, but most of the younger people - I am told - are not interested (int-E-12, mus). "For sure I would [continue to participate with Musicians without Borders] because I would develop myself to benefit the community of Walaja, do more training, do more training to spread the idea." (int-E-12, MwB, 8:40-8:13)

A large majority of my interviewees however found a way to support the community through supporting children, to the extent that I decided to set it apart as a fourth sense of purpose.

The next generation

The nineteen interviewees that I interviewed about Musicians without Borders and the occupation all had experience working with children, and nearly all of them were especially interested in working with children. In the way some of them expressed the specific value of working with children through the Musicians without Borders project, or applying what they learned from participating in other situations involving children, can roughly be divided into two ways.

First and foremost, children are a layer of society which is considered to need help more than others. "We are going (on) about not being allowed to go somewhere, and that we want to travel

somewhere, and we are being sad about that. We should think of *them* [the children], what they want, what they are feeling, they need a lot of things more than us”, one of the social work students explained (int-N-4, occ, 33:40-34:00); she discovered this after experiencing that a child died because the father could not afford the medicine for her cure. When working with children because they are especially in need of support, this fits into the purpose of supporting the community by identifying its needs; in this case, many needs are identified with children, so helping or supporting children is one of the ways to support the community at the present. A *second* way in which supporting children offers a great sense of purpose was only explicitly mentioned by two interviewees, yet to the extent that I deemed it significant: the children as the next generation of leaders, the people who will be making a difference in the future. The two interviewees (both rap workshop leaders) elaborated on the importance to prepare the children for the future; to offer them education, to raise their awareness and confidence, to help them develop their own strengths and opinions, teach them to ask questions and see possibilities, help them to set the example for their peers, to build a new generation (int-E-5, int-E-9). This is significant, because most other purposes for participating with Musicians without Borders are, although ambitious, still within the scope of their own lifetime. ‘Building a new generation’ adheres to an even bigger sense of having a future – a future which most of my interviewees preferred not to linger on, because of the occupation.

Several ways in which children can be supported were mentioned. One that was mentioned by several interviewees was the importance of having the right understanding of children, in order to react to their behavior in a constructive way. One mentioned that she used to believe that misbehaving is normal for children, and that many people think similarly about children. By doing the Music Leadership training, she discovered that she can improve children’s behavior. Another interviewee developed the dream to help children “grow up as good kids” since she discovered how much she could improve her way to deal with children; she mentioned that she used to scream at a child when misbehaving before she did the training. The Project Manager mentioned ways to work with children when giving an account of the materials and techniques she uses in trainings. Group-attention (the attention going to the whole group evenly) was mentioned, as well as being sensitive for children’s needs, for example by taking care not to scare them with unexpected moves (her main reason being the experiences even small children have with soldiers raiding the house and domestic violence due to the build-up of tension), and checking on the family of a child if you suspect something happened, so that you know the circumstances and can take these into account; as well as “creating atmosphere” (int-E-1, M1).

In addition to this, igniting children’s passion, offering them the chance and encouragement to express themselves, getting children off the streets, teaching them music and educating them in other matters through music were mentioned as ways to help children with the musical activities of Musicians without Borders.

Conclusion

During one of our interviews, I asked the field-coordinator why the kind of musical activities that Musicians without Borders specializes in, fits the cause of Non-Violence Direct-Action better than any other kind of music. He answered: “some people, they are interested to be a musician only. [...] The music that Musicians without Borders teaches people, they are choosing [to teach to] the marginalized people, poor people, disadvantaged people... So simply this kind of music that they will be learning, is something to help them to *lift themselves up*, to feel *dignity*, and to feel *hope* for the future. [...] So this kind of music that creates hope and draws smiles on their faces, this is the kind of

music that we want, because this is the kind of music that helps people to resist, to create a better life, and to give them hope for a better future.” (int-E-8, m, 48:18-50:03)

How deep the effects of the musical activities can go concerning *amal* was suggested by an anecdote of the project manager: “Take a trainee who had serious problems at home, and who in fact told us at the evaluation that she had been completely through and that she did not want to continue with her life, but the training gave her hope again. You know these kinds of things, it really does something for the people, and for the children. But well, how do you measure happiness, how do you measure higher self-esteem? The deaf people you saw today, they did not leave the house before [they participated with] this project” (int-E-1, 31:13-31:50).

When possibilities to achieve your goals are scarce, plans are always unsure and daily affairs take a lot out of you due to a lack of resources and many reasons to worry, ‘keeping your head up’ becomes a daily affair. And for some people, a daily fight. This chapter has demonstrated the *malal* of living under occupation – both tedium of it, as the fatigue. There are many more examples and illustrations to be found of the *malal* of living under occupation, then I was able to present here; it is something ever-present for those Palestinians living under occupation.

No music can take away the occupation, and I am *not* arguing that my interviewees suffer from *malal* at all times unless they are into the musical activities. The *malal* of the occupation is part of everyday life, but not of every moment. This means that nurturing a sense of prospect and purpose, and overcoming the weariness of the occupation, is also part of everyday life, of which Musicians without Borders is only one of many parts. Yet, whether the *malal* has become an all-encompassing depression or nothing more than a ‘bump in the road’, and regardless of how many other means an interviewee has found to find *amal*, the musical activities of Musicians without Borders were by nearly all interviewees deeply valued for the way it supports them in this endeavor. The musical activities take away the weariness and the daily rut by bringing joy, novelty as well as supplementary approaches and possibilities for activities that harbour a special sense of purpose. As they are always working towards a certain end, they offer participants extra support in constructing their sense of prospect, and hope. The purposes that the musical activities have served for my interviewees can be divided into four categories:

1. Getting out of their routine: finding refreshment and enjoyment;
2. Personal and professional development: getting useful experiences, skills and insights which can be applied for study, work and private life;
3. Supporting the community: lending strength to a message or event, raising awareness of issues in society and discover overlooked capacities;
4. Supporting the next generation: supporting children in their education and development in a way that answers to their needs, and prepares them for the future

Where the musical activities are not able to change the lived experience of the military occupation, it *is* capable of contributing to something vital which is continuously hindered by the occupation: *Amal*.

Chapter 6: Relief and Prospect in Musical Practice

*No [aspect of the musical activities] is more important than the other; it is all connected.
[...] What MwB is giving is very important, it is a better way of doing things, it gives a better chance...
It is efficient and good, so more people should join to get an image [...] of what musicians can do!*

~Int-E-3, MwB, 20:11-23:40

In the previous chapters, many details from the musical activities have been discussed: the musical materials and instruments used, the global structures of the music practices of each program, the relieving experiences of comfort and freedom drawn from the activities, the way they help to fight *malal* and nurture *amal*. The relationship between the meaning of the musical activities of Musicians without Borders and the participant's lived experience of the occupation – roughly that of relief and *amal* - is, most basically, a relationship of *contrast*. This contrast-relationship is located in experience: it is in contrasting relation to the lived *experience* of *malal*, discouragement, hopelessness, frustration and besiegement, that the musical practices accumulate significance as a source of hope and relief. Through its underlying research question, this thesis is concerned with the way this contrast-relationship manifests itself within the construction of the meaning of the musical activities. Where the previous two chapter empirically substantiated the contrast relationships of relief and *amal*, this chapter will move forth to demonstrate how the significance of the activities of Palestine Community is rooted in the musical practices of the project. In doing so, I will move to a more theoretical level of discussion in which the data from my field research can merely be taken as suggestive or illustrative material. Exchanging the solid ground of empirical proof for theoretical substantiation, this chapter will provide insight in reflection on the previous (empirically substantiated) chapters, and it is a topic which must be addressed to further our understanding of music used as a resource. In her book, *Music in Everyday Life*, Tia DeNora warns scholars against ascribing socio-political significance to musical practices without attending to the way this relationship has come about: “[T]heir mechanisms of operation need to be demonstrated. If this demonstration cannot be achieved, then analysis may blend into academic fantasy and the music–society nexus rendered ‘visionary’ rather than ‘visible’” (2004:4). Using the theoretical framework outlined in the first chapter, I will tentatively locate the constitution of mentioned contrast-relationships with the relevant ‘operational mechanisms’ of (musical) experience.

In what follows, I first will attend to what it means for these activities to be musical. Secondly, I will attend to how the conforming and creative elements of the musical practices contribute to their meaning. Thirdly, the music workshops and trainings will be examined as integrated domains and events, in which I will also attend to the *liminoid* quality of the experience (Turner, 1974). Finally I will attend to something which the Project Manager indicated as an important element of the musical activities: to ‘create an atmosphere’, and how this relates to the ‘stance-ideologies’ of Community Music Palestine. Together, these different angles of examination shed light on a point made repeatedly by different interviewees when I asked them what was most important about the musical activities: that it is not one element in or aspect of the activities that makes them significant, but the way in which everything comes together.

The ‘musical’ in social practice

So far, what makes a practice ‘music’ has only been discussed as musical material or elements – which might give the impression that a musical practice is only understood as such because part of its elements are (re)cognized as musical (a cognition which, as noted in the first chapter, is culturally informed). This is not as arbitrary as it sounds – after all, not anything can be music. In the introduction of one of her more recent books, DeNora (2013:19-21) discusses what is typically musical about musical practices, and I wish to pay special attention to three of the qualities she mentions: (1) music’s physically perceived form (embodied sounds in which patterns and intervals can be distinguished), (2) music’s capacity to fit in to a myriad of circumstances and locations (as a musical practice can be adapted to be more or less “obtrusive”, 2013:20), and (3) it’s capacity to collect and shed connotations.

Those physical materials that for us make a practice ‘musical’ involve an embodied sense of sound composition. The embodied factor is important; this is nicely demonstrated by the Deaf & Proud program. Deaf participants have to rely on feeling and seeing rather than hearing for sustaining their embodied awareness of the musical practices they are participating with. This may give them a disadvantage when a particular part of this practice is easier to bring into experience by its auditory result than by its feel or visible result (for example in singing), yet it gives them the advantage of greater capacity to bring their own and each-other’s bodies into experience through feeling and vision. To them the composition of sound is perceived through fine-tuned awareness of embodied movement and physical feeling rather than hearing. The importance of embodiment is equally there for those who are not hearing-impaired; the experience of participating in musical performance (be it through playing an instrument or simply humming a little) is informed at least as much through the physical embodied ‘feel’ of the act (feeling the vibration and resonance and – in case of an instrument used – the material texture of that instrument as it is played). A great example of this is any exercise involving the sticks which are so popular among participants and workshop leaders of the Music & Non-violence Leadership program. These exercises are not focussed on creating a structured-sounding ‘whole’ like a composition, instead focussing on the kinds of sounds and impact which are produced by bringing the stick together or on different kinds of surfaces, with different amounts of strength and in different kinds of rhythm. When asking one of my interviewees why the activities involving the sticks were enjoyed so much, she referred to (a.o.) the way children would enjoy making as much noise and play as loudly as possible, and that it can calm down a hyperactive group of children. For this aspect, she deemed the movement of creating the sound – the fast drumming and strong physical impact upon hitting resulting in a loud sound – very important; it was not simply the loud sound on its own that gave them an outlet for their energy or an intriguing new sounded experience, but the embodied experience of hitting and impacting in a variety of ways on a variety of surfaces as well.

Sticks

“The sticks [are most important in the activities]. Why?... Firstly, to teach [children] discipline. When you give [the children] the sticks you give them the rule that you shouldn’t use it to hit anybody. So this way they learn not to hit and not to harm any other children; this is important. [Secondly], the other thing that they learn is the sounds, and how to organize the sounds because they play with the sticks on the ground, on their shoes and the chairs; and they learn the sounds and how they are different. To organize the sounds, be experimental. [Thirdly,] When I give the sticks to the children, some children need to become comfortable. I noticed that when the children do this with the sticks and hit other stuff they feel happy and comfortable after that; when the workshop finishes and I want the sticks back everyone tried to hide it and say ‘I don’t have any’ because they are very comfortable and enjoy playing with the sticks! You will notice this when you are watching a workshop.” (Int-E-6, MwB, 31:45-

Of course there are musical practices in which the musical elements are not as much bodily perceived as in these examples – think of listening to a radio - but also the registration of sound through hearing is after all a physical phenomenon. However, defining music only by its sounded embodiment would still fail to exclude non-musical sound; the distinction between musical and non-musical sound in perception is porous. Perhaps we could say that people have a form of ‘musical vocabulary’ consisting of timbres, sound-architecture, and tonal and pulse-intervals that are recognized and brought into experience as (more or less appreciated) musical materials: a form (sub) cultural knowledge that can be expanded and developed individually.

These physically perceived musical elements can, DeNora observes, quite flexibly be integrated in a wide variety of musical practices; she makes the claim that it is typical of *musical* materials to be so easily foregrounded, backgrounded or otherwise integrated in a social practice (think of taking a shower, during which one may absent-mindedly be humming something without taking much note of it, or singing a song with boisterous devotion and consequent bathroom-acoustics and synchronous washing-moves) and to be so easily separated from or ‘contaminated’ with extra-musical connotation (think of how the meaning of that song performed while taking a shower may be expanded to include a sentimental connotation, a memory or image in experience – or not). This means that musical materials are both notably flexible in form and vulnerable to meaning, more so than non-musical materials. In the case of Palestine Community of Music this may be linked to the way exercises and games are moulded to suit the circumstances: focussing on concurrent societal issues, a specific dimension of personal development or education, foregrounding that element of experience which is *relevant* for the participants. This makes it possible to make hope- and prospect-sustaining enterprises such as described in the previous chapter into a musical practice: think of a musical protest, a rap expressing personal and societal issues in front of relatives and other relevant individuals, a samba-performance by deaf musicians performed as gesture of beauty and appreciation for an audience of widowed women, an educative singing game about colours for young children, to mention only a few examples from my interviewees.

Stance-on-power

Berger (2009) suggest that a subject can integrate musical practice with socio-political significance along four axis of politicization: stance-on-power, ideology, representation of social world and call to action (2009:144). With ‘stance-on-power’, he refers to the quality with which a subject positions her musical practice in the field of power-relations. An example could be to sing a song ‘with defiance’. Stance-on-power is especially important when expressive practices foreground stances and meta-stances for the sake of coordination. In Palestine Community Music, the workshops may encourage proactive, self-conscious and hopeful stances on the employment of the musical practices for personal development, community support and more political engagements. Berger notes how the other three axis may be made more or less explicit. ‘Call to action’, for example, is explicitly present in some of the rap-songs composed by the participants, yet absent in others. The samba-performances of the Walaja band that were part of a protest may not have contained verbal calls for action, but their presence in a protest which was calling for a different course of action made this axis present as well. Other musical activities however did not integrate with political calls for action at all, and neither did they integrate with politicized representations of social world or a political ideology. Some of the activities of the musical practice thus afforded to be integrated in the political domain, in specified ways: through the verbal possibilities of the rap and through the possibility of situating a formalized performance (i.e. a rap or samba-performance) in an event in which power- and social relations are foregrounded. All of them however afforded to be integrated with the work of personal or social development, and their stance upon this integration which always involved social positioning (‘stance-on-power’).

Rules, Roles and the creative ‘space’

The different musical activities that are part of the different programs of Musicians without Borders always take the form of music trainings or workshops (sometimes with children spoken of as music lessons). A training or workshop is lead by one or more workshop leaders or trainers; if there is

a team of trainers of workshop leaders, for each activity one takes on the role of the actual trainer or leader while the other participates and assists. This means that the people taking part in the musical practice are either leading the activity or participating by 'following the leader'. As this is a preconceived social structure part of any workshop, training or lesson, and everybody is usually informed beforehand that it is either of these things, we may assume that these basic social roles are practiced from the start – this was at least the case on the few occasions I witnessed. My informants made referents to situations in which the roles of leader and participants were not clearly understood; both the Project Manager and one of my interviewees (int-E-4, sticks) explained that it was very confusing both for the leader and for the participants (children in this case) when they came to give a workshop at a school or kindergarten and the children's teacher intervenes in the activities. On one occasion I was told about, for example, the teacher repeated the leader's instructions in a loud, elaborate, authoritative way. This interrupted the structure of interaction shaped by the leader-follower role division and confused the activity as a whole.

Beyond basic leader-follower dynamics, the music workshops and trainings are given for free as a charity, but training and workshop are also considered educative, which means that those participating may be understood as benefactor-beneficiaries and teacher-apprentices (my informants, if expressing anything related, highlighted their position as trainee or employee with Musicians without Borders, and of benefactor for people (often children) which they considered vulnerable in their society).

In order to 'follow', the followers needed to know what was expected of them: some form of instruction from the part of the leader was necessary. Sometimes this happened non-verbally; the leader would indicate with her acts, gestures and facial expression if the followers should join in with what (s)he is doing or wait for him/her to give the example and then copy – his or her musical example and the way (s)he kept contact with the group would further shape the roles of each person in the musical practice. For example, in a body-percussion exercise in which the leader starts drumming her thighs quickly and loudly and looks at the followers 'expectantly', they will integrate the musical act and the non-verbal interaction as an instruction to follow the leader's example to join in, starting to make body-percussion joined together in concert with the leader as the focus for coordination. More specific instructions could also be given nonverbally: for example, I witnessed a workshop leader with a group of young children fetching the sticks and giving the group a precise idea of what they should do with them without saying anything. But in some activities, after bringing the group to attention non-verbally, the workshop leader did give verbal instructions – but always as much as possible combined with non-verbal ones. Verbal instructions were also an important part of teaching a group a song or dance that went with story. In all cases however, non-verbal communication was deemed a successful way to lead the group; during a musical exercise it was most convenient

Cases of instruction

Distributing sticks: non-verbal

She was began by sitting down in the circle of young participants with the sticks in her lap. She selected two and moved to hand it to the child to her right – but when he wanted to take the sticks she withdrew and gave him a playful, suspicious glance. She glanced to the other children as well, causing the boy and a few other children to giggle. Then – very carefully – she continued to hand over the two sticks. As she selected another pair from her lap, she gestured him to hand his sticks to his neighbour before she would hand down the next pair, repeating the gesture to other children so that everyone focussed on handing down the sticks until everyone had a pair. Drawn into the playful exchange, she had full attention and participation from the group.

A name dance: verbal and non-verbal

In an activity in the training in which I participated (fieldnotes FN5:7), the leader (in that situation Project Manager) told us that she was going to play some music, and one by one we were to 'write', i.e. perform, our names by shaping the letters with our bodily postures and movements, turning our names into a strange kind of dance choreography. She then did so herself as an example, then put on the music, and moved on to non-verbally indicate that she would start – again performing her name – then gesturing in which order we would each get a turn (clockwise or counter-clockwise).

as this form of communication did not compete with the sounds of the musical practice, but also in non-musical moments it seemed to help to keeping the attention of the group focussed on the embodied practice and on the coordination and concerted experience of the group.

The social roles of leader and follower imply boundaries for possible action: rules, or - following Bourdieu - a habitus of predispositions towards expected practice (Barnard and Spencer, 2010:459). It is expected from the followers to be attentive to the leader, follow instructions and engage in concerted experience of the group. During one music workshop at a kindergarten – this time for Sounds of Palestine rather than Musicians without Borders – a boy disturbed the workshop by teasing his neighbours, and generally not participating but rather doing his own thing. After a remark or two in-between activities the music workshop leader sent him out of the circle and told him to face the wall of the classroom, and explained that he was spoiling the activities for his friends. The workshop continued without him, although he was allowed back after a while, after which he did participate by following the workshop leader. There are also guidelines for the leader; if - in general – a participant failed to follow due to being distracted by something or other, the music leader would help them to get back their focus through their interaction and by choosing an exercise accessible for the whole group. In addition, I was told that the music workshop leaders from all programs are taught to use safe, clear and supportive gestures in their (non-violence) training. As such the social dynamics are directed by the leaders to be safety ensuring and comforting – an experience that stands in stark contrast with the everyday concerns saturated with insecure, unsafe and discomfoting experiences of the occupation. What also may be formalized as a rule by the leader, although it probably requires verbal instruction, is the *purpose* of an activity. In the same way that purpose may be formalized in a competitive game – winning by means of a formalized form of achievement –, a musical game may include instructions that directs the participants towards a form of achievement. This possibility of adding achievement and purpose to an activity which can be obtained through strategic (musical) practice turn the musical materials and social organization of a musical activity employable for Non-violence Direct-action strategy, which contributes to the creation musical hope- and prospect-sustaining enterprises.

The parameters of roles, rules and (musical) instructions – brought into experience through integration – are a source of conformity, but also offer space for creativity. Harker (2005:13) addresses this issue when he criticizes approaches to playing that assume that they *always* have transformative or creative power, instead pointing out how playing can also *reenact* existing power relations and realities, normalizing them rather than challenging them. He refers to the popular children’s games ‘mummies and daddies’ in which certain gendered identities and implied power relations are reenacted. The reenactment of the power relations of leader and follower (trainer and pupil, giver and receiver) are, although redefined and specified through the actual (musical) practices

The story of Tingalayo

The song ‘Tingalayo’ was taught by the leader to the children by first telling the them that she has a dog called Tingalayo, (“what is his name?”- “Tingalayo!”) who is now far away in the mountains, but will come if they call him. Calling ‘Tingalayo’, the leader would at some point pretend to have the dog in front of her, patting the imaginative animal – to the delight of the children – and would focus the attention of the children with eye-contact while starting to sing the first part of the song a couple of times with the children. Then, she would stop to explain how special her dog is, asking the children if they ever saw a dog walking on his hind feet, or heard it speak, or saw it eat with a fork (to the grand amusement of the children), and then assert how special her dog is and practicing the second part of the song with the children, then returning to the first part again. The song was practiced on its own mostly, but when mastered was sometimes sung with a record of the accompaniment.

Lyrics in Latinized Arabic: “Tingalaaaayo, ta’al ya kalbi ta’al” (“Tingalayo, come oh my dog, come”) (2x); “kalbi byimsi, kalbi byihki, kalbi byokel fi shokeh” (“my dog walks, my dog speaks, my dog eats with a fork”) (2x).

performed, clearly also a normalizing aspect of the musical practices. I would propose however that it is these parameters of power relations in the form of roles, rules and instructions that *bring about* the creative 'space' of the activities. Depending on the elements of the activity, integrated to form these parameters of the (musical) practice, possibilities for creativity in some aspects of the activity are allowed by normalizing another – be it through a formal rule or instruction (“now we are going to...”) or through implication (following the leader’s example because of his/her position and acts in the context of a music workshop). The reason, I would propose, is because creativity cannot exist in and of itself; it is always *a way of dealing with something*. This ‘something’ is usually a practice associated with specific object or parameters. For example, a painter may be creative with colours or the way he uses several tools to apply the paint to the canvas; the parameters made up by the physical limitations of the materials (canvas, paint, tools) and the preconceived aesthetic forms (style, genre, visual techniques) (s)he has in mind, make sure (s)he reenacts preconceived practice including power relations (the social position of the painter and the way in which this informs the parameters). Yet although there is a conforming quality to the parameters of practice, these same parameters have an *affording* quality. By fixing and enacting the roles, rules and instructions of a practice, the possibilities which are afforded by one’s own body, an object or activity become more insightful. To illustrate, in an activity from the Music & Non-violence leadership training in which we had to spell out our names with our bodies on the music, the rules were quite limiting and in participating the power relations that informed and were informed by these rules were reenacted. While one participant performed, the others watched; the performer was only allowed to use his or her body, and the ensuing embodied performance had to represent letters, performed in the right sequence to spell out the participants’ name; the music played while performing was foregrounded in the experience of the audience, which did not compel yet did suggest to *latch onto* the features of the music to synchronize the embodied performance. The performer’s own bodily capacities as well as more general social imperatives (such as not wishing to hurt a fellow participant, damage the furniture or damage one’s own body) further limit the possibilities and inspire the performer to conform to social practice and power relations. At the same time, these parameters afford creativity; they make the possibilities insightful (it reveals the possibility and opportunity to imitate the form of letters with one’s body and engage with one’s name in a bodily performed way, affording to integrate it with an aesthetic form) and accessible to exploration. The exact postures, movements, stances, and moments and manners of *latching* to the music are limited by the reenacted parameters of action, yet not specified beforehand themselves, thus giving us the space to explore new ways of using our bodies and embodying aesthetic forms in synchrony with the music.

One might say that feeling limited does not only involve knowing what one *cannot* do, but especially involves *not knowing* what one *can* do. I propose that a sense of freedom and the ability to see possibilities is not informed by the lack of limitations, but by grasping those as parameters of knowable opportunities for action. This proposition resonates with Toynbee’s metaphorical use of the term “space of possibilities” (quoting Bourdieu, 2012:166) which resembled the way my informants used the term ‘creative space’. Toynbee visualized creativity as the process of identifying choices to be made, with those choices that are most familiar (because of being made before) visualized as close together and close by, while visualizing the choices that are less common and more difficult to identify as further off and further apart. Referring to a select field or scene of artistic engagement, Toynbee notes that the more creative choices (those less easy to identify) “are made much more frequently when the field starts to shift, or when new kinds of authors push forward. In these circumstances the space of possibilities expands, and creative possibilities further out along the

‘radius of creativity’ become audible” (Toynbee, 2012:166). In the case of my informants one might argue that the musical practices of Palestine Community Music constituted a completely new ‘field’ of creative action, making new possibilities of creative action insightful, identifiable, or as Toynbee puts it, ‘audible’. Where the occupation is experienced as besieging and binding – its limiting capacity foregrounded in experience - the musical practices of Musicians without Borders, especially those that involve improvisation, form a stark contrast by making explicit the freedom to be creative with one’s body and other elements of musical practice (with instruments, with played recordings, with recording and amplifying materials, with words – all those materials cited above and in the third chapter).

The circle of attention

Throughout this thesis we have considered the musical activities as coherent time-spaces. To return to the vocabulary of the theoretical grounding, the musical practices of Musicians without Borders are situated in coherent *events* and form an *integrated domain*.

In terms of ‘event’ this means there is an identifiable beginning and end to the each different kind of workshops and training occasion, and the experiences as they take place from the beginning until the end build forth through iteration and retrospection towards an overarching experience, thus contributing to the way the meaning of the event is constructed. The beginning of each workshop or training occasion was consciously demarcated; in the training, we were taught to use warming-up activities. After the first warming-up activity of the training in which I participated, the Project Manager asked the group: why would you do this, (i.e. start with such an activity)? The answers from the participants and additions from the Project Manager accumulated to this answer: ‘it warms up your body and makes you more flexible after your journey here and whatever you may have done before the workshop; it helps to bring your attention to the workshop, [in this warming-up activity] the music is soothing and takes away the ‘chaos’” (fieldnotes FN5:6-7). On a different training occasion, when we had just returned from our lunchbreak at a restaurant a short walk from the training location, everybody continued to chat and do their own thing in the training room; paying attention to the Project Manager and seeing that she was all ready to start, I was not as surprised as some others when she simply took her place and started a loud body-percussion, drumming her thighs. Well aware of their roles as trainees and that body-percussion meant the training had started again and a new activity was being taught, everybody stopped their other affairs and hurriedly joined the circle and followed the Project Leader’s example. After doing a short body-percussion exercise in which we joined in with each new form of percussion, the Project Manager stretched her arms upwards with closed hands, and as a result we were all standing still and quiet, still attentive to her, when we released that posture and the exercise was over. She noted that, when giving a music workshop, doing a loud body percussion could be a good way to get the attention of the group; as it is loud enough to be heard above the chatter and in most cases people will be eager to join, you will quickly get their attention and participation (fieldnotes FN9:2). Another note on the importance of a good warming-up activity was made by one of my interviewees during two of our interviews, as she said that “[what is most important is] when we do the warming-up activities [...] because you give the first impression... you warm them up and you encourage them and get them to be with you and be [excited about] what you are doing. I think it is the base of the workshop; the other activities of the workshop build up on the warming-up activities”. “We use [the warming-up with the sticks] [...] to make [the group] more concentrated with the leader, so they can do the movement the leader [is doing]” [int-E-4, MwB 11:22-13:05; sticks, 2:50-3:20]

The integrative domain of a workshop consists of everything that 'takes part' in the workshop or training: the trainer or workshop leader and participants, the instruments and other materials. As has been described before, the musical activities did not take place in a fixed kind of space; as long as it could contain the whole group of participants in a way that the trainer or workshop leader was visible and audible for all participants, any room or open space might do. One respondent told me she preferred giving workshops in open-air locations, as "[the group] can feel more free in an open place" [int-E-4, sticks, 27:50-28:00], but in general the location was not fully integrated or foregrounded in the integrative domain of the musical activity. In my own experience of participation in workshops and training, features of the direct environment and other materials that were not introduced as elements of the activities were backgrounded as much as possible. Chairs, for example, were part of the experience for as far they were used (upon instruction from the workshop leader or trainer or if they had been set up beforehand with this purpose); a batch of chairs that was out of the way and was not used also was backgrounded in experience, as were possibly the voices of people passing by the room on the other side of the door. Similarly, the warming-up activities were meant to guide the participants' minds 'into' the workshop or training and 'away from' whatever was on their minds before the workshop³⁷. The 'circle' of attention – based on the integrated domain and event of the workshop or training – was focussed on the workshop leader or trainer for the length of the workshop and was inclusive of the materials which the workshop leader or trainer brought into the musical practice.

This phenomenon – the creation of a time-space for a particular practice separated from the mingle of 'everyday' experiences, separated from everything that is not part of the practice, is not necessarily a thing of music; it has been discussed in terms of "the magic circle" for occurrences of gameplay since Huizinga's work on play (Consalvo, 2009:409) and in terms of the "liminal" and "liminoid" qualities of rituals and other social practices (Turner, 1974), and plenty of musical practices exist which do not have this quality³⁸. As the boundaries of a practice set apart in time-space are determined by something's involvement with that practice, anything or anyone who has access to all the involved elements and takes on a role in that practice will be included. Accessibility of these elements is of course a physical condition: whether the time-space of (musical) practice is located in a closed room or in open-air, in order to be included a person needs to be in a position where (s)he can perceive (e.g. hear, see, feel) the (e.g.musical) elements of that practice. Thus the sounded, embodied and interactional nature of musical elements can be brought into experience to inform the nature and boundaries of the time-space of musical practice, but this capacity is neither a unique trait nor necessarily used.

Different occasions of workshops or training which I witnessed with Palestine Community Music had different degrees of 'separation' from the 'other' elements – memories, concerns, moods, people and material objects that were not involved in the musical practice. On one occasion I observed a music workshop with a small group of deaf participants from the other side of the room. The workshop took place on request of the crew in charge of a television recording about the Deaf & Proud program, for which the participants would also be interviewed. The Project Manager started a music workshop with the other participants, leading them in several musical games and exercises

³⁷ The Project manager commented on this during the musical leadership training as part of our instruction, also explaining that sometimes a child might still find it hard to take part in a music workshop if (s)he had experienced something heavy earlier – be it a raid by the Israeli soldiers, domestic violence or something else.

³⁸ Consider tapping your foot to a tune on the radio while on the phone with your agenda ready to make an appointment, or having classical music on while driving and looking for a parking spot.

tailored for the hearing impaired. When, after a while, the television crew interrupted to ask them to repeat a particular activity, this caused some confusion before the group got a grip on this disturbance and the Project Manager started to do the requested activity with the group. Later, during one of the interviews, the Project Manager told me how startled she had been by the interruption, as she had been so consumed in the workshop, and how she had perceived the shock of that interruption going through the whole group. “For me it was really fun to sit there for a moment and make music together. I believe it was enjoyable for everybody – I don’t know how it was for the people who were watching next to us, but for us, I completely forgot that there were people watching; we just had our ‘thing’ together. [...] It was fine for us to repeat [that game], but [that moment] when they stepped in and asked us to repeat it, there was a moment of ‘wow! What is happening here!’ because we were caught in a moment and suddenly it’s like ‘oh, right, we’re not alone, there are people filming’ [...] but then I realized that we had really been in our own little world for a while. And it’s in these moments, when everybody is in it - and I believe everybody was in it alright – they also forget the [bad, tedious] things around them. Like not just that there are people around, but also the problems at home or I don’t know what. And that can give you the new energy to be able to handle these things later” [int-E-1, MwB, 38:00-39:50]. Some other occasions which I witnessed or participated in focussed the attention of all participants sometimes equally well – for example in the relaxing warming-up activity which I described in chapter four. But there were also occasions where this did not happen. One extreme example of this was on one occasion where I joined the Project Manager who went to give a music workshop for the children of an elementary school in a village south of Bethlehem. There were approximately five hundred children present in the large a-symmetrical indoor space with pillars. The project manager, acting as workshop leader, was given a small podium, around which the chairs for the participants were positioned. The school teachers seated themselves in the front row of chairs and were mostly unconcerned with the children, of whom many –despite the podium- could see and interact with one-another much more easily than the Project Manager. To complete the ensuing chaos, the amplifier stopped working a couple of times, causing several activities to be discontinued. Despite the poor accessibility of the musical materials (audible, visible or otherwise perceivable) due to the size and lay-out of the room and the dysfunctional amplifier, and despite the failure of the teachers to assist by directing the attention of their pupils towards the musical activities and sustaining the ‘circle’ of attention focussed on the workshop leader, there were moments where nearly half of the participants – especially those closest to the podium - did seem quite absorbed in the activity.

As I mentioned earlier, this phenomenon of a practice in which the construction of a separate time-space – a temporary circle of attention cohesively integrating domain and event as set apart from everything ‘outside’ that practice – is addressed by scholars addressing the concepts of liminality and the magic circle. Based on the analysis of *rites de passages* by Arnold van Gennep, the concept of ‘liminality’ was first considered in non-ritual contexts by Victor Turner. In his essay on the *liminal* and the *liminoid* (1974), he defines *liminal space* as a ritual phenomenon which is set apart in time-space and isolated from ‘profane’ affairs, through the specific procedures of the ritual in question (especially in *rites de passage*, in which the liminal is “a sort of social limbo”(57) between two states of social reality, for example when the ritual marks a change in social status for an initiate). By its ‘out’ of the ordinary, liminal nature, the liminal space offers possibilities incompatible with everyday affairs, but is also highly communal and socially controlled. For those phenomena that share qualities with the *liminal*, yet are less thoroughly controlled (for example because participation is optional) Turner uses the term *liminoid*. Where the *liminal* is a very specific kind of phenomenon,

according to Turner deeply connected to a specific (small scale) type of society and a specific (transformational) purpose, the liminoid can be recognized in a great variety of phenomena – from festivals to college classes, from a courtcase to the creation of a painting. The liminoid can involve one individual or a community, although (unlike the liminal) it is never absolutely inclusive; yet it is always an event which is isolated from ‘normal’ affairs, in which attention is limited to the specific scene of the activity and the activity itself. According to Turner, *liminoid* practices ultimately allow for a state of *flow*, in which “coherent, non-contradictory demands for action” come together with “clear, unambiguous feedback to a person's actions”(88). A degree of liminality – isolating the event from everyday affairs – can be achieved by regulation: the separation of the time-space from regular domains, as well as the ‘out of the ordinary’ practice itself (involving its specific physical elements, rules and roles) that apply only for the length and within the space of the event – contribute to the liminoid quality of the social practice. In her essay about the capacity of musical practices to function as transformative liminal spaces (2009), Boyce-Tillman argues that musicking is especially suitable as liminal practice because it affords the participants to “fuse” the complete experience, what she calls the “domains” of experience (185). These include musical and contextual elements that form up the materials, the value-systems and extended meanings (*latched onto* or associatively evoked embodied and subjective impressions which she understands as part of the experience-“domain of expression”), as well as musical practice structures (e.g. composition, improvisation schemes and other preconceived productive structures, which she refers to as “construction”) (Boyce-Tillman, 2009:185-189). Although in the case of Musicians without Borders the musical practice was not constructed as necessarily transformative and therefore not liminal, the ‘experience-fusing’ potential of musical practices was used to create a strong liminoid quality.

As said, this liminoid quality of the musical activities - although always present to some degree – was not always equally strong. In understanding this we can turn to Consalvo’s treatise on ‘the magic circle of play’ (2009). She states that “Huizinga wrote in the 1930s about a magic circle for play, which bounded a space and set it apart from normal life. Inside the magic circle, different rules apply, and it is a space where we can experience things not normally sanctioned or allowed in regular space or life” (2009:409). The notion of the ‘magic circle’ seems to correspond with the circle of attention in the integrated domain and event of the music workshop or training, involving the special rules and roles for that musical practice. Consalvo criticizes the unquestioning use of this term by fellow scholars in game studies, arguing that the ‘magic circle’ is not necessarily there in all types of games – especially not in those she studied, and is not a stable feature of gameplay: “[a]rguably, [the concept of the magic circle] upholds structuralist definitions or conceptualizations of games. It emphasizes form at the cost of function, without attention to the context of actual gameplay” (2009:411). “We cannot say that games are magic circles, where the ordinary rules of life do not apply. Of course they apply, but in addition to, *in competition with*, other rules and in relation to multiple contexts”(416, my emphasis). I read Consalvo’s treatise as an argument not to drop the notion of the magic circle all together, but to understand it as an unstable feature of play – a phenomenon that does not come about necessarily but only insofar it can be actively constituted by the participants, in the same way that concerted experience can be more or less successfully constituted. I even propose that the magic circle, liminal or liminoid space - that circle of attention focussed on a social practice and shutting out all that which is ‘outside’ that practice - needs to be a product of concerted experience. In the case of the Deaf & Proud music workshop for the television recording for example, all participants were focussed on the exercises, coordinating their musical embodied practice with one another, sharing glances and smiles – and a smirk when jokingly fooling another participant with a

move. The television crew was not included in the coordination of this concerted experience sustained between the participants, and when they interrupted the activity the 'magic' of the moment was shattered, the circle of attention of the workshop breached. The 'successful' constitution of concerted experience in general depends on whether everybody can be attentive to one-another's stances and meta-stances in relation to the elements involved in that practice; a 'successful' constitution of a liminoid, "magic" circle of attention depends on whether the stance-elements and other elements of the practice can (in the words of Consalvo) 'compete with' and *undercut* one's attention to what is 'outside' that practice. In the case of the Deaf & Proud workshop, I propose that the musical activities successfully competed with the television crew, until they interrupted; in this interruption, the presence of and interaction with the television crew was no longer undercut by the musical activities and their liminoid quality evaporated.

When successful though, the capacity of the musical practices to undercut and shut out 'outside influences', including plans and concerns, makes it an exceptionally powerful mechanism to 'break through' the 'besiegement' of a person's lived experience of the occupation. If successful, participants and especially the workshop leader or trainer controls whether and in which way particular concerns and may be included or undercut in the workshop or training. As the experience of the occupation is present in everyday financial, transportation, political and other common concerns as well as a regular – in many cases daily - source of worry, fear and unsafety, the exclusion of this factor might be felt as a comforting sense of freed-up 'mental' space and can form a real break from the daily routines and *malal* of the occupation.

Creating an atmosphere

The Project Manager at one point mentioned – as an afterthought to what she had been saying before – that creating an atmosphere ("sfeer maken" in Dutch) was important to the activities. She did not explain if 'creating an atmosphere' was an important purpose of the activities in itself, or if it was an important character trait of the activities that contributed to its societal purpose; maybe both. The remark got stuck in my mind however as a key to the experience of the activities. Based on afore-used theory, the 'atmosphere' created by a musical activity can be understood as a type of thoroughly concerted experience, based on knowing one-another's stances as they develop in relation to those of the rest of the group and in relation to the activity which is performed. I wish to connect this feature of the musical activities to something else the Project Manager told me: that although people (especially potential sponsors) acknowledged the value of the music programs when it was explained to them, they only truly understood and felt the significance of the work when they experienced the activities themselves. "You have to undergo it, you have to experience yourself such an improvisation, with sticks or whatever, in order to feel how it works; you have to play the games in order to reproduce them, it's not enough simply to see it. So people like [the staff of Music Harvest] who do the same kind of work who understand how important it is [...] so if every donor.... so when they are sitting here and we are talking about it and they are saying 'oohhh, wow...!' but still I don't think they understand... Like the television crew today, I tried to explain what we do but I thought they do not understand, so I told them 'I am just going to give a workshop so you can film it and see it'" (int-E-1, mat+fund, 36:48-38:00). Having foreigners over to join the activities meant investing extra time and energy for the Project Manager during an already busy program, yet if these were potential donors and supporters this would make it worth the effort [Int-E-1, mat+fund 29:00-47:36]. Many funders however had to judge the quality of the project based on what is written in the application form submitted to them, and as Harker (2005) already noted, that significant quality of

concerted experience is hard to cover in writing. These two observations – that potential funders are more readily convinced of the value of Musicians without Borders’ project when participating, and that concerted experience is hard to put into words yet a very significant quality of any expressive or playful interactive occasion – suggests that the quality and style of concerted experience is important for the construction of the meaning and significance of the activities of Musicians without Borders.

Based on the idea that atmosphere and other forms of concerted experience result from the stance-dynamics among a group of subjects engaged in expressive performance, and that these dynamics are informed by the stance-ideology (see chapter 3, 34) which is expressed and exemplified by the leader, I propose that the stance-ideology of a musical practice strongly determines the style or type of concerted experience that may be sustained in musical practice. As the leader is the focus of the integrated, liminoid domain-event of the music workshop or training, coordination of performance and stance(s) is firstly attuned to the leader and secondarily to the other participants; this strengthens the coherence of stance-dynamics of the group (the participants are not only taking the same musical and contextual materials into experience, but also draw from the same model for stances to constitute this experience with). I believe that through this mechanism the experience of comfort, joy and creative engagement are not only inspired by the rules and roles (the leadership-style) of the musical practices and the stance-ideologies enacted by the workshop leaders, but are *reified* and *strengthened* in a constant loop through the process of sustaining concerted experience. The comfortable, playful, free, beautiful and goal-oriented atmosphere ‘in the air’ – that concerted experience sustained between the participants that signifies the space-time of the musical activities for my interviewees – is thus constructed not simply by isolated elements and embodied performance, but by *participation* in sustaining the concerted experiences which are constructed through these musical practices.

Conclusion

The *embracing capacity* of musical materials to integrate with a diversity of practices - to draw together all kinds of elements of experience and turn them into music makes them a device for organizing collective and personal experience, what DeNora also calls “aesthetic control” (2004:163). As she demonstrates in her concluding chapter, musical practices offer a refined set of referents for (inter)action to those with equal skill and experience to use them, making it a means for crowd-control as well as manipulation. DeNora takes on an alerted tone in pointing out how this politicizes musical practices as they may be misused, however in doing this she focuses primarily on the ways music may be misused in the service of a capitalist enterprise. In the case of the Palestinians I interviewed, this issue ‘dissolves’ in the politicization of everyday life – their mere existence is political, and their musical practices are so as well – if not all in the same way or measure. Even in those musical practices in which the experience of the occupation is completely expelled and the participants are completely absorbed in the musical activities, this bears political significance, as the oppressive nature of the occupation is overcome for a spell.

The musical activities that I witnessed and that were explained to me were often very game-like. Looking into literature on play I came across a few parallels with musical or other expressive arts, among which the possibilities for conforming and creative interactional structures, the liminoid potential and importance of concerted experience and atmosphere. The parallels in art practices and game practices have been noted before by scholars, for example by Honing (2014:12-13) who tentatively proposes to look at music as a kind of play, or by James (1993), who makes a persuasive argument for considering the game of cricket as an art form. The musical activities of Musicians

without Borders take much less refinement to be understood as art *and* play: many of the activities are called 'musical games' by the participants and even for those activities which are more seriously understood as exercises and performances the fun and laughter that accompanied them was regularly mentioned in the interviews.

It all comes together: the separation of musical activities from everyday experience that is brought about with measured control; the playful, artful, and educative engagement with one's body and the musical materials; the accessible, safe and creative social environment and atmosphere and the articulation of social and personal relevance. In this chapter I have tried to show how the meaning and significance of the musical activities to my interviewees – and myself as a participant observer – does not rely on single properties of the music. Rather, it is the integration all musical and non-musical elements through participation that signifies the experience.

Conclusion

*It opens for me more space... to express [myself] and
reveal my abilities into something positive!*

~ Int-E-3, MwB, 7:55-10:00

War divides, music connects. The Musicians without Borders motto speaks to an image of dividing and connecting people to one another, but both the phenomenon of war and that of music can go wider and deeper than that. Of course, war divides people, but it also divides resources, experiences, possibilities. Music may connect people in what I have called ‘concerted experience’, but it does not do so necessarily and never exclusively; it is never just about a single element. It connects to all parts of musical practice and experience; in this case, it connected to prospect and relief in the light of – and in contrast to – the occupation.

When studying a musical phenomenon, it is tempting to focus on musical properties such as melody and instrument, and directly associated content materials such as lyrics and instructions, as the ‘body’ of the music or as ‘the work’. In dynamic activities such as those of Musicians without Borders, however, these features cannot be isolated from the total experience without losing that which makes it worthwhile: that participatory dimension of the activity which embraces all parts of the experience. “[T]o say that music will ‘cause’ things to happen, [...] is to miss the collaborative dimension of how music’s effectiveness is achieved” (DeNora, 2004:96); an observation echoed in social music theory and of particular significance in music in conflict-studies. Many people may have experienced some musical practice or other as comforting or liberating, but the special significance such experiences had for my interviewees has to do with the way they are connected with the other parts of their lives – lives tainted with a sense of oppression. And it is on the part of my interviewees that the musical activities in which they participated became articulated as purposeful, contributing to *amal*.

With this thesis, I set out to answer a question of relevance and connection between musical experience and geo-political conflict. This question led to the exploration not just of song and rhythm, but of despair, frustration, embattlement, purpose and relevance... and also of laughter and relaxation. The study of music in conflict is a young and growing disciplinary orientation, and this thesis ventured to include the study of experiential mechanisms of musical practice to achieve a fuller understanding of how musical practice in fact becomes significant in relation to conflict – an expansion relative to earlier work, as pointed out by Grant et al. (2010:192). By addressing empirically the detail of both Palestine Community Music and the participants’ lived experience of the occupation, as well as theoretically examining the mechanisms of concerted experience that inform the meaning of the Palestine Community Music activities for my interviewees, I departed from the war-peace continuum present in much of the present scholarship (McDonald, 2009; O’Connell and El-Shawan Castelo Branco, 2010; Kartomi, 2010; Pettan, 2008) in this discipline to include the parallel processes of Palestinians in caring for their subjective states under oppressive circumstances. This approach led me to the following conclusion about how the meaning of the musical activities of Palestine Community Music is related to the Israeli occupation in the lived experience of my informants.

The musical activities of Palestine Community Music are meaningful *in contrast* to the participants’ lived experience of the Israeli occupation as a source of relief and an aid in the construction of hope.

As said in the first chapter, this thesis makes but a humble contribution in the exploration of the field of music and conflict. The mechanisms of experience and signification used here are far from exhaustive, and theory could be better integrated with more phenomenological research. Expanding and grounding such an approach within the study of music and conflict will be a challenge, as it requires particular skill in this kind of research that enables the researcher to work with the painful experiences of hurt and trauma. The results of such further research however would be worthwhile, as it would greatly contribute to our understanding of subjectivity both within conflict and within music.

The great potency of music for integration with all types of context that is hinted upon in this thesis might encourage readers in the idea of using music for social purposes, but should also make the reader aware of the *dependency* of the significance of music on the daily experiences of the participants. During one interview, a passionate rap workshop leader told me about how he and fellow rappers had considered distancing themselves from the music project because they heard of a partner which was involved Israelis – something they considered counterproductive to Palestinian emancipation from the occupier-occupied relationship. Such a partnership strongly affected their sense of purpose, feeling that it would discredit their own work with Palestine Community Music – and their experience of the music therein as well. Vulnerable as music is to signification, the relevance of music in relation to more or less violent and oppressive geopolitical circumstances involves its integration with highly delicate matters, and great sensibility of musicians and activists towards the diversity and sensitivity of the lived experiences of this situation.

Another great potency of musical practices lies in their experience-structuring possibilities and their embracing capacity discussed in the last chapter of this thesis. DeNora writes: “in the musicking, we become what it is that we are doing” (2013:182). This implies firstly that ‘what it is that we are doing’ may be any kind of thing, but also implies the exclusion during the musical practice of what else we might be. Many studies of music in conflict address cases in which ‘that what it is people are doing’ musically is a manifestation of conflict or resolution, in which other things people are and do are excluded from the musical practice. This thesis shows that a musical practice can also do the exact opposite (excluding the reality of military occupation in favour of the reality of musical enjoyment and creativity), as well as manifest alternative forms of engagement with the geopolitical situation (excluding the reality of military oppression in favour of the reality of various forms of community support, individual development and activism). Of course, immersion in the musical structuring of experience depends on the commitment of the participants, which means a musical practice needs to be accessible with regard to embodied skill, stylistic features, energy level, structure and purpose. The Palestine Community Music manages this with such a great variety of participants – from two years old up to and including adults; from the healthy and musically experienced (with the participants of Music Harvest and Sounds of Palestine) to the inexperienced, sometimes physically or mentally disabled, hospitalized or even detained in a psychiatric institution; from well-hearing to hard-hearing and deaf. This only emphasizes the variation of things that can be done in musical practice. It is the experience-structuring capacity of music that makes those activities what they are in practice, and shapes the significance they have.

Otherwise it wouldn't be the project it is, and it wouldn't have the same effect that it has now.

~Int-N-5, MwB, 21:30-22:45

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Appendix I

Content of the first appendix

- I. Data coding
- II. General data overview
- III. Briefing leaflet
- IV. Questionnaire data overview
- V. Observations
- VI. 'Occ': topic list and starting material overview
- VII. 'MwB': question list
- VIII. Other interviews

I. Data coding

The files containing data are coded to indicate the type of data and the informant or interviewee involved, and these codes are used to reference the data throughout this thesis. Interview citations are transcribed from the MP3-audio recordings; colour-coding analysis was done in the hardcopy interview notes. Copies of all interview notes (without the colour-coding) are available in JPEG file format. Filled-out questionnaires have not been cited in this thesis; these are coded only with the informant code of the respondent.

Informant code

- Q#** Informant who filled out the questionnaire but did not participate in any oral interview. **Seventeen in total.**
- Int-E-#** Interviewees who first participated with Musicians without Borders in Palestine before 2013 (at least a year before the research). **Thirteen in total**, all of which filled out the questionnaire except Int-E-13. The Project Manager is coded Int-E-1 and the Field Coordinator is coded Int-E-8.
- Int-N-#** Interviewees who first started participating with Musicians without Borders in Palestine as of 2013 (less than a year before the research). **Six in total**, all of which filled out the questionnaire.
- Int-O-#** Interviewees who are not involved with Musicians without Borders as staff, trainee, workshop leader or participant; **three in total**. of which one filled out a questionnaire.

Data type code

- Q** Questionnaire
- FN** Field notes file (Microsoft Word). Each week of the field research has a separate file: FN1 represents the document of week #1.
- Occ** Interview about the Israeli occupation.
- MwB** Interview about involvement with Musicians without Borders through the Community Music Palestine project.
- M** Interview about musical materials and activities
- NGOs** Interview about NGOs in Bethlehem/Palestine
- Mus** Interviews about music in Palestine

II. General data overview

Interviews (both written and oral):

	Total	Questionnaires	'MwB'	'Occ'	Other
With all respondents (39 rspdts in total, of which 22 oral rspdts)	85	36 [with each rspdt except Int-E-13, int-O-1 and int-O-2)	20 [with each int-E-# and Int-N-# rspdt as well as Int-O-1)	14 [with each int-E-# and Int-N-# rspdt except Int-E-5, Int-E-8, Int-E-9, Int-N-5 and Int-E-6]	15 of which: 1 'follow-up' [int-E-2] 7 'M' [Int-E-1 (2x), Int-E-3, Int-E-4, int-E-6, Int-E-7, Int-E-8] 3 'NGO' [Int-O-2, Int-O-3, Int-E-8] 4 'Mus' [int-E-5 (2x), int-E-12, int-E-6]
With women (20 rspdts in total, of which 13 oral rspdts)		18	12	9	7
With men (19 rspdts in total, of which 9 oral rspdts)		18	8	5	8
With Palestinians/Jordanians¹		30	16	12	12
With internationals		6	4	2	3

III. Briefing leaflet

Sylvia Mannaerts (سلفيا منارتس)

Internee for Musicians without Borders

مُتطوعة لدى مؤسسة موسيقيين بلا حدود

Responsible for documentation (photos, blog)

للمؤسسة الوظيفة: كتابة التقارير وتوثيق الصور على الموقع الإلكتروني

Anthropology MA Student

طالبة أنثروبولوجيا/ درجة الماجستير

(Research for my private use – so not commissioned by MwB)

بِحتي خاص و مستقل وليس بتفويض من موسيقيين بلا حدود

Research Topic: how music can be meaningful in a conflict situation

موضوع البحث: كيف يمكن للموسيقى أن تكون معنوية في ظل الصراع القائم

Methods: questionnaires, in-depth interviews, and everyday observations.

منهجية البحث: استمارة تساؤلات، مقابلات، ملاحظات حية

All results will be made anonymous before I leave Palestine.

الإجابات على هذه التساؤلات سوف تستخدم لأغراض البحث العلمي فقط ولعلمكم أنه سيتم التحفظ على أسماءكم بشكل سري في كل جوانب الدراسة

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¹ I have grouped those who indicated a Jordanian nationality together with the Palestinians, because some of these indicated dual nationality (Palestinian and Jordanian), and Jordanian and Palestinian identities are closely connected due to (a.o.) the large Palestinian population in Jordan. Jordanians are not 'foreign' in the same way as internationals; in contrast to other internationals they do not necessarily come in via an NGO of touring organization; I have only heard of Jordanians coming to Palestine for family or studies. As far as I could establish they seem more part of the local community than of the international community.

IV. Questionnaire

Questionnaire

استمارة الدراسة

Dear sir, madam,

حَضرة السيد/ة

For my MA research I would like to know more about the backgrounds of people affiliated with Musicians without Borders activities in Palestine. Could you please answer the following questions?

تهدف هذه الدراسة للتعرف أكثر على الأشخاص الذين لهم علاقة بالفعاليات التي تنفذها مؤسسة 'موسيقيين بلا حدود' وعن سيرتهم السابقة. و لذلك أرجو منكم عن الاسئلة التالية؟

Your answers will be used for scientific purposes only, and will be made anonymous before I leave Palestine.

Thank you for your cooperation!

ملاحظة : الإجابات على هذه التساؤلات سوف تستخدم لأغراض البحث العلمي فقط. ولعلمكم أنه سيتم التحفظ على أسماءكم بشكل سري في كل جوانب الدراسة

شكراً لحسن تعاونكم

1. Please indicate whether you are a man or a woman:

الجنس :

- ◇ Man ذكر
- ◇ Woman أنثى

2. What is your age? _____: العمر :

3. What is your nationality? الجنسية

- ◇ Palestinian فلسطيني/ة
- ◇ Other, please indicate: _____: جنسية أخرى، حدد :

4. What is your place/area of residency? مكان السكن:

5. What kind of education have you had? التحصيل العلمي:

6. What is your occupation? المهنة:

7. Do you have any physical challenges? (for example, being unable to walk, or talk, or see, or hear, etc. etc.) هل لديك اي إعاقة جسدية؟ (ضرب/ة، أصم، أبكم، إعاقة حركية) :

8. Since when (and, if applicable, until when) are you involved with Musicians without Borders?

مدة التعامل مع مؤسسة موسيقيين بلا حدود؟ من _____ الى _____
الرجاء وضع الفترة المتوقعة للعمل في المستقبل

9. How regularly are you involved with Musicians without Borders?

كم مرة تعمل مع مؤسسة موسيقيين بلا حدود؟

- | | |
|---------------------|------------|
| ◇ Every week | أسبوعيا |
| ◇ Every two weeks | كل اسبوعين |
| ◇ Every month | كل شهر |
| ◇ Only incidentally | غير محدد |

10. How are you involved with Musicians Without Borders? Please specify the programme(s) with which you are involved and your role within that programme:

ما هي طبيعة عملك مع موسيقيين بلا حدود؟ عرف نوع النشاط والبرنامج بشكل توضيحي؟

- ◇ I am a volunteer : انا متطوع/ة

- ◇ I am an employee: انا موظف/ة

- ◇ I am a participant: انا اشارك في النشاطات والفعاليات

◇ Other: : طبيعة المشاركة غير محددة: وضح/ي

11. What music-making experience do you have? And what music you like to play?

هل لديك اي خبرات موسيقية خاصة (العزف على الالات أو كتابة الموسيقى) وما هي الموسيقى التي تفضل عزفها

12. What kind of music do you prefer to listen to?

ما هي الموسيقى المفضلة لديك للاستماع؟

13. And if you'd have the opportunity to learn to make certain music yourself, what kind of music would you like to make?

إذا توفرت لديك الفرصة لتعلم نوع محدد من الموسيقى، فما هي الموسيقى التي ستختار تعلمها؟

This sheet will be removed before I leave Palestine.

هذا الجزء من الدراسة سيتم اتلافه قبل مغادرة فلسطين، وسيتم التعامل مع المعلومات بشكل موضوعي سري خاص

What is your name? _____ الاسم:

For my research, I also need to do several interviews.

لاستكمال متطلبات هذه الدراسة، احتاج لعمل عدد من المقابلات الحية

- One interview will be about the way in which the conflict/occupation is present in your life.
المقابلة الاولى: كيفية تأثير الصراع القائم مع الاحتلال على حياتك الشخصية
- The second interview will be about your expectations of the programmes of Musicians without Borders.
المقابلة الثانية: آراءك وتوقعاتك من برامج مؤسسة موسيقيين بلا حدود
- With people who have been involved with Musicians without Borders for a longer period of time, I'd also like to take a third interview, about the degree to which Musicians without Borders activities changed your experience of the conflict/occupation.

المقابلة الثالثة: للذين قضاوا وقت أطول مع موسيقيين بلا حدود، سيتم عمل مقابلة للتحدث عن مستويات التغيير التي حدثت على الصعيد الشخصي في التعامل مع الصراع القائم مع الاحتلال من خلال النشاطات التي شاركوا بها مع المؤسسة

Would you be willing to be interviewed?

هل لديك الرغبة في المشاركة في المقابلة؟

- Yes نعم
- No لا
- I have to think about أرغب بالتفكير في الموضوع
- I first need to ask permission from my parents أود أن أطلب الإذن من عائلتي أولاً

How can I contact you?

كيف يمكنني التواصل معك؟

- Telephone: (رقم) هاتف/ جوال:
- E-mail-address: البريد الالكتروني:
- Other: وسيلة اخرى (حدد)

Thank you very much for participating! Your answers will be of much help to me! If you have any questions about my research, please contact me on my e-mail address: snorah@mail.com .

شكرا جزيلاً لحسن تعاونكم، مشاركتكم كانت مساعدة كبيرة لي. وإذا كان لديكم اي اسئلة او استفسارات عن الدراسة الرجاء التواصل معي من خلال عنوان البريد التالي :

snorah@mail.com

V. Observations

Observations were noted in a journal, recorded per week in Microsoft Word documents (eleven in total). Special attention went to the materials used in workshops and trainings, and the structure of each activity used. In the second half of the field research, fewer field notes were taken in favour of more in-depth interviews.

VI. 'Occ': topic list and starting material overview

Each interview about the interviewees' lived experience of the occupation was an unstructured interview based on a topic list and one starting question: "choose something (an object, picture, phrase, or anything else that comes to you) that for you represents the Israeli occupation". I explained that it did not need to cover the meaning, but would serve as a starting point for the interview. With this framework, I gave the interviewee much freedom in directing the interview in directions that were both of significance to and open to inquiry to her/him. Few interviewees actually choose to address particular examples of violent events of which they were part, and those who did were able to address them in a way that was doable to them.

Starting-points chosen per interviewee

Int-E-1	Her passport
Int-E-2	A rock from the street (throwing these at soldiers used to be a game)
Int-E-3	A description of a picture (a frightened small girl being arrested by a soldier)
Int-E-4	A seashell
Int-E-6	A picture of children in the Sounds of Palestine music lessons being evacuated as soldiers attack the building with tear-gas
Int-E-7	Did not manage to choose something specific, it was too difficult; she remembered pictures of small children and babies injured and shot dead by Israeli bullets, which greatly shocked her when she saw them but could not bring herself to look at such pictures.
Int-E-10	Anecdote of how she tried to get to Bethlehem on foot when soldiers were blocking the road into the area, how the soldiers had chased her and caught her.
Int-E-11	Did not bring anything because everyday new things remind her of the occupation. Most recently her brothers and father were arrested for looking for a job in Jerusalem without Israeli permission
Int-E-12	When he wakes up and sees the Israeli wall in front of his house
Int-E-13	The wall
Int-N-1	Stories and experiences of Palestinian friends, especially their freedom of movement, possibilities to go places together, unsettling atmosphere caused by the noise of Israeli military plane exercises
Int-N-2	Israeli soldiers upsetting his medic duties (his voluntary work with the Red Crescent) by researching the ambulance or attacking him and fellow care-givers when they give medic aid during a clash between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers.
Int-N-3	A video of Aida camp under attack from Israeli soldiers
Int-N-4	A famous photograph of a boy called Fares, standing up defiantly in front of an Israeli Tank

Topic list

- material environment , material objects, visuals
- Social life, community affiliations
- Personal relationships
- Professional relationships and relationships with institutes
- Hopes, prospect for oneself
- Self-expectations
- 'Identity', what kind of person the interviewee is/wants to be
- Memories
- Expectations of the occupation
- Dealing with situations created by the occupation
- Time-management

Many things the interviewees told me were connected to multiple topics listed here; the topics were used to inspire new questions and to cover as much as possible of daily life and lived experience. Often when addressing a topic that was not yet addressed by the interviewee, I would open with either of the following two questions: 'Can you tell me something about [topic]?' (in this case I would use a follow up question to determine if/how that part of the interviewees' daily life is affected by the Israeli occupation and part of their lived experience of the occupation), or 'Is [topic] affected by the occupation?'

VII. 'MwB': question list

1. How did you come to know about Musicians without Borders?
 - ◇ How was it [the organization, project, program, workshop, depending on previous answer] presented to you?
2. What was your initial reason to start participating with Musicians without Borders?
 - ◇ Did this reason change?
3. Do you intend to continue participating with Musicians without Borders?
4. Are you doing any other musical activities outside Musicians without Borders?
5. What kind of activities do you do with Musicians without Borders?
6. Do you have any goal that you would like to achieve [through your involvement] with Musicians without Borders?
7. Which aspects of the activities are most important?
8. Which aspects of the activities are most fun?
9. Should more people participate with Musicians without Borders?
 - ◇ What kind of people?
 - ◇ Why?
10. Are there people who should not participate with Musicians without Borders?²
 - ◇ or for whom you would advice against participating?
 - ◇ Do you know of anyone who does not want to participate?

² Most respondents simply answered 'No' – although one respondent after some thinking posed that Israelis should not participate, and another participant used the opportunity to express that people who participate should not just do it for their own enjoyment but should use what they learned in the training afterwards – otherwise they should not participate. A third participant posed that some people do not wish to do voluntary work, and that such people would be unlikely to participate.

VIII. Other interviews (list)

- 'M' (materials & details of musical activities)
 - Int-E-1, M and M (mat+fund): two interviews with the Project Manager about the musical activities and the way the project is financed
 - Int-E-8, M: interview with the Field Coordinator about the materials used for the non-violence training
 - Int-E-3, rap: interview with the Studio Manager about the rap workshops
 - Int-E-4, Int-E-6, and Int-E-7: an interview with each about a specific musical activity of their choice ('sticks', 'Amélie warming-up' and 'sticks' respectively) addressing instruments, activity structure/design, purpose/place within workshop, music style, energy level (rhythm, movements), melody, skills needed, influence of the environment, experience with the activity going wrong and how to deal with that.
- 'NGO' (about the NGO-economy in Bethlehem and Palestine, what kind of things NGOs in Palestine do and what kind of NGOs there are)
 - Int-O-2 (Anthropologist specialized in the NGO-economy, researching Christian NGOs)
 - Int-E-8 (Field Coordinator: specific attention to NGOs involved with Non-violence)
 - Int-O-3 (One of my translators, about his opinion and professional experiences working for different NGOs)
- 'Mus' (about music support and –education in Palestine)
 - Int-E-5, Mus (blog+org) and Mus (Pal): about how his own musical career was supported by various organizations, and about music in Palestine
 - Int-E-12, Mus (Wal): about music in Walaja village
 - Int-N-6, Mus (Ed): about music education in Palestine

Bringing into experience:
Noesis

That which is being experienced:
Noema

This is John. John experiences a sound. Berger uses the terms 'noesis' and 'noema' to describe the process of experience and the sound respectively (2009) (1)

Noesis may happen through various mechanisms, which are all culturally informed. One very basic mechanism I call '(re)cognition'.

John: 'someone's clapping!'

Mr. X: 'What's that noise?'

Mr. Y: 'Oh, a Rumba clave!'

Mr. Z: 'Is that music?'

So far so good. When we start looking at more mechanisms of experience, things become more complicated, and we need a more elaborate example. Do you know the song 'If you're happy and you know it clap your hands'?

This mechanism is "pre-reflexive" (Berger, 2009:93): it is the automatic interpretation of impulses that does not involve deduction or logic. Upon second thought someone might realize (s)he was wrong. Or not.

If you're happy and you know it and you really want to show it, if you're happy and you know it clap your hands!

Please... shut... up...

When practicing music, in whichever way, we integrate various noema: both those that we (re)cognize as music and those that are not considered musical. This includes the sounds heard (singing voice, words, claps), the movements and physical feelings felt (clapping, singing dancing, tapping feet), the noema in the environment (other people, type of space, furniture, the sound of traffic and so on) and noema from outside the environment that are integrated by association (a dislike or sympathy with a (fellow) singer, or a memory of a previous time the song was sung)

If you're happy and you know it clap your hands, if you're happy and you know it clap your hands!

clap clap

clap clap



Integrative domain 1: Mountain (incl. valley, forest and fields). Integrative Domain 2: Hike (including path, fellow hikers, backpacks, sore feet, hiking songs)

While integrating different noema to inform our experience of each one, we may group together some noema to be more or less foregrounded together in experience, while excluding and backgrounding other noema. For example, the people with whom you are singing and the other noema of a musical experience can be integrated to be part of this domain, while other people driving by in a car are part of a different integrative domain.

These two people are Mary and Nora. They are out on a hike and amusing themselves with a little song.

The hike was very long. The hikers looked for encouragement and distraction.

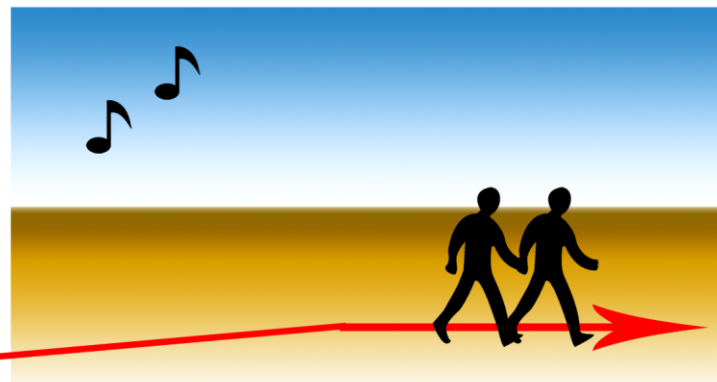
Mary remembered the song and started singing. They both laughed out loud.

Encouraged, they are now singing wholeheartedly until the end of the song.

Mary is already starting over, but Nora thinks it will get boring and proposes a different song.

Each experience takes place in time, and noema are not only integrated with concurrent noema to signify one-another, but also with that which was preceding and that which is expected to happen next. Berger (2009:70-76) proposes that this happens through two simultaneously employed mechanisms. 'Iteration' signifies how successive experiences are retained as independent parts of the overall experience (first the singing makes the hikers laugh, then it encourages them, then they get disinterested), while 'retrospection' stands for the re-evaluation of accumulating experiences in relation to one-another (however fun they had with the song, after three quite similar chorusses further repetition would spoil the experience).

The case of the hiking song is an example of 'latching', a mechanism coined by DeNora (2004) to signify the creation of a "synchronous connection" between music and a desired subjective state. In the case of the hikers, walking pace and level of enthusiasm are sustained by latching onto the pace and 'happy' disposition of the song. I understand this mechanism as a form of integration of the 'Hike' domain along purpose.

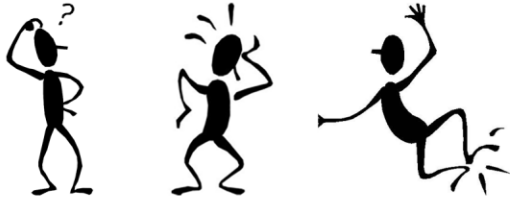


Mechanisms of musical experience, following Berger (2009) and DeNora (2004)



Let's return to John. John is in the proximity of an outdoor music festival. As he draws nearer, the first sounds become audible to him: the quiet murmur of a faraway crowd.

John listens *with concentration* to identify the sounds he hears: the distant base of loud live music. As he draws nearer the sounds become more audible. Had John had a dislike for festivals and been on a simple stroll, he might have taken these sounds in *with annoyance* or *disinterest*. In this example though, he has a ticket for this festival and will seek out some friends there: he brings the accumulating sounds of still-far-off sounds of live music and crowds into experience *with joyful excitement*.



With confusion With annoyance With elation

Previously described concepts all represented mechanisms for bringing noema into experience, but every such act of noesis includes the quality of the experience: disinterest, annoyance, joy, surprise, confusion... Qualities of experience form an important part of the signification of experience, and form the central theme of Berger's book; he uses the concept of 'stance' to describe and understand such qualities



Although stance might not always be foregrounded in experience or identifiably expressed in performance, Berger argues that it is of key importance in musical practices. Especially in the performance of music, by latching on to the performance and stance-traces of fellow performers the musicians can not only coordinate and bring together musical unity from their separate parts, but they can also coordinate their experience of the performance.

Berger argues that in the arts, audience members recognize the work of art as the creation of one or more subjects with experience and stances on their experiences - often these are people, but depending on culture it could also be the work of a divine or other non-human subjects. Although actual stance is a feature of experience rather than performance, Berger argues that it leaves traces in the performance that may be identified by the audience if it has the cultural skill to identify them.



Anyone participating in a music practice together with others - in performing, listening or any other way - takes into experience the overall and individual performances, the identified traces of stance with all others present, their own behaviour and performance and stance. Taking all this into experience with a certain stance, we can speak of 'meta-stance'. Berger points out that one may evaluate and adapt one's own stances in relation to those of (fellow) performers - to use DeNora's phrasing, one can latch onto the performances, stances and meta-stances of others to direct one's own experience. I propose to describe the stance-dynamics resulting from this experience-shaping mechanism as 'concerted experience'. As it is a subtle interaction, it may seemingly be located in between individuals, encompassing the participants.



Singer Um Khalthoum in concert. Her musicians follow her every move with solemn attention, coordinating their performance and concerting their experience of that performance.

(1) Berger follows Husserl in many respects in his theory, but does not address the philosophical debate resulting from Husserl's use of the concept of noema. This debate revolved around readings of Husserl's theory that understood it as having 'internalist' flaws (for an explanation, see Zahavi, 2004). It seems however that Berger's understanding follows that of Zahavi, who rejects this criticism and demonstrates that "Husserl's phenomenological analysis of intentionality entails such a fundamental rethinking of the very relation between subjectivity and world that it hardly makes sense to designate it as being either internalist or externalist" (2004:42).