



*Framing Musicians Without
Border's Peacebuilding
Agenda*

A Case Study analysis of Soy Música and
Palestine Community Music

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Executive Summary

This report was commissioned by Musicians Without Borders (MWB) in 2019

This report considers MWB's peacebuilding agenda and examines how, and in what ways, it accords with the perceptions, needs and expectations of beneficiaries in two project localities, namely, Soy Música in El Salvador and Palestine Community Music in the West Bank.

The report responds to a call by peacebuilding researchers and practitioners for more in-depth ethnographic research to better understand the psychosocial and political complexities that characterise conflict and post-conflict environments. It draws on interviews and focus group discussions held with a range of stakeholders in both project areas to build evidence of their respective needs and perspectives, and considers this data against MWB's Theory of Change (TOC).

Results from the study indicate that MWB projects are highly attuned to local social, cultural and political conditions and experiences, as well as responsive to shifting political parameters. Projects work with an adaptive definition of 'peace', as situations demand, and seek to build a range of local capacities to ensure cultural sensitivity, agency and local ownership. Some structural adjustments are advised to ensure trainee support in El Salvador and to strengthen training capacity and trainee networking in the West Bank.

More broadly, the report aims to contribute insight to the recurrent conceptual and methodological problems that arise in many arts-based interventions from a one-dimensional understanding of conflict dynamics, and to demonstrate how cultural programmes such as those implemented by MWB may strengthen the place of culture in low intensity conflict and post-conflict peacebuilding agendas.

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Introduction

Aims and objectives

Musicians without Borders (MWB) is a highly reputable organisation working through music for social change and peacebuilding. Established in 1999, it encompasses a global network of musicians and partner organizations whose common purpose is to empower musicians as social activists, and young people as change makers.

Due to an increasing demand to deliver training for music interventions in refugee-intensive regions in Europe and in zones of conflict elsewhere in the world, MWB's operations are rapidly expanding. The research undertaken for this report aims to seize this moment in MWB's development to reflect on the organisation's foundational mission. Focusing on two of its key community music programmes, it examines how, and in what ways, their use of music is promoting cultures of peace.

The research was designed to meet the following specific, related objectives:

- φ To undertake an appraisal of recent peacebuilding and nonviolent direct action literature, thus attending to the recurrent conceptual and methodological problems that arise in many arts-based interventions from a one-dimensional understanding of conflict dynamics;
- φ To carry out primary research of two of MWB's community music programmes, Palestine Community Music & its partner organisation, Sounds of Palestine, and Soy Música, El Salvador, to assess locally apposite conceptual framing and activities, and to deepen understandings of the potential long-term impacts on target communities.
- φ To produce a written report that shares insights gleaned from both academic literature and findings from primary research. The exercise aims ultimately to assess how MWB frames its peacebuilding agenda, and to provide a theoretically grounded, ethnographically-substantiated basis from which to communicate their work to key decision-makers and to new trainees to their programmes.

The Projects

Palestine Community Music

Established in 2008, the Palestine Community Music programme consists of a few different strands:

- in cooperation with the Ministry of Education workshops take place in schools with large groups of around 30-70 children. These workshops are often one-off projects or may involve a short series of workshops with different classes.
- in partnership with other organisations in and around Bethlehem and Ramallah workshops take place with children and young adults with special needs, including workshops for deaf children and young adults with down's syndrome and sight loss. These workshops take place on a weekly basis and are mostly set up as long term programmes.

- in partnership with UK NGO, Music as Therapy, training courses are offered to music leaders involved in the Palestine Community Music to teach them the principle of music therapy and how these might be applied to music workshops they are involved in leading or supporting.
- MWB works in close cooperation with Sounds of Palestine, supporting the program with training and musical resources. Sound of Palestine is an ongoing, long-term programme based on the El Sistema model (though not formally part of the El Sistema network), giving children access to orchestral instrument tuition and group playing on a weekly basis. The programme runs out of a small centre on the edge of Bethlehem and engages children from nearby refugee camps and villages who are brought to the centre by minibus.¹

The overall aims of the programmes are to give children a way to relax and provide some respite as they experience a lot of stress caused by living under occupation. The Sounds of Palestine programme also encourages greater interaction between different groups, including between girls and boys who might otherwise be separated (particularly in the education system), and between children from the camps and villages who might not otherwise interact. For the children and young adults with special needs these programmes provide an opportunity for non-verbal expression through music and provide much needed meaningful activity which can otherwise be lacking for these groups in Palestinian society. For the music leaders and teachers engaged in the programmes, MWB is providing training in methods which are new and innovative and hitherto not widely understood in Palestinian society.

This is not a peacebuilding programme aimed at bringing together Palestinian and Israeli children but rather it interprets peacebuilding on a more micro level, focusing on how peace can be brought to individuals and small communities within the context of the ongoing occupation, through building individual resilience, stronger connections and empathy between people, creating hope through offering new experiences and developing new skills which allow people to build alternative identities for themselves.

Structurally the programme is exceptionally lean, resting on the shoulder of two paid project managers who coordinate and deliver the entire programme supported by a small team of trained local music leaders, support workers and one admin assistant.

Soy Música

Established in 2017, the Soy Música programme is a partnership between MWB, UNICEF El Salvador and the Salvadorian Ministry of Education. To date the programme has recruited three cohorts, each comprising of around 40-70 teachers, social workers and other community workers who each receive 3 years of structured training, involving 4 contact weeks per year with a team of international MWB trainers. During the periods in between these training weeks, trainees go back to their usual working

¹ As stated on the MWB website “We work in close cooperation with Sounds of Palestine, supporting the program with training and musical resources. Sounds of Palestine uses music education as a medium for long term social change, offering regular lessons per week to the many participating children. Hundreds of children from Aida and al-Azkeh refugee camp in the Bethlehem area participate in music appreciation lessons, instrument instruction, folk dancing, choir, music theory lessons and orchestral training.”

<https://www.musicianswithoutborders.org/?gclid=EAlalQobChMI-b6d373W6AIV2IbVChoHtg3hEAAYASAAEgJ5qPD_BwE>

contexts and implement the activities, methods and new approaches they have been trained in through the programme.

The training has seen music being reintroduced in the classroom after being removed from the curriculum in El Salvador in the 1980s and has seen community groups introducing music activities into their programmes, or where music activities were already integrated, they have been adapted in light of new techniques and methods learnt, for example non-verbal activities.

The overall aims of the programme lie within the realm of prevention, specifically preventing young people from joining gangs or getting caught up in gang violence which is so prevalent in many Salvadorian communities. The peacebuilding mission here relates to creating more peaceful communities and creating safe spaces in schools and community groups where young people free safe and protected from the violence that surrounds them. In addition, due to the disturbingly high numbers of femicide reported in El Salvador, the programme is looking at how it can also respond the issues of gender based violence present in the communities in which trainees live and work.

Structurally, the programme has been designed to promote sustainability by initially delivering a rigorous training programme that will produce a strong group of highly trained music leaders who can not only implement music activities and workshops into their existing practices, but who can go on to train their colleagues and others working in their sectors.

Methodology

This report focuses on two key MWB projects selected on the basis of the diverse conflict dynamics in which they operate, and the different phases that they represent in MWB's operations.

Started in 2008, Palestine Community Music represents one of MWB's most established projects and operates in a region of prolonged occupation and ongoing conflict. On the other hand, Soy Música in El Salvador was founded in 2017, and is one of MWB's newest projects, operating in an environment of extreme political and criminal violence. The research aimed originally to include Rwanda Youth Music as a third case study, but due to tight restrictions on international researchers in Rwanda, this case study could not be pursued.

Prior to undertaking research in each locality, we engaged with literature on the political histories of each country/region, paying particular attention to critical literature related to their respective peace and conflict dynamics. In addition, we engaged with relevant literature on music (and arts) and peacebuilding.

El Salvador - 8-24 May, 2019

In El Salvador, we observed 2 week-long training courses for Cohorts 1 and 2 of the Soy Música programme. Cohorts 1 & 2 are each made up of 20 – 30 teachers and community workers working in a range of regions across El Salvador. Trainees are enrolled on a 3-year training course designed to enable them to deliver MWB music activities in their schools and organisations, and eventually to train others in these techniques.

Over the course of two-weeks we conducted 18 focus groups and interviews with trainees (see Appendix 2 for a full list of interviews), met with UNICEF representatives in San Salvador who have been involved with Soy Música since its inception in 2017, and discussed our work with Dr. Jeser

Menjiva, University of San Salvador, who has been assessing the impact of Soy Música on primary and secondary school pupils and teachers in select localities of the country.

Once back in the UK, we conducted follow-up interviews with Soy Música trainer, Jim Pinchen, who participated in the August 2019 training session, as well as with Project Manager, Miguel Ortega.

Our exposure to the work in El Salvador focused exclusively on the training programme, and included also a visit to a local primary school where trainees worked with pupils toward a performance for their local community. Working closely with local translators and being on site with the trainees gave us the opportunity to engage in a range of discussions with individuals and groups, and to socialise with them outside of their training sessions.

Palestine - 27 October – 8 November, 2019

We spent two-weeks in Palestine's West Bank where we observed a variety of activities and held interviews with a range of teachers and community workers who were applying MWB methods learned from the project. During our stay, we observed 10-workshops and performances, including sessions at the Sounds of Palestine music school, workshops with disabled young people at the House of Hope in Bethlehem, workshops in kindergartens and schools, a workshop with a group of women in a rural village near Bethlehem, and music workshops with deaf children in Ramallah.

We conducted 13-interviews with individuals engaging in and delivering MWB work, including music leaders and teachers, students of Sounds of Palestine, social workers and the Project Manager and Coordinator.

Report focus and layout

The report responds to the following key questions:

- What are the prevailing theoretical models of peacebuilding, and what is MWB's positionality in relation to them?
- How do the two programmes studied respond to local conflict experiences and to the wider peacebuilding dynamics in their regions or localities?
- In what ways are these programmes contributing toward MWB's wider objective to build cultures of peace, and what are their potential sustainable impacts?

The report is divided into five chapters:

- Chapter 1 offers a review of peacebuilding literature, with specific reference to adaptive peacebuilding, resilience and non-violence direct action. This chapter presents a theoretical framework that underpins the rest of the report.
- Chapter 2 represents the ethnographic core of the report, sharing observations and interview data about peoples' experiences of their localities, focusing on salient issues such as violence, risk, institutions of resilience and perceptions of peace.

- Chapter 3 provides a tabulated summary comparison between the two case studies based on data presented in Chapter 2.
- Chapter 4 addresses the question, 'how is MWB's work contributing to a culture of peace?' and analyses primary research data against MWB's Theory of Change (ToC).
- Chapter 5 offers reflections and recommendations on the two programmes

Appendix 1 presents a log of all interviews, highlighting key themes.

Chapter 1

Discourses in adaptive peacebuilding, resilience and nonviolent direct action

Summary

- The acknowledged failure of high-level interventionist methods to achieve sustainable peace has led to the development of new approaches attuned to local needs and based on local design and implementation;
- Adaptive peacebuilding embodies this new direction, advocating for interventions that work closely with local organisations and civil society groups, and embedding peacebuilding within a broader model of social transformation;
- Resilience is key to adaptive peacebuilding and involves rebuilding societal structures to develop resilience against potential future shocks and setbacks, and prevent the recurrence of violence;
- In contexts where significant power imbalances exist between conflicting parties, nonviolent direct action and peacebuilding approaches can be used synergistically to mobilize communities, address conflict drivers, and support inclusive, participatory peace processes.

According to the *Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies*, peacebuilding is “the development of constructive personal, group, and political relationships across ethnic, religious, class, national, and racial boundaries. *It aims to resolve injustice in nonviolent ways and to transform the structural conditions that generate deadly conflict* (italics added). Peacebuilding can include conflict prevention; conflict management; conflict resolution and transformation, and post-conflict reconciliation.”²

Added to this, John Paul Lederach (1997) maintains that peacebuilding is more than post-conflict reconstruction; it encompasses, generates, and sustains a full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform a conflict toward a more sustainable, peaceful relationships.³

² "What is Strategic Peacebuilding?" Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame 2018. <<https://kroc.nd.edu/about-us/what-is-peace-studies/what-is-strategic-peacebuilding/>>

³ Bercovitch, X, and A. Kadayifci. 2002. "Exploring the Relevance and Contribution of Mediation to Peace-Building." *Peace and Conflict Studies* 9: 21-40.

While 'peacebuilding' is core to the overall mission of *Musicians without Borders*, the ways in which the organisation sets out "to resolve injustice in nonviolent ways and to transform the structural conditions that generate deadly conflict" differs considerably across their projects. Significantly, most of their projects are located in areas that remain in some state of conflict, or where new forms of conflict threaten to overlay old ones – e.g. arrival of new migrants in the Balkans. Fluctuating states of stability and instability place significant constraints on how peacebuilding may be conceptualised and structurally implemented, as well as influences respective project goals. Overall, however, MWB aims to execute peacebuilding by indirect means, utilizing music to inspire attitudinal and behavioural transformation as a preventative measure against the persistence or recurrence of violence.

In order to assess MWB's contribution to peacebuilding more broadly, this chapter considers the emergence of peacebuilding as a concept and practice, focusing in particular on current priorities and approaches.

1. International peacebuilding and the weakness of the liberal model

Until recently, international peacebuilding was a highly technocratic process, administered either via state-to-state negotiations or high-level institutional arbitration. The aim of peacebuilding was only partially the realization of non-violence; its objective was more broadly the achievement of sustainable peace via the establishment of liberal norms and institutions, as manifest in multiparty democracy, a free-market economy, individual human rights and the rule of law.⁴

The 'local turn' of the mid-2000's exposed critical shortcomings in this liberal-institutionalist peacebuilding model, whose underlying impetus was to privilege the governance models and security interests of the global North, often at the expense of the welfare needs of affected populations.⁵ It precipitated a radical paradigm shift, which directed attention away from high-level technocratic adjudication and emphasized inclusivity via systematic engagement with local institutions and cultural norms (Donais 2012, Randozzo 2016).

In 2015, the UN, recognising its failure to achieve sustainable peace in the Balkans, the Middle East, Africa's Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa, conducted a high-level strategic review of its peacebuilding architecture and peace operations. The exercise brought attention to the following understandings:

⁴ Donais, Timothy. 2012. *Peacebuilding and Local Ownership: Post-Conflict Consensus-Building* (Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding) Routledge; de Coning, Cedric. 2018. 'Adaptive Peacebuilding', *International Affairs* 94 (2), 301–17; de Coning, C 2013 Understanding Peacebuilding as Essentially Local. *Stability*, 2(1): 6, pp. 1-6; Randozzo, Eliza. 2016. 'The paradoxes of the 'everyday': scrutinising the local turn in peace building.' *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 37 (8): 1351–1370

⁵ According to Mac Ginty and Richmond (2013), the 'local turn' was heavily influenced by critical and post-structural theory, postcolonial scholarship and practice, and interdisciplinarity, as well as a range of alternative ethnographic, sociological and action-related methodologies. Scholars and practitioners from the global South have played a particularly important role in the development of the local turn. See: Mac Ginty, Roger & Oliver P Richmond. 2013. 'The Local Turn in Peace Building: a critical agenda for peace.' *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 5, 2013, pp 763–783. For further information, see The UN Agenda for Peace (1992) to Responsibility to Protect (2001)

- a. conflict is part of highly contingent, political circumstances, and is most often associated with socio-economic inequality;
- b. peacebuilding should build on bottom-up processes that draw on a wide range of stakeholders and on home-grown norms and institutions;
- c. social development should be an inherent outcome of peacebuilding processes, to be achieved via listening, dialogue, and the creation of a culture of peace, and
- d. global policy frameworks – e.g. the Sustainable Development Goals⁶ and relevant UN Security Council Resolutions – should be anchored in local realities.

The writings of John Paul Lederach (1997) have been highly influential in promoting inclusive peacebuilding. According to him, peacebuilding is more than post-conflict reconstruction; it encompasses, generates, and sustains a full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform a conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships.

Peacebuilding is especially important in intractable conflicts, where a history of hostility and frequent eruption of violence disrupts the normal functioning of society. ***This may be particularly relevant for MWB, who operates in a variety of contexts, many of which remain in a state of low-intensity, ongoing conflict. Within this context, peacebuilding attempts to transform the war-like behaviours of communities, its ultimate purpose being to prevent a relapse into violent conflict.***⁷

Lederach's notion of "moral imagination" is especially pertinent to the reformulation of peacebuilding. Lederach describes the moral imagination as the capacity to recognize turning points and possibilities in order to venture down unknown paths and create what does not yet exist. In reference to peacebuilding, the moral imagination is the capacity to imagine and generate constructive processes that are rooted in the day-to-day challenges of violence and yet transcend these destructive patterns. The moments of possibility that pave the way for constructive change processes do not emerge through the rote application of a set of techniques or strategies, but arise out of something that approximates an artistic process.⁸

The goal of transcending violence is advanced by the capacity to generate, mobilize, and build the moral imagination, which requires deep understanding of the dynamics of violence, the destructive legacy such violence leaves, and why breaking these violent patterns is so difficult. In addition, one needs to explore how the creative process can help to bring about social change and transform human relationships.⁹

⁶ UN Sustainable Development Goals: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/?menu=1300>

⁷ Bercovitch, X, and A. Kadayifci. 2002. "Exploring the Relevance and Contribution of Mediation to Peace-Building." *Peace and Conflict Studies* 9: 21-40.

⁸ Lederach, John Paul. *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*. Oxford, MA: Oxford University Press, 2005. See esp. chapter: "On Aesthetics: The Art of Social Change".

⁹ For a very helpful summary of Lederach's book, see <https://www.beyondintractability.org/bksum/lederach-imagination>.

2. Adaptive peacebuilding

“International actors cannot build peace; peace has to come from communities themselves. ... It has to be relevant to their ideas and to enable self-organisation to emerge from those communities. External peacebuilders can be – at best – some kind of a ‘midwife’ to that process, but they need to step back a little to allow more space for local institutions and civil society organisations to fill that space and drive their own peace processes” (de Coning 2018).

The departure from the deterministic and depoliticized approach to peacebuilding made way for new approaches and applications, amongst which was ‘pragmatic’ or ‘adaptive’ peacebuilding as spearheaded by Cedric de Coning,¹⁰ much of it based on the principles of inclusive peacebuilding, as conceptualised by Lederach.

Adaptive peacebuilding advocates an understanding of peace as intrinsic to social transformation as much as to transformation out of war. Crucially, it argues that communities that are intended to benefit from peacebuilding need to be fully involved in all aspects of the process, and thus prioritizes processes that facilitate self-organization and strengthens resilience at all levels – individual, community, civil society and institutional.¹¹

Such a focus on ‘local ownership’ produces important insights, amongst them that:

- peace means many different things to different people, and is embedded in cultural worldviews and local understandings of conflict and power,¹²
- the goals or end-state of peacebuilding should be open to context-specific interpretations of normative peace,
- peace cannot be conceptualised as a linear cause-effect process,
- peacebuilding is part of complex interaction between continuity and change: while tending to legitimize power structures, it aims fundamentally to alter relations of power, and
- without knowledge of local institutions, traditions and socio-political dynamics, external interventions may become part of the problem rather than the solution.

¹⁰ Cedric de Coning is a Senior Research Fellow with the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) and a peacebuilding advisor for The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD). He is also a special advisor to the Head of the Peace Support Operations Division of the African Union and a member of the Advisory Group of the UN Peacebuilding Fund.

¹¹ ‘Local’ actors include representatives from governments, civil society groups and local community and religious leaders, all of whom may speak in different voices. It may also include sectors of society that are not as represented in decision-making including women, children and ethnic and other minorities. See also: Hanna Leonardsson & Gustav Rudd. 2015. ‘The ‘local turn’ in peacebuilding: a literature review of effective and emancipatory local peacebuilding,’ *Third World Quarterly*, 36:5, 825-839

¹² Peace researcher, John Galtung, offers theoretical insight into this matter by recognizing different forms of violence: direct, cultural and structural. See Galtung, John, 1969. ‘Violence, Peace, and Peace Research’, *Journal of Peace Research*, 6 (3): 167–191.

According to de Coning (2018), adaptive peacebuilding works with change and not against conflict. Consequently, problem-solving needs to proceed via a process of iterative incrementalism, where each step leads to an assessment of what works and what does not, thus ensuring that ensuing action is suitably adjusted. Through this process, the adaptive peacebuilding approach become scalable to all levels: the same basic method can be applied to individual programmes, to projects, to regional or national-level campaigns, or to multiyear strategic frameworks or compacts (ibid.)

3. Adaptive peacebuilding as resilience

*“If we can improve the impact that peace operations can have on preventing and reducing violent conflict, improving stability and sustaining sufficient peace for these countries to develop the institutions they need to become more resilient, then we can make a significant contribution to achieving the SDGs”
(de Coning 2018)*

Adaptive peacebuilding is inextricably linked to resilience. According to de Coning (2018), sustainable peace necessarily involves stimulating those processes in a society that enable self-organization and that will lead to strengthening the resilience of the social institutions to manage internal and external stressors and shocks (p. 306). As corroborated by McCandless and Simpson, “the resilience lens offers peacebuilding a perspective on the endogenous strengths in systems, structures and people within conflict-affected societies, rather than the more conventional focus on the obstacles to peace”.¹³

Peace processes that involve active public participation are more likely to address the root causes of conflict, which can prevent the recurrence of violent conflict.¹⁴ The focus on process rather than end-product necessarily builds on partnerships and networks, which are more robust than hierarchical structures when dealing with shocks, setbacks and dynamic change.

It should be noted, however, that setting up simplistic dichotomies between local and international approaches runs the risk of overlooking the complexities of relationships and overlaps between actors on the ground. Indeed, some societies emerging from conflict may suffer from such weak capacity that self-organisation and governance and may be unrealistic. Equally, insisting upon local ownership may occasionally lead to conflict, as competing groups vie for power and support.

Despite concerns raised about top-down leadership in peacebuilding, collaboration between local and international parties may sometimes be a more effective approach.¹⁵

The empirical turn within the local turn in peacebuilding is an important development in the local turn debate, as it furnishes more case study evidence analysing power, emancipation and resistance beyond the local vs. international binary.

¹³ McCandless, Erin and Graeme Simpson, 2015. *Assessing resilience for peacebuilding* (New York: Interpeace)

¹⁴ See also Juncos, Ana E. 2018. ‘Resilience in peacebuilding: Contesting uncertainty, ambiguity, and complexity’, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 39:4, 559-574,

¹⁵ Paffenholz, Thania. 2015. ‘Unpacking the local turn in peacebuilding: a critical assessment towards an agenda for future research’, *Third World Quarterly*, 36:5, 857-874

4. Adaptive peacebuilding and nonviolent direct action (NDA)

“Nonviolence is the greatest and the activist force in the world. It is a force which is more positive than electricity and more powerful than even ether.” (Mahatma Gandhi)

According to Schock, civil resistance is defined broadly as ‘the use of methods of nonviolent action by civil society actors engaged in asymmetric conflicts with authorities not averse to using violence to defend their interests’. Nonviolent direct action (NDA), on the other hand, is defined as ‘non-routine and extra-institutional political acts that do not involve violence or the threat of violence’ (Schock 2015, pp. 29).¹⁶

NDA extends the premise that while political power may be understood to be an independent and self-perpetuating force, power can only be exercised with the consent and obedience granted to it by the larger citizenry. NDA works with this notion of power, seeking action that is designed to disrupt, challenge and ultimately shift power.¹⁷

When significant power imbalances exist between conflicting parties, there is no incentive for the powerful to make concessions. In such situations, nonviolent actions - protests, sit-ins, strikes, boycotts - can be effective in raising public awareness, building consensus and disrupting established power.¹⁸

Active resistance is an alternative to both war and passivity, and relies on bottom-up processes and public consensus to break down unjust power and enforce change. As described by Palestine Community Music project manager:

“[In Palestine], we use nonviolence as a tool for change, where you can challenge and you can even be in danger. It should not be popular or safe and something nice and good. We first used it at the beginning of the 20th century. Women had their first national conference in 1929 when women all over Palestine collected 120 cars to do a parade all over the country – they were probably the only 120 cars in Palestine – and they were asking for rights and they were strong.” (Project coordinator, Nonviolence trainer P #13)

NDA requires creativity, discipline, courage and strength. Creativity and discipline are used to channel anger to disrupt cycles of violence and constructively engage adversaries. Courage and strength are necessary to control one’s fear and persevere while confronting injustice. These attributes led Gandhi to refer to nonviolence as the weapon of the strong, and violence the weapon of the weak.

It is in its aim to shift unequal power, that NDA aligns with adaptive peacebuilding.

¹⁶ Schock, K. 2015, *Civil Resistance Today*. 1st edn, Cambridge: Polity Press.

¹⁷ Synergizing Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding. An Action Guide. US Institute of Peace: <https://www.usip.org/programs/synergizing-nonviolent-action-and-peacebuilding>

¹⁸ Connecting Civil Resistance and Conflict Resolution: ‘People Power’ Activists and Peace Mediators Can Combine to Build a Stronger Peace <<https://www.usip.org/blog/2017/08/connecting-civil-resistance-and-conflict-resolution>>

Chapter 2

Ethnographies of peace and violence: Soy Música & Palestine Community Music/Sounds of Palestine

This chapter focuses on our two case studies, drawing on observations and interviews with individuals and focus groups to build a better understanding of local perceptions of contexts, experiences, challenges and capacities.

Following are examples of some of the questions we asked, though many of them were adapted or omitted altogether depending on who we spoke to. We tried to keep questions as open as possible to allow respondents to shape their own themes and identify their own priorities.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

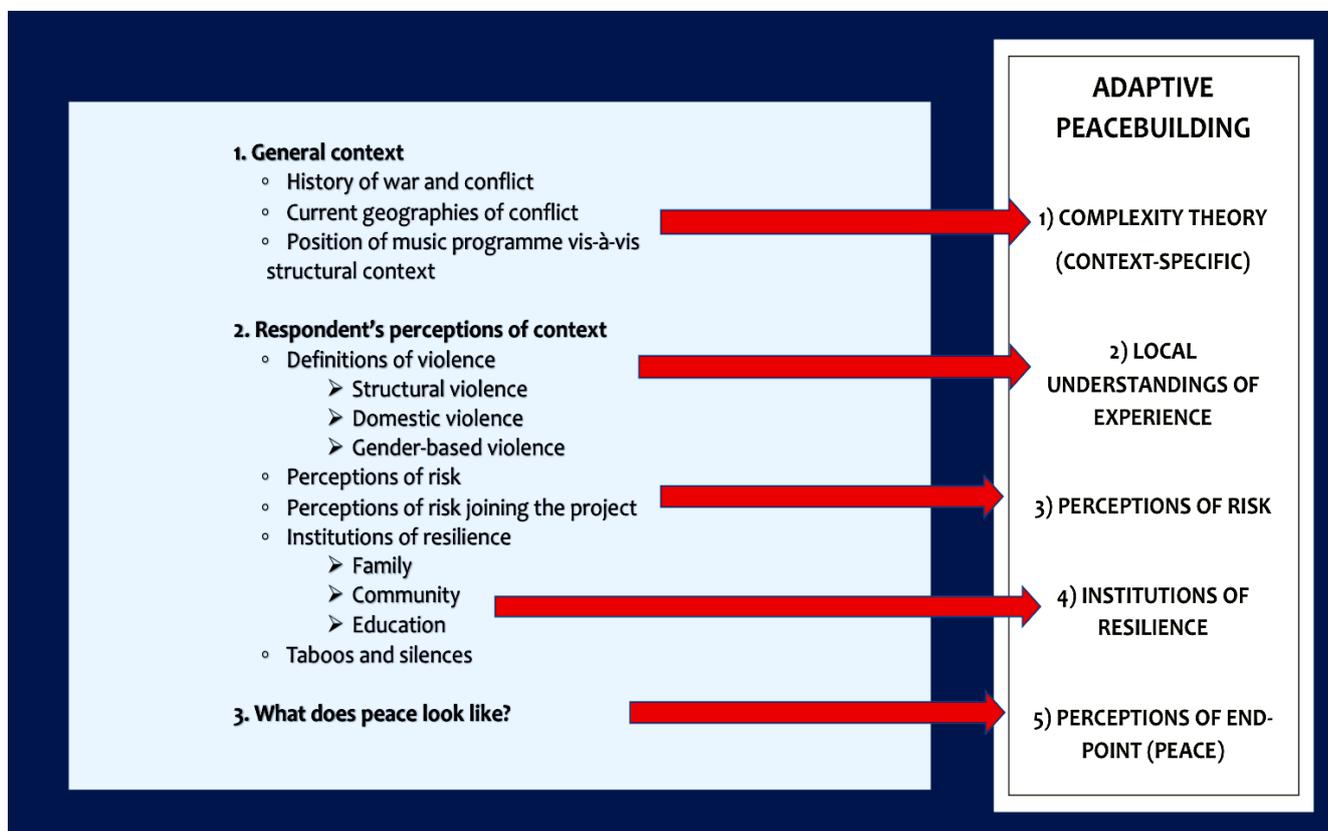
EI SALVADOR

- Tell us about your community – Urban/rural?
- Personal experience of music making within the group
- Types of music/musical genres? (Music as good and bad)
- What do you mean by violence? Different types – physical/gangs/domestic – what counts as violence?
- How are people implementing what they're learning from the training into their work as teachers/social workers?
- What impacts have you observed (physical, psychological, emotional)?
- What are the factors that make the programme a success or not?
- What are your long-term aspirations for this work?
- What does peace look like in your community?

PALESTINE

- Tell us about your community – Urban/rural?
- What is daily life like? *What is the role of the school/social workers/church/NGOs?*
- How does music making fit into every day lives?
- Music and Islam? Are there any tensions here?
- How did you get involved in working with Palestine Community Music?
- [Trainees/teachers] How are you implementing the methodologies you've been trained in by Mwb?
- How is the work framed? E.g. as therapy, to producing high quality art, or music for social justice/nonviolence?
- What are the factors that make the programme a success or not?
- What impacts have you observed?
- What are your long-term aspirations for this work?

Data gathered from our interviews was collated and organised according to the schema in the left column of the following table. The schema revealed a strong correspondence with the main criteria identified in Adaptive Peacebuilding (right column):



Soy Música, El Salvador

1. General context

- History of conflict/war**

While Latin America may be characterized as a successful example of liberal peacebuilding, determined by widespread democratization, infrastructural transformation of the military and police, and the termination of wars, it nonetheless remains the most violent region in

the world (Kurtenbach 2019).¹⁹ This disjuncture makes evident that while the focus of the liberal cause–effect peacebuilding model reflects formal structural changes, it fails to deal with the political and economic problems that reproduce different manifestations of violence. It also establishes that the liberal peacebuilding model cannot be reproduced in non-Western historical and cultural contexts, and under current globalised conditions (ibid. 2019, 287).²⁰

El Salvador has been moulded by a history of almost continuous violence. Commencing with

¹⁹ Kurtenbach, Sabine. 2019. 'The limits of peace in Latin America', *Peacebuilding* 7 (3), 283–296.

²⁰ See Christine Wade, 2008. 'El Salvador: contradictions of neoliberalism and building

sustainable peace.' *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 13 (2): 15-32.

the Spanish Conquistadors in the 16th century, the country was subjected to several centuries of violent contestation between competing colonial powers, and between settlers and native inhabitants. The 1980-1992 civil war has produced several decades of authoritarian rule and systemic, state-based violence, which has been refracted through a generalised culture of violence and in turn, fashioned a national identity based on violence. A major driver of this violence has been extreme social and economic inequality, which remains the impetus for widespread criminal violence today:

"In this country... if you want something, you have to get it in a violent way, according to our culture. You see this even in the families; you see that when you want something, you want it with violence." (ES #14)

Salvadoran gangs (*maras*) were formed in the streets of Los Angeles by young men fleeing the 1980-1992 civil war. With the toughening of US immigration laws in the late 1990s and early 2000s, thousands of *mareros* (gang members) were deported back to El Salvador, where they found fertile ground for recruitment amongst a population destabilized by post-war political upheaval and economic stagnation. The gangs soon infiltrated much of the country, offering social and economic infrastructure and a sense of belonging to the thousands of unemployed and directionless youth.²¹

- **Current geographies of conflict**

Maras are active in 94 per cent of El Salvador's 262 municipalities (*ibid.*). In many of these "red zones", gangs do not only pose a danger to public safety; they operate as a *de facto*

authority that exerts control over peoples' daily lives. Territoriality is performed in a variety of ways, regulated by 'lookouts' who are often boys and girls aged twelve or younger.

While territorial control is a dominant imperative of the gangs, territories shift over time. Many of the Soy Música respondents described their homes and/or places of work as having once been heavily controlled by gangs but now relatively gang-free (or vice versa).

Salvadorans living in "red zones" invest heavily in after-school music programmes in order that their children may be protected from the allure and/or everyday interventions of gangs.

"In schools, here is a very difficult situation with gang members as they are always on the lookout for young people to join them. They go to schools and keep watch for new kids. When he is about 11 or 12, he either gets into the gang or something will happen to his family. In 'red areas' (highest threat) every kid in school has to report to the gangs. It's very hard in the office where I work, many parents bring kids to music lessons just to get them out of the community. They have an excuse why they can't get into the gang; they have a music lesson, and the gangs leave them. It's weird, but it's like that." (ES #3)

- **Position of Soy Música vis-à-vis national structure**

At the time of our research, a new government had just been voted into power under the leadership of 37-year old, Nayib Bukele. His government is the first since the civil war to represent neither extreme right or left wing positions, producing a sense of hope for

²¹ The largest *maras* in El Salvador are MS-13 and the two factions of Barrio 18 (the 18th Street gang), the Revolutionaries and the Southerners. According to police records, these three organisations together comprise around 65,000 members. A further estimated 500,000 people depend on the gangs for their livelihood. Between 2014-2017, some 20,000 Salvadorans were killed as a result of gang-related violence. The murder rate appears to be slowly

dropping, however, from 103 murders per 100,000 inhabitants in 2015 to 51 per 100,000 in 2018. See: 'Life Under Gang Rule in El Salvador' <<https://www.crisisgroup.org/latin-america-caribbean/central-america/el-salvador/life-under-gang-rule-el-salvador>>

something new, albeit expressed extremely tentatively.

Soy Música is centrally managed through the Ministries of Education and Culture, in partnership with UNICEF El Salvador. MWB has been commissioned to provide 3-years of training to teachers and community workers, which it has undertaken to do through a clearly articulated pedagogical strategy, aimed at using music to develop a culture of peace.

Since the change in government, there has been indication of willingness by the Ministries of Education and Culture to support the ongoing rollout of Soy Música, both to the completion of the MWB training in 2020, and further into the future.

2. Respondent's perceptions of context

○ Definitions of violence

Given the overwhelming narrative of violence in El Salvador, we were conscious in our interviews that the term was invoked to describe a great many things, some of which may elsewhere be referred to more specifically as prejudice, discrimination (e.g. discrimination against women and girls) or abandonment/neglect (e.g. parental abandonment of children).

“You cannot say enough about how much violence there is, but usually the public image of ES is just violence, and there is so much more than violence. That’s the thing. The image that all the world is receiving feeds back into their self-image.” (ES #3)

²² Nearly 4 out of 10 children under 17 do not live with one or both parents <<https://www.ft.com/content/e94d119a-8da6-11e7-9580-c651950d3672>>

²³ Femicide is defined as a man murdering a woman or girl because of her gender.

²⁴ According to the Organisation of Salvadoran Women for Peace (ORMUSA), women are often

Amongst the numerous types of violence that Salvadorans experience on a daily basis in schools and in familial and community contexts, Soy Música trainees identified gang violence, sexual violence, physical and emotional violence as the most pressing. The stresses of poverty clearly underpin much of these experiences.

○ Domestic violence

Foundational to domestic violence in El Salvador is economic inequality, which in many cases, is linked to drug addiction, alcoholism and a culture of toxic masculinity.

Parents seeking better employment opportunities and lured by ‘false promises from the North’, tend to emigrate, leaving their children under the custodianship of grandparents or relatives. Children consequently seek emotional support in the protective culture of gangs, from which begins the cycle of both physical and sexual violence.²²

○ Gender-based violence

According to a recent study in Time Magazine, one woman falls victim to femicide in El Salvador every 24 hours.²³ According to UN statistics, this ranks as the worst rate of femicide in the world. A similar scenario is noted in the results of the 2017 National Survey on Violence against Women in El Salvador, which reveals that 67% of women suffer some from violence in their lifetime, including sexual assault, intimate partner violence and abuse by family members.²⁴

killed in a brutal manner, their bodies mutilated and tortured solely to inflict pain. Ending a relationship, seeking a divorce or even getting married are all reasons why women are murdered in El Salvador. They are killed because they are women and because the men who carry out these murders know they will probably get away with it.
<<https://donordirectaction.org/partners/ormusa/>>

However, given the intensity of gang-related violence and the fear of retribution, only 6% of victims ever report their abuse to the authorities, the consequence being that the phenomenon in general remains seriously under-reported.²⁵

Despite this, amongst Soy Música respondents, gender-based violence was recognised as a major concern. One teacher who worked in an all-girl's school commented on the emotional problems that she encountered amongst her pupils, often resulting in attempted suicide:

"I work in the areas of arts education and the teaching community is very conflicted. We all bear a lot of problems. I see the girls want to commit suicide by cutting their wrists. Lots of girls are harassed and mistreated by their parents. Many of their fathers are in jail as they are gang members. So, the girls have a lot of emotional problems. (ES #5).

As noted by another community worker, girls can be impressionable and are easily drawn into gang culture; however, once inducted into a gang, they are sexually exploited as common property and become particularly vulnerable to femicide:

"Young girls are targeted to be the girlfriends of gang members; they become their possessions. Once they are in a gang, they become the woman for all; anyone can have sex with her. If the woman doesn't want to date the gang member anymore, they will kill her; that's the only way out for a woman." (ES #7)

Sexual violence is a constant threat, whether it be punishment meted out by gang members, forced service or simply a part of the "crime economy", and adolescents are particularly vulnerable to this phenomenon.

See also Financial Times, 'El Salvador's teenage girls trapped by turf wars.' Jude Webber, Oct 11, 2017 <<https://www.ft.com/content/e94d119a-8da6-11e7-9580-c651950d3672>>

- **Perceptions of risk and resilience**

Risk perception is determined by social and cultural experiences, which inform an individuals' implicit weighing up of hazards in terms of costs and benefits.

Intensifying gang violence is a major factor pushing hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans to flee their homes. In 2017 alone, some 296,000 people were displaced by gang violence. Many escape to stay with relatives elsewhere in the country; others seek asylum in Mexico or the U.S.

Contrary to interpreting everyday life through the prism of violence, some respondents seemed to play down - almost dismiss- the risk of violence. Some assumed an exaggerated masculinity in response to our questions about violence, as if impervious to the threat around them. On one hand, this devaluation of violence appeared to reflect its normalization; on the other, it reflected a psychology of survival, a necessary strategy assumed by some to deal with fear and the stresses of having to constantly deal with life-threatening events. This made evident that while there is undoubtedly acute perception of violence, peoples' resilience or their capacity to deal with it is varied considerably.

- **Perceptions of risks in joining Soy Música:**

In both our interviews and observations, we identified types of risk related to participation in the Soy Música programme:

- ϕ Actual risk of violence as a result of working in gang-intensive areas
- ϕ Risk of innovation, or of being singled out by colleagues and

²⁵ TIME. May 14, 2019 <<https://time.com/5582894/gender-violence-women-el-salvador/>>

communities (i.e. image of limited good; jealousy)

- ϕ Risk of lack of support by school directors etc. which risked burn out and threatened the sustainability of their work, and
- ϕ Risk of shifting institutional or government priorities.



Some Soy Música trainees had to cross rival gang territories in order to reach their places of work. This undertaking does not come without potentially fatal risks. However, several trainees described how their music projects were considered as positive by gang members, and their movement across territories duly tolerated:

“I’m not from that district; I enter that district so they could block my entrance. I come from San Martine, another city, and I live in rival territory. Every day I have to go through that district, but they see my logo, they see I work for the foundation, they see I’m doing some good things, so they respect that.” (ES#8).

During our discussions, we asked whether gang members may be threatened by Soy Música’s violence prevention agenda, and its aim to discourage young people from joining gangs. Whilst on the surface this would seem to be working against the gang’s recruitment

mission, most respondents felt that gang members were sympathetic to their work. They talked about gang members wanting the best for their children, as did most people.

For practitioners who had grown up in violent areas, it was clear that the will to make changes in their communities outshone any sense of risk in the work they were doing:

“We were born in one of these very dangerous areas... some of us are already used to seeing that kind of violence so we took the risk to change this because if not, it will continue forever. We don’t feel it as a risk, just a way of helping.” (ES #16)

Whilst most practitioners seemed highly attuned to gang activity in their communities, we did also come across incidents of naivety, as with one teacher, who for many years, did not realise that she had been teaching gang members:

“In that school ... I worked there for 7 years, most of them were gang members. I had no clue.” (ES #6)

- **Risk of supporting practitioners**

Throughout our interviews, we found that trainees were either representing Soy Música alone or as part of small groups in the schools or community organisations they work in. Introducing what trainees described as a new and innovative methodology into their classrooms did not come without risk, with the potential for colleagues to dismiss their work and the potential for loss of confidence to deliver it. Despite this, most trainees we spoke to felt profoundly invigorated by the new methods:

“These are new techniques for us. Maybe in other countries it is old news, but for us it is brand new.” (ES #1)

Most respondent identified the main risk to the sustainability of the programme to be lack of institutional and infrastructural support.

Many talked about the lack of support offered to them by school directors and colleagues, and complained that they had to constantly convince them why the programme was important and deserved investment in time and resources. However, they realised that it would be almost impossible to keep up the enthusiasm they currently felt for the programme if they were not given appropriate time and support to implement the training.

They suggested that mitigating the risk of burnout would come from building stronger and larger networks of practitioners trained in the MWB approach, along with an increased profile of the Soy Música programme across El Salvador. This would give trainees the credibility they deserve and need.

Further to this, they feared changing government policies toward education, and the potential of the reallocation of funds to new priority areas. Therefore, while they recognised that social and behavioural change may be slow, as individual trainees, they were unlikely to make an impact in their schools or communities if their efforts were not supported by school directors, local councils and the Ministry of Education.

“I think it [Soy Música] will change the worldview of the teachers... That will affect positively how they teach and how they interact with their colleagues. That’s the first and most important thing. But it can easily die if it is not in union with other efforts to support basic and decent environments for teaching and interaction. It can be a great tool and will definitely make a difference, and it has exponential potential if it were accompanied by a broader commitment to education. You can make music – you can insert it in everyday activities and subjects – but if you’re doing that in a dark classroom with no windows and no resources for anything, it will only go away in time” (ES #3).

- **Institutions of resilience**

- **Family**

While recognising family as the primary institution for building resilience, most respondents considered the family institution in El Salvador to be exceptionally weak. One reason why the gangs have become so pervasive, they suggested, is that they provide a sense of belonging amongst their members, many of whom are from poor, broken families. As observed by Salvadoran anthropologist, Juan José Martínez D’Aubisson, “The **maras** are important when you have nothing, when you are born dead”.

It is common for one or both parents to either leave the country or region in search of work, leaving their children to be cared for by other relatives, community members, or as is sometimes the case, simply abandoning them altogether.

“We think one of the strongest roots in gang violence is the lack of education and strong family ties. It’s very hard to find strong families. It is very rare that the fathers stay at home; the mother gives the children to a grandmother or aunt or uncle to raise them. So it’s difficult to find a strong nuclear family where kids can grow in relative stability. It’s everyone for themselves.” (ES #3)



- **Community**

As with the family unit, respondents described their communities as destabilised by

factionalism, extreme guardedness and high levels of mobility and out-migration. Gangs provide that “community service” by protecting locals from other criminals and from corrupt police. This was corroborated by a MS-13 spokesperson in an interview with the Salvadoran news site El Faro, who said: “The state has forsaken these territories and we have taken control of what it abandoned. We come from disintegrated families and extreme poverty... The only living force that exists in our communities is the gangs”.²⁶

○ **Education**

Education in El Salvador is highly regulated, children learn by rote, and there is little space for the development of individualism and critical enquiry. There is also little application of creative pedagogy in education and music has been removed from the curriculum for decades. The school environment is rigid, hierarchical and punitive.

Given this, it was clear that the Soy Música programme had profoundly challenged trainees’ understanding of ‘education’, and what music training and musical leadership could be:

“Before Musicians Without Borders I had this idea of what musical training was, which for me, it was the classical, strict, “play your scales and stand up straight”. But when I got together with Musicians Without Borders, it just completely flipped everything around. I wasn’t really there to show these kids how to play Shostakovich or Paganini, I was just there to create a better person, a better person all round... The more important thing is that the attitude of these kids is changing completely, like all around, their emotional state, their emotional wellbeing, how to relate to the community, teamwork, the principles of security and inclusion and creativity...” (ES #11)

Many respondents spoke about violence in schools, which is manifest in the authoritarian, patriarchal infrastructure, and sanctioned via both psychological and physical punishment. When asked how schools were experienced as ‘violent’, one respondent noted:

“through physical violence, through comparing them [children] with others, by making them feel that they’re worthless.” (ES #7)



● **Taboos and silence**

One respondent described Salvadoran culture as “a culture of hushness” (ES #3). The long history of violence, exacerbated by a deep fear of reprisal means that people dare not speak out. The cumulative effect is a society that is silenced by rampant wariness and distrust:

“ES has a long history of blood shedding and it is cruel and dehumanising. You can’t erase that very easily. The last armed conflict here lasted until the 90s. It’s been only 30-years or less, so peace is very recent. It still undermines us. Because of all of this conflict, they have become a people of hushed voices. They actually hide it. If they talked out, that could be that. They have learned to keep their ideas to themselves, or hide them and put on another mask, because they

²⁶ Life Under Gang Rule in El Salvador

fear for their lives. The second thing is violence itself; you cannot say enough about how much violence there is... The third thing is this culture of depreciation – of what they have and what they can be. They all look to the American dream and don't see what they have here.” (ES #3)

“One of the things that can make the most important change is to break the silence and to open up space where being heard is okay. Where expressing one's opinion is respected and heard. These spaces are very scarce in this country, when people experience something like this, where they can voice their opinions, not everyone will agree but they will hear respectfully.” (ES #3)

1. What does peace look like?

One question we asked at the end of every interview was what peace looked like in El Salvador. We were struck that without exception, this appeared to be the most difficult question to answer. Some could not even begin to imagine a society that is not violent:

“In this country, peace has been gained with violence so we don't have a culture of peace.” (ES #5)

“People don't know it. People here have spent all their lives in conflict.” (ES #12)

Those who did attempt an answer, spoke about barriers to peace rather than describe idealised images of peace. Obstructions included structural inequality and entrenched corruption in national politics:

“At a structural level, well personally I see no peace. I now feel that there is so much insecurity, so much concern. The governments have really affected us, so peace is difficult to conceive as in peace as a whole.” (ES #8)

“I believe there can be no peace if there is no social justice. That's the cause of everything.

That's the cause of wars because there's so much separation between the very, very rich and the people who don't know how to survive.” (ES #13)

For this reason, respondents believed that peacebuilding has to start at the bottom and systematically work its way up and outward:

“I think it's better to start with the schools, with the teachers, for us to go little by little with the children creating a different set of ideas, a different mindset... because in this country peace has been gained with violence so we don't have the culture of peace. If you want something you have to get it in a violent way, according to our culture and you see this even in the families, you see it that when you want something, you want it with violence. That's why we're doing this because we want to change that mind set.” (ES #14)



Palestine Community Music

1. General context

- **History of conflict/war**

The conflict between Israel and Palestine is one of the most enduring and intractable conflicts of our time. This history has experienced many dramatic turning points, with periods of severe violence followed by various attempts at peace-making and peacebuilding.²⁷

Today, the West Bank is characterized by a fragile security. Palestinian mobility is highly restricted, as are their rights to land and natural. Access into large areas of the West Bank is prohibited, as is their ability to build and develop in Area C and East Jerusalem.

The prolonged occupation has resulted in a protection crisis. In 2017, nearly half of all Palestinians living in the oPt, (70% of all residents of Gaza) were considered in need of humanitarian assistance.²⁸ Ongoing Israeli settlement on Palestinian land results in regular human rights violations with little accountability.

The policies and practices of the occupation have had widespread impact on the lives and livelihoods of the people, as does the brutality of demolitions, forced displacement, imprisonment and violence.

- **Current geographies of conflict**

Everyday life in the oPt is controlled by a labyrinth of walls and electrified fences. Extreme spatial control in the refugee camps is especially disturbing, and the congestion, lack of facilities and sunlight, and lack of privacy contribute to extreme levels of stress.

“Usually after the weekends or holidays when I see the children. I ask them what they did. They would just say that we went to school, we played football and then we went home and stayed up until 2am. There is a lot of emptiness in their lives, and wasted time.” (P #2)

Boundaries, borders and zones of transition act as tangible inhibitors of peace and serve as constant reminders of Israeli domination and Palestinian subjugation. In the refugee camps, people are subjected to continuous surveillance and frequent night-time raids. Correspondingly, these conditions produce a culture of resistance:

“I think people who live in the camps have a more difficult life than the village because most of the camp every day the soldiers come in it and every day they arrest some people from there and in the village, I feel it's less and because Aida camp and Azzeh camp it's very close to the wall and most of the problems start there, near the wall.” (P #1)

- **Position of music programme vis-à-vis structural context**

Following the signing of the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993, the return of the Palestinian Authority and a quasi-state structure opened opportunities for international donors to develop new youth services in refugee camps throughout the West Bank, and delivered in part through the arts. Community arts projects employ a variety of creative methodologies to maintain cultural identity across generations and to develop self-expression in young people as a gateway to achieving psychosocial respite.

While Palestine Community Music (PCM), may initially have been motivated by a peace agenda, today it has no capacity to work within such a frame, as “peace is not a conversation we are having any more” (P #13).

²⁷ Bar-Tal, 2000. From Intractable Conflict through Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation: Psychological Analysis. *Political Psychology*, Vol. 21 (2): 351-365

²⁸ United Nations Development Assistance Framework State of Palestine 2018-2022

Described more fully by Mannaerts (2015):

“The Palestine Community Music project... 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’ (Mannaerts, 2015, 15).²⁹

The oPt is saturated with local and foreign NGOs, and, as with most, PCM’s efficacy is vulnerable to fluctuating financial support and shifting needs. For the most part, the programme is response-driven rather than programmatically strategic, building its operations largely on invitations and immediate needs.

²⁹ Mannaerts, Sylvia. 2015. “Music in contrast to military occupation: On the significance of

2. Respondent’s perceptions of context

- Definitions of violence
 - Structural violence

The overriding source of violence for Palestinians in the West Bank is the Israeli government, which is experienced in the everyday via night-time raids, imprisonment of fathers and male relatives, enforced physical displacement, and the denial of food, water and services. The everyday pressures experienced by Palestinians is refracted through all aspects of society.

The culture of patriarchy and toxic masculinity is directly linked to structural violence.



- Domestic violence

Stress from confinement, lack of hope, and systemic emasculation all contribute to the high incident of domestic violence in the West Bank:

A: A mother actually called me crying saying, “I’m afraid that I will kill my son because every day I beat him up more”, so she is very much aware of it but she can’t stop. He (social worker) had this

community music in occupied territory.”
 Unpublished Master’s Thesis, Leiden University.

idea about putting this sign that 'I am not allowed to hit' and I said 'listen, I like your ideas but we need to get to the core and find out why she is hitting because she also knows that it's not allowed and she also knows that it's bad for the child, she knows this so such a sign might just put her down more. You need to figure out why does she feel she has to beat him up and then what can she do at the moment she feels it, she needs a different coping mechanism, like go to the bathroom, lock yourself in the bathroom and stay there until you feel... like give her some breathing exercises, this can help her but she already knows it's wrong.

Q: Do you suspect she's being beaten up herself?

A: I don't suspect, I know. ... and these kids are already beating up other kids in the programme and spitting in the bus driver's face when he doesn't want to take them anymore, so we have to do something about it. (P#12)

We heard numerous examples of parents using violence to discipline their children:

"Parents sometimes don't understand their children. Yesterday one child bit his brother on his head and the mother immediately reacted by beating her son. I persuaded her to calm down and asked him why he did that, but did not beat him. Violence only produces violence" (P #3).

Constant violence inflicted on Palestinian families by Israeli soldiers has a profound impact on children's lives:

"In the night, the Israeli soldiers will enter the camp and start throwing the gas bomb, shouting. Most of them have had their father or brother

arrested by them or they're in jail. In the morning they go to the school, then when they finish the school they go and play in the street because they don't have any park or something like this to play." (P#1)

"Palestine has a different situation because children here are exposed to teargas bombs and arresting, and this causes a lot of trauma. They have to be treated in a special way..." (P #3)

- Gender-based violence (GBV)

According to the 2011 Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) Violence Survey, an average of 37 percent of Palestinian women are victims of GBV (in the Gaza Strip, this percentage increases to 51 percent).³⁰

The protracted humanitarian crisis and its impact on gender and family dynamics has aggravated GBV in all its forms, including sexual violence, intimate partner violence and child marriage. Services are limited and, due to distance, mobility restrictions, lack of confidentiality and fear of stigma and reprisal, only 0.7 percent of GBV survivors seek their assistance.³¹

Further to this, the attempt to maintain traditional family systems as a way to reinforce unity and resilience in the face of occupation has impeded the development of gender policies that might otherwise have found their place in the Palestine Basic Law.³² Culturally inherited values and socially expected behaviours continue to produce expectations amongst women to be physically punished:

³⁰ Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011. Press Release Main Findings of Violence survey in the Palestinian Society, 2011. Ramallah, Palestine.

³¹ Amalia Sa'ar and Taghreed Yahia-Younis. 2008. 'Masculinity in Crisis: The Case of Palestinians in Israel.' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 35 (3) Gender and Diversity in the Middle East and North Africa pp. 305-323

³² Reported in the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, on her mission to the Occupied Palestinian Territory/State

of Palestine (6-23 June 2017).

<https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=8&ved=2ahUKewj69oiPsKbMAhXaQUEAHVFOBXQQFjAHegQICBAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ohchr.org%2FEN%2FHRBodies%2FHRC%2FRegularSessions%2FSession35%2FDocuments%2FA_HRC_35_30_Add_2_EN.docx&usg=AOvVaw3jwAkEsVcIl-vGTnwELdp5>

“... when we worked with the women trainees who were mostly from the camps, the first question [we asked] was ‘what is violence?’... They couldn’t think of anything, so Ahmad tried to help them: “okay, a man hits his wife; violence or not?” Response: “no. ... he hits her when she does something wrong so it’s like she deserves it, she knows it’s coming, so it’s not violence because it’s not something that suddenly happens, she knows this.” He said, “okay, I’m married, when can I hit my wife?” ... Then they started to have a discussion about when the husband can hit, and when he should call the father, because sometimes the father needs to beat her up, because sometimes it’s really something that the father should have taken care of earlier, like maybe if she has a big mouth or something because the father didn’t raise her in the right way so he needs to beat her up. So then Ahmad said ‘okay, X, if she gets home late to her husband after the training, if she gets stuck in a checkpoint and she’s half an hour late, can her husband hit her?’ and they said ‘no, because X grew up in a society where hitting is not allowed so if he hits her it will be really unexpected and it will really hurt her, like it will really hurt her mentally’. So we know that if we do this the result is we will be hit but X doesn’t know that, she doesn’t expect to be hit so this hit will be much more painful for her so she should not be hit.’ (P#12)

Family honour plays a significant role in Palestinian society and many forms of GBV are attributed to this phenomenon, including femicide, forced marriage, imprisonment, rape, incest, domestic violence, and suicide. Despite the lack of official statistics, the number of women killed under the pretext of family “honour” has dramatically increased in the last years.

“People act as if they care much more about women’s rights but I think... for example this girl was murdered two months ago because ...she

³³ Afana, Abdelhamid J, Jacqus Tremblay, Jess Ghannam, Henrik Ronsbo and Guido Veronese. 2018.

uploaded a video to Facebook of her and her fiancée in a public space, ... and then her father and brothers beat her up but she was already in the hospital a month before because she was beaten up by them and then she was killed. ... in the end they said that it wasn’t because of the video, it was because she was hiding a family secret and they were afraid she would tell it. ... Do you know how many times we hear about girls that fall from the roof? So there are many things like that going on, no-one talks about it... I don’t care about these two or three men, of course they should be punished but this is not the problem, the problem is that we live in a society where this is basically accepted ... What about all the others that are being killed today or tomorrow, no-one is thinking about that because no man wants to give up any of their privilege here. (P#12)



- Perceptions of risk and resilience

Risk is inherent in all aspects of life in Palestine, from the daily experience of occupation and collective violence, to toxic masculinity and food insecurity. All conspire to produce ‘occupation-produced shocks’ and ‘risk-related behaviour’.

Afana et.al. (2018)³³ suggest that a common resilience response to traumatic experience

‘Coping with trauma and adversity among Palestinians in the Gaza Strip: A qualitative, culture-

such as protracted occupation is political activity (particularly amongst youth), and that emotional reactions such as anger and aggression are natural coping mechanisms. The same study notes that response to trauma is often manifest in avoidance and depression. A third form of coping is through emotional support from social networks, from both close family members and community institutions (ibid. pp.3).³⁴

- Perceptions of risk joining PCM and SoP

We encountered no instances where individuals considered working for, or attending music classes in any way risky.

On the contrary, the programmes contributed in numerous ways to building resilience, both through the development of networks of support, and through the programme's broader non-violence direct action agenda:

Q: Is the work of PCM a form of nonviolent action?

A: Yes, PCM falls in the social field. They give people different musical tools and for us, when we adopt these tools, it becomes part of non-violence and it enriches and empowers the whole equation.

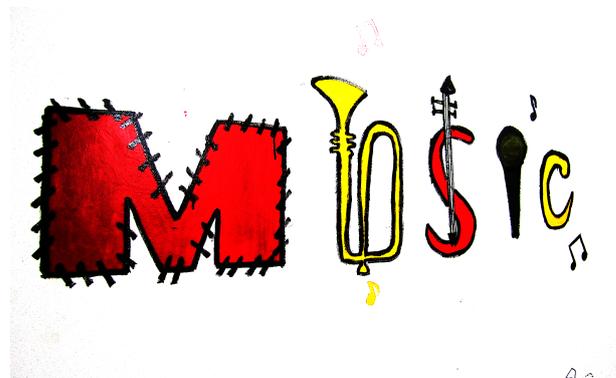
Q: So it's giving people the skills that can be applied in nonviolent action? It also gives people a sense of themselves?

A: Exactly. Giving people a sense of themselves can help people in kindergarten, in schools, it helps teachers, trainees, anyone. We give them different tools to be workshop leaders or

informed analysis.' *Journal of Health Psychology*, Pp. 1–18.

³⁴ The authors note that there is limited empirical research on how social networks and groups cope with traumatic experiences in Palestine. While studies have been conducted on how terror, trauma and fear affect social imaginaries amongst people living in protracted conflicts, only a few have examined how conflict and collective violence mould social relations and larger networks. It could be explained that in the context of national struggle,

trainers; others tools that they can use to earn their living. (P #13)



- Institutions of resilience
 - Family

The family is recognised as the primary unit in Palestine and most respondents referred to the significance of close family ties in their lives. Many lived in extended family homes, each family unit occupying a different floor of a building several storeys high.

That said, several of our respondents claimed that Palestinian parents are often neglectful of their children, and teachers and social workers in the PCM and SoP programmes often feel compelled to stand in for them:

“We try to change lots of behaviours because the families don't care about these things. Some parents don't even care about their children. It's like if they come back from school they have to

traumatic experiences elicit social support and a collective sense of heroism that forces people to find a balance between fear and courage, and between resilience and vulnerability. Punamäki and Suleiman (1990) found that severe military trauma in Palestine did not negatively impact children's potential for creativity or self-esteem, while good family relations even enhanced these resiliency features.

play in the streets and only come home when its bedtime. Sometimes children go to dangerous places to play. It's the parent's responsibility; it's their fault that their children are not doing anything in their spare time." (P #2)

- Community

There is a strong sense of community in oPt, although the daily political stresses and living in such close confinement (especially in refugee camps) can serve to impede, rather than promote community cohesion.

PCM, and SoP in particular, provide an important alternative community, which is produced through regularity of rehearsals and reinforced through the duration of the programme (8-years). Rehearsals provide order to otherwise dis-regulated lives in the camps, and offer a security, which may not be experienced at home and in families.

"They are from different camps and different schools and [here] they .. make new friends and music makes a good relationship between them because they play together now, so they feel in a good way that they can trust each other and they can speak to each other and say 'this teacher is good, this teacher is not good' and they can trust each other and after they trust each other they can trust the children and the teacher. This is how I think of this. That's not from the first class, or from the first orchestra class they will become more trusting. They need time." (P #1)

- Education

Education in Palestine is formulaic and punitive; yet despite this, and regardless of high unemployment within the oPt, Palestinians generally invest in their children's education as one of the few avenues for social and economic mobility.

"Violence in schools is hitting them with sticks, violence in schools that is accepted is that I enter a classroom and that the child gives me the stick and I'm like 'thank you very much but I don't need it'.... I've seen here teachers beating up 16-

year old boys, like beating them up! ... And even in kindergarten when I have a child who doesn't sing, the teacher will just give them a slap in the face because the child's not singing and we're talking about 4/5 year old child..." (P #12)

PCM and SoP play both an educational and social role. Importantly, they expose children to education without punishment and violence. This affects children's behaviour and nurtures respectful relationships:

"I come here to see friends. These are different friends from the ones I see at home. They are different; their behaviour is different. Here, they have respect and they love each other; they don't fight. In school, they fight, they swear at each other and they don't treat each other nicely." (Young player from camp: P #9)

"In schools there is this culture of verbal violence. They are used to having that kind of violence from the teachers and amongst the students themselves. When they come here, they expect the teachers to scream or to respond in a violent way. But when they don't get that reaction for the teachers, it changes their perspective about they should behave and what they can say." (Social Worker, SoP, P #2)

Music offers the possibility for skills development, which bolsters resilience when understood in a broader frame. For the children, the programme exposes them to a range of opportunities for development. One young student described a memorable event with the orchestra in Ramallah, which he described as both fun and an opportunity to be heard by "intellectual" people and businessmen." (P#9)

The following respondent, who had spent 7 years in the SoP programme, recognised in the experience possibilities for both personal pride and professional growth:

"I play because music gives me the opportunity to experience things in life. In future, if I don't find a job here, I will travel and improve myself as a musician." (P #3)

“They were playing with each other in a violent (physical) way. The social workers noticed that all of this violence was coming from their homes. The father and mother beat the children. They may make a small mistake and they just hit them. Children now realise that music will help them reach places in their lives. They have big goals; they want to travel to play music around the world” (P#7):

- Taboos and silence

While able to talk openly about political issues, most respondents were reluctant, or unwilling to disclose realities of domestic abuse.

3. What does peace look like?

While violence was used liberally to describe a range of experiences, people did not talk about peace. Peace is a problematic concept in Palestine as it is seen as the normalisation of the occupation. This is therefore not a question that we asked in Palestine.



Chapter 3

Tabulated comparison between case studies

The aim of this chapter is to consider the similarities and differences between the two project contexts, and between the experiences of those contexts by the respective project participants. The objective of this exercise is to ascertain the extent to which the projects respond to local needs and experiences, and to gauge whether there may be common features to the way people experience ongoing conflict. Insights produced from this comparison may be useful in addressing the content and pedagogical approaches applied to MWB's training.

In many ways, the two projects sit at opposite extremes of the spectrum: while Soy Música is structurally embedded in central government and supported by a major INGO, Palestine Community Music (PCM) and its partner organisation, Sounds of Palestine (SoP), are essentially reliant on two individuals who have minimal infrastructural support outside of their own operations.

Soy Música proceeds according to a carefully designed curriculum and rollout plan devised to be embedded into schools and community organisations across the country. In Palestine, the two projects complement one another, with PCM operating somewhat organically and responding to immediate needs, and SoP offering a highly structured long-term progression plan.

Soy Música's objective is to develop incrementally and to scale, aimed at extending its influence across the country, while in Palestine, SoP is based in Bethlehem, drawing children from camps and villages in the surrounding areas with PCM workshops taking place in and around the Bethlehem area, and also further north in Ramallah.

In both cases, the structural design of each programme represents their greatest strength but also their greatest potential weakness:

While Soy Música may enjoy high level governmental support, giving the programme a strong base of support, its efficacy is dependent upon ongoing governmental investment in the project over many years. Whilst El Salvador remains economically unstable, Soy Música is extremely vulnerable to a potential shift in government spending priorities.

On the other hand, while the two Palestinian projects may lack financial stability and rely exclusively on two deeply committed project managers, PCM's greatest strength lies in its flexibility, and its responsiveness to changing community needs and expectations, while SoP presents a more secure, embedded and long term programme.

Area of comparison	El Salvador	Palestine
General context		
History of conflict/war	Long colonial history of violence Political change has created some sense of light at end of tunnel, however tentative.	History of conflict back to 1948 Deepening political crisis: no light at end of tunnel
Current geographies of conflict	Systematic, historically embedded. Today, gang-related (left over from war) Boundaries defined: territoriality performed, shifting/organic Driven by economic inequality	Colonial history but mainly state-based, and sectarian Boundaries enforced: laws, fences, walls, Shifting (encroaching) through structurally enforced Ethnicity, religious discrimination (class not emphasized due to larger political divisions)
Position of music programme vis-à-vis structural context	Ministries of Education & Culture + UNICEF El Salvador; Centrally managed Programme strategically defined; responds to generalised vision for social change	Independent with minimal support from Ministry of Education. Program agenda determined by finances, which are changeable Programme organic; responds to invitations and immediate needs; cannot work with vision of change Youth tend to reject notion of music “as therapy” and more interested in pragmatic possibilities/cultural capital (see Procter, 2019) Weary of peacebuilding (“not a conversation we are having any more”)
Respondent's perceptions of context		
Definitions of violence: Structural violence	Violence is a prism through which all social, economic and politic discord is refracted – master narrative. Violence identified as gang-related, physical, sexual and emotional.	Violence used liberally – informed by wider framework of violence Violence infused into school system, who continue to use corporal punishment.
Definitions of violence: Domestic violence	Economic deprivation places major pressure on family unit (linked also to drugs, alcohol). Culture of patriarchy/toxic masculinity Violence in schools feeds back into family and vice versa.	Identified domestic violence as outcome of political violence and economic pressures. Patriarchy and family ‘honour’ major contributing factors

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Definitions of violence: Gender-based violence	Femicide on increase (highest in Latin Am), gang-related State victimization of women (rape/abortion) justified by Catholicism (women will not claim sexual assault as legal defence for fear of violent repercussion) Systemic and enforced through schools/family: high rate of attempted suicide by girls in schools	GBV at 40% in West Bank (+50% in Gaza) Crisis of masculinity linked to political emasculation = crisis of masculinity Honour killings on the increase
Perceptions of risk	Gang violence is primary risk Economic deprivation undermines family and community resilience	Deteriorating political crisis: no way out.
Perceptions of risk of joining the project	Jealousy ('image of limited good') Burn-out due to lack of infrastructural support, lack of time. Concerned about change of gvt investment on project sustainability	Little risk detected Some children pulled out of music projects due to religious prohibition.
Institutions of resilience: Family	Families important though economic deprivation & gangs place major pressure on the institution – extremely vulnerable to fragmentation Parents migrate for work and children often cared for by grandparents and relatives. Neglect leads to gang membership (gangs often described as 'families') – alternative emotional support	Family unit considered important though economics & politics place major pressure on the institution – vulnerable to fragmentation Often fathers/uncles imprisoned and/or migrate to other cities to work Children allowed to play in streets; placed in danger of soldiers etc.
Institutions of resilience: Community	Community fragile: jealousy a major obstacle & people are distrustful of gang and other allegiances. Religious affiliations create alternative communities	Spatial proximity both enhances community, and causes tension (no privacy, gossip, jealousy) Trust often undermined by opportunistic allegiances with opposing factions, e.g. drug dealing etc. (see Proctor 2019) Religious communities remain strong (both Muslim and Christianity)
Institutions of resilience: Education	By rote learning (no critical capacity) No history of creative pedagogies Mixed ed (boys more opportunities) School system conceptualised as 'violent' Community groups providing roles of social worker but not reaching all	By rote learning (no critical capacity) No history of creative pedagogies – complemented by fairly well-established system of community centres Divided by gender (boys more opportunities) School system conceptualised as 'violent' Role of the social worker critical (esp. SoP)
Taboos and silence	"Culture of hushness" Fear of speaking out (reprisals)	Not politically silent Silence re. domestic violence

	Sense of misrepresentation by international community: 'ES only seen as place of violence, which then feeds self-identity'	Major sense of misrepresentation. Peace is taboo
Perceptions of Peace		
What does peace look like?	Not able to imagine a society that is not violence Irony – working toward peace, although peace itself is almost impossible to conceive	"People don't talk about peace; that conversation is over" Not able to imagine a society that is not under occupation

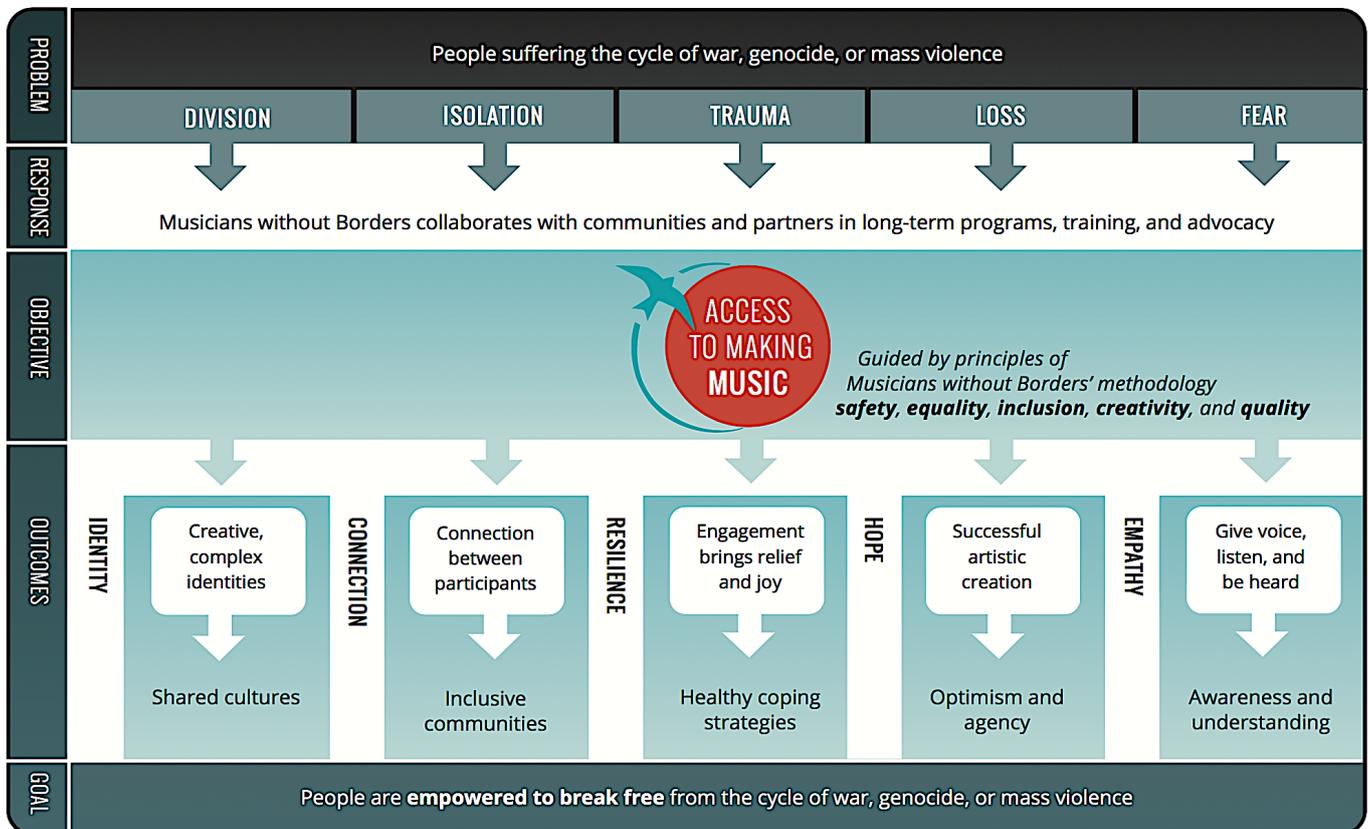
Chapter 4

How is MWB's work contributing to a culture of peace?

“Change will be experienced for participants across areas of identity, connection, resilience, hope, and empathy. Initial change will occur during music-making, and this will expand outwards into communities and everyday life.”

In this chapter we analyse interview material against the outcomes set out by MWB's Theory of Change, which provides the theoretical framework through which they work towards their goal. We provide descriptive narrative to recount how and in what ways, the music activities being delivered as part of the Soy Música and Palestine Community Music programmes have been designed to generate outcomes that build towards creating cultures of peace.

Musicians without Borders uses the power of music to bridge divides, connect communities, and heal the wounds of war.



Identity: sense of self, and membership to collective identities

As defined in MWB's MEL guide, indicators around the notion of 'Identity' are:

- Self-image includes creative identity markers (e.g. as a bass player, or band member).
- Image of colleagues includes descriptors of creative identities, and recognition of complex.
- identities beyond the previously held divisive identity labels of conflict.
- Recognized by others according to creative identity.
- Previously dominant labels of identity are superseded by newly emergent, less problematic, identities.
- Friendship groups formed according to new criteria of membership.

Context	
El Salvador	Palestine
- Country's identity defined by violence - Identity as a gang member or child of a gang member	- Identity as the occupied - Identity as being a 'kid from a refugee camp'

We saw how MWB programmes:

- Encourage children to perform their identity
- Emphasize identity as musicians, takes away from 'assumed identities'.
- Challenge identities defined by gender stereotypes and traditional roles
- Give teachers/music leaders a new identity.

Analysis

Conflict often strips people of their complex identities and leaves them with an identity they would not have chosen for themselves. In addition, in societies that have strong cultural traditions or conservative social structures, hierarchies may give individuals defined roles and identities they are expected inhabit to fit in to that society. In such contexts people need spaces where they can be themselves and inhabit their individual identities, where identity is not defined by something bigger than the individual.

In Palestine particularly, identity is a fraught subject. People hold onto their Palestinian identity very strongly despite the fact that this identity subjects people to oppression and is undermined on a daily basis.

As described by Yaar, music can help people connect with themselves and express their inner most feelings and identities:

"It is mainly music, which is human kind's deepest and strongest emotional art, who can manifest one's aspirations, feelings, hopes, and self identity. It is through music, that one can express

secret desires, suffering, pain and joy, provided a safe environment and a friendly welcome. It is only music that allows us sing and voice our inner melody to overcome our daily burdens and hardships.”³⁵

MWB's work offers people the chance to redefine, recreate, reassert and perform their identities through the medium of music. On an everyday level, people we interviewed spoke about how music helps children to connect with themselves better, and form a stronger sense of their own identity. In contexts where teaching by rote is the prevailing method, as seems to be the case in both El Salvador and Palestine, children have little opportunity to voice their own opinions, express themselves, both of which are key in identity forming. In both locations we observed activities that encouraged children to construct and perform their identity in creative ways through movement and voice, for example asking children to sing their names in a way that expresses their character (P #4). One of the boys participating in the Sounds of Palestine programme said:

“When I sing I feel myself” (P #1)

In Palestine we saw how the Sounds of Palestine programme is helping to challenge stereotyped identities associated with being a child growing up in a refugee camp. Camp life is associated with a lack of structure, sense of routine and discipline. Having your identity defined by being a child growing up in a camp leads some children to simply embody the behaviour expected of them. Music leaders described how when they joined the programme, many of these children displayed traits such as hyperactivity, lack of concentration and violent behaviour (P #6). However, Sounds of Palestine offers children another identity, that of being a SoP student and a trained musician. The highly structured nature of the programme teaches children the importance of arriving on time, gives them routine and gives them responsibilities, such as looking after their instruments. With this new identity children feel less need to create tension or to act out to gain attention or as a means of expression.

Furthermore, in both El Salvador and Palestine, MWB's work is helping to challenge gender inequality through challenges identities assumed of each gender. Women suffer oppression in both places, with domestic violence prevalent, limited options in education and career and in El Salvador especially, a strong culture of machismo. In the Soy Música training, we observed how, through non-verbal communication some of the gender structures were pulled down right in front of our eyes. Employing exercises using small, delicate and gentle movements brought out a sense of vulnerability even amongst the most macho men in the group. Whilst in Palestine, girls were encouraged to take up any instrument they chose, including instruments stereotypically played by men, such as the double bass and percussion.

The programmes are not only helping the children, but for those teachers who were not already music teachers and did not consider themselves musicians prior to joining the programme, the MWB training has given them the skills and understanding to reconsider their roles and abilities and see themselves as creative individuals.

³⁵ Yaar, Avishai. 2009. 'Editorial' in *Music on Troubled Soils*, (European Music Council), p.3

Connection: temporary or long-term closeness between people

As defined in MWB's MEL guide, indicators of 'Connection' are:

- Sense of connection to others.
- Tighter group interaction in music-making (e.g. better ensemble; more fluid processes of creation).
- Social interaction: more interactions between more group members; warmth of interactions.
- Members are missed when not present.
- Widened friendship groups formed according to new criteria of membership.
- Comfort when in groups that cut across previously dominant community identities.
- Increased mobility across borders.

Context	
El Salvador	Palestine
- Family structure under strain in part due to migration - Geographic barriers due to gang activity	- Family structure under strain in part due to frequent arrests of male members - Geographic barriers due to the occupation

We saw how MWB programmes:

- Create everyday connections between children
- Offer alternative networks of support where traditional structures have broken down
- Create connections between 'separated' groups
- Help create connections outside of usual geographic environments
- Develop networks of music leaders on a national and international scale

Analysis

Conflict creates boundaries, boundaries of all forms, from geographic, political, cultural and social, many of which live on well after any form of conflict resolution. In both programmes we saw evidence of friendships and networks being created across boundaries. On a basic level, music making activities delivered in schools encouraged interaction and friendship forming among the children. Trainees described how having a creative focus shifted the focus away from underlying rivalries, stress and anxiety to allow children to form bonds between one another. One of the teachers in El Salvador said:

"I've seen how kids tend to have their own little groups and how they just protect their own friends and I've seen now, how with the programme, they're playing altogether, they're interacting more, they're connecting more amongst each other." (EL #6)

This is particularly important in societies where the family structure is under strain, as is the case in El Salvador due to emigration, and in Palestine due to frequent arrests of male

members. In these situations, alternative networks of friendship and support are needed to safeguard young people left without the traditional care of the family.

In El Salvador, these networks of friends become crucial for the significant number of children who are abandoned by parents heading north to seek opportunities of work. Gang members draw young people in by initially offering the care and support they have been missing, playing the role of an older sibling or providing gifts in the form of a new phone or alcohol or drugs. However, if this support can be provided by a network of peers and the wider community, this has the potential to protect the young person from being coerced into gang activity.

In Palestine, Sounds of Palestine brings together boys and girls who are usually separated, both in schools, where they are educated separately, and in wider society, where they are often discouraged from playing with each other. Over time the normalisation of boys and girls socialising with each other can start to deconstruct some of the entrenched gender norms inherent in the society. In addition, the programme is inclusive of both children from camps and children from villages who would not normally socialise or meet. Not only does this help open new networks of friends but also helps challenge any misconceptions the children may have about one another.

Furthermore, in Palestine, for children and young adults with learning difficulties, physical disabilities and mental health issues, music workshops present a rare opportunity to feel connected. For those who struggled with verbal communication, music provided a means through which they could not only express themselves but connect with others. For the deaf children engaging in the programme of work in Ramallah, body percussion and movement were considered particularly effective tools for fostering connection (P #10). This was also true of the women's group, where several of the women could not read or write but felt comfortable forging connection through music.

The programmes also offer opportunity for connection outside of the children's usual environments. Geographic isolation restricts feelings of connectedness in both El Salvador and Palestine. In El Salvador, moving around the country can be dangerous due to the territorial nature of the gangs (EL #12). Equally, Palestinian communities become isolated as a result of political violence of the occupation. In El Salvador public performances are helping young people to feel connected to their communities, whilst in Palestine performances allow children to travel to other cities and villages in the West Bank. One of the children engaging in the SoP programme talked about how performances allowed him to meet 'intellectuals and businessmen' and how that felt important to him (P #9). A small number of children from both programmes had even had the chance to travel internationally as a result of their involvement.

Connection also felt important for the music leaders. In El Salvador the Soy Música programme is focused on building a network of highly trained practitioners who can themselves train other teachers and community workers across the country, thus creating a community of practice that will help sustain the programme going forwards. Several people we interviewed talked about how they are already using these networks and trying to grow the network by sharing the methodology more widely. These networks exist not only on a national level but extend internationally through MWB's projects around the globe. One of the trainees spoke about how MWB had put him in touch with others working with these kinds of methodologies and on these kind of programmes in other countries so that he now has stronger global networks that he would never have had access to without MWB.

The sense of an international network was clearly felt more strongly in El Salvador, where the regular visits of international teams of trainers made these links more obvious. For music leaders in Palestine on the other hand, some felt disconnected from the wider programme and would have liked to have the opportunity to attend trainings, meet other people working through the MWB method and feel part of a stronger network. (See recommendation for more on this.)

Resilience: capacity to cope with change and challenge

As defined in MWB's MEL guide, indicators of 'Resilience' are:

- Periods of time when participants focus their attention on music-making.
- Participants experience periods of respite from normally pressing difficulties.
- Sense of joy.
- Music appropriated as a resource for coping with challenges in everyday life.
- Creative and healthy responses to challenges in life.

Context	
El Salvador	Palestine
- Children growing up in contexts of often extreme violence	- Children growing up under occupation, experiencing oppression and constant threat of violence

We saw how MWB programmes:

- Provide respite from everyday stress caused by oppression and violence
- Provide memories that can be returned to in times of stress
- Equip children with the tools needed to manage their emotions and cope with problems at home
- Help keep children occupied when there might be little else for them to do
- Give children a safe place to go with a support network of people who are looking out for them
- Encourage a resilient attitude in music teachers to work with resources at their disposal

Analysis

Children in both El Salvador and Palestine grow up in environments of extreme violence, stress and oppression. Having an opportunity of respite from these difficult circumstances is crucial in helping children feel calm and prevent them from resorting to their own violence as an act of frustration.

In both locations we observed certain activities that had been designed to encourage the releasing of tension and that helped people relax. In one such as activity everyone was asked to make an 'mmm' sound – not only did the activity focus the mind on creating the required sound but it also had a very physical effect:

“The ‘mmm’ sound is very nice for the body, like it resonates very well and but also you make very long breaths so automatically you calm down and it’s just a really nice sound to do together.”
(P #12)

The workshop in which this took place was at a girl's school and had been organised by the school's social worker responding to requests from the final year girls for activities that would help them relax during the stressful final exam period (P #11).

The workshop in the school we observed was a one-off event, and whilst it certainly seemed to help all of the girls in the room relax, we were left wondering how profound an effect a one-off two hour workshop could have. This was a question we pursued in some of our interviewees, where people spoke about the importance of what could be described as 'protective memory'³⁶ of having a positive memory the young people could look back on and draw from when they were feeling down or going through difficult times. (P #12)

“It is very important because when they are feeling really bad, this is something that they think back on and they know it was a good moment and they can go back to it.” (P #12)

People we spoke to in both locations also felt that music workshops provided children with the tools to cope with their emotions and problems they were experiencing at home. Encouraging reflection on creative activities, which is very much part of the MWB training we observed, helps to give children coping strategies to deal with difficult situations creatively to avoid them resorting to violence to express their frustration (EL #8). Teachers in El Salvador talked about how this was not only helpful for the children themselves but also helped them better understand how children were feeling.

For the programmes taking place outside of school time (mostly those in Palestine as Soy Música is predominantly a school-based programme), music activity helps keep children safe and occupied at times when there might be much else to keep them out of trouble. In Palestine, the Sounds of Palestine programme provides a strong anchor and represents a safe space the children come to multiple times a week. The location of the building, being on the edge of Bethlehem felt significant as it meant children from the camps and villages had to travel there by minibus, thereby escaping their everyday, often chaotic environments for several hours per week.

Furthermore, they attended knowing they would receive a hot meal, positive attention, the chance to learn and where there is support available to them through the work of the social

³⁶ Underhill, James, 2011. 'The Psychological Impact of Music Workshops on Immigration Detainees', (D.Clin.Psy Thesis, University College London)

workers embedded in the staff team. The continuity of the sessions gives them something they can rely on in their lives.

"I think really for them it's about having a family they can trust, we are always there for them and we never cancel, like if we have a holiday we tell them well in advance, this doesn't happen anywhere else, we are always there." (P #12)

The role of the social worker in the SoP programme is also crucial in supporting resilience. Having someone the children can trust and can go to speak about problems they might be experiencing at home provided a rare opportunity for children to discuss their feelings and needs. Social workers then had the power to intervene where considered constructive and to offer support and coping strategies to children and family who were in need of them and generally provided a strong additional layer of support to the programme. Meanwhile, in El Salvador, one of the aims of the Soy Música programme is about making schools themselves feel like safe spaces, spaces where children feel comfortable to seek help and support.

Aside from this, the MWB method encourages a resilient attitude in music leaders, schools and community foundations who have to cope with lack of resources (EL #6). Drawing on the guiding principle of creativity, the programmes show just what can be achieved with limited resourcing, emphasising the fact that you don't need expensive equipment to run a music programme, but instead singing, body percussion and movement exercises could all be delivered for free and could be adapted using whatever equipment might be available.

Hope: optimism for future

As defined in MWB's MEL guide, the indicators of 'Hope' are:

- Willingness to contribute in sessions.
- Sense of competence.
- Satisfaction at musical results.
- Increased optimism for own future.
- Increased optimism for society.
- Ownership of own agency for creating that positive future.

Context	
El Salvador	Palestine
- Lack of opportunities in the country - Sense of inevitability about getting caught up in gang violence	- The occupation severely limits children's horizons - Lack of positive stimulation outside of school hours

We saw how MWB programmes:

- Offer opportunities to engage in music to children who would not usually have this opportunity
- Provide a training route that has the potential to lead to other opportunities – highlights possibility of other options
- Provide positive role models for children
- Establish a foundation upon which people want to create better lives for themselves

Analysis

Both the Soy Música and Palestine Community Music programmes exist in countries where opportunities for young people are severely limited due to social and economic inequality. Cycles of violence, and in the case of Palestine, ongoing occupation create an environment in which people become focused on surviving, with little attention paid to potential futures. In both cases, we observed how taking part in music activity allowed children to 'try on' a new way of life, see themselves as a 'whole person' and allow them to develop a capacity to aspire that may not have been previously awakened.

Children in both countries suffer from a lack of positive stimulation outside of the short school hours, when being drawn into violence can happen simply as a result of boredom. The Sounds of Palestine programme offers a music programme that runs after school and at weekends, whilst a small number of Soy Música trainees also deliver workshops outside of school hours through the community organisations they are part of. Music activities, on a day to day level, provide a creative focus to keep children and young people occupied in a safe environment away from violence.

Whether inside or outside of school, music education is not readily available to most children in El Salvador or Palestine. There are a small number of music schools but their fees are prohibitive for many families. Having access to these opportunities again gives children the capacity to aspire to things outside of the 'usual' options.

On a deeper level, music offers a training route that has the potential to lead to other opportunities including national and international travel, and even a career. In El Salvador, this is especially important for the children of gang members who may feel they have no choice but to follow in their parents' footsteps or feel unable to remove themselves from the communities of gangs that surround their lives. Through developing trust with the young people they work with Soy Música practitioners were able to highlight alternative possibilities open to the young people they were working with, giving them hope:

"This boy... he once came to me and said, I want to tell you, my family are gang members, but he said I really like the music, and I said 'look, you can choose, you have a choice, you want to follow your family, that's one choice, or you can be the difference, you can make a difference'. I chose music and you're also free to choose'." (EL #8)

In Palestine too, music leaders and children we spoke to believed that music would help them reach places in their lives, "we are committed that on a daily level with music, their (the children's) lives will be different eventually." (P #13) Of the children we spoke to, for some that meant aspiring to play music in orchestras around the world whilst for other that meant

using music in innovative ways to support their lives in Palestine, for example one of the boys enrolled in the Sounds of Palestine programme has dreams of playing his double bass outside the family barbershop shop to help drive custom! (P# 1)

In El Salvador some trainees were able to speak from personal experience about how music had helped shape their own lives. Indeed, one of the trainees, a Salvadorian who had moved to the US at a young age, described his own experience of growing up in poor neighbourhoods in LA:

"A lot of my friends in the poor neighbourhoods where I was in Los Angeles, a lot of them went into gangs, or they're in jail or something like that, and they didn't have music. But I did, so I feel like music took me out of all that, because I was headed down that path." (EL #11)

Such experiences gave trainees an authenticity and an authority to convince young people they were working with of the potential opportunities that music can present. However, convincing the wider community, including parents, that music presents a viable and positive pathway in their children's future presented more of a challenge. Some trainees spoke about how, as in many societies, money is valued above most other things, and with music not seen as a profitable career path, parents did not actively encourage their children to pursue an interest in it.

When we asked if aspirations such as forging a career in music in Palestine or abroad were realistic, the programme coordinator felt that for most, the opportunity to play outside of Palestine was unlikely to become a reality. However, what the programme does is establish a foundation upon which people want to create better lives for themselves, and this alone can have a profound impact. (P #13) There was also evidence of some tangible advantage in that the programme coordinator told us that SoP kids have better school grades and people notice that their behaviour is much better than that of their peers. (P #13)

Overall, in El Salvador, there seemed more to be hopeful for, with people speaking optimistically about the possibilities Soy Música could create for their country. Sadly, in Palestine, the structural and political suppression of the Palestinian people puts a ceiling on what is realistic to aspire to and instead it's about finding routes out of the country or being creative about what is possible within the occupation's limits.

Empathy: awareness and understanding of others

As defined in MWB's MEL guide, indicators of 'Empathy' are:

- Satisfaction with and willingness for self-expression.
- Awareness of listening to others.
- Offering lyrics and compositional ideas.
- Non-judgmental of difference.
- Images of others not dictated by stereotype and cliché.

- Care for other people, kindness, actions to help others.

Context	
El Salvador	Palestine
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture of silence - Suppression of emotion to avoid showing yourself as vulnerable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture of silence due to fear of consequences of expressing one's emotion - Ongoing mistrust and fear as a result of the occupation

We saw how MWB programmes:

- Promote a culture of reflection and help children develop the ability to regulate their emotions
- Help children develop empathy by performing emotions of themselves and others
- Encourage teamwork, respect and listening skills through a group working towards a shared musical vision

Analysis

One of the remnants of conflict and certainly a result of living under occupation is ongoing mistrust and fear. In both El Salvador and Palestine, we observed how these conditions had created a culture of silence in which it is not always safe to express one's emotions, which in turn restricts people's capacity for empathy. Young people who grow up surrounded by violence, or the threat of violence have to develop resilience quickly in order to survive, yet often involves suppression of emotion in order to avoid showing vulnerability in contexts where it may be dangerous to do so. In such contexts, non-verbal expression can be vital in allowing people to express and regulate emotions:

*"Music therapy works because music helps people express feelings, memories, experiences and dreams that they are unable or unwilling to express in other ways."*³⁷

The MWB methodology promotes reflection as a means of regulating emotions. Through teaching skills around reflection, children learn how to regulate their emotions:

"There's nobody to listen to these kids, if you're a little boy you'll throw tantrums and you'll get used to this activity and that can turn into violence. So we do a lot of reflection, a lot of activities that involve a lot of reflection stuff like asking 'why do you do this?'" (EL #8)

Learning how to regulate and express their own emotions enables children to understand and empathise with others. In one of the Soy Música training sessions, we observed an activity in which the facilitator would 'perform' an emotion and then the rest of the group would copy it, thereby encouraging empathy by embodying or performing another person's emotion. The importance and symbolism of this activity was later reflected on by one of the trainees:

³⁷ Hassler, L & Greenwald, 2009. 'Music's power to make peace' *in* Music on Troubled Soils, (European Music Council), p.10

"I do think this is important and meaningful... we want kids to leave that shyness and that isolation, and that they can learn to be themselves. To lose fear, to express themselves." (EL #6)

We observed similar techniques being used in Palestine and heard similar descriptions of how music is being used in their projects to promote empathy. The Palestine Community Music project manager also spoke about how, when making music together, you are all working towards a common goal and in order to achieve it you can't put yourself first, you have to see yourself as an equal part of the group (P12). In turn, this teaches respect for each person's role in the group. For example, one of the kindergarten teachers we spoke to explained how young children learn to wait for their turn to come in during a song. (P #4) This was also remarked upon by one of the children at Sounds of Palestine who said:

"I like that there is respect here and we love each other here and we don't fight." (P #9)

One of the Soy Música trainees also described how part of the process of building empathy requires the development of the ability to listen, an ability naturally honed through playing music with other people:

"You have to listen more, you have to find out why something isn't working. Musically, if there's a harmony that doesn't work or if someone's playing a wrong note, you have to identify that problem and then you have to be able to know how to fix it. So I think if they can do that musically, they can do it with other aspects of their life." (EL #11)

In Palestine, the additional resource and presence of the team of social workers work with children to help them understand their own feelings and those of others around them. This pastoral care works hand in hand with the music provision, encouraging the young people involved to take a more reflective stance on their behaviour and that of others.

Overall, music leaders in both locations observed that the longer children stay on in the programme the less violent they are towards one another due to their improved social and listening skills, and ability to communicate effectively with each other.

Chapter 5

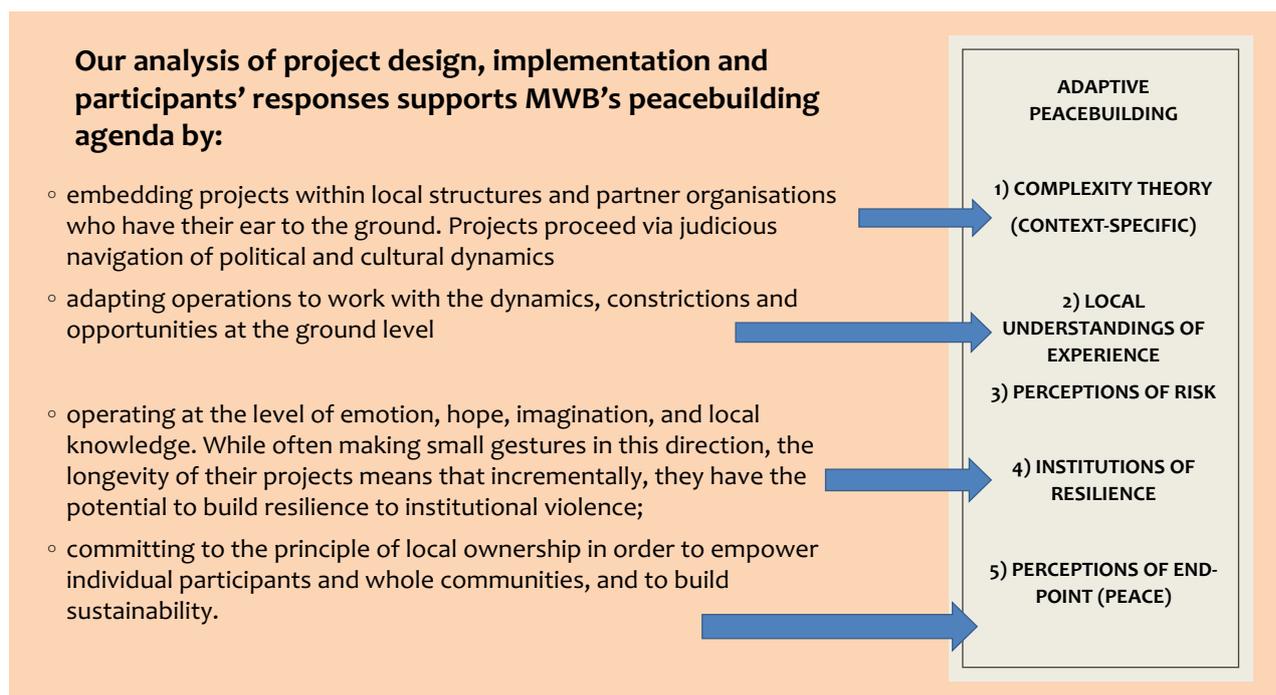
Reflections and Recommendations

In this chapter, we present a set of reflections and recommendations based on our research. Drawing key insights from adaptive peacebuilding and nonviolent direct action (NDA) literature, from our primary research data, and from our assessment of this work relative to the MWB's TOC, we consider whether, and in what ways these experiences and expectations are accounted for in the aims and activities of the respective MWB programmes. We reflect ultimately on the contributions of the programmes toward building cultures of peace in their respective localities.

Framing MWB's work as adaptive peacebuilding:

As discussed in Chapter 1, peacebuilding has often been experienced as a box-ticking exercise, and meaningful inclusion requires robust stakeholder analysis and the conditions to engage and influence a process on fair terms. Creating a shared definition of terms like "peacebuilding" is not always possible, but being explicit about different actors' understandings of these terms can help to lead to more tangible progress towards inclusive outcomes.

It is our estimation that MWB's operations in both El Salvador and Palestine are working in ways that are highly responsive to local needs and aspirations. Our data offers strong evidence of how programmes fit into, and complement the adaptive peacebuilding model based on a bottom-up design and implementation, as the following table suggests:



In each example studied, project aspirations respond to experiences of conflict in that region. Agendas are realistic and do not aim to create false expectations based on grandiose scenario building.

For example, the Soy Música programme is framed and understood in terms of prevention, working with children and young people to develop their resilience and open their minds to possibilities outside of gang life. If systematically and incrementally delivered, this could realistically help to stem the flow of violence in the country in the long-term.

In Palestine, on the other hand, the programme makes no allusion to making an impression on the ongoing political crisis. What it does aim to do is offer respite to young and vulnerable people from the stresses and traumas of living under the occupation, whilst also opening young minds to alternative futures that might be available to them.

Reflections on particular strengths of the MWB approach as witnessed in the key programmes

1) Importance of the non-verbal: shattering silence with silence

Both El Salvador and Palestine suffer from cultures of silence, where people are not always safe to express themselves verbally. Years of conflict has resulted in a lack of trust among communities and the conservative nature of both cultures has created taboo subjects that are simply not discussed.

However, what we witnessed in both locations is how expressing one's ideas, thoughts or feelings through song, music or movement, had the power to release people from silence and to build voice. This is a key feature of MWB's training and one that works particularly well in contexts where confronting issues directly is simply not appropriate or effective.

"Many traditional conflict resolution processes are centred on more linear, rational forms of communication that often do not allow space for more creative or alternative ways of interacting, or expressing emotions and thoughts."³⁸

2) Self-realisation and the awakening of creativity

In both localities, we witnessed examples of people who had not previously thought of themselves as musicians or music leaders gaining confidence and self-belief in their new set of skills. In both societies (as in many societies around the world) there is a prevailing notion that

³⁸ Zelizer, Craig. 2003. The Role of Artistic Processes in Peace-Building in Bosnia-Herzegovina *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 10 (2): Article 4. (See also McPherson, G., Mamattah, S., Moore, A., Cifuentes, G., & Moualla, Y. (2018). *A Review of the Contribution of Arts & Culture to Global Security & Stability*. University of the West of Scotland.)

musicians are specialists, having received years of specialist training, the type of which either does not exist or is prohibitively expensive in El Salvador and Palestine. However, the MWB approach does not require prior specialist musical knowledge or skills, simply a willingness to be creative and bring creativity out in others.

MWB also shows what can be done with limited resources. Techniques such as singing, body percussion and movement can all be implemented without equipment and don't require a large amount of space. There are many potential spin-offs: in El Salvador, many of the teachers from the same region had formed cultural committees or created WhatsApp groups to share ideas. In one instance, a teacher had started an initiative to bring back traditional instruments and archive old songs, demonstrating renewed sense of pride in cultural heritage.

3) Building networks and resilience

MWB programmes offer valuable insights into how creative methodologies may be used to address different forms of violence. They demonstrate the importance of adding a cultural dimension to adaptive peacebuilding, particularly with regard to the role it can play in supporting confidence-building, social inclusivity and institutional resilience.

In El Salvador, we saw how the Soy Música training was encouraging the creation and development of networks of music leaders. This worked on a local level where groups of teachers working in the same region had formed coalitions with the specific view to sharing ideas for workshop content over WhatsApp and Facebook. MWB's global network was also made available to them, thus opening opportunities for trainees in different parts of the world to get in touch with them to share ideas and seek advice or innovation.

"A shift in focus from ends to means may also entail an investment in a network approach, because networks are more robust and resilient than hierarchical structures when dealing with shocks, setbacks and dynamic change."³⁹

4) The importance of enskilment

In both El Salvador and Palestine (as with many other countries around the world) we heard how music is not seen as a credible career path, which means that in most cases, children are not encouraged to pursue it with the same rigour as other academic subjects. In order to convince people of the value of music as a skill, it has to be of high quality. If people are going to believe in the potential importance of their children acquiring skills, they need to see an output that is of quality.

Quality also opens doors to new opportunities, as we saw in Palestine, where one of the Sounds of Palestine orchestras had been invited to perform at the Austrian Representative Office in Ramallah to an audience of high-powered diplomats and businessmen and women. Without building a reputation based on quality, it is clear that these opportunities would not surface.

³⁹ de Coning, Cedric. 2018. 'Adaptive Peacebuilding', *International Affairs* 94 (2), 301–17

5) Capacities to aspire

By offering something out of the ordinary, MWB offer children and young people the opportunity to move away from the status quo and develop hope for a better life. The music programmes help excavate spaces in which to dream, strategize and build consensus. This is a fundamental attribute of both projects, where horizons of risk are very low, and the struggle of everyday survival tend to consume all citizens.

This is particularly effective when working with youth. By aiming their work at young people, MWB work to prevent the cycles of behaviour that can contribute and lead to ongoing violence and conflict within communities simply due to a lack of capacity to aspire beyond this.

6) Moving from short-term intervention to early prevention

Prevention is a fundamental tenet of the Soy Música programme, and we witnessed this in operation in a range of ways, often symbolically enacted: In one instance, the workshop coordinator, upon noting the overwhelming physical demonstration of hyper-masculinity in the room at the beginning of a session, used rhythm to subtly reduce male domination of the space, thereby raising awareness amongst male trainees of normative, but potentially destructive behaviour and encouraging respect for the women trainees in the room.

In Palestine, the programme focused on building self-esteem and strengthening social networks, using a variety of techniques – e.g. breathing, silence, skills development – to build resilience and learn to strategically manage the system.

7) Sensitivity to local structural needs

Palestine Community Music has had to develop organically, focusing its operations on a needs-based approach to accommodate the ever-shifting dynamics in the region. This approach has developed as a result of the extreme shortage of personnel and its small, fairly unreliable budgets – an assumed weakness. However, it is these challenges that have produced its sensitivity to the needs and interests of affected individuals and communities, which produces insights that can be learned more broadly.

8) Programme designed to maximise sustainability: El Salvador

The programme in El Salvador has been strategically designed to roll out the Soy Música training programme incrementally. By working in-depth with three cohorts of teachers and social workers, the approach is to build a strong, highly trained team of MWB practitioners with the skills necessary not only to implement a strong music programme in their schools and community groups but to train colleagues, peers and other people interested in the methods across the country.

Recommendations

Throughout the course of our research, we reflected on opportunities for MWB to strengthen its programmes, with the potential to increase impact. The following recommendations are presented with this in mind:

General:

1. Greater adaptation of workshop content to reflect local musical practices and cultures and to take participants on a 'strategic journey':

In some instances, we felt that the workshop content lacked some originality and recognised exercises and techniques that are used by multiple other organisations. We felt more could be done to draw on local musical practices, incorporating local tunes and exercises into workshops.

Especially where workshops take place on a 'one-off' basis, it's important to ensure participants are taken on a journey and brought to 'completion' at the end of a session. For example, if a workshop involves bringing people up by engaging them in high energy activities, it is important to bring them back to a place of calm by the end of the workshop.

2. Conflict and Violence analysis:

The framework used to generate the tabulated comparison presented in Chapter 3 could be a useful tool employed by MWB when setting up future project as it helps build a picture of the local context of conflict and violence and how this intersects with different aspects of culture of society. These understandings are key to building programmes that respond to local dynamics.

The tool could also be used for existing MWB projects to achieve similar aims, inviting the opportunity to reflect and deepen understandings on how MWB's projects are responding to specific contextual realities of conflict and violence.

3. Theory of Change:

In using MWB's existing Theory of Change to analyse our interviews, we found the five outcome areas worked well for both projects and being able to analyse interviews from both projects through the same framework helped illuminate what the projects had in common as well as the different ways they were realising shared outcomes.

Country specific indicators:

While keeping the five main outcome areas broad is helpful in finding what different MWB projects have in common, to support in-country monitoring and evaluation, it may be helpful to define country/project specific indicators of what each of these outcomes may look like in the different contexts MWB is working in.

Furthermore, in a small way, we applied our analysis to changes observed in trainees and music leaders involved in the programmes in El Salvador and Palestine and found clear links showing how the Theory of Change could be applied to different 'groups' involved in MWB programmes.

If MWB were to pursue this further it may also be useful to define indicators according to 'group' i.e. participants/trainees/music leaders etc.

The work presented in Chapter 4 may provide a starting point from which to develop such indicators.

Bridging the gap between outcomes and goal:

The other aspect of the ToC that could be enhanced by developing country (or project) specific versions is the leap between outcomes and goal. How does building, hope, resilience, identity, empathy and connection lead to people feeling empowered to break free from cycle of war, genocide or mass violence? This is likely best explained on a project by project basis as what it means to break free from these conditions will mean something quite different in each context.

Overall, developing project specific versions of the ToC, which are each based on the existing model, could help develop more detailed narrative on what those outcomes and end goal might look like in each place.

4. Protective memory

Our analysis in Chapter 4 reflects on the impact one-off workshops can have by people employing a tool described as 'protective memory'⁴⁰, that is to say having a positive memory that can be looked back upon and drawn from in difficult times. In discussions with the MWB team it was felt this is something that could be more consciously incorporated into training and/or MWB projects. There could be ways to develop this further by taking photos or making recordings or videos of work that participants could more tangibly refer back to.

Palestine:

1. Greater strategic programme direction:

Due to the limited time and resources of the project team, Palestine Community Music relies on a somewhat ad hoc programme structure, and lacks the capacity to extend their programme strategically and deepen its impacts. We learned how a series of one-off or short term programmes had been delivered at the response of requests from a variety of groups in the community including schools, women's groups and centres for the disabled, but the overall programme seemed to lack a coherent strategy.

We wonder if it would be worth taking time to step back and assess strategic priorities in the West Bank, setting a realistic agenda and targeting a smaller number of quality partnerships where more regular programmes could be set up.

⁴⁰ Underhill, James, 2011. *'The Psychological Impact of Music Workshops on Immigration Detainees'*, (D.Clin.Psy Thesis, University College London)

This may also allow workshop content to become more tailored to different groups: during our visit we observed the same exercises and techniques being delivered to a wide variety of groups with different levels and needs. With a more sustained series of programmes, workshop content could be better developed to respond to individual needs.

2. Strengthening the network of practitioners:

Whilst those working on the Sounds of Palestine programme showed strong identity and connectedness to the programme, others working in the wider community implementing MWB techniques into their practice reported feeling more isolated. They lacked confidence in the value of their own inputs and in their legitimacy to deliver this work and were clear thirsty for ongoing contact with the Programme Manager and to generally feel more connected to the MWB network.

We felt that for those working in schools, cultural centres and in centres for the disabled, some of whom had observed MWB workshops and techniques some time back and had since incorporating them into their own practice, it would be beneficial to organise an annual or bi-annual day of training, aimed not only at refreshing knowledge and skills, but to fortify networks of trainees and develop a sense of identity amongst them based on shared purpose.

We feel this would offer both moral and technical support, and ultimately produce less reliance on the very small number of individuals running the Palestine Community Music programme. Training could also affirm people's innovations in their own practice, which may in turn feed back into MWB training by generating materials that are more apposite to different environments and needs.

A network on social media could also be established, as has been successful for the Soy Música trainees.

El Salvador

As the Soy Música programme is new and still at a stage of being carefully managed by MWB's central team, we don't feel that we have a great deal to offer in terms of recommendations. The training programme has clearly been extremely thoughtfully designed with the view to developing sustainability by building strong networks of highly trained practitioners with the skills needed to roll the programme out across the country.

Some considerations would be:

1. Quality control on the ground

The potential to lose impetus when teachers and community workers return to home areas, where they meet with resistance or non-cooperation from directors/fellow teachers. This could be a potential weak point and lead to burnout or disillusionment. Building in a more robust system of outreach support would ensure the long-term sustainability of programme and help to embed philosophy more widely.

2. More buy-in at school director level

Consider making it a requirement that those school directors who sign up their teachers on the Soy Música training must themselves attend a 1-day training induction at the start of the programme.

Being in the room and seeing the training in action could help Soy Música methodologies seem less abstract and help generate enthusiasm and associated support, increasing the chances of the programme becoming embedded in the school.

Appendix 1

Table of interviews

Interviews conducted in El Salvador

No.	Interviewee(s)	Region/City/ Contexts	Profession	Main themes discussed
ES1+2	Focus group, 4 male art teachers and Rafael	La Union They all work in moderately violent areas.	4 arts teacher and a community worker working with Forza in Tamarindo (Rafael)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teachers were already part of an arts and culture network in their region prior to getting involved in Soy Música. - Seen how music lessons have had an impact on behavioural change in children; application of non-verbal communication means that as a teacher they no longer need to shout to maintain discipline. Describes how the non-verbal techniques are all very new to them. Overall this helps create a more positive student-teacher relationship. - Encourages creativity in teaching approach – they have been making instruments from recycled materials and trying to bring back indigenous instruments and music. Children are also realising that you don't need to have instruments to make music, singing and body percussion are also options. - Community worker talks about the Soy Música training really complements what he was already trying to achieve through his programme, in discouraging young people to join gangs, music has given him more tools through which to achieve his aim. Music helps bring light into what can be otherwise dark lives. - Music can reach deeper than words, it touches the heart and encourages expression of emotion.
ES3	Couple, Josué (Honduran) and Priscilla (Costa Rican)	Originally from Honduras and Costa Rica, now living in San Salvador. They live and work outside of the gang zones but work with lots of children of gang members.	Principal of National Art Centre's Music School; Harpist National orchestra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describe how classical music in Central America is held up on a real pedestal, sacred and untouchable and only accessible to a small number of people. Other forms of music looked down on. Strips children of precludes pride in their own culture. - Music is not a super power on its own, it's the social connections it fosters which make it special. - They see one of the problems in ES is that the government spend a lot of money on buying classical instruments but not investing in training teachers in how to use them. - Salvadorans inside and outside of their country have a very negative view of their country and can't

				<p>understand why people would choose to migrate there.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture of hushed voices as a result of years of conflict and a very bloody history. People have learned to keep their ideas to themselves and put on a mask so as to protect their lives. - The way ES is presented in the world media feeds back into the country's self-image. - Infatuation with the American dream, people see migrating to the US as the best thing that could happen. - Discussion around how the new President represents something brand new for ES politics, he is neither left nor right, people don't really know what he stands for, but he transformed downtown San Salvador during his time as mayor there. - One of strongest roots in gang violence is lack of strong family structures. Many fathers abandon their families, children are often neglected. - Soy Música is making a significant change to teachers, the curriculum in ES is lacking in many areas, especially the arts, so the programme is helping train teachers in these skills. It is helping redefine what it means to be a musician, less elitist, more something that anyone can learn. - Non-verbal communication is something totally new and really useful. It allows you to give a child instructions, but also allows that child to express themselves and respond to instructions in their own way. - Mates very important in understanding trauma dynamics – effects individuals and whole country. More important than solving conflict is healing wounds – lies at the basis of all. - One of most important things about the programme is breaking the silence, opening up a space where's one's emotions can be heard and respected. - More than conflict solving in ES, it's about wound healing.
ES4	Rafael	Tamarindo Moderate violence (radically decreased)	Community worker-promotes values, generosity, respecting life-alternative to gangs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organisation he works for is religious, promoting life over violence. We want young people to stop seeing guns as their way out and to consider other options open to them. - Basis of violence in ES is inequality, which leads to both physical and emotional violence. - SM has potential to capture young people who are talented and not yet co-opted into gangs. SM training reinforces creative aspirations - contrast to the lack of freedom of expression people live with otherwise. - People don't commit violence because they are poor. It is the poor people who are pushing for non-violence. Violence is systemic.

ES5	Focus group, 4 women & 1 man	Santa Ana (mostly rural, low violence), community displaced due to eruption of volcano in recent years.	All teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describes how lots of the girls at the school suffer from depression and often self-harm. Lots of girls are harassed or mistreated by their parents. - One of the teachers described how violence in her community had arisen as a result of the community being displaced after the volcano eruption and coming into conflict with existing communities in the area. - Soy Música helps open children up to other opportunities. - The group are part of a cultural network under the Ministry of Education, they work closely together to develop workshop content and share ideas via their WhatsApp group. None of the group have a background in the arts so are learning together. - Cultural identity is important, this feels lost in ES, we are helping to bring it back. - One of them describes how she would always express herself through words but SM has taught her the effectiveness of non-verbal communication. - Discussion around how some directors have felt that SM is detracting time away from the teachers usual work, whilst in another school other colleagues have become jealous of the woman's involvement in the SM programme. - Observations of how children's behaviour has improved leading to less violence as a result of the SM techniques. - Long-terms aims – ES is a country surrounded with a conflictual atmosphere, this won't change overnight, but if individuals learn how to change this in themselves, society will start to change slowly. MATES is helpful in understanding this.
ES6	Focus group, 4 women and 1 man.	Cabañas (bordering Honduras)	2 Arts Teachers 1 Math teacher 1 Science teacher 1 English teacher (also practicing musician)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some of the teachers had some experience of learning music at school, whilst some did not. One of the teachers working with younger children described how she often incorporated songs into her teaching practice before the SM programme. - One of the teachers describes how for years she worked in a school full of young gang members but had no idea. - Some of the teachers had been invited to share the methods they'd been learning at SM with other schools in the area. - Music helps bring in some of the quieter children who don't usually get involved in activities like sports. Music helps bring these children out of themselves and share their feelings. - Music encourages children to interact with each other more. It brings groups together who wouldn't usually socialise.

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ES7	Mateo and Jacquelin	<p>San Pedro Perulapan- one of most violent villages in ES</p> <p>Suchotito (moderately violent, violence has decreased a lot in recent years)</p>	<p>Guitar teacher + psychology student</p> <p>High School student and actress (EsArtes, Canadian NGO) + rap artist.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mateo got involved in Pablo's programme when he and his father brought back lots of instruments from LA and introduced a music programme to the local school. He is also studying psychology which he feels is helping him understand the work SM is trying to do. - Made M realise music is not about producing a good sound, it's about the feelings it brings and opens you up to. - Violence starts in the family and patriarchal culture. Lots of parents use violence on their kids and this helps feed into the culture. - Aim is not to make a generation of top musicians but to support children to develop emotionally and kinaesthetically. - J feels part of the reason her town became less violent was all the arts activities that started happening. Plays around violence prevention etc. - J describes how she is developing her skills as a rapper. - SM has taught us about how to use music as a tool for conflict resolution, it's added another dimension to the work we're already involved in. Now understand how to use music to help release tension and stress. - Culture of silence makes people hide their problems. - Description of gang recruitment strategies – gangs prey on children/young people who lack role models, who have been emotionally abandoned by parents. Then explanation of how it is possible to escape gangs once you're in them. - Discussion about musical genres associated with gangs, i.e. reggaeton/rap. - Explanation of how young girls are targeted to be the girlfriends of gang members; they become their possessions. Once they are in a gang, they become the woman for all; anyone can have sex with her. If the woman doesn't want to date the gang member anymore, they will kill her. That's the only way out for a woman. - Public education is 'square', punitive, and unimaginative. There is no place for creativity or individuality. When my theatre group performs in schools, it is the gang members who help with the props etc. They want to join in and they beg us to return.
ES8	Oscar	San Salvador (very violent)	Youth worker for community organisation, Pablo de Sac Works with 8-15yr olds.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Description of work with community organisation Pablo De Sac. Lots of non-verbal communication techniques. - The programme brings together children from different areas who at first refused to work together but having a creative focus distracts from these differences.

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				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SM has helped expand our range of activities and put more of a focus on teamwork. MATES house has been very important in helping me to understand trauma. - Observation of behavioural change, kids don't feel the need to act out as much as they have people to listen to them and they learn how to channel their emotions through music. - The programme helps children realise there are other options available to them, they don't have to go down the route of joining a gang. - Describes different types of violence in ES. Domestic violence, alcohol abuse, prostitution. - Describes how the foundation operates in gang territories, . Gangs leave them alone as they respect their work. Even gang members want better opportunities for their children. - Expresses hope for the new Mayor who has pledged his support for the work the foundation is doing. - On a structural level it's hard to imagine peace, there is so much insecurity and concern. Lots of unhealed trauma from the civil war.
ES9+ 10	Melvin	Coatapeque (low violence area)	Community worker working with Forza	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describes how 2 kids on his programme suffered from domestic abuse and bullied many other kids on the programme, but over time they have learned to control their anger and have learnt respect for others. - SM has taught us the value of inclusion, we find ways to involve the more difficult kids and support the traumas they face at home. SM techniques are also helping children to open up more and they are becoming more willing to participate. - Peace in ES very hard to imagine, but I dream of a country where kids feel more free and receive more love and support from their family, family breakdown is a major issue here.
ES11	Pablo	Brought up in LA but family originally from San Pedro Perulapan where Pablo is now based	Founded music programme Armonia Cuscatleca in San Pedro Perulapan. Classical violinist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describes starting Armonia Cuscatleca 3 years ago, having recently arrived from LA. Community were all very supportive of it at the beginning. Now this support is harder to find, the mayor and government changed and now there is no longer support from the local government. - Feels the children engaging in the programme are already at a higher level than their parents, they are learning skills in conflict resolution and community building. - Now that support from the community is disappearing Pablo's encouraging the kids to self-organise a bit more and form their own Board. They've seen how it's done and they're picking up how to do it themselves. - People in ES are generally afraid of change, they are conservative in their culture, they love the bible, their own music and that which they already have, they are

				<p>not so open to new things. They don't like their reality but they're afraid to move away from it.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Talks about what brought him to ES (his family are originally from ES). - People in ES have a culture of jealousy, if people see someone with more than them, they want to knock that person down. Anger and violence come quickly. - MWB has transformed how I understand musical training. I now see it as creating a better person all round, not just a better musician. It's about emotional state and wellbeing, team work, safety and creativity and all those things. The network MWB have is also amazing and makes me feel more supported. - Music opens you up to others more, you have to listen. If there's a problem in the music you have to listen to what's going on in order to fix it. - The kids don't connect so much with classical music so have introduced more popular music including reggaeton. - Discussion around which genres are linked to gang culture – hip hop, Banda, Rancheras. - Description of different types of violence present in Salvadoran culture. Sexual violence, domestic violence, machismo. Violence within families, weak family structures. - SM is doing something quite revolutionary simply by bringing these different educators and community workers together to take forward this new method. - Peace in ES means less corruption, particularly at government level. New President is a little scary – he's a populist and hasn't been clear about what he stands for. - Grassroots programmes like SM work, but they work slowly, impact is gradual, you have to be in it for the long-term. - Quality is key to the programme continuing, we have to aspire to the levels of quality demonstrated by the MWB trainers, this is the way to make the programme sustainable.
ES12	René (Dabu)	Suchitoto (moderately violent, violence has decreased a lot in recent years)	Music leader with organisation Global Platform. Also works with ArtEs with Jacquelin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describes his work for two arts organisations in Suchitoto. He is a self-taught rapper. Uses music to address social issues such as justice and human rights. - Helps young people understand they have rights and gives them the tools to start exercising them. - SM has taught me how to use music to help social cohesion, create a good atmosphere and support integration. It has given me exercises I can use to support these things. - Made me understand it's not about how much someone learns, it's about how well they learn it. - It's about creating special moments for children that they can hold onto and look back on when life gets tough.

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				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The SM methodology really encourages reflection and gives importance to each individual member of a team. - Peace in ES means very little, people don't know it. People here spend all their lives in conflict. - Suchitoto is at peace for now because the community is organised, if people were not organised, the situation would be a lot worse.
ES13	Mia	Originally from Belgium, but now working in Morazan, a mountainous area near Honduran border, many people from this area spent years living in refugee camps in Honduras but have now migrated back.	Started work setting up education programmes in Honduran refugee camps 34 years ago and has been working in ES ever since.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Talks about the history of 'destruction' in El Salvador and how music is used to reconstruct the country and lives of its people. - Talks about her community of musicians and other support networks present in the community - Describes her work in the refugee camp in Honduras, and how people taught the skills they knew, Mia's skill was music - Sees her work as music for healing, but doesn't work in isolation, it's part of a big effort - Music is a way of telling stories of repression and solidarity. Songs have been used to support various campaigns, such as hygiene campaigns - Soy Música has shifted the focus of our music programmes, it's not so much about learning, it's more about mental health and inclusion - Describes how children are often abandoned and left feeling empty inside, sometimes exhibiting challenging behaviour. - Explains reasons why families fall apart - Believes there can be no peace if there's no social justice
ES14	Reina	Morazan – a mountainous area near Honduran border, many people from this area spent years living in refugee camps in Honduras but have now migrated back.	Was a former student on one of Mia's programme and is now working as a community music leader herself	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describes her work teaching music in 4 schools in the Morazan area - Speaks about her own journey of starting off at the music school and then going on to become a leader herself - Describes different types and levels of violence in the community - Speaks about how the programme has changed her view on how and why children behave in the ways that they do - Describes her observation of how music makes children more calm, sensitive and empathetic - Talks about peace as being something that has to work bottom up, starting in schools, working with children - Speaks about barriers to peace, including children being abandoned by parents
ES15	Manfredo	Izalco	Works for local government in the department of culture.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describes his role of promoting culture within his municipality and what that involves - Speaks about the impact being part of SM has had on him personally, including in his family

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ES16	Edgar 'Leche' & Gabriel	San Salvador (very violent area)	Both working as community music leaders at the Pablo de Sac programme with Oscar.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describe their work with the Pablo de Sac foundation - Talks about the importance of having a safe space within a very violent environment - Describes gang dynamics including realities for children of gang members - Speaks about how they are willing to take risks in their work as they have grown up in these very violent communities and feel totally committed to changing things - Talks about how SM has helped them understand things like empathy and helped reinforce some of the methods they were already using - Describe why they think music is particularly effective in producing change - Discussion around different types of violence in ES and what peace could look like – links to optimism around new president
ES17	Saul	Chalatalango – (very rural, mountainous area, low violence)	Music teacher in a school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describes the region he comes from in ES and how it is very vulnerable to natural disasters such as earthquakes and landslides - Speaks about how since joining SM he has been working with other schools in the area to share the methodology and how that is changing the way teachers approach their lessons - Talks about how in SM he found a support network, he had felt very isolated in his teaching prior to this. He has always been a musician and always incorporated music into his lessons but SM has given him much more confidence in doing this. - Speaks about how women are especially repressed in rural areas. - Talks about his desire to get the project more exposure by making videos that can go out over YouTube. - Describes his fears over the new president and that if the new government try to take SM in a new direction it may lose its sense of freedom/independence - Speaks about how the kids in his schools now have more aspirations than they did previously.
ES18	Rigo	Chalatalango – (very rural, mountainous area, low violence)	Music teacher in a school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describes the traditional nature of his community - Speaks about his long history of teaching music and arts at his school and how there are many musicians living in the area - Talks about the peace bands that were set up after the war - Acknowledges that to see real impact of the SM programme will take time.

Interviews conducted in Palestine

No.	Interviewee (s)	Region/City	Profession	Main themes discussed
P1	Yasmeen	Bethlehem	Trained as a lawyer, now works as double bass teacher at SoP, took the Music as Therapy training and also runs sessions with Khader at House of Hope	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Offering the opportunity to learn music to children who wouldn't usually get the chance. - The programme (SoP) gives children courage and trust in otherwise difficult lives. - Example of one boy on the SoP programme who's behaviour has transformed from being hyperactive to becoming much calmer and more helpful in class. - Gives children something to feel proud of. - Description of life in the camps. - Gives examples of children's ambitions of what they want to do with music – includes the anecdote about the SoP student who wants to play his double bass outside the family barbershop to help drive custom. - Music helps build relationships. Brings girls and boys together and also children who wouldn't normally socialise. - Following MWB workshops in schools, some teachers start using these methods in their own classes.
P2	Khader	Beit Sahour	Works as percussion teacher at SoP and also runs sessions with Yasmeen at House of Hope	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Music allows the children to form bonds, build relationships and feel more comfortable in themselves. - Description of how behaviour amongst the children at SoP has improved and become less violence. - Practicing music gives the children something to do at home. - SoP helps overcome taboos such as girls and boys mixing together. - Talks briefly about some parents not allowing children to continue with music as they get older due to this being against their religion. - SoP is more than just music, the role of the social worker is really key. - Description of life in the camps and villages. - Parents are generally supportive of the work, but don't always come to performances which is a shame.
P3	Samar	Bethlehem	Leads MWB workshops at the Ghirass Centre in Bethlehem, an educational centre for children with learning difficulties and children from	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Description of range of activities and function of the Ghirass Centre. - Story of how MWB was introduced to the centre + description of the impact music has on the children who use the centre. - Description of difficulties children face growing up in Palestine. - Description of violence in families and hierarchical nature of some schools. - Aim to make children more relaxed, this feels realistic and achievable.

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			the camps. Took the Music as Therapy training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When asked about violence against women, says this is a 'private matter'. - Discusses different opportunities open to boys and girls. - Expressed disappointment that once the Music as Therapy training had finished there was no further opportunity to come together to support one another. Would like to feel more connected.
P4	Eman	Village near Beit Sahour	Director of Al Fardous Kindegarten (also has a daughter enrolled in SoP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Story of how X (trainer) used to come to the kindergarten and run regular music sessions. - Expresses pride of her daughter being part of the SoP programme and how she is now learning things Abeer never had the chance to learn. Also describes the impact SoP has on her. - Describes how they continue to use the techniques they learnt from X (trainer) in their lessons at the kindergarten. - Music has improved the children's listening skills, and they have become more calm and less hyperactive. - Description of village life as being quiet and close to nature. - Would like to work with X (trainer) again and feel connected to MWB's wider work through a network of practitioners.
P5	Abeer	Village near Beit Sahour	Teacher at Al Fardous Kindegarten (also has a daughter enrolled in the SoP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Music helps generate respect among the children, they learn to wait for their turn to come in and to listen to what the other children are doing. - Music helps children overcome their fear of expressing themselves. They learn to reflect their personalities through their voice or through movement. - At first parents were not very supportive of the new techniques, but over time came to understand their benefit and changed their mentality. - Describes how education used to be all about lecturing children without engaging them but at their kindergarten (which she says is different to others) is now much more focused on engagement and encouraging self-expression - Anecdote of how they had tried to pitch the idea of introducing music activity into lessons at a Ministry of Education event, but people didn't think it was a good idea. She felt people had to see the work in action to understand it. - People think of music as something you listen to, not as an educational tool. Also how music was more part of people's lives in the past, lots of traditional songs that are disappearing, now people only hear music at special occasions such as weddings.
P6	Muhammad	Bethlehem	Social worker at SoP, also took	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Felt the Music as Therapy training programme helped him understand children's behaviour much better.

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			the Music As Therapy training.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describes role of social worker at SoP, to manage behaviour and to provide support to the children to help them feel safe. - Describes common behavioural traits of the children when they join, i.e. hyperactive, lack of concentration etc. - Music helps with behavioural change, gives examples of things he has observed on the programme. - Description of life in the camps/villages and the sorts of difficulties families experience. - The programme helps build a foundation from which children can work to better their lives.
P7	Athal	Refugee camp, Bethlehem	SoP student, violin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Music has given him the chance to have an experience in life. - He has made friends here who he is much closer to than his friends at home. - He wrote a song that was filmed and posted on social media – this made him feel proud. - Favourite song to play is the Palestinian national anthem(s) and other oriental songs. - He wants to deliver a message through music, to show that despite the occupation Palestinians still have talents.
P8	Layla	Refugee camp, Bethlehem	SoP student, cello	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First received music lessons at the kindergarten she went to, this made her want to join the SoP programme. - She appreciates the range of activities offered at SoP, including traditional dance. - Her best memory of her time at SoP was visiting Holland, going to the cello festival and visiting museums. - She comes to have fun and enjoys learning. - She feels closer to her friends in the camp, than at SoP as she spends more time with them. - When she grows up she wants to be a cello teacher and teach kids in the camp to play music and learn about different instruments.
P9	Mahdi	Refugee camp, Bethlehem	SoP student, double bass	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - He likes that there is more respect here and that the children don't fight or swear at each other like they do at his school. - His best memory of SoP was travelling to Ramallah to perform, he got to meet businessmen and intellectuals which was impressive for him. - Coming to SoP makes him feel more relaxed, he often feels tense when he's back in the camp.
P10	Halimah	Ramallah	Deaf MWB workshop leader working at the Red Crescent School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Body percussion was a revelation as to how someone deaf could work through music. - Explanation of how music makes children feel better and helps them relax in the context of often living in fear of soldiers etc. at home.

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			in Ramallah. Also took Music As Therapy training.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Description of how difficult life is for deaf children in Palestine, parents often reject children or keep them hidden. The occupation also has specific effects as deaf children don't hear when there are raids or when they're told to do something by the soldiers, this puts them in greater danger. - For deaf children it's important to think about the different vibrations they might feel from instruments like a base drum or from using different materials for example scrunching up paper. - Halimah talks about how taking the training had a major impact on her personally and provided her with work when she was really struggling to get a job. (Mentions only 5% of deaf people are employed in Palestine, compared to 70% in Jordan).
P11	Najah	Village near Beit Sahour	<p>Social worker working at an all girl's high school. Currently doing a Masters degree in Psychological Treatment.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Talks about how the girls in the school had specifically asked for music and arts activities to help them relax, through researching options, this is how Najah came across MWB. - Explains how there is a lot of pressure put on school students in Palestine, there are not many options for girls so if they are allowed to study it's taken very seriously. - Describes her role of social worker in the school to encourage students and teachers to talk to her about difficulties they are having in their lives outside school but also to run lessons around things like domestic abuse to help raise awareness and provide girls with coping strategies. She also works with parents and community organisations. - At the beginning of each term Najah works with the students to decide what topics they want to cover that term, in this way that part of the curriculum is co-produced. - Talks about how lack of opportunities (for both girls and boys) often leads to depression and sometimes lack of motivation in students as there aren't many job opportunities or the chance to pursue certain careers in Palestine. - Expresses a wish for the Ministry of Education to learn more about the potential of music as she thinks lots of schools would benefit from introducing these methods.
P12	MWB Trainer/ workshop leader	Beit Sahour	<p>Palestine Community Music Project Manager, SoP workshop leader and MWB workshop leader</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Description of how the programme started and has developed over the years. - Explanation of context of violence and culturally specific understandings, gives example of violence against women and how many people (women included) don't see certain acts as violent, i.e. if a woman is home late, it is okay for her husband to hit her, that's the expectation set by the culture.

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Explains her belief that people act as if they care about women's rights but actions don't follow through, a lot of cases are brushed under the carpet or covered up with unconvincing stories. Violence against women is not a taboo subject per se, there are just a lot of fake discussions around it (especially with internationals) and actions don't match words. - Violence in schools, i.e. teachers hitting students, is officially banned but still happens in most schools. There is also a lot of violence between students, especially boys. - Gives example of how one of the mothers on the programme is being beaten up by her husband and is then taking her frustration out by beating up her son. This is an example of one of the issues the SoP social workers are dealing with. - Describes how sometimes when X (trainer) attends training sessions in Holland the content can feel quite far removed from the context she is working in in Palestine. Also how some of the policies just can't really be applied in Palestine as the starting point is so very different (gives example of child protection policy). - Describes how for the people MWB train in Palestine it can have quite a major impact on their lives, providing them with work they would not ordinarily have the opportunity to get involved in. - Explains how even with a one-off workshop it gives children a good memory they can refer to in difficult times. - SoP is about providing a family/network of people children can trust and confide in. Provides a routine of weekly sessions that can absolutely be relied on. - Music is effective as when you are playing with other people you are all working towards a common goal, and you can't prioritise yourself, in order to reach the shared goal you have to prioritise the group. There is also a connection formed through music that can happen non-verbally through playing together, this feels quite unique to music. - Sometimes feels like pressure to have worked with large numbers of children can diminish quality/depth of impact, might be better to focus on working with a smaller number of children but in a more in-depth way.
P13	Ahmad	Bethlehem	Palestine Community Music Project Coordinator, Nonviolent Direct Action trainer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Talks about his work in non-violence direct action (NDA) training and how that led Ahmad to becoming involved in MWB work. -Description of what NDA is with lots of examples. - Sees MWB's work as giving people the tools to take part in NDA. It also enhances people's current skill sets, i.e. for social workers/teachers etc. gives them more tools they can incorporate into their practice.

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				<ul style="list-style-type: none">- The SoP programme is committed to the belief that engaging children in music in their daily lives will lead to change in those lives.- The most important thing SoP & MWB is doing is giving people hope and see life from a different angle.- Talks about how he sends his own children to SoP and feels this is a really important opportunity for them, children learn routine, punctuality, discipline and respect for each other and their instruments.- Describes his vision of MWB's work spreading right across Palestine.- Explains current relationship with the Ministry of Education and how this works well as a compromise at the moment, they are currently working outside of the system which gives them greater freedom but does also limit how much work they can deliver.- Discussion around how following up with trainees has not been done systematically but felt having 6-monthly refreshers could be possible. Felt social media could also help keep a network of people going.
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