Music for Peace in Jerusalem

A Senior Essay in International Studies

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the most intractable ethnic conflicts in the world. A fight over the land of Israel/Palestine that has been compounded by decades of diverging narratives, psychosocial enculturation of fear, and mutual violence, the discord that lies at the heart of this conflict runs deep—so deep that conventional forms of negotiation have thus far proved futile. As such, "track two" diplomatic initiatives (discussed in Section II, *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Track Two Diplomacy*) are underway throughout Israeli and Palestinian societies to facilitate productive interaction between Israelis and Palestinians. Theorization of such "encounters" (discussed in Section III, *Structuring Encounters*) has produced a body of strategies and structures that are more or less useful in different encounter situations. One lesson summarily drawn from such studies is that avoiding reference to or engagement of the participants' political differences in an encounter situation is unlikely to create political understanding or meaningful post-encounter relationships among the participants. A second is that a mixed model of interpersonal and intergroup interaction in an encounter setting will generate the best chances of both meaningful relationships *and* political understanding.

Music has played an important role in the political and ethnic expressions of Israeli and Palestinian societies since their inceptions (discussed in Section IV, *Music in the Israeli-Palestinian* Conflict). Israeli and Palestinian songs convey longing and loss, make territorial claims, and mobilize the masses either to hurt or to heal. However, some *mizrahi* artists within Israel, Jews of Asian or African origin such as popular singer Zehava Ben, occupy a particular intersection between the Arab and Israeli nations; their musical language is that of Israel's Arab enemies. Such performers, and many others in the "ethnic music"[1] scene in Israel, raise questions about the permeability of national and cultural borders.

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1   In Israel, "ethnic music" refers to what is called "world music" in the United States.

The literature on music and conflict transformation is rich with examples of projects around the world that strive to use music as a tool for cross-conflict identity formation and prejudice-reduction, empowerment and enhancement of self-expression, and location and performance[2] of common ground. In section V, *Music as a Peacemaking Tool in Ethnic Conflict*, I discuss a number of the strategies presented by these different case studies and examine the effects to which such programs can aspire, given those strategies. In section VI, *Seeds of Peace International Camp for Coexistence: an Ideal Case*, I address the success of Seeds of Peace's summer camp and dialogue program for Israeli and Arab youth in terms of its encounter structure and its modes of musical interaction.

Sections VII-X pertain to my fieldwork in Jerusalem. I describe the structure of my research design involving Seeds of Peace follow-up regional music programming, Heartbeat Jerusalem, a music-for-peace organization that also brings together Israeli and Palestinian youth, and Project Harmony, a summer camp for Jewish and Arab teens affiliated with the Hand-in-Hand School in Jerusalem. I measure the success of each program according to participants' self-evaluation in the realms of prejudice-reduction (as measured by increased tolerance of, political understanding of, and ability to collaborate successfully with peers from the other side of the conflict) and empowerment / enhanced self-expression. I also examine the dynamics of finding or creating musical common ground in each of these programs.

Based on the literature and my experiences at Seeds of Peace International Camp for Coexistence in Maine, I predict that all three programs will be successful at creating feelings of empowerment and enhanced self-expression among the participants. My analysis suggests that projects that acknowledge the differences of identity of their participants, and have their participants work through their differences using music either as a tool of dialogue or in parallel with political

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2 Throughout this paper, I use the word "performance" to generally refer to the process by which an act of "doing" translates to a state of "being" for the "performer" of the act.

dialogue, will be more successful than programs that simply ignore these differences. In addition, I anticipate that a mixed model of intergroup and interpersonal interaction, as at Seeds of Peace International Camp for Coexistence, will be useful in attaining prejudice-reduction from the musical interaction of Israeli and Palestinian youth through an interpenetration of sociopolitical understanding and personal relationships.

II. THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT AND TRACK TWO DIPLOMACY

The History

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is deeply rooted in history; both Israelis and Palestinians feel a strong, rightful attachment to the disputed land[3] that far precedes the twentieth-century events that are commonly recognized as the beginnings of the present conflict. Jewish claims to the land extend back to the promise God gave to Abraham, as recounted in the Torah, that he and his descendants, a chosen people, would inhabit Canaan. Even though the Jewish people have since been dispersed and persecuted under various empires, some Jews have always remained in their ancestral home.

Palestinians, on the other hand, also have substantial connections to the land. Some claim that they are descendants of the Canaanite peoples who inhabited it even before Abraham arrived; others arrived in the ensuing millennia and lived there for centuries. The "Palestinian" national identity was not well formulated until the nationalist discourses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, around the same time that Zionism, which advocates a return of Jews to their ancestral homeland, was gaining currency as a movement among the Jewish diaspora in Europe. As more Jews fled persecution in Europe to the British Mandate of Palestine, the Arab *fellaheen*—or farmers—who lived in Palestine at the time, felt increasingly concerned that the Jews were taking over the land they inhabited. Both sides grew militant, as Arab gangs and Jewish militias such as the *Irgun* and *Haganah* sprang up, wreaking havoc on one another's communities.

With World War II came the Holocaust, and as six million Jews were killed in Nazi concentration camps, a strong feeling developed in Europe that the Jews indeed needed a homeland. In that context, the newly-formed United Nations passed the Partition Plan in 1947, which split the land into two noncontiguous countries—one majority Jewish and the other majority Arab—with both

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3   The disputed land, as broadly conceived, consists of the present-day borders of Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip. Jerusalem, which is particularly central to a sense of religious ownership of the land, is claimed as a capital city by both parties.

Jerusalem and Bethlehem controlled by the United Nations as international zones. Neither side was completely satisfied, but the Zionists supported the plan nonetheless. The Arab parties rejected the plan, arguing that it was unfair that the Palestinians made up more than two-thirds of the population of Palestine at the time and yet received less than one-half of the land. The Partition was to take effect following British withdrawal from Palestine on May 15, 1948.

On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion declared independence for the new State of Israel, citing the UN Resolution as his justification. Violence ensued as the surrounding Arab nations immediately declared war on the fledgling state in the name of the rights of the Palestinian people. During the war, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were displaced. The Israeli narrative claims that these refugees left voluntarily because the Arab countries assured them that Israel would soon be destroyed, at which point they could return to their homes. In contrast, Palestinian narrative claims that they were all forcefully exiled as the Israelis seized their homes and land. It is for this reason that Palestinians call Israel's Independence Day *al nakba* ("the catastrophe"). Despite refutations on both sides, these explanations of the Palestinian refugee problem are core to each side's narrative of the conflict.

Israel survived the war of 1948, and the Palestinians who had left their homes within the "Green Line"—the border drawn between Israel and Jordan at the end of the war—were not permitted to come back. No Arab countries other than Jordan offered the Palestinians national citizenship, and, moreover, the Palestinians still wanted to return to their land. Therefore, most of the displaced Palestinians remained in refugee camps along the borders of Israel. Meanwhile, those Palestinians who had remained in their homes during the war of 1948 faced their own difficulties as marginalized members of the Israeli citizenry, torn in their allegiances to their Palestinian nationality and their Israeli citizenship.

In 1967, another Arab-Israeli war broke out, in which Israel gained control of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip from Jordan and Egypt, who had occupied these lands after 1948. Palestinians

resented what they viewed as the Israeli occupation of their land, and in 1987, the Palestinian

Liberation Organization (PLO), which was established to reclaim the land the Palestinians had lost in

1948 and had been orchestrating various suicide and hijacking operations against Israeli civilians in the

intervening years, declared an *intifada*—or uprising—against the Israeli "occupiers."[4] Media coverage

of the First Intifada focused on images of Palestinians throwing stones at Israeli tanks, suggesting an

imbalance of power. *Hamas*, another group dedicated to armed resistance against Israel's occupation of

the West Bank and Gaza and its overall existence, also began coordinating suicide bombings within

Israel in 1987. In 1991, the Madrid Peace Conference brought an end to the First Intifada and paved

the way for the Oslo Peace Process to begin in 1993.

     The Oslo Peace Process was a set of negotiations between Yasser Arafat—Chairman of the PLO

—and Yitzhak Rabin—Prime Minister of Israel. It established a Palestinian Authority to govern the

West Bank and Gaza Strip as the first step towards the creation of a Palestinian state, though the Israelis

maintained ultimate sovereignty over the land. The process created hope for a harmonious future

among much of the Israeli and Palestinian populations, and many projects that brought together Israeli

and Palestinian civilians were established during this time in hopes of preparing both societies for the

peace that was to come. The failure of the 2000 summit at Camp David largely destroyed those hopes,

however, since Arafat rejected the terms of an Israeli offer for a Palestinian state.

     In the meantime, the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza had become increasingly

intolerable for the Palestinians, as had Israeli settlement activities in the occupied territories, and in

September of 2000, the Second Intifada broke out. The Palestinian side of this conflict consisted of

suicide bombings against Israeli civilians that were carried out by *Hamas* and other Palestinian militant

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4 The term "occupation" is a loaded one in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is central to a
    Palestinian narrative which claims ultimate ownership of the land they inhabit, which is currently being
    "occupied" by Israel's military forces. However, I will use it throughout this section, cognizant of its
    connotations, because without the concept of an "occupation" and the military structures that sustain it, I do
    not believe that it is possible to understand the mental processes and conditions of daily life that have caused
    the Palestinians to take the actions that they have.

groups; the Israeli side consisted of military reprisals paired with tight military control over the West

Bank and Gaza. Palestinians view the bombers as warriors in the struggle for the liberation of Palestine

from Israeli occupation, calling them "freedom fighters" or "martyrs." Israel views the bombers as

"terrorists" and believes that the state must take whatever defense measures it sees fit in order to stop

them.

Such measures, which include checkpoints and a security barrier, greatly restrict the movements

of Palestinians. Israel uses these tactics to prevent militants from entering the country, and also, the

Palestinians argue, to seize more of their land within the West Bank.[5] In addition, widespread Israeli

Defense Force (IDF) reprisals against the families of suicide bombers successfully deterred further

attacks of this kind. By 2005, strategies like these had helped to end the Second Intifada. The

abatement of suicide attacks confirmed Israel's view that their strict security measures had succeeded,

and the structures of the occupation remain very much intact today.

Having largely failed to secure independence through violence, the Palestinians have turned to

the international Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement, which aims to use international

economic and cultural power to isolate Israel until it agrees to comply with Palestinian positions on

international human rights law. Israel continues to feel besieged on all sides not only by ongoing

rocket attacks from Gaza, but also by Iran's threatened nuclear armament, and the volatility of the Arab

Spring. Under the Netanyahu administration, Israel has also begun building more and more settlements

in the West Bank and around Jerusalem, changing the "facts on the ground" and making a future

Palestinian state less and less geographically viable. In short, the conflict remains as politically

unsolvable as ever.

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5   The "apartheid wall" or "security fence"—terminology varies depending upon one's political position—diverges from
    the Green line of 1967 to form inroads into the West Bank, formalizing the permanence of Israeli settlements there.

Track Two Diplomacy

Peacemaking initiatives in this conflict have generally fallen into one of two categories: 1) formal military and diplomatic actions, such as those undertaken in the Oslo Peace Process, known as "track one diplomacy;" and 2) more informal projects that aim to increase mutual understanding between the Israeli and Palestinian populaces, "track two." The use of simultaneous formal and informal diplomatic initiatives is called "two-track diplomacy"[6] and is recognized as an important strategy for conflict resolution, particularly, as sociologist Sari Hanafi notes, as "the nature of protracted 'ethnic' and colonial conflicts is society-wide and not, in essence, a matter between governments."[7] Accordingly, "many people suggest in this context that the most appropriate 'party' to deal with is the identity group, not the nation-state or even the 'governing structure.'"[8]

Track two diplomacy is widely perceived as necessary in order for any track one diplomacy to be successful, as politicians cannot make the political concessions necessary for peace without popular support. In addition, any treaty would have to be respected by the broader Israeli and Palestinian societies in order to effectively end the conflict. Initiatives of formal track one diplomacy, social activist and scholar Liza Beinart argues, "are limited in their ability to develop creative solutions to conflict because of their character and structure, which restrict flexibility and do nothing to deconstruct barriers of mistrust and suspicion that make negotiations difficult."[9] As facilitator Karen Doubilet writes, "the dream of peace was not realized upon the signing of the Oslo Accords, indicating that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict demands a solution that goes beyond the scope of [track one] diplomacy."[10] Accordingly, track two diplomacy is a critically important piece of any effort to resolve the Israeli-

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6 Sari Hanafi, "Dancing Tango During Peacebuilding: Palestinian-Israeli People-to-People Programs for Conflict Resolution," *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*, 69
7 Ibid, 69
8 Ibid, 69
9 Liza Beinart, "Children as Agents of Peace: Conflict transformation, peacebuilding and track two diplomacy amongst children in Israel/Palestine," Doctoral Thesis, University of Western Australia, pp. 38-39
10 Karen Doubilet, "Coming Together: Theory and Practice of Intergroup Encounters for Palestinians, Arab-Israelis, and Jewish-Israelis," *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*, 49

Palestinian conflict.

As Doubilet writes, the transformation contemplated by track two diplomacy "requires a fundamental shift in the personal attitudes of the people on both sides—toward the development of a new psychological repertoire that favors coexistence."[11] Rafi Nets-Zehngut and Daniel Bar Tal explain the dynamics of such a shift in "The Intractable Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Possible Pathways to Peace." As a prolonged intractable conflict, the Israeli-Palestinian dispute perpetuates and is perpetuated by several psychosocial elements. The first is "collective memory of conflict," in which each side has written an historical narrative that portrays itself "in a positive light and as being the sole victim, while delegitimizing the rival."[12] The second is "ethos of conflict," a configuration of societal beliefs that orient that society regarding such themes as "the justness of one's goals; security; patriotism; unity; positive collective in-group images; one's own victimization; delegitimizing the opponent; and peace."[13] Finally, "collective emotional orientation of conflict" relates to the societies' shared emotions. In this instance, both Israeli and Palestinian societies are dominated by fear.

One of the most effective methods of changing such psychosocial dynamics is People-to-People (P2P) programming, which facilitates encounters between Palestinian and Israeli civilians that are "based on the idea that bringing people together can help to improve relations between the groups, promote positive attitude and behavior change toward 'the other,' diffuse negative stereotypes, and foster friendships between the sides."[14] Doubilet cites fellow facilitator Mohammed Abu-Nimer when she writes that "in light of the lack of contact that characterizes Palestinian-Israeli relations—in addition to those of Arabs and Jews within Israel—'intergroup encounters are one of the few remaining channels for relationship building"[15] in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

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11 Ibid, 49
12 Rafi Nets-Zehngut and Daniel Bar-Tal, "The Intractable Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Possible Pathways to Peace," *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*, 4
13 Ibid, 4
14 Doubilet, 49
15 Ibid, 49

III. STRUCTURING ENCOUNTERS

Arranging a meeting or activity with Israelis and Palestinians is extremely complicated. Outside of organized encounters, Israelis and Palestinians rarely interact with one another in positive ways, since their societies either orchestrate opposition to, fear of, or avoidance of, the other side. Yet, to succeed, any meeting between Israelis and Palestinians must be structured as an empathetic, safe, open forum for productive engagement with the other. It must balance the asymmetrical nature of the conflict that the participants bring into the encounter space, and it must hold promise for the participants that their work will amount to more than *kalam fadi*, or "empty talk," an Arabic phrase that is used by Arab and Israeli skeptics to deride what are perceived as hollow peacemaking efforts.[16] Palestinians, in particular, must be convinced that they are not engaging in *tatbi'a,* or "normalization," of conditions under the occupation by agreeing to talk to Israelis.[17] As Mohammed Abu Nimer and Ned Lazarus write, "Israelis and Palestinians must go to extraordinary lengths to dialogue, because their societies go to extraordinary lengths to limit relationships with each other."[18]

The Contact Hypothesis and its Critiques

The original impetus for the creation of encounters between Israelis and Palestinians stems from the "contact hypothesis," a theory that states that simply bringing hostile groups of people together, under the right conditions, can reduce prejudice and improve intergroup relations. Developed by social psychologist Gordon Allport in the effort to integrate black and white America in the 1950s, the contact hypothesis requires the following conditions:

There must be equal status between groups, at least within the contact situation;
There must be institutional support (the presence of egalitarian social norms);

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16 Mohammed Abu Nimer and Ned Lazarus, "The Peacebuilder's Paradox and the Dynamics of Dialogue: A Psychosocial Portrait of Israeli-Palestinian Encounters," *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*, 21
17 Ibid, 22
18 Ibid, 21

There must be "acquaintance/friendship potential," which means that contact must be "intimate" in nature and must be of sufficient frequency and duration for intergroup friendships to develop; Contact must involve the mutual pursuit of a superordinate goal (a goal whose attainment requires the effort of both groups).[19]

The contact hypothesis was groundbreaking and greatly influenced the drive to integrate the US school system in the 1950s. Allport's theory makes clear, though, that without all of the prerequisite conditions, such encounters may be fruitless or even detrimental to intergroup understanding. For example, they run the risk of "essentialization," whereby a cultural encounter of insufficient duration, or whose power imbalances are not sufficiently accounted for, actually ends up reinforcing the stereotypes it had intended to shatter, as cultural differences ossify into " 'incommensurable and irreconcilable units' that further legitimize differences in power and structural inequality."[20] Furthermore, as Beinart notes, "The geopolitical reality of most [protracted social conflicts] means it is extremely difficult for the conditions set out by Allport to be met on the ground. As a result, programs that rely purely on the contact hypothesis in conflict societies are often problematic and frequently have limited success in permanently decreasing intergroup prejudice."[21] Cynics in the Middle East often label such programs derogatorily as "hummus coexistence," meaning a program whose political understanding goes no deeper than a realization that everybody likes hummus.[22]

Though social psychologists Stuart Cook and Thomas Pettigrew, in developing contact theory, tried to make the contact hypothesis more viable by altering some of its necessary conditions, there is debate over its core postulate. The contact hypothesis is based on the assumption that prejudice is fundamentally a problem of the individual and his or her internal psychology. Therefore, stereotypes are essentially cases of misinformation that can be corrected rationally through personal contact with a member of the stereotyped group.[23] However, several subsequent theories have emerged in the wake of

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19 Doubilet, 50
20 Ibid, 46
21 Ibid, 46
22 Abu Nimer and Lazarus, 26.
23 H.D. Forbes, *Ethnic Conflict*, 26.

the contact hypothesis that have shown different dynamics to be at play. Morton Deutsch and Muzafer Sherif's "Realistic Conflict Theory" holds that people's attitudes toward one another are functions of the incentives for competition or cooperation inherent in their situations.[24] This theory is illustrated by the Robber's Cave Experiment, where boys at a summer camp developed ethnocentric behavior from random division into two competing groups, which then dissolved when cooperation was required for a superordinate goal.[25]

    A contrasting theory is Henri Tajfel and John Turner's "Social Identity Theory." This concept explores the fundamental human need for pride, status, and legitimacy within group membership— rather than explicit situation-based incentives for cooperation or competition—as a motivator of human interaction. It bases such reasoning and its critique of realistic conflict theory on observable phenomena in the context of race relations. For example, it does not seem to be true that intergroup attitudes between blacks and whites in the United States is dependent upon incentives for conflict or cooperation in a given context.[26] Moreover, the self-denigration manifested in many oppressed communities argues strongly against realistic conflict theory, as the oppressed should hate their oppressors rather than internalizing their prejudices.[27] Even in lab settings with artificially-created groups A and B, people in group A would rather have more money relative to group B than more money overall.[28] To explain these phenomena, Social Identity Theory sets up the dichotomy between interpersonal and intergroup interaction.

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24 Forbes, 30.
25 Ibid, 30.
26 Ibid, 32.
27 Ibid, 33.
28 Ibid, 34.

Interpersonal vs. Intergroup Interaction

Interpersonal interaction stresses the individuality of each participant over his or her national or ethnic identity and aims to connect participants on a personal level. Contact theory generally relies on interpersonal interaction as the key to overcoming prejudice. Intergroup behavior, on the other hand, occurs, according to Sherif, "whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members *in terms of their* group identification."[29] According to Hewstone and Brown's argument in *Contact and Conflict in Intergroup Encounters,*

> To the extent that the contact takes places [*sic*] on an 'interpersonal' basis it is unlikely to modify intergroup attitudes and behavior since the two domains are controlled, we suggest, by different psychological processes. What is more probable, if contact is confined to social interaction between individuals *qua* individuals, is that a few interpersonal relationships will change but that the intergroup situation will remain substantially unaltered. If, on the other hand, the contact can be characterized in 'group' terms, that is as interaction between individuals *qua* group members, or in ways that alter the structure of group relations, then genuine changes at the intergroup level may be expected.[30]

For an example of these dynamics, let us examine a phenomenon called "subtyping." Yousef, an Arab, could emerge from an encounter situation having made friends with a Jewish counterpart, Yossi. But instead of deciding, "all Jews aren't so bad," he might instead subtype his new Jewish friend Yossi by concluding, "Yossi's a good guy, but he's unique among Jews. Most Jews are violent and inhuman."[31] The larger issue that subtyping poses is the generalization of prejudice-reduction to the outgroup, where the outgroup consists of whichever racial or ethnic group to which the participant does not belong. Even Allport himself acknowledges, "People may come to take for granted the particular situation in which the contact occurs but fail completely to generalize this experience."[32] The interpersonal-intergroup distinction helps avoid this problem.

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29 Sherif 1966a, 12, as quoted in Miles Hewstone and Rupert Brown, *Contact and Conflict in Intergroup Encounters*, 13.
30 Brown and Turner, 1981, p.60, as cited in Hewstone and Brown, 34.
31 Beinart, 46
32 Allport, 1979, 276, as cited in Hewstone and Brown, 16.

The Dilemma of Politics

Intergroup interaction does not necessarily mean political discussion—it could also include cultural or religious identity issues—But the political issues of the conflict make themselves present regardless of what form of interaction is taking place in an encounter situation. Sari Hanafi's "Dancing Tango During Peacebuilding" provides examples of purely cultural or academic Israeli-Palestinian P2P programs that have failed due to lack of structured integration of political dialogue. Though organized as apolitical, the political situation would impose itself, without fail, upon the encounter. Sometimes travel restrictions imposed on the Palestinian participants made the encounter necessarily political, as in the case of a conference on moral philosophy in education held jointly by the Spinoza Institute and Al Quds University. Other times, the political elements of the conflict simply spilled into a cultural space, as occurred in a meeting of Israeli and Palestinian journalists in Neve Shalom. In the end, Hanafi concludes, "the way to resolve the conflict is not to ignore or hide it, but to present it openly in an honest manner in order to prevent it from accumulating and merging with other problems, creating irremediable rupture between the belligerents."[33]

We are then confronted with the question of when, and how, to introduce political discussion. A cultural or interfaith dialogue—even of an intergroup nature—is far easier for Israelis and Palestinians than a political one since there is significantly more common ground between their two cultures and Abrahamic religious faiths than there is between their mutually-negating historical narratives and mutually-contradictory lived political experiences.[34] However, without political discussion, participants often leave feeling like they haven't gotten to discuss any of the "real" issues, making the dialogue encounter amount to nothing more than *kalam fadi*, or "empty talk."

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33 Hanafi, 78.
34 Ifat Maoz, Zvi Bekerman, and Mara Getz Sheftel, "Can Talking to Each Other Really Make a Difference? Perspectives on Reconciliation-Aimed Dialogues in the Conflict Between Israeli-Jews and Palestinians," *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*, 43.

In their study of professional facilitators of Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian encounters, Ifat Maoz, Zvi Bekerman, and Mara Getz Sheftel found that most facilitators tried to begin with a discussion based in less controversial topics such as hobbies, culture or religion, and later proceed to a political discussion, after some common ground between the participants had been established. As Said, a Palestinian facilitator, commented:

> Actually these cultural workshops do a lot for us and for the participants, cause we notice that *after* the cultural workshop we can do the political workshop ... and if I know your culture and you already know my culture, *we* have a common place that we can pick up from to discuss a lot of things, like talk about the problem between us, you are the Israeli, I'm the Palestinian.[35]

I myself found a similar progression to have been quite effective when I participated in an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue process at Seeds of Peace in 2004. We began by learning each others' names and about each others' passions and families so that by the time we got to politics a few sessions later, we could no longer essentialize one another purely as oppositional political forces.

Dialogue Skills

Such political dialogue, however, requires certain skills in order for it to be truly productive. As peacemaker Leah Green warns, "If dialogue is attempted too early, it can be unproductive, with each participant defending his or her own position and very little listening taking place."[36] The first element of productive communication in a dialogue setting is compassionate listening. As Green explains, this skill is about offering "the gift of nonjudgmental listening to another person."[37] It requires a commitment to hear the person out, even if you disagree with—or are hurt by—everything he or she says, so that he or she feels acknowledged and can, in turn, listen to you. By using compassionate listening, participants "learn to put their preconceived opinions aside and listen to people they may

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35 Ibid, 43.
36 Leah Green, "Compassionate Listening with Israelis and Palestinians," *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*, 106.
37 Ibid, 106.

previously have been too angry with or too afraid of." Such openness facilitates an expanded

perspective which can accommodate "more of the complexities of the conflict."[38]

Another important mode of communication used in encounter situations is nonviolent

communication (NVC). As illustrated by Hagit Lifshitz, Arnina Kashtan, and Miki Kashtan in

"Beacon for Peace in the Promised Land: Transforming Palestinian-Israeli Relationships with

Nonviolent Communication," NVC contains four steps. The first is the transformation of judgments

into observations. This entails the use of "I" statements in order to avoid characterizations that might

provoke defensiveness in the other. Steps two and three involve statements of feelings and needs. In

step two, the facilitator demonstrates compassionate listening as a participant states his or her feelings

and needs, and in step three, the participant who was just listened to exercises the same listening skills

as one of his or her partners from the other side takes their turn. Step four involves making a request—

offering the other side a "concrete 'doable' suggestion as to the way she or he can contribute to our

well-being and assist us in fulfilling our needs."[39] NVC rests on the belief that "if we stay with the

principles of NVC, with the sole intention to give and receive compassionately, and do everything we

can to let others know this is our only motive, they will join us in the process and eventually we will be

able to respond compassionately to one another."[40]

Measuring Success

Maoz et al. ascertained, in their interviews of professional facilitators across the region, that

while many facilitators entered the field because they aspired to create political change, few of them

felt that their programs had actually contributed to political change in a tangible way. They often felt

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38 Ibid, 107.

39 Hagit Lifshitz, Arnina Kashtan, and Miki Kashtan, "Beacon for Peace in the Promised Land: Transforming
   Palestinian-Israeli Relationships with Nonviolent Communication," *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*, 112.

40 Ibid, 113.

despair; as Effie, a Jewish facilitator noted, "you get very depressed when you see that there are so many small (encounter) groups…but you cannot even make a small…impression on the government that is going God knows where."[41] Many of them judged the success of their dialogues to be easily and profoundly measurable on a personal level, though, when "the people who were in the group felt that this was a major influence that they have in their own personal life."[42] A Palestinian facilitator named Fatima added, "It's a successful encounter when I move the group to think. Like they begin to think about the other in a different way…much more when they are going back home and asking themselves questions about themselves and about their relations with the other."[43] Such change is observed in programs with adults and adolescents, and the above frameworks for encounter organization hold true for both age groups.[44] Particularly gratifying for Galit, a Jewish facilitator, were the participants she worked with in dialogue who went on to become professional facilitators. In addition, Galit noted optimistically, some of her participants rise to "positions where they can influence society."[45] This seems to be, according to Maoz et al.'s analysis, the only way for such programs to "'break the glass wall' and also affect the outside political reality."[46]

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41 Maoz et al., 44.
42 Ibid, 44.
43 Ibid, 44.
44 Beinart, 225.
45 Maoz et al., 44.
46 Ibid, 46.

IV. MUSIC IN THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

The mountain air is clear as wine	The gate of our city shall not be locked
And the scent of the pines	For I shall go to pray
Is carried on the breeze of twilight	I shall knock at the gates
With the sound of bells	And I shall open up the gates
And in the slumber of tree and stone	O River Jordan, you shall wash
Captured in her dream	My face with your holy water
The city that sits solitary	And you shall erase, O River Jordan
And in its midst is a wall.	The remaining footprints of the barbarians.
…	…
We have returned to the cisterns	For Jerusalem is ours, and the house is ours
To the market and to the market-place	With our own hands we shall restore the glory of Jerusalem
A shofar calls out on the Temple Mount	
In the Old City.	With our own hands, we shall bring peace to Jerusalem
Jerusalem of gold, and of bronze and of light	
Behold I am a violin for all your songs.	Peace shall come to Jerusalem.
- Naomi Shemer, *Jerusalem of Gold* [47]	- Fayruz, *The Flower of Cities*[48]

Music has been used as a socio-political force throughout the course of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The two above songs, the Israeli *Jerusalem of Gold* and the Arab *The Flower of Cities*, pay tribute to the beauty of Jerusalem, as appreciated and appropriated by both sides of the conflict in 1967 just as East Jerusalem, and its Old City, changed hands. Songs like these are noteworthy because, as Joseph Massad writes in "Liberating Songs: Palestine Put to Music," "If national anthems exemplify a kind of emotive music that represents the nation and presents itself as an icon of the nationalist principle, nationalist songs carry that logic further in their mobilizing capacities to stir the emotions of the masses for the nationalist cause."[49] As such, he continues, "studying the role of song in political struggles in crucial to the understanding of how the popular and the political interact."[50]

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47 http://www.jerusalemofgold.co.il/translations.html
48 Joseph Massad, "Liberating Songs: Palestine Put to Music," *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture*, 182.
49 Ibid, 175.
50 Ibid, 177.

Music for the Liberation of Palestine

Two articles in the book *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture* provide a comprehensive background and analysis on the role of music in Israeli and Palestinian societies as they have evolved over the twentieth century. Massad's "Liberating Songs: Palestine Put to Music" describes the trajectory of music that emerged about Palestine in the Arab world. He starts by discussing the music of influential Egyptian composer Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab, who cast the liberation of Palestine as a Nasserist pan-Arab project. Massad then turns to the Rahbani brothers in Lebanon, who composed songs for Fayruz, one of the foremost stars of the Arab world. Their music focused on immortalizing Jerusalem after the Arab loss of 1967, particularly utilizing imagery of Christ's suffering to metaphorically express the suffering of the city of Jerusalem itself—and its Palestinian inhabitants—under Jewish occupation.

Finally, Massad focuses on the music of the Palestinian underground. He talks about the PLO's central band, *Al-firqa al-Markaziya*, which wrote revolutionary songs to inspire resistance. *Firqat al Funuun al-Sha'biya*, another Palestinian musical troupe, inspired solidarity with the Palestinians by performing revolutionary music at festivals throughout the Arab world. Songs like Fayruz's, which invoke specific cities and places in Palestine, Massad argues, were critical in preserving Palestinian cultural ownership of those locations, even in exile. Resistance poetry, such as Mahmoud Darwish's "Record, I am an Arab," was often appropriated for lyrical use in songs protesting the conditions of Israeli occupation:

> Record,
> I am an Arab
> My identification number is 50,000
> …
> Record … at the top of the first page;
> I do not hate people
> And I aggress against no one
> However, were I ever to get hungry
> I would eat the flesh of my occupier

> Beware, then, beware … of my hunger
> And of my anger![51]

Such declamations against Israeli occupation have now found their way into a new genre: hip-hop.

Developed in the United States and used around the world to speak out about the difficulties of living in

poverty and under oppression, hip-hop has been appropriated by the Palestinians as a powerful vehicle

to protest the Israeli occupation.

The impact of such musical activities is convincingly described in David A. McDonald's

Ethnomusicology article, "Poetics and the Performance of Violence in Israel/Palestine." He opens with

a powerful quote from a Palestinian intifada singer in Ramallah in 2004:

> I know exactly what my music can do. My music brings people out into the streets, chanting, singing, dancing, demanding their rights. This is why I was arrested so many times. The first thing they [Israeli soldiers] do is arrest the musicians…I hope that my singing inspires more people to fight, to take back their lives. Music is resistance. Look around you. Look at how all of these people have come together for a single cause. What I do on stage and what martyrs do on the streets are one and the same, just with different instruments.[52]

McDonald further investigates the processes by which music can be used to resist acts of

violence, by analyzing both as performances. As he writes, "the power of violence lies not in its

capacity to kill, but rather in its capacity to communicate meaning, to instantiate power, legitimacy, and

history, over those *not* physically or directly targeted in the act itself."[53] Such analysis places music

and violence on the same stage, that of social performance—a stage upon which music and violence

can either effectively support or oppose one another. By analyzing the Palestinian intermixture of

iconic folkloric traditions, such as the *debke* (a folk dance) and funeral processions, with songs and acts

of political protest, McDonald provides us with a framework through which to understand the power

that such musical performances have for the Palestinian people. They provide "collective catharsis and

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51 Ibid, 190.
52 David A. McDonald, "Poetics and the Performance of Violence in Israel/Palestine," *Ethnomusicology* 53.1, 58.
53 Ibid, 59.

release, creating a felt synchrony in movement, thought, and action. This social synchrony allows for participants to experience the nation, if only temporarily, and transcend the political realities within which they live."[54]

Songs of the Land of Israel

Nationalistic music serves a similar purpose in Israeli society, which Amy Horowitz demonstrates in "Dueling Nativities: Zehava Ben Sings Umm Kulthum." As early as the 1880s, immigrants to Israel were taught a collection of songs, "Shirei Eretz Yisrael" (Songs of the Land of Israel), by traveling song-teachers "to aid the nation-building project" by creating "a sense of Israeliness" in music.[55] Once the State of Israel was established, such musical identity-formation was perpetuated over the government-controlled airwaves.

This music was defined in a Eurocentric manner. "Shirei Eretz Yisrael" represented a musical "home" for the new Eastern European Israelis because it combined Russian folksongs with Hebrew lyrics. As Horowitz explores extensively in her article, though, such a definition excluded the vast number of *mizrahi* Jews who were also immigrating to Palestine at this time. To the extent "Shirei Eretz Yisrael" used *mizrahi* music styles, it was in a "stereotypical[ly] Orientalized"[56] manner.[57] Mizrahi musicians were marginalized in the creation of the musical soundscape of Israel. Even after *mizrahi* commercial success in the 1980s finally prompted the national radio to play *mizrahi* music, it was still limited to a single weekly two-hour program.

Mizrahi musicians cried out against this ghettoization of their music,[58] as "claiming a stake in

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54 Ibid, 68.
55 Amy Horowitz, "Dueling Nativities: Zehava Ben Sings Umm Kulthum," *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture*, 208.
56 Ibid, 208.
57 Orientalism, according to Edward Said, is "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience," (Said, *Orientalism*, 1), namely through exoticization and fetishization of otherness to be controlled by Western imperialism.
58 Horowitz, 216.

the soundtrack [of Israel] meant claiming a stake in the nation."[59] The discrimination faced by *mizrahi*

Jews in the musical world mirrored the sociopolitical dynamics of their situation in Israeli society. As a

society that defined itself as European and Jewish in origin—and particularly one which was

continually in conflict with its Arab neighbors—*mizrahi* flavor, with its origins in Arab musical

practice, did not express what Israel, as a society, thought it was or wanted to be.

Challenging the Musical Boundaries of Israel

Certain artists, such as Zehava Ben, a Moroccan Jewish singer, challenged these borders. Her

popularization of Hebrew songs with Turkish melodies such as "Tipat Mazal" prompted reactions like,

"The Turks have conquered the city."[60] Her 1995 album of songs that were originally recorded by

Egyptian superstar Umm Kulthum, released after Yitzhak Rabin's assassination, raised a number of

political issues. Umm Kulthum, who was arguably the musical icon of Arab song in the twentieth

century, spent much of her career singing the Egyptian nationalist music of Nasser, an artist whose Pan-

Arabism was explicitly anti-Israeli. Moreover, Ben appropriated Umm Kulthum's musical legacy not

as an orientalized quotation—as "Shirei Eretz Yisrael" had treated *mizrahi* music—but as her

inheritance as a Jewish Israeli of North African Arab origin. Zehava Ben's 1995 album was extremely

problematic for the ethnic boundaries that Israel had set up for itself, politically and musically,

particularly because Ben performed her music at both high-profile Israeli and Arab events. Horowitz

explains the power of such musical expression:

> Zehava Ben's performances allow her audience to invest in otherwise contradictory
> elements, to momentarily realign nonaligned political positions (most notably, Muslim
> and Jew, Israeli and Egyptian, European and Middle Eastern Israeli, disenfranchised and
> mainstream.) She allows her audiences to temporarily cross impenetrable borders.[61]

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59 Ibid, 211.
60 Ibid, 203.
61 Ibid, 223.

She goes on to say,

> Her persona and performance also raise the question of whether cultural border crossings such as these can (even temporarily) override the hostilities in the Middle East, and whether that suspension of conflict can create any far-ranging possibilities for change. …. If war assumes imaginary stabilities, these musical instabilities offer a temporary alternative imaginary that might have consequences for the rehearsal of peace. If these border crossings do not create peace, they do, at least temporarily, destabilize war.[62]

Ethnomusicologist Ben Brinner elaborates on the concept of music as a tool for transcending cultural boundaries in his book, *Playing Across a Divide: Israeli-Palestinian Musical Encounters.* Brinner completes a study of the "ethnic music" scene in Israel by focusing on three bands and artists that challenge the national boundaries of music in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through their work. Alei Hazayit, a band made up of an Israeli Jewish lead singer and several Arab instrumentalists, arranged *Shirei Eretz Yisrael* in an Arab style, a transgressive act that Brinner labels "revolutionary."[63] Bustan Abraham, a group whose process will be discussed more in depth in the next section, strove to create a new form of musical expression grounded in "East" and "West" that could transcend the borders of the conflict and speak to both Jewish and Arab communities. Israeli ethnomusicologist Edwin Seroussi organized a series of meetings called the "Mediterranean Music Dialogues" for musicians across the Middle East to learn from one another's traditions. It might be a bit presumptuous to make a direct connection between multicultural music-making and political and military actions in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Even so, such musical encounters reveal elements of musical-political interaction that are essential for understanding the multiethnic dynamics of Israeli and Palestinian societies that perpetuate, but also allow room to break, the cycle of violence.

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62 Ibid, 224.
63 Ben Brinner, *Playing Across a Divide: Israeli-Palestinian Musical Encounters*, 73.

V. MUSIC AS A PEACEMAKING TOOL IN ETHNIC CONFLICT

"In creating together, people open their hearts, drop their defenses, and discover deep appreciation and connection. That's a solid psychological phenomenon, and a fact: that creative efforts and cultural exchanges are a useful and effective common meeting ground for peace, providing activities that explore one's self and bridge gaps between others."[64]

- Judy Kuriansky, *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*

The above quotation from psychologist Judy Kuriansky, editor of *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*,

bears witness to the transformative power of co-creation, another medium through which music has

acted as a peacemaking tool in ethnic conflict. The literature on musical conflict transformation is

diverse, but it tends to focus on three general areas of investigation: identity-transformation and

prejudice-reduction, finding musical common ground, and empowerment and self-expression.

Identity-Transformation and Prejudice-Reduction

Ethnomusicologist Kjell Skyllstad's article, "Salaam Shalom: Singing for Peace Between

Palestinians and Israelis," makes the claim that "music can be a tool for integration, inclusion, group

cohesion, collective cooperation, repairing social relationships, and facilitating dialogue between

groups in conflict."[65] These activities fit under the rubric of using music for identity-transformation and

prejudice-reduction. Fellow ethnomusicologist Craig Robertson, in "Music and Conflict

Transformation in Bosnia: Constructing and Reconstructing the Normal," theorizes such

transformation. He posits that the creation of a shared set of values and beliefs between conflicting

groups can create the foundation of a new shared cultural identity, which can, in turn, motivate

negotiations for conflict transformation. Noting that "Cultural channels, of which music is one, are

considered by many to be effective means through which these beliefs and values can be propagated

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64 Judy Kuriansky, "The Arts and Heroes in Building Peace," *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*, 155.
65 Kjell Skyllstad, "Salaam Shalom: Singing for Peace Between Palestinians and Israelis," *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*, 177.

and reinforced," and that "music is increasingly broadly considered to be an effective resource with which to build shared cultural identities, since it represents the values and power structures of the societies from which it originated," he concludes that "the creation of new music should contain values and power structures that are representative of a newly formed social group."[66] Teaching and performing this new music, he notes, "is also deemed to be an effective means of propagating and reinforcing these new shared values."[67]

Robertson's theory that musical structures shape social interaction and subsequent identity formation in musical encounters is put into practice by many projects that aim to harness the power of music for conflict transformation. For example, Israeli conductor Daniel Barenboim calls his West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, which is made up of promising young classical musicians from around the Middle East, a "Sovereign Independent Republic." Ethnomusicologist Solveig Riiser, in "National Identity and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," summarizes Barenboim's claim that the "'flat' structure that occurs through music, a point where everyone is interdependent while at the same time expressing their own narrative and subjectivity … makes the orchestra a 'utopia' or 'alternative social model.'"[68] And indeed, Riiser notes, "the Divan musicians live their lives and play music together at the workshop as if they were in an alternative society."[69] Craig Robertson shows a similar dynamic in his discussion of Most Duša, an interreligious choir based in Sarajevo. He argues that within the choir, the musical structures that govern interaction replace the socio-ethnic structures that govern interaction in post-war Bosnia. Robertson comments, "This level of structure and possibility of progression and pride in achievements seems to be felt to be absent from most of current Bosnian society, and members of Most Duša seem to cling to the choir as evidence that life was very different in pre-war Bosnia, coupled with

66 Craig Robertson, "Music and Conflict Transformation in Bosnia: Constructing and Reconstructing the
   Normal," *Music and Arts in Action*, 2.2 (2010), 40.
67 Ibid, 40.
68 Solveig Riiser, "National Identity and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," *Music and Arts in Action* 2.2
   (2010), 23.
69 Ibid, 23.

the hope of change for the future."[70]

Robertson's theory also applies to listeners of this shared music. In "Creating a Culture of Peace: The Performing Arts in Interethnic Negotiations," Skyllstad describes the formation of a multi-ethnic Bosnian ensemble, "Azra," in Norway, "with the purpose of helping the [Bosnian] refugees living in Norway and preparing them for resettling in a multi-ethnic Bosnia of the future."[71] Azra utilized the *sevdalinka*, a musical form cherished by all Bosnians and itself "evidence of commonalities among the Bosnians, as an alternative to the political 'general understanding' locked in the alleged differences along ethnic lines."[72] Azra's performances in refugee reception centers and culture clubs were successful because the Bosnian refugee community in Norway yearned for songs of its homeland. After the first six months of evaluation, Skyllstad found a strengthened shared Bosnian cultural identity among the Serbian, Croatian and Bosniak refugees who attended Azra performances, as well as improved social relations among the ethnic groups.[73]

Vegar Jordanger describes a program called Peace Through Art, which organized dialogue sessions between rock bands from Russia and Chechnya. As the culmination of the project, the bands performed together. At the event, the music and a visible transgression of national boundaries by groups from both sides of the bitter conflict prompted a Russian woman in the audience to acknowledge a newfound appreciation for shared identity. In the middle of the concert, she left her seat and came to the stage, weeping as she declaimed: "We don't want war. Nobody wants the war. We are just human beings, husbands and wives, and the soldiers are our children."[74] The audience and musicians, rather than being alarmed at her taking the stage, were all moved. The literature, thus,

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70 Robertson, 48.
71 Kjell Skyllstad, "Creating a Culture of Peace: The Performing Arts in Interethnic Negotiations," *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, 4 (2000), 8.
72 Ibid, 8.
73 Ibid, 8.
74 Vegar Jordanger, "Verbal and Musical Dialogues in the North Caucasus – Creating Transnational Citizenship through Art," *Educação para a Cidadania Europeia com as Artes*, 97.

clearly shows music to be a tool that can be utilized effectively to create new structures of shared identity, both for performers and listeners, across conflict lines.

How does the creation of a shared identity translate to prejudice-reduction in these situations? Skyllstad described a study done in Norway of the *Resonant Community*, which involved three years of intercultural music programs at the middle school level. Results comparing attitudes over the three-year period "showed that intercultural music making breaks down prejudice in children, leading to reduced ethnic conflicts in school (mobbing and harassment) while strengthening individual identity and self-esteem among minority children."[75] In Norway, learning one another's musical languages gave children the tools to interact more productively with one another in a non-musical realm.

Music Therapy Techniques in Dialogue

We also see strong contributions to the theory of music and conflict transformation, specifically related to the question of linking identity-formation to prejudice-reduction, from the field of music therapy. First, studies have shown that communal singing is one of a select set of human activities, which includes orgasm and childbirth, that causes the release of oxytocin in its participants, a hormone that induces feelings of trust and connectedness.[76] Second, in "Salaam Shalom," Skyllstad explains the concept of *peak experiences*, "strong sensory impressions" that "facilitate a sensation of expanded time and place, leading to a positive change in self-appraisal and world outlook, and to the establishment of a new relationship to others."[77] The combination of simultaneous neural connections produced in a peak experience leads to permanent synaptic encoding – a literal change in the configuration of the brain that impacts future thought and emotion accordingly. Quoting Kenneth Bruscia, a prominent

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75 Skyllstad, "Singing Salaam Shalom." 178.
76 C Grape et al., "Does singing promote well-being?: an empirical study of professional and amateur singers during a singing lesson," *Integrated Physiological Behavioral Sciences* 38.1 (2003), 65.
77 Skyllstad, "Singing Salaam Shalom" Ibid, 177.

music therapist, Skyllstad notes:

> Therapy should facilitate peak experiences, those sublime moments wherein one is able to transcend and integrate splits within the person, within the world. Since the arts facilitate the occurrences of peak experiences, aesthetic endeavors are seen to be a central aspect of life and therefore of therapy.[78]

As ethnic conflicts—especially the Israeli-Palestinian conflict—rest on seemingly insurmountable splits among individuals and communities and contain much that needs to be healed, Skyllstad posits that the arts, as facilitators of peak experiences, should be able to play a major role in reconciling those differences.

A final music therapy concept relevant to this discussion is that of "collective vulnerability." Collective vulnerability is described as a group experience of "interdependence with fellow human beings...activated feelings of vulnerability and the need for being a part of something greater than oneself."[79] It is a state that can be triggered by certain kinds of musical interaction, and has been shown to be particularly effective in contexts where musical and political dialogue are intertwined. Jordanger describes a situation in which the Russian and Chechen bands in Peace Through Art became stuck in dichotomized thinking about their conflict in terms of right and wrong actions. However, he notes that "music made it possible to transcend the "black and white" moral discourse, and start from a new point of reference; unity based on the experience of collective vulnerability, an emerging shared consciousness, and an implicit understanding among the musicians of the importance of belonging to a group of collaborators that want to contribute to peace building."[80] As he concludes, "It is through joint music making that dichotomized linguistically based thinking is replaced by collective vulnerability and dialogical mode of thought."[81]

As mentioned in Section III, *Structuring Encounters*, programs like these are often best planned

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78 Ibid, pp. 177-178.
79 Jordanger, 88.
80 Ibid, pp. 88-89.
81 Ibid, 99.

when they first establish common ground before proceeding to confront the core issues of the conflict at hand. For musicians who are engaged in political dialogue, playing together helps reinforce a shared foundation—a love of making music—from which they can attempt to confront the difficult issues that divide them. As noted by Nurit Cohen Evron in "Conflict and Peace: Challenges for Arts Educators," the arts themselves, as sociocultural signifiers, can be used effectively as jumping-off points for political discussion.[82] Group musical improvisation develops the sensitivity of communication that is required for successful political dialogue, and finally, joint music-making provides an emotionally-based superordinate goal towards which the group can strive. Superordinate goals, as we recall, are one of the critical program elements both contact theory and its critiques set out for prejudice-reduction in encounters. The dynamics of this process are described by a member of a multiethnic youth choir in Bosnia:

> In the times that were really difficult and challenging, we had to focus on the music. So that sort of as our superordinate goal, was perfect. That's why it works, that's why this whole thing functions. If it were just some group of people getting together to talk about their experiences, it would have folded three years ago. But the fact that we do have the music to focus on and we all agree on that. What I think is amazing about the choir is that we learn to sing each other's songs.[83]

Finding Musical Common Ground

The young participant featured in the above quote touches on another important element of musical encounters, and the second conceptual framework that the field of music and conflict transformation seeks to investigate: Where can musical common ground be found in ethnic conflict scenarios, and what are the advantages and disadvantages of looking for it in different locations? There are three major trends that appear in the literature: performing a shared past, either imagined or real; using a common contemporary medium of expression to establish present-day common ground; or

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82 Nurit Cohen Evron, "Conflict and Peace: Challenges for Arts Educators," *International Handbook of Research in Arts Education*, pp. 1040-1042.
83 Craig Zelizer, "The Role of Artistic Processes of Peacebuilding in Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Arts and Peace*, 8.

creating a synthesis of musical styles that point the way to a shared future.

Most Duša provides a prime example of the performance of a shared past. As Robertson points out, Sarajevo used to be the most tolerant and ecumenical city in Bosnia-in-Herzegovina and the members of Most Duša agree that "Bosnia-in-Herzegovina was a 'model for the world'; an exemplar of how different religious communities could live peaceably and cooperatively together."[84] Most Duša sings liturgical music from all of the faiths that used to live in harmony in Sarajevo, and for the members of the choir, singing the songs of these faiths side-by-side is "remembering what it is like to be 'normal' again."[85] "They feel their performances enable audiences to embark on this remembering" and "that this act of remembering through music will help communities re-learn how to co-operate and 'un'-learn their nationalistic tendencies."[86] The present-day situation in Sarajevo has been drastically altered by the war, though, and many of the choir members expressed doubt that the utopia they remember is restorable. As one member commented, "Music will not fix Bosnia;"[87] another remarked, "Bosnia needs a kick up the ass, not more music."[88] Often, a shared past can feel more like a fantasy.

Barenboim's West-Eastern Divan Orchestra finds common ground in the contemporary practice of Western classical music. Its theory is that the "universal metaphysical language of music becomes the link, it is the language of the continuous dialogue that these young people have with each other."[89] But this theory is problematic. Western art music may be a space of common ground for the aspiring virtuosos who inhabit it and even sectors of their respective societies, but it is by no means a "universal language." It is culturally inflected towards the Occident both in content and context, and Riiser shows how this lack of rootedness in the local culture creates "a conflict transformation amongst some Middle Eastern musicians…without any links to the political situation from which the Divan draws its

84 Robertson, 45.
85 Ibid, 46.
86 Ibid, 46.
87 Ibid, 51.
88 Ibid, 52.
89 Barenboim, 2006, Lecture 4, as quoted in Riiser, 22.

legitimacy."[90] Popular music can be similarly inflected, and so any space "away" from the conflict will likely face a similar problem of being too far removed from the reality of cultural and political norms to feel relevant.

The third approach towards finding musical common ground is creating a synthesis of musical influences. The quintessential example of this strategy is Bustan Abraham, an Israeli "ethnic super group"[91] made up of Arab and Jewish Israeli musicians in the 1990s and early 2000s. Highlighted in Ben Brinner's *Playing Across a Divide*, Bustan Abraham claimed to have "succeeded in pioneering a unique form of instrumental music which combines elements of both Eastern and Western forms without sacrificing the musical integrity of either."[92] They hoped that this style would "[speak] to both Eastern and Western audiences" and "pave the way for other joint creative efforts between Arabs and Jews."[93] However, the difficulty with starting a new musical form—other than the "tug of war, each musician attempting to pull the others into his own style"[94]—is developing an audience for it. Bustan Abraham was able to gather a loyal, yet fringe, following in Israel, but the group disbanded in 2003 due to a variety of political, economic, and musical factors. In the meantime, though, they were able to truly "listen to one another;" they "stopped pulling so hard and started finding meeting points between their various positions, gradually developing a sense of how they might work together as a unit."[95] Though their aims were explicitly apolitical, and the band's members fiercely resisted the imputation of a political agenda or statement beyond their musical work, the progress they made over several years helped create common ground and listenership between Arabs and Jews.[96]

A similar process is employed by Wisam Gibran, an Arab-Israeli musical facilitator from

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90 Riiser, 35.
91 Brinner, 113.
92 Ibid, 123.
93 Ibid, 124.
94 Ibid, 114.
95 Ibid, 114.
96 Ibid, 123.

Nazareth. Gibran studied with Daniel Barenboim and worked with the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra

in 1999, but he then decided that such programs needed to be started in the region itself, not "Europe or

Camp David," in order to really make a difference on the ground.[97] Therefore, he started an ensemble

called the Arab-Jewish Youth Orchestra in the north of Israel. It ran successfully until it folded in 2008

because, as Gibran told me, "it was too hard to do this job, this work, in Israel, with all the political and

economic aspects of being in Israel."[98] But he still runs three-day musical workshops for Jewish and

Arab musicians in Israel that utilize a process of "musical homes" to "help people understand

themselves better, and the other."[99] Here is his description of a typical workshop:

> First, each musician plays one or two pieces that for him or her feel "home." Everybody
> listens to each other, and they realize that there are a lot of homes in the room. After that,
> everybody tries to go out of his home. It's very hard. Then people try to play together.
> Somebody visits someone else's home and plays how they feel there. At the end, you
> have one home, built from many styles. It's like one big home with a lot of exiles.
> Maybe your home is my exile. But after I try to be in your home, and after I try to go out
> of my home, somewhere my home is also an exile. It's not anymore my pure, warm
> home. It was very interesting to feel this through the music.[100]

By the end of the exercise, the participants are comfortable in one another's homes and create a

coherent final project, and while many musicians come and go, there is a core group that comes

to all of the workshops Gibran leads each year. As he noted, "there were friendships, even love,

that developed—very good relationships."[101]

The discussion of musical common ground amongst academics and musicians alike tends to

assume that by providing "alternative imaginaries,"[102] as Horowitz describes them, programs like these

can destabilize the sociopolitical boundaries that divide their constituent societies and thus show the

path to common humanity and shared culture. The Bosnians who listen to Azra and the Russian lady

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97 Interview with Wisam Gibran, 7/20/2010, Fieldnotes.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
100 Ibid.
101 Ibid.
102 Horowitz, 224.

who spoke out at the Peace Through Art concerts in the Caucasus provide compelling examples of this phenomenon.

Empowerment and Self-Expression

But can these groups achieve more direct action in the political realm? This brings me to the final theoretical focus of this section, empowerment and self-expression. Many musical programs, whether or not they directly address conflict transformation, subscribe to the notion that musical performance can both be an empowering experience and enhance personal expression. This is particularly true in the context of conflict transformation. The *Resonant Community* project in Norway greatly strengthened the self-image of immigrant children who performed their music together with their classmates. In addition, music therapy is effective in helping victims of conflict overcome their trauma. Ethnomusicologist Badema Softić recounts a moving example from a music therapy project in Srebrenica, Bosnia:

> At the end, I asked them how they felt. They were satisfied, very much so, happy that they had again heard those old songs....She said: "Here, this is me singing for you." That means she wanted to give something back, for her to give something, too. Listening to all this I recognised that perhaps by just our songs—with the *sevdalinka,* we can help them to get well. (noted in Sarajevo, October 2009)[103]

How does this personal empowerment and heightened ability to express oneself translate into political statements or actions? Jordanger addresses this question through a discussion of "Milord Rone," a black metal band that participated in the Peace Through Art project in the Caucasus. During the dialogues, they discovered how powerful their music could be in changing people's emotions, bodies, and minds. By their final concert, Milord Rone had totally changed its musical style and written an uplifting song to contribute to healing the people who had been hurt on both sides of the

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103 Badema Softić, "The Music of Srebrenica After the War. Attitudes and Practice Among Surviving Bosniacs, Music Therapy, and Music Works in the Name of Srebrenica," *Nar. Umjet.* 48.1 (2011), 175.

conflict.[104]

Often, the statements contained in music and its lyrics can be powerful, perhaps even "breaking the glass wall,"[105] as Skyllstad argues passionately in "Salaam Shalom." He describes the creation of the song "Zaman al Salaam" (Time for Peace), with lyrics by Israeli singer Amnon Abutbul and Palestinian poet Fatchi Kasem, and music by the Iraqi Jewish oud player and violinist Yair Dalal. A choir of 50 Israeli youth and 50 Palestinian youth rehearsed the song—separately, due to political-geographical barriers in Israel/Palestine—and then performed it together in Oslo in 1994, accompanied by Yair Dalal on the oud and the Oslo Philharmonic and conducted by Zubin Mehta. Most importantly, among the audience members were PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat and Israeli President Shimon Peres, then roadblocked at the negotiating table. The collaboration of so many generations of amateur and world-class musicians from both sides of the conflict, united in a sonic statement that it was time for peace, must have moved the leaders, Skyllstad argues, as they somehow managed to agree on a new document for peace during the intermission of that same concert.

While the performance of "Zaman al Salaam" and Arafat and Peres's ability to redouble their efforts for peace may not necessarily be causally connected, many musical collaboration programs strongly believe in sending a political message through performance. Political common ground is often much more difficult to reach than musical common ground, though, and this raises a central tension which must be discussed before we move to the next section: the conflict between integrity within a program and performance for the outside world. According to the literature, the best results for participants are usually based upon autonomous musical interaction and not motivated by making utopian statements about the conflict. Indeed, making idealistic political statements often comes at the risk of genuine complicated interaction.

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104 Jordanger, 98.
105 Maoz et al., 46.

For opposite sides of the spectrum, let us consider Bustan Abraham and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra. Bustan Abraham, as Brinner constantly reminds us, maintained an assiduously apolitical posture. They were musicians working together on a cultural and musical project—not a political one—and their devotion to the project came from their ownership over the process and results. As one of the musicians mentioned, "No matter how busy we are, Bustan is our top priority because our home is in this ensemble. We don't work for anyone. We don't belong to anyone. Everyone feels that this is <u>his</u> project."[106] However, the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra is a project with a political agenda–or, as Riiser notes, sometimes even many conflicting political agendas. The façade of apolitical coexistence that the orchestra maintains *as* its political position is erected, Riiser argues, at the expense of the true expression of the participants. As he notes, "several musicians were in various ways subjected to Barenboim's control; this forced them to present a certain narrative not representative of their personal, political, intellectual and/or humanistic views and lived experience."[107] By selectively granting fellowships for further musical study in Europe, "Barenboim controlled the narratives expressed by the musicians."[108] Despirte such underhandedness, however, the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra is still performing internationally, whereas the more free-spirited Bustan Abraham folded in 2003.

Wisam Gibran offers perhaps the best explanation for the ways in which genuinely apolitical musical work can result in political change and prejudice-reduction among the participants. He made quite clear that politics did not enter his programming explicitly, stating, "But after what they do through music, which involves emotions, interactions, ideas, feelings, etc., people go out, eat together, gather together, go to workshops, etc. so their musical work influences their social life."[109] Moreover, he described sociopolitical effects from his workshops: "Some of the participants in my program didn't

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106 Brinner, 127.
107 Riiser, 31.
108 Ibid, 30.
109 Ibid.

go to the army. Some of them have had conflicts with their families or friends. It's really deep. Some of the musicians, when they did the program, were just children. Now they're adults and they're trying to establish their own projects."[110] It is clear from his account of his musical workshops that his work with "musical homes," is a unique and effective strategy at creating musical synthesis, new understanding among the participants, and even political change.

As the literature on music and conflict transformation compellingly demonstrates, "the arts are a powerful process for bringing groups together through a creative process, to help rebuild social relationships and at times [engage] the community."[111] Music can facilitate identity-formation and prejudice-reduction, both in tandem with, and in the absence of, explicit political dialogue. It can tap into notions of a shared past, call attention to a shared present, and point the way to a shared future through musical transcendence of societal boundaries. Finally, it can empower its members— individually and collectively—to make passionate statements in the political realm. Therefore, it is clear that, as conflict transformation scholar Craig Zelizer concludes, "arts-based peacebuilding processes can play an important role in helping to foster interaction in divided societies and help facilitate reconciliation."[112]

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110 Ibid.
111 Zelizer, 9.
112 Ibid, 9.

VI. SEEDS OF PEACE INTERNATIONAL CAMP FOR COEXISTENCE IN MAINE:

AN IDEAL CASE

Before discussing my fieldwork in Jerusalem, I thought it would be useful to discuss one final case study that successfully synthesizes many of the principles derived from the past four sections of literature review in a controlled environment: Seeds of Peace International Camp for Coexistence in Maine. Seeds of Peace, an American nongovernmental organization that runs a summer camp in Maine for adolescent Israelis and Arabs—as well as teens from other conflict regions and the United States—is the perfect example of a people-to-people encounter program that uses a unique combination of the methodological frameworks discussed earlier in Structuring Encounters to generate generalizable prejudice-reduction in its participants. As a program that engages future leaders, it promises to "break the glass wall"[113] and effect true political change. Furthermore, as I have argued in "I am a Seed of Peace: Music and Israeli-Arab Peacemaking," presented at the Society for Ethnomusicology in November 2011, Seeds of Peace International Camp for Coexistence harnesses music effectively in its programming through its use of small ensemble activities to both create feelings of empowerment and build skills of communication and trust, and more importantly, by way of the camp's anthem, "I am a Seed of Peace," to create musical common ground among the participants and a new cross-conflict identity. This identity, that of the "Seed," is critical to the success of the political dialogue process at camp. Seeds of Peace has been shown—in interviews, surveys and own research upon its musical processes—to have dramatic effects upon its participants. I would define its mixed model of interpersonal and intergroup interaction, particularly as it harnesses the power of music, to be highly successful.

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113 Maoz et al., 46.

The Structure of Camp

Seeds of Peace utilizes a unique set of structures in its "dialogue" encounter program. Campers are split up into 12-15 person "dialogue groups" that are divided evenly according to gender and contain approximately 5-6 Israelis (4 Jewish and 1-2 Arab), 5 Palestinians, 1 Jordanian and/or 1 Egyptian, and 1-2 Americans. The groups meet for two hours every day for a facilitated "dialogue" session about the difficult issues of the conflict, but each group then spends the rest of the day engaged in sports and arts activities so that its members become friends. These friendships form a cohesive force that helps facilitate productive exchanges when they again address the conflict. The strategies of compassionate listening and nonviolent communication are stressed—though not named—by the facilitators and help the process proceed as smoothly as possible.

Seeds of Peace uses a mixed model of interaction, utilizing both interpersonal and intergroup communication strategies. This mixed model is shown to be particularly successful in interviews done at camp, which demonstrate that while Israeli participants tend to prefer an interpersonal model, and Palestinians tend to prefer the intergroup model,[114] many participants believe that it is the combination of these strategies that becomes particularly meaningful.[115]

Seeds of Peace passes all of the tests for success that Maoz posits in "Can Talking to Each Other Really Make a Difference?" Seeds consistently emerge from camp drastically changed in the realm of prejudice-reduction. Surveys taken in 2003 in the midst of the Second Intifada showed that Israelis had

> a 24 per cent increase in their trust of Palestinians; a 13.85 per cent increase in their trust of Arabs; a 9.69 per cent increase in their trust of Muslims; and a 1.44 per cent increase in their trust of Arab Israelis. Similarly, Palestinian campers revealed a 49.16 per cent increase in their trust of Jewish Israelis; a 35.09 per cent increase in trust of Jews; and an 18.48 per cent increase in their trust of Arab Israelis.[116]

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114 Edie Maddy-Weitzman theorizes that this could be attributable to a feeling of equality that intergroup interaction gives the Palestinians with respect to the Israelis.
115 Edie Maddy-Weitzman, "Coping with Crisis: Seeds of Peace and the Intifada," *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*, 206.
116 Beinart, 270.

Seeds' perspectives on the conflict, on identity, and on their lives are invariably broadened by their camp experiences. A number of the facilitators at camp today are former "Seeds," and the oldest Seeds —who went to camp in 1993 and met with Rabin and Arafat at the White House—are now in their thirties and gaining influence in sectors of public policy, education, and the media.

In particular, Seeds of Peace's use of follow-up programming in the region is a critical continuation of the work that goes on at camp. Seeds keep in touch with one another via Facebook, online chatting, and a secure website, "SeedsBook," which includes a forum called "SeedsNet" that facilitates community-wide discussion. Seeds of Peace hosts seminars on the media, elections, and other topical themes to keep Seeds engaged with one another. Sometimes these take the form of binational seminars that reunite Israelis and Palestinians with the friends they made at camp and allow those relationships to continue to grow in a meaningful way.

However, the realities on the ground often make it difficult for Israelis and Palestinians to meet in one place, so Seeds of Peace has embraced the use of intragroup programming in the region as well. Israelis and Palestinians will engage their own communities on issues of peace and tolerance and contribute to their needs through community service. Such "uninational programming" is particularly useful in preventing Palestinians from acquiring the stigma of *tatbi'a*, or "normalization," through their collaboration with Israelis, because they have an opportunity to give back to their communities and show that they are strong leaders.[117] In addition, particularly committed Seeds have the opportunity to return to camp for a second summer as "peer support" (PS) campers, during which time they receive additional leadership training. These follow-up programs help Seeds remain involved and committed to their experiences at camp, rather than give up their ideals in the face of societal and familial pressures that perpetuate the conflict.

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117 Maddy-Weitzman, 206.

Music at Seeds of Peace

Seeds of Peace also harnesses the power of music very effectively as a way of bringing Israeli

and Palestinian campers together. It does so through the creation of the identity of the "Seed of Peace,"

or "Seed." Delegates arrive at camp as Israelis and Palestinians whose national duty it is to show the

other side that their actions are wrong, their history is uninformed, and their nationality is baseless.

However, within a day, they are wearing Seeds of Peace t-shirts—the only attire permissible at camp—

and singing the Seeds of Peace song, "I am a Seed of Peace." The song, written in 1997 by an

Egyptian Seed, Amgad Naguib, and a counselor, James Durst, is an anthem for all Seeds. It goes as

follows:

"I am a Seed of Peace"
Words by Amgad Nagiub & James Durst
Music by James Durst
© 1997 PhoeniXongs ASCAP / S.O.P.I.C.

Chords: Am7 // C7/G // Fmaj7 // Esus4 → E7

CHORUS:
I am a Seed of Peace, a Seed of Peace, a Seed of Peace.
I am a Seed, a Seed of Peace.
I am! You're *what?* A Seed! That's right. I am a Seed of Peace.
Peace, peace, peace, peace.

VERSE 1:
People of peace, rejoice, rejoice!
For we have united into one voice:
A voice of peace and hate of war;
United hands have built a bridge between two shores.

VERSE 2:
We on the shores have torn down the wall;
We stand hand-in-hand as we watch the bricks fall.
We've learned from the past and fear not what's ahead;
I know I'll not walk alone, but with a friend instead.[118]

The Seeds of Peace song is a reiteration of the identity of the Seed and a prescription for how to

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[118] Micah Hendler, "I am a Seed of Peace: Music and Israeli-Arab Peacemaking," Presented at SEM 2011, 5.

perform this identity. It emphasizes that Seeds work hard to understand one another and help one another navigate tough times. Singing the song together provides a communal affirmation from each Seed to every other Seed that they are all working for peace together, as Seeds. Communal performance of "I am a Seed of Peace" renews the Seeds' faith in themselves, one another, and the difficult journey that they each undertake at camp. The new, shared identity of the Seed reaffirmed by the Seeds of Peace song is also critical to the dialogue process at camp because it allows Israeli and Palestinian campers to both empathize with and learn from one another's experiences without betraying who they are as individuals.

A powerful demonstration of this phenomenon is the flag-raising ceremony on the third day of camp. Each delegation gathers outside the camp gates to raise its flag and sing its national anthem—a bold statement of national unity. But then the whole camp joins hands to sing, "I am a Seed of Peace." All of the Seeds repeat the song as they walk through the camp gates, entering a space in which symbols and anthems of any other kind are forbidden. As Elizabeth, an American Seed noted, "Everyone has their national anthem, and they're really proud of it, so if you sing the Seeds of Peace anthem, then everyone's proud of the same thing."[119] Such a ritual, and arguably the larger experience of camp, fits Victor Turner's concept of the liminal moment of initiation, the crossing of a threshold during which the Israelis and Arabs truly become Seeds.[120] The music used in the flag-raising ceremony, the old national anthems and then the Seeds of Peace song, helps the new Seeds pass through this initiation. The Seeds of Peace song is employed throughout each session at camp to reinforce communal solidarity—particularly during difficult moments—and, when repeated in the region at seminars and other programs, it helps conjure the shared, protected past of camp, offering embattled Seeds a chance to be comforted by one another. As musical common ground par excellence,

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119 Hendler, 6
120 Victor Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites of Passage," *Betwixt and Between: Patterns of Masculine and Feminine Initiation*, 4

Cameel, a Palestinian Seed, expressed, "It unites us all."[121]

In addition, Seeds of Peace uses small-group musical interaction to foster personal empowerment, communication, and trust. In the summer of 2009, as a camp counselor, I led a cappella groups, rock bands and African drumming and dance ensembles as a chance to create a new atmosphere in which Seeds could interact. Such small musical ensembles, made up of 5-10 people, provided the perfect workshop where Seeds could both learn to work together to develop the kinds of listening skills they would need in dialogue and achieve a superordinate goal that they could all be proud of—the peak experience of a great performance. In addition, I found such workshops to be useful as a way of including Seeds who otherwise felt excluded at camp. One Arab-Israeli Seed, torn between his conflicted identities at camp, initially had a difficult time getting along with his peers, but when they helped him pick up his rhythm in a percussion ensemble I led, his behavior changed completely as he felt included and valued as part of the group.

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121 Hendler, 6

VII. JERUSALEM FIELDWORK

It is because of the experiences that I have had over three summers at Seeds of Peace International Camp for Coexistence that I decided to conduct research on musical peacebuilding between Israelis and Palestinians, and my research design has been heavily influenced by what I believe strongly—and have empirically shown—to be the success of Seeds of Peace's model. The obvious question that remains, though, is whether and how such an interactive structure and its profound results can be recreated in the conflict region itself. In the summer of 2010, I assisted with and researched the musical elements of three programs based in Jerusalem: Seeds of Peace's follow-up programming in the region, an Israeli-Palestinian youth band and dialogue project called "Heartbeat Jerusalem," and a Jewish-Arab summer camp called "Project Harmony."

Research Design

Based on the results of my literature review, discussed above, I organized my evaluation of each program according to three conceptual categories: prejudice-reduction, empowerment and self-expression, and strategies for finding musical common ground. I gathered the relevant data through participant observation within each program and through interviews with participants after each program.[122] By working for each organization and both observing and leading their musical programming myself, I became acquainted with both the philosophy of each organization's programming and how it was executed and each program's method for locating musical common ground. Through interviews with the participants, I was able to measure the extent to which the program's philosophy succeeded or failed and whether or not the kinds of change I was looking for in the realms of prejudice-reduction—as measured by increased tolerance of, political understanding of,

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122 I had hoped to gather data through surveys and interviews before each program as well, but such structures proved too difficult to set up. This was one of many methodological difficulties I will discuss later in this section on my Jerusalem fieldwork.

and ability to collaborate successfully with, peers from the other side of the conflict—and empowerment and self-expression were attained.

One of the key factors I expected to determine prejudice-reduction was the presence of intergroup vs. interpersonal programming, as suggested by the literature. In addition, the quality of musical-political interaction in each program was salient. Were the musical aspects of each program considered to be sufficient in and of themselves among those facilitating the program, precluding the need for political discussion? Was musical activity thought of as separate from, yet complementary to, a political dialogue process? Or was the musical interaction *the* political interaction? Considerations of selection and incentives were also relevant. Who was selected for these programs and how were they selected? Why did participants choose to come? How did the participants' incentives affect what kinds of programming and results a project like these could hope for?

I was able to evaluate personal empowerment and enhanced self-expression both through participant observation and through interviews; but even personal empowerment and enhanced self-expression must be interrogated. Were the empowerment and enhanced self-expression that resulted from these programs of a group or individual nature? What were the newly empowered statements expressing? How were these statements transmitted to the broader public, if at all, to shape contemporary discourse? Though the essence of my evaluation is based on the personal change of the participants, it is still important to note the channels that connect the expressive output of each program to the societal discourse; it is through the creation of a culture of peace that such programs have been theorized to contribute to a peaceful solution of the conflict under the theory of two-track diplomacy.

Third, I assessed the strategies that each program used to locate musical common ground, whether by accessing a shared past, performing a contemporary present, or pointing the way to a possible future. I explored how the previous musical and life experiences of the participants shaped the musical direction that programs like these could, should, and did take. I then evaluated the specific

advantages and disadvantages of each program's strategy in the context of the literature to better understand the successes and shortcomings of each project's choice.

Finally, I judged the overall success of each program according to three conceptual parameters. I deemed a project successful if a majority of the participants felt that they grew significantly from the experience of working together musically, both in terms of prejudice-reduction and empowerment and self-expression. I also noted the advantages and disadvantages of each program's strategy for locating musical common ground. Given the literature and my experiences at Seeds of Peace International Camp for Coexistence in Maine, I predicted that all three programs would be successful at creating feelings of empowerment and enhanced self-expression among the participants. However, I also hypothesized that projects that acknowledged the differences of identity among their participants and had participants work through their differences using music either as a tool of dialogue or in parallel with explicit political exchange would be more successful than programs that simply ignored these differences. In addition, I proposed that a mixed model of intergroup and interpersonal interaction, as utilized at Seeds of Peace International Camp for Coexistence, would be a useful tool in attaining prejudice-reduction from the musical interaction of Israeli and Palestinian youth through an interpenetration of sociopolitical understanding and personal relationships.

Jerusalem Case Study #1: Project Harmony

Project Harmony is a 4-week English language summer camp for Jewish and Arab middle school students affiliated with the Hand-in-Hand School in Jerusalem. The program aims to teach skills of self-expression and teamwork through various activities including the arts and ultimately hopes that through shared artistic activities, it will foster lasting friendships between Arab and Jewish youth.

Project Harmony was started by two undergraduates at the University of Chicago, Meg Sullivan

and Lexie Tabachnik, in the fall of 2009; its first summer camp session was held during my research period in July 2010. It met at a community center in the Jerusalem neighborhood of Yakov Pat for six hours each day over five days of the week, Sunday through Thursday—the Israeli workweek—during that month. The participants were middle school-aged Jewish and Arab residents of Jerusalem, most of whom attended the Hand-in-Hand School in Jerusalem, one of the few integrated schools in Israel. The others were friends of the Hand-in-Hand students. Over the course of the month-long camp, the kids enjoyed a variety of activities including singing, drumming, acting, videography, sports, and other games, as well as a number of visits from local artists and to All-for-Peace Radio—a bilaterally-run radio station that promotes a new discourse about the conflict. The program culminated in a small performance for the students' parents at the end of July, which Project Harmony hoped to use in a documentary about the initiative.

My role at Project Harmony was to lead music programming. I led drum circles, taught songs in Hebrew, English and Arabic, and helped some of the Arab boys write and perform rap that expressed their aspirations. In addition, I supervised the kids during other activities, and was able to observe their interactions during non-musical sections of the program. Finally, I interviewed five of the participants after the program to hear their reflections on their experience at Project Harmony: Dana and Avital, two Israeli girls; Malak, an Arab girl; and Oday and Mahmoud, two Arab guys. I augmented this data by interviewing Meg Sullivan about the philosophy that governed the program—"to create a framework to allow the kids to make these interactions happen by themselves"[123]—and its rationale. I collected the most comprehensive data about Project Harmony. Because the demographics of the group were ethnically skewed, however, with 13 Arab and 3 Jewish participants, the value of the data is somewhat limited.

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123 Interview with Meg Sullivan, 7/13/2010. Fieldnotes.

Jerusalem Case Study #3: Seeds of Peace Regional Programming

Seeds of Peace regional programming continues year-round, but summer is a particularly constructive time since the students are on vacation from school. Seeds of Peace put special intent into 2010's summer regional programming, hiring four former counselors—including Aaron Shneyer—to work full-time to craft and implement a coherent and effective program for Israeli and Palestinian Seeds in the region during July and August. I helped these four staff members bring their project to fruition through logistical and more substantive work in preparation for and during these encounters. My Seeds of Peace data, then, comes from participant observation and a few conversations I was able to have with older Seeds about their opinions on the program both during and afterward.

The element that sets Seeds of Peace apart from both Heartbeat and Project Harmony is that Seeds of Peace has to confront the logistical nightmare of trying to bring West Bank Palestinians and Israelis together, overcoming not only cultural barriers, but physical ones as well.[124] Therefore, Seeds of Peace's regional programming incorporated more intragroup uninational elements out of necessity. We chose to structure the summer programming around the creation of individual projects within each Seed's home community that used the arts as a tool for effective advocacy on an issue of importance to that Seed. We bookended the creation of these projects with more costly and difficult-to-organize binational seminars.

We began with a 1-day binational seminar for 16 Peer Leaders (PLs), Seeds from '07-'09 who had remained particularly involved but had not been selected to return to camp that summer as Peer Support campers (colloquially known as "PSes"). It was our hope that giving them a special title and some light facilitation training and institutional responsibility would help them to be more committed and better equipped to lead the younger Seeds throughout the summer's programming. Three days

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124 Heartbeat tried to do this, but failed to get permits for the participants from Bethlehem due to a lack of organization and a lack of the longstanding ties with the IDF that Seeds of Peace has, hence the restriction to Arabs with Blue IDs.

later, we brought about 60 Israeli and Palestinian Seeds from '07-'10 together at the Willy Brandt

Center for a 1-day binational where we ran a number of workshops geared towards artistic creativity,

issues-based advocacy, and how to utilize one in service of the other. The Seeds then had two weeks

back in their home communities to work on their individual projects before reuniting for a 3-day

binational seminar in the north of Israel.[125] At this gathering, they shared their projects and engaged in

dialogue with one another about the issues that their work represented and the advocacy strategies they

employed. Some of these individual projects were musical in nature, but most of my observations

regarding music's role in Seeds of Peace follow-up programming had to do with the transplantation of

camp's vibrant shared music culture to the regional encounters. I particularly focused on the questions

of whether and how this shared music culture can be used to complement political dialogue and

whether it succeeded at recreating camp's idyllic euphoria and common identity in the midst of a war-

zone.

Methodological Difficulties

Before analyzing the data that I gathered during my involvement in each of these programs, I

will first mention a number of factors that made my research challenging and generated a few

methodological issues that I must confront given my data. The first is selection bias. If I did not have

a way of measuring the participants' attitudes beforehand, how do I know that any positive results that

they reported are actually a result of the programs themselves? In other words, they might have joined

the program because they already believed in peace. This question does not pertain to Seeds of Peace

International Camp for Coexistence in Maine, as its Israeli and Palestinian participants are selected for

their abilities to defend national policy rather than their affinity for peacemaking. Furthermore,

carefully controlled studies that have been completed every session since 2003 confirm drastic increase

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125 We organized town meetings to check up on them halfway through.

in trust, respect, and ability to work with youth from the "other side" over the course of a session. But selection bias *does* pertain to all three of my Jerusalem case studies.

Most of the Project Harmony kids in my study already attended the Hand-in-Hand School throughout the year, and they were therefore exposed to "encounter" situations on a daily basis. I hoped to eliminate selection bias in my analysis of Heartbeat through a survey I designed and an interview template I presented to Aaron Shneyer as Heartbeat's Evaluation Director. Unfortunately, the Heartbeat staff did not ultimately include the questions that I believed would be the most informative for my research, such as: "How would you say you have changed over the course of your involvement in Heartbeat?" and "Are you more likely to think about Arabs/Jews in a new way after Heartbeat?" Therefore, I emerged with a wealth of data extolling the virtues of Heartbeat programming, but no way to demonstrate that Heartbeat itself did anything to really change the values of the participants; I can only show that it created a space for like-minded individuals on both sides to work together. As far as Seeds of Peace regional programming goes, the selection bias is inherent—all of the kids had already gone to Seeds of Peace's camp in Maine and chosen to remain involved in regional programming because they believed in sustained dialogue about the issues that divide their societies. It is therefore difficult to measure any change in attitude caused by sporadic regional programming because I did not have the ability to conduct explicit self-evaluative interviews or surveys myself either before or after programming.

There are three further methodological issues related to analysis of my research results. First is the difficulty of demonstrating the real-world effects of such programs in the context of the conflict. Since these programs work with young people, their collective goal is not just to change present behavior, but also to change behavior in the future. Alas, there is no effective method by which to measure long-term change over such a short period. The second obstacle is that the theory of such programs' effectiveness in the context of conflict resolution presumes a faith in track-two diplomacy

that is well grounded, but by no means incontestable. Seeds of Peace could perhaps make a better claim to predicting real-world political effects than Heartbeat and Project Harmony because it is training youth who are likely to become future political leaders in the ways of empathy and mutual understanding. Project Harmony and Heartbeat, in contrast, are operating more solidly in the cultural sphere. Even so, all three maintain a distance from real-world effects. The third and final challenge is the temptation of participants to either overplay personal change or selectively talk about peace-related aspirations in interviews so that it sounds like they "got the message" of the program or were a "good" participant. This is of particular concern to my research because the people conducting interviews for each program were invariably staff members whom the kids likely would not want to offend by being, for example, critical of the program or fully honest about their own levels of commitment to the organization's goals.

In addition to these three methodological issues, I faced several enormous hurdles in the process of controlling variables in my data due to the logistical hurdles of trying to do peace work with Israelis and Palestinians in the region. The problem in Project Harmony's case was that enrollment consisted of 13 Arabs and 3 Jews. While I am able to draw many conclusions about its goals and strategies, the grossly imbalanced ratio of the participants' ethnicities fundamentally changes the kinds of cultural processes, in particular, that were going on as far as communal representation within the program. I believed that this necessarily changed Project Harmony's goal from "coexistence" to something that I thought more closely resembled a targeted empowerment of Arab youth and an education of Jewish youth focused on facilitating equality among Arab and Jewish citizens within Israeli society.

The reason for this ethnic imbalance in Project Harmony's enrollment comes from the history of the Hand-in-Hand School, something that co-founders Sullivan and Tabachnik did not find out about until arriving in Jerusalem having already designed their program for an even demographic balance. According to Sullivan, when Hand-in-Hand began in 1997, it had an enrollment comprised almost

exclusively of Arabs. The opportunity to go to an integrated school was a far better opportunity for Arabs, whose schools are vastly inferior to Jewish schools in Israel, than it was for Jews. Furthermore, Jewish parents wanted matriculation results—which did not yet exist—before they would be willing to send their kids to Hand-in-Hand. Now, in 2011, the kindergarten class is down to an even ratio of Arabs and Jews, which speaks volumes about the success of Hand-in-Hand's program.[126] Even so, as I was working with middle school students, the enrollment ratio six to eight years back was still quite skewed. The demographic imbalance of Hand-in-Hand is one of many examples of the ways in which complex sociocultural dynamics of the conflict made it much more difficult for me to control for certain variables in a methodologically sound way.

Heartbeat and Seeds of Peace encountered similarly confounding logistical issues based on the asymmetrical realities of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which primarily took the form of normalization, or *tatbi'a*. Heartbeat was denied a space for a summer retreat at the last minute because the Arab community in that village decided that the organization's programs were tantamount to *tatbi'a*. Similarly, the Palestinian male Seeds refused to engage in any "fun" activities with the Israelis—or to even sleep in the same room as the Israelis during the second binational seminar—for fear of *tatbi'a,* **even though they had been willing to do so in Maine**. The geographic location of these programs within the region of conflict makes neutral, open spaces even more difficult to find because the societal constraints on both sides are harder to shake.

Finally, Heartbeat simply failed to have any meetings during my research period due to both its loss of the Arab community center sponsorship and financial constraints. Aaron Shneyer was effectively running Heartbeat and Seeds of Peace regional programming simultaneously, but Seeds of Peace—a large, multi-million-dollar NGO—was paying his rent and providing him with a car. Heartbeat did not have the economic capacity to do either of these things, so Shneyer had to prioritize

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126 Interview with Meg Sullivan, 7/8/2011, Fieldnotes.

Seeds of Peace's endless stream of logistical snafus and had neither the energy nor time left to address Heartbeat's. This had longer-term effects for Heartbeat as well because the staff and youth who love Heartbeat—as Shneyer emphatically does—were frustrated that they could not count on Shneyer to make Heartbeat a priority and thus were unable to justify prioritizing it themselves. The inability to prioritize encourages a culture of flakiness that can be even more destructive to a project like this than everything else in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Seeds of Peace, for reasons that are less clear to me, has also developed a culture of flakiness in the region—a particularly dangerous phenomenon when an organization is trying to create a community of people who are accountable to one another as partners for peace. For my research, though, this obstacle really underscored both the importance of developing a culture of commitment among one's participants, as well as the necessity of adequate funding. Neither of these considerations occurred to me when studying Seeds of Peace's camp in Maine because it is adequately-funded and has a captive audience.

VIII. ANALYSIS

Those caveats aside, however, I believe I can make some interesting claims about the data I have collected. These claims are based on four analytical paradigms which illuminate important trends in my data. These paradigms are self-expression and empowerment, interpersonal vs. intergroup interaction (and the resulting levels of externalization of prejudice reduction), incentives and cultural roadblocks (specifically, the opposition of "fun" and "normalization" as motivators), and cultural intersections and tensions (with implications for how to locate musical common ground). I will explain each of these paradigms and then show how each organization stacks up in regard to that paradigm.

Empowerment and Self-Expression

Project Harmony, Heartbeat Jerusalem, and Seeds of Peace each name enhanced self-expression and personal empowerment as two of the main goals of their 2010 regional programming.

Sullivan described Project Harmony's central process as "giving the kids an artistic outlet for what they are already thinking."[127] The project aimed to do this through exposure to and interaction with various art forms—theater, music, visual art, documentary filmmaking, and radio—in the context of self-expression. In addition, Project Harmony was successfully marketed to parents as an English language summer camp, so enhanced expression in English was also one of the program's goals. Project Harmony's success on both counts was most compellingly demonstrated in my interviews with two Arab boys, Oday and Mahmoud, whom I helped write and perform rap for the program's final performance. Oday told me he learned that music is a powerful form of expression because people like music and listen to it. He likes rap most of all, he said, because "it allows you to talk about your and your family's and friends' problems."[128] Mahmoud wrote his own impressive rap in Hebrew and Arabic

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127Ibid.
128Interview with Oday, 7/28/2010, Fieldnotes.

—unprompted by any of the staff—about issues of war, peace, and social justice in Israel, which he

combined with a popular rap by Arab-Israeli hip-hop group DAM called "Who's the terrorist?" They

were incredibly nervous and suffered a number of emotional setbacks along the way, but after they

performed their work, both boys told me how proud they were that they had been given an opportunity

to rap and talk about things that were important to them and that they had learned not to be afraid

speaking English. This is but one of many examples that show how Project Harmony succeeded in

empowering and enhancing the self-expression of its participants.

Empowerment and self-expression are also central to Heartbeat's mission, as we see from the

very first words on Heartbeat's Internet homepage, "Amplifying Youth Voices—the mic is more

powerful."[129] Heartbeat's success in this mission was demonstrated repeatedly in interviews that were

conducted with Heartbeat participants during the summer of 2011. Each interviewee described a

tremendous sense of empowerment and enhanced self-expression. Perhaps the most compelling

interview, though, was with a Palestinian named Muli from Haifa, who described the growth that his

family and friends observed in him over the course of his time in Heartbeat:

> My family and friends feel that I'm in Heartbeat that it's so good for me, because I have
> too much issues in my life not just that I'm Palestinian, but my dad is in jail from five
> years ago he was in jail and is still in jail, so I have many anger in myself that I want to
> show to the people, I want to get it out, so I choose the rap in how I say it, how I describe
> myself in a peaceful way, so Heartbeat supported me more and more in the rap thing.
> Yeah, so my friends and my family feels good that I feel comfortable with myself.[130]

This feeling was echoed by Guy, a Jewish Israeli from Rehovot:

> My most powerful experience in Heartbeat was a day that I woke up in a prison cell in
> Haifa and I went to sleep in a hotel in Jerusalem with a bunch of Israeli and Palestinian
> musicians; that was the day we started to work on an album, and the same day I got out
> of the army and got out of prison, and I drove right straight to Jerusalem and I met with
> new people I'm going to work with, and it was such a switch in the realities in the way
> my perspective, you know, I can say in the morning I didn't expect anything from the

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129 Heartbeat Jerusalem, http://www.wix.com/heartbeatjerusalem/home.
130 Interview with Muli, August 2011, Heartbeat Interviews.

world, and at night I expected everything.[131]

As Shneyer justifiably claims, through their performance with Heartbeat, "the kids feel like they are active towards their cause; they feel like they're leading their own little revolutions. This allows them to get over a feeling that they are useless to their communities."[132]

While Seeds of Peace and Project Harmony are content to work on the development of skills that can be used later in life to influence society, Heartbeat believes that its members are capable of making statements that should be heard *now*. It therefore prioritizes a program element called "amplification," which aims to disseminate the musical output of the All-Star Bands through performances, recordings, music videos, and media coverage, particularly by seeking out collaboration with international artists. While the impact of amplification is difficult to measure, and hence not part of my study, it is a critical part of Shneyers's theory of change:

> The way I see the situation in Israel and Palestine is we have two groups of beautiful people, who unfortunately don't realize how good the people are on the other side, largely because often a small group of extremists decide to use violence and shifts public opinion, and controls public opinion, and convinces each side that they don't have a partner for peace, and through this violence, convinces each side that there is no hope. When in fact, there's millions of people every day who are living a peaceful life, and who are hoping for peace, for a better future, but they simply don't have a voice, don't have a way to express this hope – and we decided that music is a powerful way for youth to express their voices and be a voice for their communities, to hopefully make their voices for peace, and for justice, for humanity, for hope, for the future, in a positive way, to make these voices louder than those of the people who choose to use violence.

Shneyer's analysis is reminiscent of David McDonald's argument cited in Section IV, *Music in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* that the power of violence lies in its use as a tool of social performance. It is by using music as a medium through which to change societal discourse about conflict, as Shneyer advocates, that music can directly oppose the use of violence in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Empowerment is also self-evidently part of Seeds of Peace's program, as its motto, similarly

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131 Interview with Guy, August 2011, Heartbeat Interviews.
132 Interview with Aaron Shneyer, 7/30/2010, Fieldnotes.

featured on its Internet homepage, is "Empowering the leaders of the next generation."[133] Seeds of

Peace camp in Maine has consistently produced this kind of empowerment, as shown in surveys and

interviews, and I myself have repeatedly experienced it within that environment, but it is more difficult

to measure the effects of Seeds of Peace's longer-term regional programming. I was not able to

interview participants in Seeds of Peace regional programs as extensively about their experiences, so I

do not have much concrete data to cite regarding enhanced self-expression, but given that the focus of

the program was the creation of personal artistic advocacy projects—many of which were quite

impressive both in form and content—enhanced self-expression was surely achieved.

The question of whether empowerment was achieved over the course of the program is less

clear, however. Speaking for myself as a participant-observer and graduate Seed, I experienced

moments during the summer programming that were empowering—such as singing the old camp songs

together and moments of understanding in dialogue—and also moments that were disempowering—

such as the inescapable realization during one of the activities that only 3 out of 60 Seeds present

believed that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would be solved in their lifetimes. My own reaction to the

program, as a graduate Seed, was that it posed a sobering, stark contrast to the endless possibilities of

camp, and yet paradoxically, these difficulties only further inspired me to continue working for peace.

I imagine that many Seeds felt empowered by getting to share their artistic advocacy projects with one

another, but I am also certain that many may also have felt disempowered as some of their compatriots

failed or were unwilling to accept the projects' messages in dialogue. Despite these setbacks, though, I

think it is probably safe to say that the creation of such projects—about issues that face their

communities—empowered them to act as voices for these communities.

Both from my own observation of how participants' expressive skills grew throughout their

involvement in all three programs, and through the ways they described their experience in interviews,

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133 Seeds of Peace, www.seedsofpeace.org.

I believe that Project Harmony, Heartbeat Jerusalem, and Seeds of Peace each succeeded in equipping its participants with stronger tools for self-expression than they had had before, and in empowering them to use these tools in service of their dreams and communities.

Politics, Interpersonal vs. Intergroup Interaction, and Prejudice-Reduction

The second paradigm evaluates each program's process as either intergroup, interpersonal, or mixed in nature, and looks at how musical and political dialogue are interwoven, or not, in each program. Such analysis is particularly useful as it fits neatly into the discourse of contact theory and its critiques, as well as its attendant theories regarding the externalization of prejudice-reduction to the outgroup.

Project Harmony is a program which is entirely interpersonal, as described in the mission listed on their website: "to create a safe social space for Arab and Jewish children from Jerusalem to relate to one another in the most basic way—not as citizens of a politically tense state or members of a religious group, but as peers."[134] As Sullivan noted, "It's about creating a program where the kids will want to become friends."[135] Through a laissez-faire attitude towards the enforcement of mingling across cultural lines within the camp setting, Sullivan and Tabachnik showed that they truly ascribed to a philosophy of letting the participants choose how to interact in this new, shared space, rather than feeling in any way obligated to act based upon their, or any other participant's, ethnic background.

This was particularly evident in their attitude toward three Jewish girls, Dana, Avital, and Rachel, who formed an inseparable clique throughout the program as they were the only three Jews in an Arab-dominated program and already acquaintances. Rather than force interaction between them and Arab girls, however, Sullivan insisted that the solution was to "make them comfortable enough that

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134 Project Harmony, www.projectharmonyisrael.org.
135 Interview with Meg Sullivan, 7/13/2010, Fieldnotes.

they'll choose to interact with the Hand-in-Hand Arabs and take the initiative to form those relationships themselves."[136] Such relationships did indeed form, but in interviews, Dana and Avital expressed doubt that these friendships would last given the logistical difficulties of maintaining friendships across neighborhoods in Jerusalem.

As far as introducing politics into the program went, Sullivan's position was that the Hand-in-Hand kids "get coexistence shoved down their throats all the time at school," so "making it explicit will just backfire. It's about giving them skills to express themselves and interact in positive ways."[137] But there were many sociopolitical dynamics just under the surface at Project Harmony that prevented this utopian intention from being realized. First, the extreme numerical dominance of Arabs over Jews in the program created many situations in which the three Jewish girls were excluded from a culturally-based performance in Arabic—such as an Arabic children's song—despite their eagerness to learn, because it either did not occur to the Arabs to teach it to them or because the Arabs simply lacked the patience to do so. Failure to explicitly deal with these and other similar underlying issues led to many lost opportunities for increased understanding and dialogue and, as a result, Project Harmony fell into the very trap that critics of the contact hypothesis point out: interpersonal interaction alone does not yield intergroup results; certainly not intergroup results that are generalizable outside the contact environment.

This pitfall is evident in the interviews I conducted with Dana, Avital and Malak (one of the Arab girls) who, along with a fourth who I was unable to talk to, Sireen (also an Arab), became the closest cross-conflict friends within the Project Harmony group.[138] However, I asked each of the first three whether they were more likely to have Jewish or Arab—whichever was on the "other side" of the conflict for them—friends after their experiences at Project Harmony and each one unequivocally

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136 Ibid.
137 Ibid.
138 As measured by how much time they spent hanging out together voluntarily during the program.

answered "no." Generally, they followed this response with a statement like, "because I had Jewish friends before," or "I didn't judge people on their race before camp anyway," or because logistics just made it too difficult. Similarly, all five kids that I interviewed reported that they had not learned much about themselves or their peers during camp—they just had a great time. These answers were shockingly blunt and honest—especially considering my position as a staff member—but each confirmed my hypothesis that, in accordance with the literature, predicted: Without explicit intergroup interaction, there will be no externalizable intergroup results.

Seeds of Peace has precisely the opposite problem. Seeds are selected and arrive at camp in national delegations, and even after they return home, their participation is marked by their delegation. Although Seeds of Peace camp in Maine utilizes an effective combination of interpersonal and intergroup interaction, the regional summer programming for 2010 was thrown off-balance by the Palestinian male Seeds'—who claimed to represent the whole Palestinian delegation—obsession with avoiding normalization. As mentioned above, during the second binational seminar, the Palestinian delegation at the time refused to engage in "fun" activities of any sort with the Israelis, and only came to dialogue about the conflict. As such, they essentially forced an intergroup model upon the seminar as a whole; they even seemed coordinated in their individual presentations, almost all of which were about the Israeli occupation. The Israelis were not ready to meet them in intergroup interaction, nor did they want to. The Israelis' presentations were about all sorts of different issues—the environment, religious radicalization within Jerusalem, gender and sexuality equality—and very few were focused on grievances against the Palestinians. This forced intergroup interactive space ended up making this binational feel much less welcoming than previous ones, and many Israelis left the second binational feeling like they had lost the partners they felt they had once had at camp. I, personally, felt betrayed, as many of the Palestinian Seeds who had been my favorites at camp now seemed to be undermining everything we had stood for together.

To understand the effects of this forced intergroup structure on the interaction of the Seeds, I will provide three specific examples in which the Seeds of Peace song, as an indicator of *communitas*, had different receptions and reactions over the course of the summer programming. The first binational concluded with a large gathering of all the Seeds singing the Seeds of Peace song, along with all of its related camp cheers and chants. It was enthusiastic—complete with a kick-line—and determined—the Seeds kept singing and singing over the neighbors' noise complaints. People simply did not want to stop singing because they were holding onto the shared space that such a performance created, and everyone knew that when they were done singing, they would get on their respective buses and be apart from one another for two weeks—if they were lucky enough to see each other again at all.

The second example of how the Seeds of Peace song functions in context comes from a call that the regional staff made to the Seeds in Gaza because they could not physically leave Gaza, but we wanted to include them in the summer process of individual projects. We began by singing the Seeds of Peace song with them on Skype. They couldn't have been more excited to sing with us, perhaps because the song connected them with people who loved them outside of Gaza, but it did not require that they represent their identity as Seeds to Israelis; we were simply impartial counselors who were offering to share their projects in proxy.

At the third binational conference, such musical bonds became frayed by the insistent intergroup demands made by the Palestinian male participants. Specifically, there was an afternoon when the Israelis and Palestinians were sitting in the courtyard, Israelis on one side and Palestinians on the other. Somebody started singing the Seeds of Peace song, and it was only halfheartedly echoed by the other side. In their focus on intergroup interaction alone, the Palestinian males disregarded their identity as Seeds as well, which has at its core the simple interpersonal tenet of "make one friend." Based on the dynamics that I observed, Seeds of Peace staff went too far in accommodating the intergroup thrust of the Palestinian males in the summer of 2010, because they lost the personal

element of Seeds of Peace's successful camp programming altogether.

Heartbeat focuses on the interpersonal element—many participants stress that Heartbeat's message is that we are all people with common goals and aspirations and that music creates an emancipatory space where the pressures of the conflict fade away and we can coexist as equal humans. As Tamer, a Heartbeat staff member, said, "My biggest dream is that when I introduce myself to somebody, they would just accept my name and not ask me what's your religion, where do you come from, what's your race? …. That I'll introduce myself as a human being, and that's the end of the story."[139] For Heartbeat, though, the message is just as important as the musical experience, and the message is about the issues that people living in conflict face everyday. Heartbeat offers a synthesis of musical-political dialogue whereby people come as individuals, but bring their diverse struggles into the space of songwriting and performance. By crafting songs, and exploring the issues posed by a controversial lyric, Heartbeat youth learn more about one another's lives and communities.

This dialogue allows for a genuine interpersonal bond and creates a real oasis away from the violent discourses that pervade Israeli and Palestinian society, yet also prepares the youth to reenter society with a united voice and a message that is grounded in the realities of the conflict. The participants interviewed in August—all of whom were members of the 2011 All-Star Band—tend to truly believe in Heartbeat, and they unanimously affirm the common humanity of every person in the face of violence. As Guy put it, "my biggest dream is that people on earth would no longer take meaning of borders, nationalities, anthems, whatever, that people will realize that a man is a man and wherever they are born is random land that doesn't mean a lot."[140] Yet, because of my own inability to preclude selection bias, I cannot determine whether such a mindset is the result of Heartbeat programming. Heartbeat may have simply attracted people who already had similar mindsets. For

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139 Interview with Tamer, August 2011, Heartbeat Interviews.
140 Interview with Guy, August 2011, Heartbeat Interviews.

example, Rekev, a Jewish Israeli from Rehovot, recalled that he first decided to come to Heartbeat

"because I like to play music, and because sometimes there is something in the ideas of Jews and Arabs

together that I agree with."[141] Adam, a Jewish Israeli from Kibbutz Revadim, mentioned coming

initially "because I love what Heartbeat does, like playing music with other people from all around this

place."[142] Comments like this make it very difficult to ascertain how much Heartbeat is actually

changing the perspectives of its participants, versus simply providing them with a means for

amplification.

Incentives and Roadblocks: Fun vs. Normalization

The third evaluation paradigm I use for analysis is the tension between incentives and cultural

roadblocks, which either encourage or discourage individuals from participating in programs like these.

Particularly, I explore the tension between fun and normalization as a critical consideration for such

organizations when they contemplate how to incentivize participation from both sides.

Project Harmony is a textbook example of what a Palestinian could call normalization: Israeli

and Palestinian interaction with nary an intentional mention of the conflict, let alone a focus on it. If

Sullivan was correct in claiming that the kids at Hand-in-Hand are talked to about the values of

coexistence quite often, then avoiding political conversation within the target population of kids might

have been a useful strategy. The kids at Project Harmony came back—and brought their friends with

them—because they had fun. This was clearly reflected in the interviews that I conducted. Across the

board, Dana, Avital, Malak, Oday and Mahmoud all said that the best parts of camp for them were the

ones that they, as individuals, found the most fun; not the ones that I would argue were the most

substantive in terms of either creating or teaching a message or developing an artistic or otherwise

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141 Interview with Rekev, August 2011, Heartbeat Interviews.
142 Interview with Adam, August 2011, Heartbeat Interviews.

expressive skill. Perhaps it would have been possible to keep the fun parts while mixing in a bit of identity-based dialogue, but that's for another essay.

Seeds of Peace, on the other hand, could not have any "fun" at all due to the Palestinian males' behavior during the second binational seminar and their refusal to engage in anything other than political conversation. In this context, normalization won out as a motivating force for the Palestinians, and I think this is because at the very beginning, the Palestinians who are selected to attend camp are the brightest, most politically oriented teens in their communities. The political element thus holds the most sway for them. Ultimately, though, I continue to think that there is a "fun" motive to participating even for the Palestinians; for those who have only been to camp once, staying involved with Seeds of Peace regional programming is a way to get back to Maine for a second camp experience as a PS—and even Palestinians who won't sleep in the same room as Israelis in the region may very well still want to go back to camp.

Heartbeat, again, occupies an interesting middle ground. It was founded on a model similar to that of Seeds of Peace, with each rehearsal containing first a political dialogue component and then a musical dialogue component. Each was facilitated by a former Seeds of Peace staff member. The kids who joined Heartbeat, though, did so largely because they wanted to play in a band of Jews and Arabs *as* the act of coexistence. As Adam, one of the participants, put it when asked about what he would like to say to Heartbeat's audiences, he replied, "I think that to say is not really quite right...it's just that we can play together, you know, we can be together."[143] The political dialogue was too harsh and too difficult for their tastes—kids would simply show up late so that they could avoid that element of Heartbeat and just play music.

Having to accommodate incentives on a daily basis is the difference between having a concentrated summer camp outside of the region and trying to sustain a weekly project within the

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143 Interview with Adam, August 2011, Heartbeat Interviews.

conflict itself. As a solution, Aaron came up with a hybrid style of musical-political dialogue—one

that stresses the importance of discussion and understanding of the struggles and issues in one another's

lyrics, but that always keeps the music first. Heartbeat members now participate because of the

emancipatory space that the program provides, but also because they are able to both express whatever

is in their hearts and share their collective aspirations for a better future.

Cultural Intersections and Tensions: Finding Musical Common Ground

The final paradigm I will use to analyze my data consists of the cultural intersections and

tensions present in the group musical dynamic, and the mechanisms that different groups use for

locating musical common ground in that space. It is clear that in each program, the web of

intersections and tensions between Israeli and Palestinian musical tastes are complex.

In Project Harmony, many of the Arab boys were obsessed with an IDF (Israeli Defense Forces)

radio slogan, "galgalgalgalatz," yet didn't want to learn the Hora. The Jewish girls were interested in

learning Arabic songs, yet were often inadvertently excluded by their Arab peers when trying to learn

them, as mentioned earlier. The tool I used for successfully uniting both sides was the international

language of pop music. During the summer of 2010, the World Cup anthem, "Wavin' Flag," provided

the perfect song, as both Israelis and Palestinians share a passion for soccer. I taught "Wavin' Flag" in

English, Arabic, and Hebrew, and everyone sang it together. The kids were enthused because it was a

very popular song, and the Israeli girls, who really wanted to learn the Arabic, also had an opportunity

to do so.

Seeds of Peace uses songs like "I am a Seed of Peace," which create such a magical music

culture at camp, to rekindle fond reminiscence and love for one another back in the region. The

organization has the tremendous advantage of being able to inculcate a shared music culture during the

three idyllic weeks in Maine, which then, like a vaccine, protects against the despair of the conflict for

the rest of one's life. As a poignant example, I taught a particularly beautiful song called "Wanting Memories" at camp in the summer of 2009. When I was reunited with some of my campers in Jerusalem at the first binational in 2010, they remembered the words, and one of them had even made a recording of our camp performance the ring-tone on her phone, which she played for me with great pride and a big smile. But obviously, such memories are not always sufficient to withstand political pressure, as was the case at the second binational seminar.

Heartbeat strives to create a musical synthesis of its participants' musical influences. Many of the participants arrive with similar tastes in rock, jazz, and hip-hop. Of the participants who were interviewed, the two who mentioned idolizing Umm Kulthum—the foremost singer in classical Arabic music—were Arab and Jewish bassists. This proved an interesting intersection indeed, and a fundamental challenge, like Zehava Ben, to many dichotomies of Jewish vs. Arab music culture. Therefore, the idea that a synthesis that speaks to everyone could be created largely in the popular music idiom is not so far-fetched. As Adam recalled of their first desert retreat in March 2011, "It was like, every time there were two people with instruments, there would just be music, it was like even without talking. It was amazing."[144] Heartbeat has found a musical channel that is easy for Israelis and Palestinian youth alike to tune into.

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144 Interview with Adam, August 2011, Heartbeat Interviews.

IX. DISCUSSION

In this section, I evaluate my data in the context of the field to ascertain whether relevant patterns in the literature can lend greater understanding to the underlying dynamics of musical peace work in Jerusalem.

Interaction, Incentives, and Prejudice-Reduction

As far as prejudice-reduction towards the outgroup is concerned, contact theory and its critiques have laid out many competing models for group interaction: the contact hypothesis, realistic contact theory, social identity theory, and more. However, as social identity theory compellingly argues, and many studies have confirmed, purely interpersonal interaction will yield purely interpersonal results—and hence, subtyping. Purely intergroup contact, however, is difficult and often fails, leaving participants with little sense of common ground and sometimes reinforcing the stereotypes it had sought to abolish. Therefore, the literature recommends a mixed model of interpersonal and intergroup structure.

We see this prediction echoed perfectly in the data from my case studies. Project Harmony was too interpersonal in design, and generated no prejudice-reduction. Seeds of Peace's focus, after caving to the Palestinian demand for "no fun," was too intergroup, and ran into the opposite problem—that the divisions of the conflict imposed themselves so forcefully on the interactive space that common ground was hard to find, and many Israelis left with the impression that their partners for peace weren't as reliable as they had once thought. Heartbeat's mixed model seemed to succeed in managing the delicate balance and ended up with a personal, yet substantive, program. However, due to the inability to control for selection bias, and some interview responses that indicate that Heartbeat attracts participants who already believe in coexistence, I cannot make any claims about its ability to reduce prejudice among its participants.

As far as the musical-political dynamics of such interaction, the literature mentions a number of useful concepts. In a dual-stream musical and political dialogue model such as Jordanger's Peace Through Art initiative, collaborative musical performance can provide an interpersonal foundation upon which dialogue about the conflict can rest; and once in dialogue, collective vulnerability can allow participants to get past dichotomized linguistic thinking. Wisam Gibran's workshops using the concept of musical home places provides a successful model for music *as* political dialogue. The intergroup, identity-based musical activities of the Resonant Community likewise demonstrate how musical interaction without explicit political interaction can lead to prejudice reduction.

These studies provide interesting models for understanding my data. Heartbeat largely adheres to Wisam Gibran's formula, and it seems to work, though selection bias makes it difficult for me to say anything definitive regarding its overall effects.

Project Harmony, however, bears some striking similarities to the Resonant Community project. Both projects deal with middle school youth across asymmetrical power relations, and both seek to utilize purely musical interaction to reduce prejudice and foster friendships. However, the Resonant Community utilizes a more explicitly intergroup musical structure by teaching the musics of other cultures as part of their identity, whereas Project Harmony shies away from creating a program based on intergroup, identity-based musical interaction. The Resonant Community's findings of prejudice-reduction came after three years of programming, whereas Project Harmony had only a month of concentrated arts activity, but I still consider the Resonant Community to be an inspiring model for an organization like Project Harmony to consider as it continues to evaluate its programming.

The Peace Through Art project suggests interesting strategies that Seeds of Peace could have perhaps appropriated to overcome the excessive intergroup reification that occurred at the second binational. In particular, Jordanger describes how at first, the Russian and Chechen bands were suspicious of playing together, but that once they were given an outside impetus and began playing, the

performance felt natural to them. This anecdote echoes my feelings during the weak rendition of "I am a Seed of Peace" at the second binational. I wrote in my fieldnotes that all the Seeds needed was a counselor with a guitar and some positive energy to get them out of their ruts and dancing, and then they would be able to perform coexistence as they had before, but unfortunately, I wasn't in a position to intervene at the time. Jordanger also explains how collaborative music-making was able to inculcate a sense of collective vulnerability among the Russian and Chechen musicians, which allowed political dialogue to flow more easily past dichotomized roadblocks. This is another strategy that could have been strategically adopted by Seeds of Peace, as many of the dialogue groups encountered such difficulties.

Both the literature and my data show that a mixed model of interpersonal and intergroup interaction to be most effective at reducing prejudice. However, an issue largely ignored in the music and conflict transformation literature, but of critical importance in the field—to this parameter in particular—is the question of incentives and selection. As my data shows, fun and normalization are competing incentives and disincentives for Israeli and Palestinian youth to become involved in music-for-peace projects. But we have seen that different kinds of kids are more swayed by one incentive than another.

Project Harmony, in creating a totally interpersonal structure, draws participants through fun activities, and the kids who come for fun are not very interested in more substantive programming; on occasions when I tried to introduce discussions of a more serious nature, the kids routinely ignored me. The kids who are worried about normalization do not come, so such programs get trapped in an exclusively interpersonal framework, and therefore cannot generate prejudice-reduction.

Seeds of Peace has the opposite problem. It selects participants for the International Camp in Maine through a rigorous series of tests of political/historical knowledge and public speaking ability. These future leaders, then, are precisely the kinds of politically minded youth that care about taking a

stand on normalization. Because of this, Seeds of Peace may be limited in its ability to host fun

activities in the region anymore and thus lose its interpersonal side—and with it, its ability to recreate

the magic of camp after camp.

Heartbeat comes closest to finding a middle ground, attracting kids who want to play music and

also make a statement. However, its members are self-selecting, and it appears that only kids who are

already relatively open-minded about the other side want to participate in the first place. Also, their

incentive structure is still fun-based, as demonstrated by the participants routinely coming late until

Aaron eliminated the political dialogue element of the program. These kids want to be in a band.

This dichotomy of selection and incentive structures and its implications for prejudice-reduction

raises a more fundamental question—what, ultimately can we hope from programs like these in the

realm of prejudice-reduction? It appears that programs like Project Harmony and Heartbeat, whose

participants are self-selecting based on "fun," aren't actually changing the minds of the participants at

all, but merely providing like-minded youth a means for empowerment and amplification. Seeds of

Peace aspires to more, but is restricted in its potential to reduce prejudice on the ground by the *lack* of a

strong enough interpersonal element to overcome the reification of conflict boundaries imposed by

concepts such as *tatbi'a*. The challenge, then, is finding a way either to attract politically minded kids

who want to have fun in a way that deals with the normalization issue, or to attract kids who just want

to have fun in a way that opens their minds to the political issues. How best to do this remains perhaps

the question for further research on the possibilities for programs like these to generate prejudice-

reduction in the region.

Empowerment and Self-Expression in Context

The second area of evaluation is in the realm of empowerment and self-expression. The music

and conflict transformation literature is full of examples of both of these phenomena: Milord Rone

changed its style in the Peace Through Art project in the Caucasus, and the immigrant identity in

Noway's Resonant Community study was empowered. Each one of the programs I studied in

Jerusalem featured empowerment and enhanced self-expression as one of their primary goals. And in

the previous section, I have shown that each program succeeded at meeting its own standards.

However, in order to assess whether and how this newly-empowered self-expression can lead to peace,

there remain a number of important questions to answer, with implications mostly in the field of two-

track diplomacy.

The first questions are: What are these empowered statements saying? And are we evaluating

empowered group or individual self-expression, or both? Group expression in these cases consists of

"Wavin' Flag" in the case of Project Harmony, camp songs in the case of Seeds of Peace, and the

entirety of Heartbeat's repertoire. "Wavin' Flag," the official song of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, speaks

mainly to universal human emotions such as joy and pride. Seeds of Peace songs speak both to

universals ("Everybody like Hummus") and to more specific Seeds of Peace shared experiences ("I am

a Seed of Peace"). Heartbeat's repertoire speaks to all kinds of issues, but tends to stress the common

aspirations that all humans share for a just and peaceful future, and the power of love.[145] I would argue

that each of these collective statements contributes to the creation of a culture of peace, and therefore,

within the schema of two-track diplomacy, is itself a harbinger of peace.

However, different forms of individual expression are also empowered through these programs,

and their content and effects must also be evaluated. They are variegated and, as such, may not all fit

squarely into a discourse of peace within Israeli and Palestinian societies. But one trend in particular

that should be explored in depth is that of Palestinian young men rapping about issues of social justice

—discrimination, the occupation, and so on. Oday and Mahmoud from Project Harmony, Muli from

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145 A detailed analysis of Heartbeat's musical output is not in the scope of this paper, though it would be very
    interesting.

Heartbeat, and Mohammed, a Gazan Seed, draw their inspiration from the larger Palestinian hip-hop movement, which harnesses rap as a weapon to fight the injustices of the Israeli occupation. Many of their expressions focus far more on Palestinian demands for justice than on peace or bilateral coexistence, so it is not a foregone conclusion that the empowerment of young Palestinian rappers necessarily adds to the peace discourse. It is the hope of such programs, however, that given their empowerment in a bilateral context, they and their other individually empowered compatriots will temper their calls for justice with a broader understanding and calls for mercy as well.

My data reveals little about such trends. Directions for further research on this topic include exploration of the political content of the songs produced by bands like Heartbeat and Palestinian rappers who engage in musical projects with Israelis. Specifically, a comparison of pre- and post-encounter material might provide a means of measuring prejudice-reduction and any accompanying changes in perspective that result from such encounters. In addition, a structural analysis of how these programs affect the Israeli-Palestinian discourse on the conflict would be useful in order to better make claims about the effectiveness of the political statements such programs produce.

The Importance of Locating Musical Common Ground in Jerusalem

The final area of evaluation is how, and where, these programs locate musical common ground, and the implications that this location has for their musical interaction and output. The three distinct strategies shown in the literature are performing a shared past, either imagined or real; using a common contemporary medium of expression to inhabit present-day common ground; or creating a synthesis of musical styles that point the way to a shared future. Each strategy has advantages and disadvantages, and hopefully a comparison of my data with other projects in the field will help draw them out.

The strategy of using music to index a shared past is perhaps most compellingly illustrated by Most Duša, whose members hope to trigger the memory of a tolerant, ecumenical Sarajevo through

their performances, and thereby change the attitudes in society towards what is "normal" in Bosnia. Seeds of Peace uses a similar strategy—using the Seeds of Peace song and other camp songs to access the shared memories of camp and draw inspiration and unity from that shared idyllic space. These programs are lucky to be able to build their foundation upon such sturdy common ground, but the performance of the past, for both Most Duša and Seeds of Peace, runs into the problem of gradual disillusionment as the memory of the shared past fades deeper into the realm of fantasy over time, and as the current-day structures which that past questions ossify and become more entrenched in the present. Therefore, to be effective, organizations must use their music as a tool for creating a tangible difference in the structures of the present if they want music's power as a source of inspiration for its members and as a discursive force in society to truly be able to bring back the past.

The second strategy for finding musical common ground is in the location and performance of contemporary forms that are shared by both sides of a conflict. In the literature, we see the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra appropriate Western Art Music as a language that transcends the boundaries of the conflict, and at Project Harmony, we find a similar strategy in the choice of international pop hits such as "Wavin' Flag." Unfortunately, however, with such generality often comes a loss of cultural specificity and the power of rootedness in a place that goes with it. We see this problem articulated by Riiser in "National Identity and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," as the location of musical transformation in the Divan occurs both physically and culturally in the Occident, and therefore, speaks less powerfully to the conflict discourse in the Orient. In the case of Project Harmony, "Wavin' Flag" was a great choice of song, because all the kids knew it and were excited to sing it together in their different languages. It was common ground that existed. However, and perhaps this is just my bias as a lover of traditional musics, I felt that the performance of "Wavin' Flag"—and the performance of most international "pop" music[146]—was more superficial in form and in content than most other forms

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146 Not all forms of local popular music, but the most commercial of American pop music.

of culturally-grounded musical expression. For me at least, such overly generalized "universal" forms lack the cultural specificity that really creates a deep, communal connection to the music being performed.

The third possible strategy for finding musical common ground is the creation of new musical syntheses that perform possible futures. Bustan Abraham professionalized such a process, and Wisam Gibran's "musical homes" model suggests a useful path for organizing such synthesis among workshop musicians. This strategy has a number of advantages. First, the process of building a shared musical form of expression is *itself* culturally grounded dialogue, potentially satisfying the desired condition of mixed interpersonal-intergroup interaction in an encounter space. Second, it allows music to be used as a jumping-off point for discussion about the conflict, as recommended by Evron, as the musical meanings that are brought into the room with each participant are processed and understood by the group. Third, it grounds such potential conflict dialogue in a shared musical space, as recommended by Jordanger and the literature on structuring encounters. Heartbeat incorporates all of these elements, and this is not insignificant.

Of course, the project of creating a new, collaborative musical synthesis that can represent and speak to both sides of a conflict is not an easy task. First, in order for such synthesis to be meaningful, it must begin with musicians of high caliber with excellent improvisational skills who are fully steeped in their own traditions. This model, therefore, is limited to a small potential pool of participants from the start, and even then, there is no guarantee of a successful product.[147] Second, and more important, is the consideration of how such a hybrid will fit into the larger musical and cultural discourses and structures on both sides of the conflict. Bustan Abraham and Wisam Gibran both faced the difficulties of not really fitting into a preexisting musical mold – for Bustan Abraham, this meant cultivating a new

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147 Even the members of professional group Alei Hazayit, as profiled in *Playing Across a Divide,* struggled to approach musical synthesis because they were not able to acquaint one another well enough with their respective musical traditions.

audience for their style, and for Gibran—in the case of the Jewish-Arab Youth Orchestra—this meant finding pieces that could be approached from both Western and Eastern traditional frameworks by composers, performers, and audience members. By locating its synthesis more firmly in the genre of popular music, Heartbeat doesn't face as many of the difficulties that come from falling outside of traditional social musical structures as Bustan Abraham and Wisam Gibran's ensembles. However, in this choice, Heartbeat adopts the same drawbacks that pop music poses as far as losing the cultural legitimacy of more traditional forms.

X. CONCLUSION

Having completed the evaluation of each program according the frameworks of prejudice-reduction and empowerment and self-expression and having considered the advantages and disadvantages of each program's choice of location for its musical common ground, this last section will briefly summarize what this means for each program.

Project Harmony was too interpersonal in structure, and therefore failed to produce any measurable reduction in prejudice. However, were it to emulate the Resonant Community project in Norway by adding a more intentionally-intergroup musical element, it might be able to harness musical education as an effective prejudice-reduction mechanism for middle-school youth. It did, though, succeed in empowering its members through individual and group performance, and in teaching valuable skills of both artistic and linguistic expression. Its expression in pop music forms was readily accessible to all, but perhaps lacked cultural specificity.

Seeds of Peace's regional programming ended up with a skewed intergroup model, due to the Palestinians' refusal to participate in "fun" activities," so it too wasn't able to program as effective a mixed model for prejudice-reduction as it had in Maine. However, by adopting some of the strategies suggested by Jordanger, it remains clear that Seeds of Peace could utilize its shared music culture in the region more purposefully and strategically in order to catalyze a feeling of shared vulnerability—and hence a more interpersonal element—in their regional programming. Its ability to draw upon the memories of camp through music is a powerful tool, but one that must be continually reinvigorated through work in the region in order to maintain its potency as a meaningful possibility for the present and the future.

Finally, Heartbeat had perhaps the most promising mixed model of interpersonal-intergroup musical-political dialogue, but due to the inability to eliminate selection bias and the evidence that the membership of Heartbeat is largely self-selecting for open-mindedness at the outset, it is difficult to

assess the potential for prejudice-reduction from a program like Heartbeat's. As a tool for empowerment and enhanced self-expression, however, Heartbeat excels, providing its participants not only with artistic skills and growth experience, but also with immediate amplification of their voices to make an immediate effect on their world. It flirts with the processes of musical synthesis, yet remains rooted in popular forms, and therefore remains both expressive and accessible to the public.

I can neither fully criticize nor fully praise any of these efforts to use music as a tool for peacemaking in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. They all had strengths and weaknesses, as elaborated above, and achieved mixed results. However, my initial predications proved correct: all three programs were successful at creating feelings of empowerment and enhanced self-expression among the participants. Seeds of Peace and Heartbeat Jerusalem, projects that acknowledged the underlying conflict and differences of identity of their participants and had their participants work through their differences using music either as a tool of dialogue or in parallel with political dialogue, were more successful than Project Harmony, which simply ignored the conflict and such differences. The juxtaposition of these three case studies showed that a mixed model of intergroup and interpersonal interaction is critically important for attaining prejudice-reduction from the musical interaction of Israeli and Palestinian youth through an interpenetration of sociopolitical understanding and personal relationships.

But beyond such predictions, it became increasingly clear over the course of my research and analysis that harnessing music as a tool for peacemaking in Jerusalem is exponentially more difficult than doing so at the Seeds of Peace camp in Maine or in another oasis away from the conflict, as the structures of the conflict impose themselves ruthlessly on the kinds of interactive models that can be successfully implemented. Specifically, the issues of incentives and selection presented a causality dilemma regarding the ideal of mixed interpersonal-intergroup interaction and prejudice-reduction. Only participants who already believe in the humanity of the other side, at least to some extent, may be

willing to embrace interpersonal interaction. At the same time, the participants who are most skeptical of the other side are likely to try to force an intergroup model upon the encounter. However, it is the more openminded participants who need intergroup models the most, and the more skeptical participants who need interpersonal contact.

This fundamental issue and its implications for prejudice-reduction is the most telling finding from this study of music-for-peace projects in Jerusalem. Any future programs must wrestle successfully with issues of incentivization in their design and strategies, otherwise they are likely to fall prey to the same traps that Project Harmony, Heartbeat, and Seeds of Peace did: being unable to emulate Seeds of Peace's idyllic mixed model in the region itself, given the deep and unyielding pressures of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Jerusalem and its daily presence in the lives of Israelis and Palestinians. It is clear, though, that at a minimum, such programs are effective tools for amplifying present and future voices of peace in their respective societies. Perhaps it is this element upon which we can build for sure, as we continue working to create the optimal, if elusive, mixed model that can both address and transcend the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as it exists in Jerusalem today.

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