iscte
INSTITUTO
UNIVERSITÁRIO
DE LISBOA

Online community radio as *sumud*: a tale of Palestinian resistance

Ema Vaz Constantino Gonçalves

Master in International Studies

Supervisor:
PhD Filipe Reis, Assistant Professor
CRIA -ISCTE, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Co-Supervisor:
PhD Shahd Wadi, Collaborator Researcher,
CES – Center for Social Studies, University of Coimbra

September 2023

History Department

Online community radio as *sumud*: a tale of Palestinian resistance

Ema Vaz Constantino Gonçalves

Master in International Studies

Supervisor:

PhD Filipe Reis, Assistant Professor

CRIA -ISCTE, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Co-Supervisor:

PhD Shahd Wadi, Collaborator Researcher,

CES – Center for Social Studies, University of Coimbra

September 2023

To the Palestinian people,

Acknowledgments

To Professor Shahd Wadi, a co-advisor in title but my guidance in practice. Thank you for sharing this journey with me and offering your invaluable contribute. It is a pleasure to also share activist spaces and journeys with you. To Professor Filipe Reis, who accepted me in a critical moment when I was lost and shared his knowledge and passion for radio with me. To Professor Giulia Daniele, whose class on the Political Dynamics of the Middle East gave me an essential critical contact with not only Palestine but also provided me space to explore a gender lens that conducted me into my upcoming PhD in Gender Studies.

To all the researchers and peers I came in contact with, whether engaged in radio, resistance, or Palestinian studies and whose conversations and ideas exchange shaped my research, resulting in one of the most important and exciting parts of my academic journey. In particular, Ieva Gudaityté for being the first conversation I had, giving me guidance and hope, and Paula Guerra. To Lena Meari, whom I had the pleasure to meet and engage in discussion with during my participation in the course Critical Feminist Analysis of Formations of Gender and Power as part of Barcelona Summer School of the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

To everyone I interviewed in this process, whose stories and lives, namely of community organizing, inspire me endlessly.

To everyone I organize and with whom I share activist and militant spaces that build who I am and what I do.

To all my friends, who endured me talking endlessly about this thesis. Who sent me all the conferences and talks connected to the theme and supported me throughout this process.

To my mom, for being a supporter, fan, proofreader and everything else.

To Ana, for sharing her love with me - including for community radios.

And to my dad, always. I miss you.

Abstract

This dissertation explores the role of internet community radio in the Palestinian resistance, focusing on its potential to foster international solidarity across borders. The study also investigates the potential of community radio to embody *sumud*, a Palestinian concept of steadfastness and resilience, and exist as a space for community care. This research aims to understand the importance of community radio in shaping and disseminating the Palestinian narrative and identity, while also assessing its contribution to the Palestinian liberation struggle. The study employs a digital ethnography of Radio Alhara as a study case, with interviews with artists and people connected to the radio. Adopting a feminist and decolonial approach to research, this dissertation draws on relevant literature related to *sumud*, cultural resistance, and community radio, as well as explores the history of radio as resistance in Palestine. The main goal of this paper is to assess the extent to which community radio can be a form of resistance, driven by its existence as a community promoter and its potential to foster international solidarity, and therefore assist the path towards Palestinian liberation.

.

Keywords: Care; Internet Community Radio; International Solidarity; Palestine; Resistance.

Resumo

Esta dissertação explora o papel da rádio comunitária online na resistência Palestina, com um foco no seu potencial para fomentar solidariedade internacional além-fronteiras. Explora também o seu potencial para incorporar *sumud*, um conceito palestino de resiliência e persistência, e existir como um espaço para cuidado comunitário. Esta pesquisa ambiciona compreender a importância da rádio comunitária em moldar e disseminar a narrativa e identidade Palestina, enquanto avalia a sua contribuição para a luta de libertação Palestina. Este estudo emprega como metodologia uma etnografia digital com a Radio Alhara como um estudo de caso, conduzindo entrevistas a artistas e pessoas relacionadas com a rádio. Alicerçando-se numa perspetiva feminista e decolonial de pesquisa, apoia-se em literatura relacionada com *sumud*, resistência cultural e rádio comunitária, bem como explora a história da radio como resistência na Palestina. O principal objetivo desta pesquisa é avaliar em que medida é que a rádio comunitária pode ser vista como uma forma de resistência, impulsionada pela sua existência enquanto promotora da comunidade, bem como o seu potencial para fomentar solidariedade internacional e assim ajudar no caminho em direção à libertação Palestina.

Palavras-chave: Cuidado; Palestina; Rádio Comunitária de Internet; Resistência; Solidariedade Internacional.

Table of Contents

List of Acronyms

AMARC – World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (known by French acronym)

BDS - Boycott, Disinvestment and Sanctions

BLM – Black Lives Matter

IR – International Relations

ISM - International Solidarity Movement

MfP - Musicians for Palestine

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

PACBI - Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel

PLO - Palestinian Liberation Organization

PBC – Palestinian Broadcasting Company

PBS – Palestinian Broadcasting Service

RFP – Radio Free Palestine

REH - Radio Earth Hold

WTO – World Trade Organization

Table of figures

Table of tables

Introduction

In order for me to write poetry that isn't political, I must listen to the birds,
and in order to hear the birds, the warplanes must be silent.

- Marwan Makhoul[1]

Despite widespread announcements and pressures proclaiming radio's impending demise due to the rise of other media formats,[2] radio has managed to resist, adapt, and survive. This resistance parallels the ongoing struggle of the Palestinian people against Israeli occupation and international indifference. Palestinians' resilience and steadfastness, commonly known as *sumud,*[3] has defied all odds and persisted after more than 75 years of colonial occupation.[4] Following this analogy, this study aims to investigate the connection between radio's tenacity and the Palestinian struggle, shedding light on the underlying elements that have enabled both to persevere in the face of adversity. Furthermore, the international component is critical for both resistances, with the internet mutating radio's traits and abilities and international solidarity strengthening and amplifying the Palestinian struggle.

Community radio seeks to defy the dominant models while empowering and liberating communities, enabling them to shape and transmit their identity. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that the media in Palestine is, like all other realms of Palestinian life, conditioned by Israeli occupation (Tawil-Souri & Aouragh, 2014). In this context and combined with having the ability to amplify the voices of Palestinian people and their struggle, internet community radios offer an intriguing research field. Extensive work has been done on the role of community radios in strengthening communities, namely in Africa (Al-hassan et al., 2011; Essel & Govender, 2023; Mohammed, 2018), Latin America (O'Connor, 1990), Asia (Dahal, 2013; Patil, 2014; Pavarala & Malik, 2007) and Australia (Anderson et al., 2020). These studies often encompass ethnographic components and focus on minorities or indigeneity, examining how community radio is used to advocate and resist. Additionally, literature

---

[1] Retrieved from Gaza Poets Society in May 2023- https://www.instagram.com/p/CO3URKVgw7M/. For further information about the author and the poem see his interview about the connection between poetry and identity politics in https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/232229.

[2] The rise of new technology comes with a belief that past technologies will be supplanted. For further analysis see for example Mark Fisher's (2007) exploration of radio in America in *Something in the Air: Radio, Rock, and the Revolution that Shaped a Generation*, Michele Hilmes chapter "Rethinking radio" in *Radio Reader* (2002) or P.M. Lewis (2000) article "Private passion, public neglect – the cultural status of radio".

[3] S*umud* can be defined as steadfastness and resilience (Hammad & Tribe, 2021; Marie et al., 2018). However, in this thesis, and accounting for the limits of resilience discourse (Shwaikh, 2023), the main conception of *sumud* is as an anti-colonial way of being (Meari, 2014). These dynamics will be explored in Chapter 2.

[4] By 1948, in what is known as the Nakba – meaning catastrophe in Arabic, after ethnically cleansing more than 700,000 Palestinians, Israel controlled 78% of historic Palestine (King, 2021b). Its consequences, Israeli occupation and apartheid, will be explored further and set the background for this thesis.

exploring community radio as a feminist and care space (Fierke, 2014; Mitchell, 1998; Patil, 2014; Rimmer, 2021; Serafini, 2019) contributes to a better understanding of its multilayered role in resistance and international solidarity.

Building upon existing literature, this study also draws from several studies of internet use, online activism, and resistance into which internet community radios can insert themselves. This research draws from relevant bodies of work on Palestinian cultural resistance (Said, 2007; Salih & Richter-Devroe, 2014) as well as digital resistance (Aouragh, 2011; Bookmiller & Bookmiller, 1990; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2011; Skare, 2016; Tawil-Souri & Aouragh, 2014; Yin, 2009). It also incorporates research on the internet and media use in other resistance processes, such as the Arab Spring (Aouragh, 2012, 2016) and broader conceptions of cultural resistance (Duncombe, 2002). Regarding international solidarity, Marta Wódz (2021) explores the concept of sonic solidarity with Radio Earth Hold as a study case; and Gretchen King and Laith Marouf (2018) use Radio Free Palestine to explore cross-border solidarity broadcasting. Together, these concepts create the general framework that will guide the exploration of the case study of Radio Alhara in this thesis. However, within the scope of this research, a significant gap remains in the study of the role played by community internet radio in fostering Palestinian resistance and international solidarity, especially investigating its potential to embody *sumud*. This study aims at contributing to fill this gap by providing insights about the relations between community radio, resistance practices and international solidarity, in order to expand the literature and inform strategies in the pursuit of emancipation and freedom. Salih and Richter-Devroe (2014) also expose how, although Palestinian cultural resistance production is a prime example of the connection between art and politics, most mainstream scholarship on the Arab world's culture and politics does not explore this nexus. Therefore, this thesis also attempts to contribute to help fill this gap. Moreover, following Paula Serafini's (2019) study on community radio as care in Argentina, through qualitative research on the role of community radio in the context of anti-colonial struggles it is possible to provide evidence on the social value of community media, which in turn has the potential to influence media practices and policy making both in Palestine and internationally.

Against this background, this dissertation engages in a digital ethnographic exploration of Radio Alhara, a community radio created in Palestine during the COVID-19 pandemic. Through Radio Alhara as a case study, this thesis attempts to explore the following research question: Is community radio a form of Palestinian resistance? In answering this main question, this dissertation will primarily analyze if and how community radio in Palestine contributes to the Palestinian struggle for liberation under the following axis of analysis:
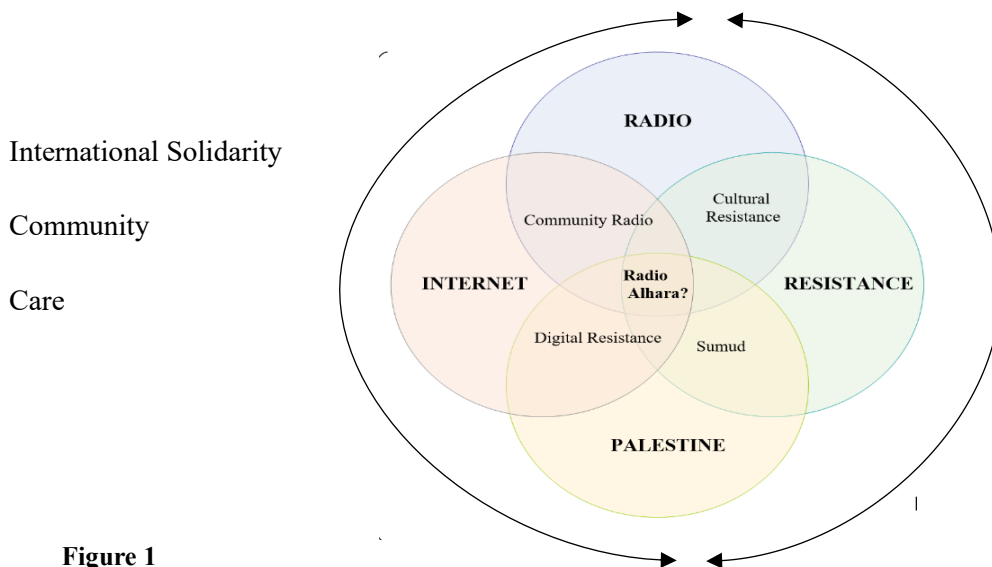
International Solidarity

Community

Care

Figure 1

Venn Diagram of the concepts analyzed and their intersections.

This exploration results in the following sub-questions: 1.1) How does community radio manifest *sumud*? 1.2) How does community radio engage in relationships of care, and what is the role of community building? 1.3) How does community radio foster international solidarity, and what is the contribution to the Palestinian struggle? By addressing these research questions, this thesis aims to contribute to understanding the potential of community radios as a form of resistance and care in Palestine, highlighting their role in promoting social justice, community building, and solidarity practices. While this thesis exists in the realm of both Media and International Studies, it does not attempt to fit exclusively into one of the categories. Instead, and combined with other areas such as Feminist Studies, this dissertation offers a broader transdisciplinary perspective through a critical digital ethnographic approach, following the calls for decolonization in academia.

This thesis is divided into five parts. The first part explores the methodology used for the research, accounting for its potential and limitations. The second part provides an overview of radio, internet, and Palestine history followed by a third part exploring the resistance conceptions, encompassing practices of cultural resistance, *sumud*, care, and international solidarity. In the fourth part, the role of community radio anchored in the case of Radio Alhara is explored, with an overview of movements like Boycott, Disinvestment and Sanctions (BDS),[5] and Musicians for Palestine (MfP).[6] Finally, the fifth part concludes the paper and emphasizes the importance of community movements and international solidarity in resistance and liberation struggles in Palestine and globally.

---

[5] The BDS movement is a civil society campaign that aims to pressure Israel until it complies with international law, in order to protect the rights of Palestinians. For more information consult https://bdsmovement.net/.

[6] Musicians for Palestine is a global network of musicians advocating for Palestinian human rights and refusing silence in the face of Israeli war crimes. More than 900 signatories joined the pledge to refuse to perform in Israel, supporting Palestine's right to sovereignty and freedom. For more information explore their website https://musiciansforpalestine.com/our-letter .

Methodology

> For Palestinians, research and knowledge production are vital for their
> ongoing anti-colonial struggle.
>
> -   Abu Moghli, 2023, p.1

The main hypothesis of this study centers around community radio in Palestine as a manifestation of resistance and *sumud*, engaging in international solidarity and contributing to Palestinian liberation. A study case with a Palestinian community radio will be used to test this hypothesis. This study will be anchored in a qualitative approach through critical digital ethnography. In order to analyze the data and frame the findings, first, a literature review of material related to the concepts of radio, cultural resistance, *sumud,* international solidarity, and care was conducted. Following this, I engaged in participatory observation[7] and interviewed people connected to the study case radio. The study is based on six semi-structured interviews conducted via Zoom[8] between May and June 2023 with musicians, DJs, other artists, and activists connected to *Radio Alhara*. The interviews were approximately 40 minutes long and were all conducted in English. They were recorded with the written consent of the interviewees. The focus of the interviews and the thematic analysis that followed them centered on the intersection between culture and resistance, namely the role of radio and international solidarity. Given the decolonial practices explored in the following section, namely regarding the production and dissemination of knowledge, this dissertation is also summarized in the format of a *zine* (see Annex A),[9] in order to disseminate it to the participants of the research and outside the academia in an accessible way. Above all, and in all its formats, this dissertation interacts and shares culture, becoming itself a cultural product and, henceforth, being able to be analyzed as a form of cultural resistance.[10]

The case study will be presented in Chapter 3 in greater detail, but some initial considerations about the selection are needed. The choice of Radio Alhara as a case study was intentional as I was familiar

---

[7] The conception of "participatory observation" connected to radio will be explored in the Chapter 4

[8] The choice of the use of Zoom, an online video call platform that censored Palestinian voices (Zahzah, 2021) was a conflictual choice, but after reflection I concluded it was the only platform where I had access to a Premium account that allowed for recording that facilitated the transcription processes. Moreover, one interview was done through email given the participant availability.

[9] A *zine* is short for fanzine and encompasses DIY (do it yourself) non-comercial publication practices, many times linked to social, political, and artistic issues. Moreover, they provide safe spaces for marginalized voices, resulting in a space of care. For more information check https://guides.lib.utexas.edu/zines and https://www.binderymke.com/what-is-a-zine. Considering this, I had a talk with Paula Guerra, a researcher on DIY practices and did a workshop regarding zine making. The initial version is in Annex A of this dissertation, and I hope to continue to build on it, particularly through an open call for contributions.

[10] This consideration will be explored further throughout the dissertation. This overreach claim does not attempt to give a connotation to the word culture, neither give value consideration about the quality of the thesis. It simply transcends the interpretation used in the case study to the production of knowledge itself.

with its work and was a casual listener. In addition, I came across reports and news articles about the radio in different media outlets. For example, in 2021 the news publication Aljazeera named Alhara "one of the most formidable online radio presences – and with it, one of the biggest voices for Palestinian liberation – in the world" (Tan, 2021, para.3), exploring its grassroots approach. Moreover, in the 2022 Primavera Sound Festival,[11] two of Radio Alhara's founders, brothers Elias and Yousef Anastas, participated in the panel "Building a strong music community through streaming radio" where they discussed the role of the listeners, which shifted from audience to active members of a community; and radio as a network that fosters solidarity (Primavera Sound, 2022). However, in order to actively engage with the field, the starting point for this research was to map radios in Palestine[12] following the ethnographic process of field note-taking. Given Radio Alhara being a community-based, non-profitable, and non-privately funded initiative (Art Dubai, 2021), it became clear that it was the most appropriate case study. The following step involved engaging in active participation, as explored in Chapter 3.

0.1. To "Apprendre" – on doing Critical Digital Ethnography

When analyzing community media, a qualitative approach is often favored over quantitative methods given its ability to explore the perspectives of the creators and artists involved in the "case study organization" (Bergo 1989 cited in Patil, 2014, p.6). This approach is particularly relevant in the case of Radio Alhara in this dissertation, providing valuable insights into the dynamics and functioning of community media and its resistance potential. Furthermore, when the subject is community, one of the biggest questions centers around who we are referring to. In "Who is the community in community radio?", through a case study of community radio in India, Savita Bailur (2012) concludes that to answer the question, it is fundamental to conduct more qualitative and ethnographic research regarding community media in an attempt to talk with the people and assert their own understandings of community and participation. Therefore, this dissertation also attempts to answer this call.

Following the benefits of qualitative analysis, the selection of the participants is also of great importance. The selection of participants and their contributions are considered more valuable than prioritizing a representative and large sample (Patil, 2014). Following a decolonial view to research, participants are not merely data but a fundamental element and part of the research, its approaches, and results. Within this framework, the French word *Apprendre* which can simultaneously be used to mean

---

[11] Primavera Sound is a music festival that happens in Spain and Portugal during the summer, for more information see their website https://www.primaverasound.com/.

[12] Radios in Palestine were compiled from the following websites: https://www.allradio.net/country/139, https://mytuner-radio.com/radio/country/palestine-stations, https://onlineradiobox.com/ps/?cs=ps.tarab&p=1, https://streema.com/radios/country/Palestine and https://mytunein.com/asia/palestine, where I looked at the content, programming, language and funding in search of independent, community-based ones.

"teach" or "learn", is a fitting metaphor for the conception of Critical Ethnography that will be used and explored in this work. This approach emphasizes the mutual exchange of knowledge between the researcher and participants, recognizing both parties' contributions to the research process.

The development of digital technology has increased the options for undertaking ethnographic research, and the COVID-19 pandemic has furthered the use of digital fieldwork techniques (Murthy, 2008; Caliandro, 2017; Konken & Howlett, 2022). By adapting traditional ethnography approaches to the internet age, digital ethnography simultaneously acknowledges the role of theory and the researcher while viewing humans as objects and subjects (Pink et al., 2015). Moreover, digital ethnography offers the best research lens because an online community radio inherently relates to a digital universe.[13] Kozinets (2010) presents the conception of *netnography* - "a form of ethnography research adapted to include the Internet's influence on contemporary worlds" (p.1), structured around the vertices of community and culture (Postill & Pink, 2012). As other names are used to describe the same phenomenon - digital, virtual, cyber, internet; it is possible to conclude that "ethnography is ethnography, prefixing it with digital, online, network, Internet, or web is entirely optional" (Kozinets, 2010, p.5). In 2012, Daniel Miller launched the research project "Why We Post", exploring the use of social media through ethnographic studies in several countries.[14] The studies exemplified that there is not a single internet but several different forms through which people use the internet. This approach can be extrapolated to other mediums and technological formats, such as the radio, and present a framework regarding the multiple possibilities of their use into which internet community radios insert themselves.

To better understand the field, this research combines digital ethnography with a critical approach. Connected to Critical Theory, critical ethnography combines traditional methodologies with clear ontological and epistemological choices, namely "emancipation with a participatory action-oriented intent" (Hair & Clark, 2003, p.1). It goes beyond describing reality and actively questions it. Henceforth, in the case of this study, Palestinian emancipation goals are envisioned, and the line between activism and academia is blended.[15] The central idea is that one can be critical without stopping being scientific (Thomas, 1993).[16]

---

[13] The use of ethnography in this research demanded an in-depth immersion in ethnographic research for the first time. In an attempt to delve into the subject, I attended a course on "Ethnography and Ethnographic Experimentations" delivered by CRIA – Center for Research in Anthropology, during March 2023 at ISCTE. For more information view the website https://cria.org.pt/en/etnografias-experimentacoes-etnograficas. Moreover, it was through this course that I got a recommendation for someone who later became my supervisor - Professor Filipe Reis.

[14] For more information see the project website https://www.ucl.ac.uk/why-we-post/.

[15] The Academia/Activism divide will be further explored in the next section.

[16] For example, Illan Pappé, preeminent Israeli historian on Palestinian, Israeli, and Zionist history and political activist, discusses how one of the biggest criticisms he received was that his work was too political, and

0.2. "Palestine is a Feminist Issue"[17]

Considerations on decolonization, positionality, and activism

> Knowledge and the power to define what counts as
> real knowledge lie at the epistemic core of colonialism.
>
> - Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Considering the power dynamics connected to knowledge production, it is crucial to attempt to decolonize research, accounting for ethical responsibilities in the process. This requires a fundamental shift regarding the methodologies used, the knowledge considered valid, the relationship with the research participants, and the overall goal and dissemination of the research, among other factors. This call for decolonization (Tuhiwai Smith, 2021; Thambinanthan & Kinsella, 2021) will be explored in this section and provide a framework for the development of this research.

Vibetha Thambinathan and Elizabeth Kinsella (2021) argue that when engaging in research with populations oppressed by colonial legacies, the use of decolonial methodology is pivotal and should always be combined with solidarity with their struggles against the colonial power. In doing so, they present critical components of engaging in decolonial research methodology that is also the base for this research and will be explored in depth in Chapter 3. These are exercising critical reflexivity, reciprocity, and respect for people's agency; embracing the other's knowledge; and embodying a transformative praxis. The authors mentioned above also explore the importance of decolonizing methodology through language, which is of great significance as language can be a tool of oppression.[18] In order to liberate and decolonize Palestine, it is necessary to decolonize the way the question is thought and spoken about. Henceforth, throughout this work, the whitewashing of Israel's violence through the use of "conflict" or "rise of tensions" will be substituted by decolonial phrasings that actively describe the reality, such as occupation, apartheid, and settler colonialism, amongst others.[19]

---

inherently of less quality (Que & Pappe, 2017). In response, he claims that neutrality does not exist. Moreover, in a talk at ISCTE (3/5/2023), he said "No work is going to be as good as a committed scholarship".

[17] This was the title of a post made by the Palestinian Feminist Collective (2021), but its use is older - see for example Lloyd (2014).

[18] For further discussion on the power of language see for example Grada Kilomba (2008) compilation of daily racism episodes where language, and namely the Portuguese language and its lack of accountability and reflection about its colonial practices, exerts power. Kilomba added an introduction to the Portuguese version of her book "Plantation Memories" to account precisely for the weight and power of language where she adds "I cannot fail to write a last paragraph to remind you that language, however poetic it may be, also has a political dimension of creating, fixing and perpetuating relations of power and violence, since each word we use defines the place of an identity. Deep down, through its own terminologies, language consistently informs us of who is normal and who can represent the true human condition. (Ibid, p.14, my translation).

[19] The conception of conflict is associated with the existence of equal footing - which is not the case with a colonizer oppressive potency (Israel) and a colonized oppressed one (Palestine). The imbalance of powers is a clear characteristic of colonialism (Khalidi R. , 2020), and Dawson, Cafolla, & Waite (2021) expertly argue that when the crisis is framed as a conflict, it implies that there are two sides to the violence, placing blame on Palestinian resistance. In an interview, the Palestinian activism Mohammed el Kurd says "Despite the fact that

Several feminist scholars explore the ethics of researching in Palestine and whose works influence the methodological considerations of this dissertation. Firstly, Mai Abu Moghli (2023) argues that regarding research in Palestine, most of the time, ethnic considerations are not sensitive to the context, knowledge production, and dissemination needs of people under domination and struggling for liberation.[20] Given this, the author claims that the methodologic approach, with ethics employed with emancipatory purposes and with an anti-colonial conscience, holds the key to finding the solution. It is impossible to escape the fact that research done in Palestine is conducted under occupation, and the online realm is not an exception to the sphere of colonial domination. Furthermore, this thesis was written around the 75th memorial of the ongoing Nakba, meaning catastrophe in Arabic, and used to refer to the Palestinian occupation and ethnic cleansing by Israel (Wadi, 2019), so it is inherently political, decolonial, critical, feminist, and activist.

Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2022) argues that Israel's settler colonial violence compels feminists "to revisit our responsibilities to stand against colonized militarism and for decolonization" (p.2), through the commitment to justice and liberation, but also through the praxis of narrating and accounting for the violence. In research, this praxis finds potential ground to grow and propagate. Care is also a central element of feminist research (Boellstorff et al., 2012), with considerations for both the researcher's and the participants' well-being. This is also transposed to the object of study into a feminist conception of resistance and the case study of a community-based collective that henceforth is expected to embody care in its own composition.[21]

A feminist decolonial method focuses on a collaborative approach (Manning, 2018), aligning with critical ethnography's fundamentals. Collaborating means considering your research participants through all stages, asking for feedback, and updating them on the research findings. Moreover, a feminist decolonial critical ethnography accounts for the agency of participants and signifies that the researcher is involved in a thorough reflection process, continuously questioning assumptions and findings (Hair & Clark, 2003; Manning, 2018; Thambinathan & Kinsella, 2021; Thomas, 1993; Thompson et al., 2021). In the seminal work Orientalism, Edward Said (1978) explores the links between knowledge production and the dynamic of power and domination. By recognizing knowledge is socially situated, other theories,

---

the majority of these interviews seek to put the Palestinian in a defensive position, it is important to emphasize here, first and foremost to ourselves, that facts are not disputable, and that we cannot allow to let these conversations address us as debatable" (Metras Editorial Board, 2021, para.18). The factual framing of the Palestine Question in ontological terms is also a way of resistance and showing solidarity. Settler-colonialism is a concept explored by several authors (Wolfe, 2006; Khalidi, 2020; Veracini, 2015; Lloyd, 2012) in relation to a specific kind of colonialism, where there is the substitution of the indigenous population by the settler one.

[20] It was considering the dissemination needs and easiness of access, the idea of transporting the information of this dissertation to the zine format came to be.

[21] Community Radio as care will be briefly delved into Chapter 2.

such as the Feminist Standpoint Theory,[22] account for the notion of positionality, offering valuable insights to research particularly in colonial contexts. It is by questioning the normative knowledge and imposed rules, which are immutable from the colonial heritage, that one can better understand the reality and actively contribute to challenging it. Finally, in the 2021 article "Positionality and self-reflexivity: Backyard qualitative research in Palestine", Yasmin Snounu explores positionality and self-reflexivity in her study of disability in Palestine. Following Thomas (1993), Snounu (2021) accounts for critical ethnography as ethnography with a political purpose, with his research being social justice. Andrew Mathers and Mario Novelli (2017) also explore this purpose and focus on forging a mutual, solidary, and reciprocal relationship between social sciences and social movements. This research shares these perspectives and commitments.

As previously explored, when considering that the production of knowledge embodies power dynamics, similar dynamics play out within the institutions where that knowledge is produced. In recognition of this, the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) was launched in 2004. PACBI is part of the BDS movement discussed in this dissertation, and by considering Israeli academic and cultural institutions complicit with the Israeli system of oppression, PACBI advocates for their boycott (PACBI, 2014). Since then, several initiatives have followed. In 2021, Scholars for Palestinian Freedom launched an Open Letter and Call to Action[23] recognizing the responsibility and ethical considerations involved in researching Palestine. Thousands of scholars signed the call arguing that "Scholarship without action normalizes the status quo and reinforces Israel's impunity" (para.5). The signatories of the letter affirm their commitment to several actions that embody decolonial praxis in institutions and research, such as accounting for Palestinian voices and agency; joining BDS efforts and the commitment to Palestinian liberation.[24] These commitments shape this research, providing a decolonial praxis that serves as a guideline and basis for the methodology explored throughout this chapter. By centering the research around Palestinian voices and challenging the hegemonic Israeli power dynamics, this research hopes to help create space for a counter-narrative.

On a last note, when questioned about activism and political organization in academia, Ilan Pappé shares:

---

[22] In *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader*, Harding (2004) explores how knowledge is always socially situated, advocating for the knowledge produced by women and other oppressed groups.

[23] I first came across this Open Letter in the article Abu Moghli (2023). See the full Call to Action on the website https://palestineandpraxis.weebly.com/.

[24] Another example is the American Anthropological Association adopting a resolution to boycott Israeli institutions on July 15th, 2023 (American Anthropological Association, 2023). The connections between the boycott and academic freedom as discussed thoroughly by for example Judith Buttler (2006, 2015) as "the unjust conditions that the boycott opposes prove to abrogate academic freedom more fully than the boycott itself." (2015, p.294).

I feel the modes of knowledge production in academia, especially in the humanities and social sciences where the work is very individual, are not conducive to working within those organizations or outfits which are in their essence political. Politics is not the action of the individual; it is the ability to work collectively. In that respect, it would be very difficult to change the mode of working for academia… it would require us to admit that the very basis of the academic production of knowledge is wrong." (Que & Pappé, 2017, para. 8)

Sharing this perspective and believing that only through community is possible to produce change as the theme of this thesis testifies, during the process of researching and writing I tried to engage with multiple scholars, researchers, and peers. This was done in an attempt to share and discuss knowledge and perspectives, enriching both the researchers and the research. Moreover, the participants of the research also assume an important role in the creation of knowledge. Following decolonial epistemological practices as explored in this section, I believe that the first step in decolonizing academia is to change how knowledge is produced, which inherently means breaking the neoliberal individualist mindset and embracing the potentialities that the community can embody. If we do not try to change it, who will?

0.3. Limitations

Considering all the ethical navigation explored in the last section, accounting for limitation is also part of any feminist, decolonial, and critical work. The two main shortcomings of this paper are related to my positionality as a white woman who has not been to Palestine yet and does not speak Arabic.[25] However, it is important to note that although I believe both factors are of extreme importance in the understanding of the material reality and would grant a richer perspective, they are also not impediments to this research. On the one hand, I tried to engage with conferences, workshops, and seminars centered around Palestine and the Palestinian struggle[26] and actively engage with Palestinian people[27] and media. Through this, I engaged in what is known as participatory research. On the other hand, given my object

---

[25] My co-supervisor's, Professor Shahd Wadi, native language is Arabic and that provided valuable help when needed.

[26] For example the conferences "Solidarity with the Palestinian People and the BDS Movement" (see: https://www.facebook.com/tigrepapel.pt/posts/pfbid0LAvem9uNc5yTotZoYpBkzpjd8dVMDH8NBEtnbkRm jQaSBPa5CNe6q4r69vou52x1l?locale=zh_CN); "Palestine Studies: Comparative Perspectives and Challenges (see:https://cei.iscte-iul.pt/en/eventos/evento/palestine-studies-comparative-perspectives-and-challenges-2/) "Transnational Solidarity Amongst (Settler) Colonised People: Palestine and Beyond" (see: https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20230404-transnational-solidarity-amongst-settler-colonised-people-palestine-and-beyond/); "Palestina. 75 anos de ocupação e resistência em debate" (see: https://www.abrilabril.pt/internacional/palestina-75-anos-de-ocupacao-e-resistencia-em-debate); ""Palestina - defesa da soberania e da Paz" with the presence of the Palestinian ambassator in Portugal (see: https://www.cppc.pt/?fbclid=IwAR2l4sPSYws-tjk0Q_MOlkncHyi5ckbfm9Thoxw8hM-p8P4MLiYZm4Vbm9s&limit=4&start=36); "Ativismos feministas e *quee*r anticoloniais palestinianos" (see: https://www.iscte-iul.pt/eventos/3215/novas-perspetivas-historia-contemporanea); among others.

[27] For example, throughout the course of this research I was a material preparation volunteer at Al Naqab Center, in Burj al Barajneh refugee camp in Beirut remotely preparing English worksheets for students.

of study being an online radio with an international audience, the limitations of physical space do not apply in the same way. Moreover, many of the broadcasts and social media posts are in English. The interviews were also conducted in English with participants based on and from different countries and cultures.

Methodology-wise, the biggest limitation of this study is related to the participant sample, namely regarding gender. As a feminist researcher, I acknowledge and value the role of gender and its influence. I tried to contact female artists connected to Radio Alhara but unfortunately did not obtain an answer. On the one hand, as previously mentioned, the contribution of each participant, and their involvement with the radio and resistance practices assumes a higher value than a representative and large sample (Patil, 2014); on the other, future research should aim to include a diverse sample of participants, diversifying the testimonies and accounting for voices that are many times disregarded in the industry. I also acknowledge that this limitation is connected to the limitations that digital research inherently has, with the establishment of contact and the creation of trust networks being harder.[28]

Lastly, some limitations apply regarding the research scope and framework. Especially when combining study fields, the research directions are endless, and concepts like identities, solidarity, mobility, and culture, for example, could all have been explored further and given the research a different path. However, given the range and limitations of this dissertation, some choices had to be made. Additionally, interviews with listeners of the radio might have provided a more comprehensive view of the audience's perception and how they understand the role of community radio in the Palestinian struggle. Even the choice of a single study case would benefit from future studies that would analyze different radios and include social network analysis (Kozinets, 2010) and different international struggles. This would be a better-suited approach to study the impact and process of international solidarity, but once again, given the scope of this thesis, and the absence of extensive work regarding community radio and Palestine, it was not possible to follow. However, this research is expected to provide a small step in that direction, while also bringing the conception of *sumud* into Portuguese academia.

---

[28] I hope to help fill these gaps in my future research during the PhD in Gender Studies starting in October 2023.

CHAPTER 1

The Power of Waves

> Radio gave us a starting point for conversations about community.
>
> - Marc Fisher, 2007, p.xviii

Both sound and the internet function through waves, traveling and surpassing borders and reaching their audience with no regard for physical limitations. They cross and interlink and are used as research objects and tools in numerous fields (Wódz, 2021). This chapter will explore the revolutionary power of these waves, with a focus on their role in the Palestinian resistance. In the end, radio and the internet will merge into online community radio, discovering new and possible ways of communication and resistance.

Between alternative and radical – a framework

Alternative Media is characterized by presenting radical or alternative content with the goal of social change. This change is driven by a refusal of the hegemonic values and policies and needs to involve the community (O'Sullivan, 1994; Dahal, 2013; Guerra, 2019). O'Sullivan argues that alternative media is not limited to political and resistance media but encompasses different cultural forms like zines and other electronic communication. Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) explore how considering media alternative only driven by its participatory nexus is insufficient and a too optimistic approach given the material reality media is inserted. Instead, for media to be truly alternative, it needs to be critical, a conception based on critical theory, providing a vision for an alternative society. Moreover, the analysis needs to be situated in the context of the material reality of capitalism, with uneven power relations. Alternative media is built in the vision of a society without oppression, with community-based organizations that interact with and shape the entirety of society. This connects with Schafer's (1990) assumption that "Radio today is the pulse of a society organized for maximum production and consumption" (p.209), organized in a capitalist logic that is not sustainable. The lack of sustainability of mass media formats gives room and promotes the appearance of new forms of media, with space for radio to transform and become radical. Following this logic, community radio, based on a different way of organizing and seeing the world in general, comes to be.

Considering sound, Pauline Oliveros (1999), a composer and theorist, coined the term Deep Listening, meaning "listening in every possible way to everything possible to hear no matter what you are doing. (…) Deep Listening represents a heightened state of awareness and connects to all that there is" (p.1). According to the author, this listening was used as a form of activism, and presented a new form to look and understand society, based on peace, care and the interflow of energies. Michael Bull

and Les Back (2003) delve into this conception, relating it to a rethink of our social relationships, experiences, communities, spaces, and power. Sound should therefore be used to reflect on our existence. This ability that sound has to travel and reach people, connected to the relation it can foster with the listener, creates radio's revolutionary potential.

1.1. Radio – the beginning

> What was the origin of radio? Of course, it is not new. It existed long before it was invented. It existed whenever there were invisible voices: in the wind, in the thunder, in the dream.
>
> -Schafer, 1990, p.207

Radio is one of the most popular electronic media used today (Ginsburg, 2012), crossing geographic and physical borders (Correia et al., 2019). Its uses go from personal to commercial, and its plasticity and adaptation allow it to be used by anyone in any setting. In a physical dimension, it does not require much equipment to be listened to, nor does it need a constant electricity source, making it suitable for conflict or disaster settings. Additionally, from a social and cultural perspective, it can connect communities serving their needs (Heywood, 2021). With these characteristics, radio is one of the most trusted, reliable, and widely used media formats in the world (UNESCO, 2022).

Throughout history, radio has played a significant role in moments of national and global importance (Dedman, 2021). It has simultaneously been an instrument of colonial control but also a tool for resisting it, as Fanon (1965) explores in the case of Algeria under French colonization. What started as a way for the French to disseminate their cultural hegemony, depersonalizing the native, was soon reappropriated by the revolution, providing access to and disseminating its news. With this reappropriation, "the radio set was no longer a part of the occupier's arsenal of cultural oppression" (Fanon, 1965, p.84) as the dominant narratives of the oppressor could now be contested. That way, radio became the voice of the revolution. Downing (2001) builds on that and asserts that radical radio's contribution to the Algerian revolution had worldwide consequences, passing the revolutionaries' message.

The events in Algeria offer insights that can be transposed to other colonial settings, including Palestine, where radio followed a similar trajectory. The British Mandate used the Palestinian Broadcasting service as a tool to assist in the colonization of Palestine (Stanton, 2013). The French attempts to confiscate radios and manipulate the Voice of Algeria's signal and transmissions (Fanon, 1965) resemble Israel's endeavors to interfere with Palestinian internet, broadcasts, and radio's dissemination of information. The reach of the radio to the diaspora and international community is also a common factor. This parallel is going to be explored in the following section.

1.1.1. Radio in Palestine

> In Palestine, the gesture of transmitting a radio signal which flies across the border in an unrestricted way (especially in comparison to the regulations applied for people) is already charged politically.
>
> - Wódz. 2021, p.205

Radio as resistance in Palestine, like most Palestinian history, although extremely conditioned by, was not born with Zionist settler-colonialism.[29] Media use in Palestine as a way to counter occupation evolved throughout time, dating back as early as the Ottoman occupation and the British Mandate (Stanton, 2013; Boyd, 1999; Gretchen King, 2021). This literature review will attempt to give a brief historical overview, examining the political and social dimensions of this form of resistance and its implications for the liberation struggle.

With a rise of politicized Palestinian press under the British Mandate, the British started the first radio station in the region, the Palestine Broadcasting Service (PBS) – also known as Jerusalem Calling (Stanton, 2013).[30] Most pirate radio stations, both Zionist and Arab, appeared at this time with political intentions (Wódz, 2021).[31] After 1948, the Zionists took control of the PBS station, and soon, all broadcasting in historic Palestine was banned by Israel. This media censorship resulted in the period after the Nakba being known as a "communication vacuum" (Jamal, 2009, p.40 cited in King, 2021b, p.41). However, Palestinians had access to radios from the Arab region and broadcasted in their media systems, existing in an international space. For example, when Jamal Abd al-Nasir came to power in Egypt in 1952 with a policy of Arab rebirth, Radio Cairo was developed within that framework to communicate with the Arab world, and by 1954, the Palestine Service of Radio Cairo was created (Browne, 1975). In 1965, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) had its own transmitter and began broadcasting from Syria and Lebanon, granting it greater independence. The Voice of Palestine

---

[29] Zionism is not the focus of this thesis but in order to understand Palestinian resistance practices it is essential to know the oppressive force that drives them. Zionism is a political movement that emerged at the end of the 19th century in a wave of Jewish persecution (Pappe, 2006) and defends Jews' right to self-determination. It culminated in a massive migration to Historic Palestine (Jewish Voice for Peace, 2011), which was under the British Mandate as decided by the League of Nations. In November 1917, the Balfour Declaration, establishing a Jewish state in Palestine without consultation of its natives, was issued by Britain - this was Zionism's first triumph as it was backed by a world power. In 1947 the United Nations issued resolution 181 (UN General Assembly, 1947) for the Partition of Palestine, attributing 47% of the territory to the Palestinian majority 47% opposing the 53% to Jews (Dana & Jarbawi, 2017, p. 7), and establishing Jerusalem as an international city. By 1948, in what is known as the Nakba, after ethnically cleansing more than 700,000 Palestinians, Israeli's controlled 78% of historic Palestine (King, 2021b). Its consequences, Israeli occupation and apartheid, will be explored throughout this chapter and set the background for this thesis.

[30] Andrea Stanon provides an in-depth analysis of the PBS and its impact. The PBS had more transmission hours in Arabic than in English or Hebrew.

[31] According to Wódz (2021) most preserved transmissions from that time are the ones from Zionist organizations. This is not surprising given the attempts from Israel to erase Palestinian history, and goes in line with the importance to preserve Palestinian narratives (Hamdi, 2011; Webster, 2021), where this thesis inserts itself into.

was born, with an opening song entitled "We Shall Return", giving equal importance to music as patriotic and revolutionary as news and announcements (Ibid).[32] Subsequently, during the first uprising against the colonial power,[33] clandestine Palestinian radio gained importance and power. This phenomenon draws parallels with the Algerian revolution, as elucidated by Fanon (1965) highlighting the rise of media communication during revolutionary times.

In 1990, Kristen and Robert Bookmiller wrote one of the first works on the role of the radio in the Palestinian resistance since the first Intifada. The authors analyzed two broadcast stations, the Al-Quds Palestinian Arab radio station and the Voice of the PLO-Baghdad. The Al-Quds emission started and closed emissions with the slogan "For the liberation of land and man"[34] and was called by its founder Ahmed Jibril "the political and spiritual guide of the uprising" (Wódz 2021, p.200). Bookmiller and Bookmiller explore how the emissions of the radios reflect the political reality of Palestine and intrinsic divisions. Israel quickly understood these radios' potential, beginning to block the broadcasts. Browne (1975) concludes that the broadcasts of resistance movements in Palestine are more varied than the activities taken by such groups, and Palestinian radio activities emerge as microcosmos among other exile radio activities. While radio's potential would be more significant if the stations had a more unified relationship, their impact was especially high on Palestinians living in refugee camps.

Radio's importance within exile groups has a triple function. On the one hand, it can be used to connect the members of the exile group, bringing the diaspora together while simultaneously reaching the members of the community that stayed in the homeland (Browne, 1975). Expanding this, as Said (1992) argues, even the Palestinians under Israeli occupation in the West Bank or Gaza are in exile. So, the power of the radio is in connecting the diaspora community no matter its geographic location, as every Palestinian is exiled from their homeland in different degrees.[35] On the other hand, radio also has the potential to reach outside the Palestinian community, sharing the narrative and helping disseminate information and the Palestinian cause (Browne, 1975).

---

[32] The songs broadcasted shared the struggles of the liberation movements and were mainly shared through guerrilla radio transmitters in vans, popularizing them (Stein and Swedenburg, 2005). The initial broadcasts of Voice of Palestine also started with the quote "Sons of Palestine everywhere, this is your voice, the voice of the Palestinian Arab organization raised for the first time to crystalize your hope and mobilize your efforts to liberate the lanid of your fathers and forefathers, our dear land Palestine. Sons of the Arab nation, this is the "Voice of Palestine" (Browne, 1975, p.136)

[33] The first Intifada was a Palestinian mass resistance movement against the Israeli occupation that started in 1987 and lasted until 1993 (Hussain, 2017).

[34] In Arabic, "Al-Ensan" means human being, which is commonly translated to "men" as related to mankind. However, the translation clashes with a feminist approach and should therefore read "For the liberation of land and human beings/kind".

[35] For example, in *Displaced at Home: Ethnicity and Gender among Palestinians in Israel* (eds: Kanaaneh & Nusair, 2010), the authors, Palestinians citizens of Israel, explore the lives within this specific exile through a gendered lens.

With the evolution of technologies and the advent of the internet, radio's possibility to broadcast globally was enhanced. Nevertheless, before the Oslo Accords,[36] the Israeli occupation of Palestine prevented internet access in the region as documented by Gretchen King (2021a). Consequently, Palestinians remained without national radio or television until the 1990s (Boyd, 1999). After Oslo, there were some media gains for Palestine, including the creation of the Palestinian Broadcasting Company (PBC). One of the PBC's programs was a radio show connecting families to their imprisoned relatives in Israeli jails (Boyd, 1999; King, 2021b). However, like in any other field, Oslo did not bring any victory to the media systems in Palestine. The infrastructure control was granted to Israel, which made it impossible for Palestine's telecommunication system to be independent (Wódz, 2021). Furthermore, Israel's military actions were directed at destroying Palestinian media, as evidenced by the destruction of the PBC's transmitters and building in Ramallah during the second intifada (King, 2021b). This illustrates how Israeli occupation practices extend to media control. In the 1990s, and in contrast with most Arab countries with state-owned media systems, many stations operated in Palestine, including unlicensed ones. This observation aligns with a statement made by the Palestinian Ministry of Information about how a range of broadcasters promote freedom of expression and, more importantly, ensure that Palestinian broadcasts continue despite Israeli attacks on the media system (King, 2021b).

More recently, NGOs have been using media, especially radio, to mobilize and sensibilize communities. In the 2017 municipal elections in the West Bank, radios were used to campaign for women's participation, becoming an important medium for disseminating revolutionary identities and messages (Wódz, 2021). It assumed a remarkable impact in the territories under Israeli occupation since it did not require a connection to a power outlet, which is essential given Israel's constant power cuts in the region (Heywood, 2021). Following radio's ability to morph online, the internet was used as an innovative practice to connect Palestine with the world, and the world with Palestine. However, it did not make it immune to Israel's censorship, as it will be explored in the next section.

1.2. Online Revolutions? – the middle

The advent of the internet came with ideas about the possibilities around the democratization of communication and the free flow of information. However, it was soon subjected to the logic of capital and commerce, and this potential was undermined. (Skare, 2016). Furthermore, in Palestine's case, this

---

[36] The Oslo Accords were negotiations between the PLO and Israel that started in 1993. Israel, which by that time had already 250,000 settlers in the occupied territories (Dana & Jarbawi, 2017, p. 11) would withdraw from West Bank and Gaza, and together they would come to an agreement regarding Jerusalem and Palestinian refugees' right to return (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2009). The shortcomings of Oslo are explored by several authors such as Said (2007) and Hassan (2011).

capitalist optic was exacerbated by Israel's colonial control. This section will attempt to map revolutionary online practices, questioning what is known as digital resistance.

1.2.1. The transnational power of the internet

Activism exists in the physical realm as well as in the digital one (Skare, 2016). The awareness campaigns, petitions, and demonstrations quickly convey to online petitions, virtual sit-ins, and social media campaigns. This transition was exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic, where in-person activism faced many obstacles and cyberactivism offered a safer but still defiant path. In this light, Downing assesses social movements as "the life and blood" (Downing, 2001, p. 390) of media while simultaneously seeing media as the essential channel through which these movements disseminate their messages. Manuel Castells' (2012) work on social movements in the internet age conceptualizes the networks that surround these movements as autonomous spaces that counter the state-power logic. Moreover, he adds:

> By sharing sorrow and hope in the free public space of the Internet, by connecting to each other, and by envisioning projects from multiple sources of being, individuals formed networks, regardless of their personal views or organizational attachments. They came together. And their togetherness helped them to overcome fear, this paralyzing emotion on which the powers that be rely in order to prosper and reproduce, by intimidation or discouragement, and when necessary by sheer violence, be it naked or institutionally enforced. From the safety of cyberspace, people from all ages and conditions moved toward occupying urban space, on a blind date with each other and with the destiny they wanted to forge, as they claimed their right to make history – their history – in a display of the self-awareness that has always characterized major social movements. (p.2)

This connection is inherently linked to the concept of community, with the community responsible for producing the new values and goals that precede change in the system.[37] In order to do so, social movements depend on communication mediums (Castells, 2012), equipped with the same autonomy that characterizes these movements. And while technology does not conduct social movements, it offers more than a tool, being "organizational forms, cultural expressions, and specific platforms for political autonomy" (Ibid, p.105). Community radio potential can bloom in this landscape, as explored further in this chapter.

Internet and the Arab Spring

The attention drawn to Arab internet activism grew with the eruption of the Arab Spring in the early 2010s (Skare, 2016). Protesters used social media to organize themselves and network, creating platforms to exchange opinions and exposing the regimes' flaws to the international community (El-

---

[37] Castells (2012) assumes "togertherness" as a first step towards community.

Nawawy & Khamis, 2012).[38] Furthermore, the use of the internet allowed for creativity in the resources used, ranging from design to YouTube videos (Castells, 2012), accounting for cultural resistance. However, despite the success of internet mobilization in Egypt and Tunisia's 2011 revolutions and in the Arab world, research has been absent on the use of technology as a weapon for survival and resistance in conflict zones (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2011). Following the consideration on scholarship, while social movements are quite explored, there generally is a gap in the literature on their media use (Atton, 2001 in Heywood, 2021). Moreover, studies regarding Middle Eastern Internet have fallen into Orientalist and Islamophobic views, confiding the internet as a tool to recruit and propagate terrorism (Aouragh, 2012) and dismissing its multilayered role and possibilities. By analyzing community radio resistance potential through a critical ethnography, this dissertation attempts to help counter this trend.

1.2.2. Internet and Palestine – the electronic intifadas[39]

> Organizing for the liberation of Palestine is an action that — as the world moves into the age of digitization and near-constant Internet use — has taken on an electronic arm.
>
> – Rajagopal, 2023

After the imposition of the state of Israel, the occupation resulted in the fragmentation of Palestine. Given Israel's physical control of Palestinians and Palestinian land, the Internet's potential to achieve mobility, counter isolation, and connect the diaspora was magnified (Aouragh, 2011; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2011). Internet use gained traction during the Second Intifada at the beginning of the 21st century.[40] Following this growth, the question arose if the Internet could serve as a power amplifier for Palestine, helping to equalize the field with Israel (Yin, 2009). According to Bedein (2002 cited in Yin, 2009), the use of the Internet as a tool by Palestinians centered around the Israeli occupation, the illegal settlements, the abuses of human rights, and the right to return. Moreover, the Internet and other

---

[38] For an in depth analysis of digital media in the Arab Spring see for example Castells (2012, p.107) "It is true that Facebook and Twitter did not cause revolutions, but it is silly to ignore the fact that the careful and strategic uses of digital media to network regional publics, along with international support networks, have empowered activists in new ways that have led to some of the largest protests this decade in Iran, the temporary lifting of the Egyptian blockade on Gaza, and the popular movements that ended the decades long rule of Mubarak and Ben Ali. Digital media had a causal role in the Arab Spring in the sense that it provided the very infrastructure that created deep communication ties and organizational capacity in groups of activists before the major protests took place, and while street protests were being formalized. Indeed, it was because of those well-developed, digital networks, that civic leaders so successfully activated such large numbers of people to protest." However, as it will be explored further, it is essential to note the limitations of the digital realm and consider the offline resistance practices that breached the way.

[39] This title is inspired by The Eletronic Intifada, an independent news publication focused on Palestine. For more information see their website https://electronicintifada.net/.

[40] The Second Intifada was an uprising in 2000 also known as al-Aqsa set in protest against post-Oslo conditions with the number of Israeli settlers growing. Israeli sparked the uprising by storming the al-Aqsa mosque. (Adam, 2020).

communication technologies impacted citizens' access to information and their ability to use information to strengthen civil society, fomenting the conception of cyberactivism. In sum, internet activism is part of the ongoing struggle against the occupation as

> taken together with other practices, internet practices widen the space for subversive maneuvering, internet resistance allows Palestinians to voice their claims, to perpetuate their history, to mobilize, and to help construct or reconnect Palestinian narratives. "Palestine" is also a virtual space through which individuals imagine, maintain, and negotiate a nation and a state. (Tawil-Souri& Aouragh, 2014, p. 128)

In light of this, Aouragh (2011) asserts that the fight for an autonomous Palestinian state is inextricably tied to Palestinian internet mobility as it is through this mobility that Palestinians are empowered to conceptualize their "longed for territorial place" (p.385).

Furthermore, Said (2007) argues that one of the more significant achievements of the Palestinian Revolution was mastering the communication network. He presents the communications put into practice during the siege of Beirut that lasted several weeks.[41] Said also references Henry Kissinger's, an American diplomat and ex-Secretary of State, perspective on the First Intifada, where the latter considered that the uprising could be stopped through the barrier of media entrance in the area. Additionally, Said challenges part of Chomsky's assertion that all information is controlled by the media, which is controlled by other entities. He provides the possibility of different ways of shaping and disseminating the information, allowing for diverse intervention methods and offering the potential for individuals to share their narratives. Community-based media is one of these examples and provides a solid ground for exploring Radio Alhara throughout this thesis.

With the advent of the internet, online radio was born, and Israel's control was harder to exert. However, Israel soon engaged in *cybercolonialism*, a practice where Israel's physical control over Palestinian land extends its influence into the cyber world. Aouragh (2012) explains the dialectics of technology in Palestine, with the Internet serving as both a tool for Israeli military strategies and Palestinian resistance. Israel's deliberate targeting of Palestinian digital resistance aims to undermine and prevent the rise of effective grassroots movements (Aouragh 2008, 2011), with Palestinians being aware that their internet use is being monitored (Tawil-Souri & Aouragh, 2014). Therefore, when cyberspace is tied to the logic of security, monitoring tactics, and politics, as well as being a site of defiance and an instrument of power in the hands of the occupied, it also can represent a space of danger (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2011).[42]

---

[41] The Siege of Beirut happened in 1982 during Israel's invasion of Lebanon, where the PLO had its main base of operations and sieged the city of Beirut for seven weeks.

[42] For more information on cybercontrol see Cristiano (2022) – "Rather than enabling the escape (or hiding) from a highly securitized and militarized context by opening digital spaces of liberty, the digitalization of the Israeli-

Moreover, it is essential to note that while cyberactivism is an important part of resistance, it is only a component of a broader movement that involves physical action to be successful (Aouragh, 2012; El-Nawawy & Khamis, 2012). Aouragh and Tawil-Souri's analysis of Internet activism in the Palestinian context highlights the empowering potential of the Internet for grassroots activism while simultaneously emphasizing the need for a dialectical understanding of settler and cyber colonialism. In an interview for the Institute of Palestinian Studies, Palestinian activists also emphasized that the material impact of social media is mainly achieved through crowdfunding. However, they do not underestimate the Internet's power to challenge Israel's dominant narrative by normalizing the use of correct language and terminologies[43]. Furthermore, capturing live footage of Zionist attacks substantiates the Palestinian struggle, providing evidence. Unfortunately, the digital realm is not exempt from consequences, as activists often become targets of hate campaigns (Rajagopal, 2023).

In sum, in a world where the Internet plays a significant role, it is crucial to understand the phenomenon of digital resistance. And that demands a comprehensive examination of not just the online world, but also the offline world, as advocated by Tawil-Souri and Aouragh (2014), taking into consideration both their potential and inherent limitations.

1.3. Community Radio – the end?

> There is no single definition of community broadcasting, and there are almost as many models as there are stations. Each ... is a hybrid, a unique communication process shaped by its environment and the distinct culture, history, and reality of the community it serves.
>
> – Byckley, former AMARC president in King, 2017

Community radio is one of the most widely known and innovative types of community media (Patil, 2014). Like community and alternative media, radio has many names attached to the historical and material contexts they are inserted into (Patil, 2014, King 2017; Correia et al., 2019).[44] While there is not a single definition of community radio, there are some features that are present in most conceptions. To start, participation is a fundamental aspect, with community members actively engaging with the medium (Serafini, 2019; Bailur, 2012; Patil 2014). This participation is not merely passive, with

---

Palestinian conflict has instead exacerbated, through its expansion into the cyber realm, the asymmetry of the conflict. When studying the digital experiences of conflict and security in Palestine, it is essential to be reminded of Israel's role as a leading global power in commercial cybersecurity and surveillance technologies." (p.17)

[43] See the considerations on language use presented on the section Methodology.

[44] In a decolonial approach, it is important to note that the term "community radio" has its roots in an AngloSaxon tradition that differs from many other countries. Some countries use for example the term of free radio, popular radio and local radio (Correia et al., 2019). The choice of community radio in this dissertation is anchored to the international component of the theme with a focus on community, the literature used and the case study - Radio Alhara's own definition.

community radios "operated, owned, and driven by the communities they serve" (Al-hassan et al., 2011, p.1). According to UNESCO (Fraser & Estrada, 2001), community radios "give voice to the voiceless" (p.iii). Through their participation and organizational structures they reinforce transparency and democracy. Moreover, with the internet, the potential for radio to reach a broader audience has seen a growth.

However, in light of the alternative media framework explored in the prior section, participation alone does not grant community radio an alternative label. Community radio has to be critical, advocating for the oppressed and minorities against the structures of oppression (Sandoval & Fuchs, 2010). Community radio rises as a counter offer to mainstream and commercial radio, addressing specific communities' needs and issues (Al-hassan et al., 2011). According to King (2017), community radio ascendence happened in the global South among civil society movements and actors opposing capitalistic and state-owned imposed barriers. Marginalized groups are typically excluded from the mainstream (Dahal, 2013), in particular in rural and remote areas (Patil, 2014). Community radio in turn, as it is produced by and for the community, offers trustworthy and useful information, emerging as an activist tool to share one's own narrative (Wilbricht, 2019). By doing so, community radio serves as an advocacy, education, and protection tool for the communities (Ibid, 2019), empowering them (Serafini, 2019). Community radio assumes not only and informative function but embodies also a "site of resistance and resilience, opposing stereotypes, amplifying Indigenous voices, and increasing visibility of Indigenous issues in mainstream society." (Wilbricht, 2019, p.52). Following this, the audience of community radios rises as more than consumers, they are a fundamental part of the radio. (Dahal, 2013).[45] Moreover, community radio is a direct and open medium (Dahal, 2013), mostly voluntary run (King, 2017, Patil, 2014) with a horizontal structure and organized collectively (Sandoval & Fuchs, 2010) and nonprofit (Al-hassan et al., 2011; Dahal, 2013, King & Marouf, 2018; Patil, 2014). As AMARC (2007, p.63 cited in Sandoval & Fuchs, 2010, p. 5) states "community radio should not be run for profit but for social gain and community benefit; it should be owned by and accountable to the community that it seeks to serve".

In light of the contestation period that marked the decade of the 70s, the attention paid to community radio grew (Correia et al., 2019), and media activists and academics began to explore how these spaces could "engender resistance, open spaces for participatory democracy, or find recognition, tolerance, and occasionally state support" (Ginsburg, 2012, p. 12). This goes in hand with what is now known as the solidarity period of community radio as described by Gretchen King (2017) with radio's forming

---

[45] Some examples are on community radio in Australia (Forde et. Al 2019; Anderson et.al 2020), tribal stations in the United States (Wilbricht, 2019), the role of community radio in the development in Ghana (Al-hassan et.al., 2011), community radio and invisible politics in Budapest (Gudaityé, 2020), community radio as a tool to empower women in Nepal (Dahal, 2013).

associations to share resources, knowledge, and policy advocating. In *History of Struggle: The Global Story of a Community Broadcasting Practices, or a Brief Story of Community Radio*, King demonstrates how the radio medium has always been utilized as a social change communication technology by exploring over 100 years of community radio broadcasting. In the 1990s, community radio entered the Resurgence period (King, 2017), with its expansion and inclusion in legislation in some countries despise the hegemonic neoliberal media policy. Its resurgence is connected to the struggle and resistance practices against injustice that led to the growth of grassroots movements, mostly inspired by the media mobilization of the Zapatista movement in their liberation struggle (Ibid, 2017).[46] In an isolation period as it succeeded during the COVID-19 pandemic, community radio's potential to bring people and communities together rose, and a multitude of projects and initiatives appeared (Dedman, 2021). However, according to AMARC (cited in King, 2017), the biggest barrier to community radio having a greater civic influence is still the ongoing lack of enabling legislation.

Given its counter-hegemonic characteristics, community radio has the potential to change and transform societies (Patil, 2014; Wilbricht, 2019; Bailur, 2012), transcending the traditional boundaries of media broadcast and engaging in social change (Dahal, 2013). This is related to the fact that the radio does not have to revolve around raw politics in the strict sense but serves as "agents in the socio-political imaginations" (Gudaityé, 2020, p.33). This transformative potential shapes community radio's ability to employ resistance practices and exist as a resistance medium.

Regarding Palestine, one known example of community radio is Radio Free Palestine, an internationally shared 24-hour broadcast marathon marking the Nakba on May 15 (King & Marouf, 2018). Since its creation in 2008, RFP has aired in 2010, 2017, and 2018, and has received awards. The program is shared by stations all over the world in a mirroring format the authors name cross-border sonic solidarity,[47] illustrating how through the internet, community radio can become a tool to spear awareness of the Palestinian struggle. The marathon format was chosen to counter the mass media that marginalizes Palestinian voices, "as well as to provide a much-needed historical context of the Nakba and the international struggle for a free Palestine" (Ibid, p.3). Moreover, it is important to note that, as explored before, while with the advent of the internet, online radio was more challenging to control by Israel, Israel's cybercolonialism still poses an issue.

---

[46] Zapatistas refers to the Zapatista National Liberation Army in Mexico.
[47] This term will be explored further in the next chapter, in section 4.3 on International Solidarity.

CHAPTER 2

The Art of Resistance

Where there is power, there is resistance.

-Foucault, 1976, p.142

Driven by the reality of the violence of the occupation, different practices of resistance have encompassed Palestinian identity and experience. These practices are going to be explored throughout this section under the umbrella of *sumud*, encompassing forms of cultural resistance, practices of care, and international solidarity.

2.1. Cultural Resistance

Palestinian cultural production historically echoed and

shaped a national identity struggling to survive.

- Salih & Richter-Devroe, 2014

Cultural resistance is inherently shaped by the conception of culture, and while the purpose of this thesis is not to assess what is culture exhaustively, a brief introduction is needed. In 2012, Helen Spencer-Oatey wrote "What is Culture? A Compilation of Quotations" where she compiled different definitions and conceptions under thematic groups and characterizations. Following this, culture is connected to identity and has different layers of depth, affecting both behaviors and the interpretation of behaviors. It is a non-static learned process that shapes and is shaped by both the community and the individual. However, the framework used in this thesis is best compiled in the book *Cultural Resistance – A Reader* (ed. Duncombe, 2002). Duncombe describes culture as political and connected to resistance, as it provides a free realm to the imagination, and the imagination is the first step in searching for change. Following Raymond Williams' (1956 cited in Duncombe, 2002) seminal work Culture and Society, culture encompasses a process of growth, a pattern of living and understanding, and at the same time is also a thing, a creation. Neither Willams nor Duncombe aimed to provide a definite and static conception of culture, as that would be counter-productive to its own onus, but they provide enough context to bridge culture resistance as "culture that is used, consciously or unconsciously, effectively or not, to resist and/or change the dominant political, economic and/or social structure." (Duncombe, 2002, p.5). Culture and cultural resistance share therefore the same elasticity. Duncombe expands that this potential is enhanced by the shared notions of culture that cultivate community building and is shaped by the context, form, interpretation, activity, and results, existing on a multitude of levels. In *Radio and the Art of Resistance: A Public Pedagogy of the Airwaves*, Antonia Darder (2011) explores radio's role in

resistance. This role is enhanced by a deep faith in humanity and human's ability to create and persist in adversity. Issues are considered and analyzed in a participatory and collective manner, and the community redefines airwaves' potential. A counter-narrative to dominant structures is born and spread through a collective perception of radio, and the conceptions of political participation and resistance are shifted, constructed, and built.

If cultural resistance comes to life as an attempt at social change, questioning the status quo and imagining new futures, Palestinian anti-occupation movements seem to have all the necessary components to engage with it. First, it is fundamental to connect Palestinians' condition as exiled people (Said, 1992), which strengthens ties of identity and community, which in turn foment the culture that connects them. Salih and Richter-Devroe (2014) explore how Palestinian cultural production has been tied to a national identity struggling to survive under occupation, and Stein and Swedenburg (2005) argue that politics and power are at the heart of popular culture both in Palestine and Israel. Also, in *Power, Politics and Culture*, Edward Said (2007) explores the relationship and interconnectedness of these three concepts. The author presents the Intifada as a cultural movement "which says that we are not going to cooperate, we can't any longer live under the occupation, and therefore we must provide for ourselves" (p.150) through these lenses, the intersections between Palestine and cultural resistance will be explored in this chapter.

Art reclaims the public space and creates a shared language that foments community and collective identities, creating the possibility to challenge the hegemonic. Moreover, art also functions as a memory preservation instrument, particularly in contexts of occupation and censorship, transmitting culture, identity, and values across generations and geographies. With the establishment of the PLO in 1964, art's potential was channeled as a tool to provide a platform for the nationalist resistance movement (Salih & Richter-Devroe, 2014). This happened, for example, through songs, with a new type of music being produced by the Palestinian diaspora, echoing the struggle of Palestinians. The content of the songs was about liberation and the guerrillas fighting for it, mentioning the practice of *sumud*. They were transmitted through pirate radios from the resistance that also broadcasted news (Stein & Swedenburg, 2005), as explored in the last section. These songs emitted by radio diffused the Palestinian narrative and identity. At the same time, music and culture were an important aspect of the occupation forces, trying to diffuse a hegemonic culture while censoring Palestinian voices. For example, Israel named a military operation "Operation Guardian of the Walls" referencing a song about a soldier defending Jerusalem (Menon, 2021), and in 2023, the Palestinian artist Mohammed Assaf had his patriotic song *Dammi Falestini* removed from music platforms (Al Jazeera, 2023).

In hindsight, none of the presented cultural forms of resistance have brought the liberation of Palestine (Stein & Swedenburg, 2005). However, they are nonetheless an example of the ever-shifting Palestinian struggle and resilience. They encompass the praxis of *sumud* that will be explored in the next

section, identity building and diffusion, and community, and rise as a way to counter the occupation status-quo. Cultural resistance also keeps the image of Palestine in the international imaginary, strengthening the cause internationally.

2.2. The practice of *sumud*

> Sumud, then, fills the air that Palestinians inhale.
>
> -Lena Meari, 2014, p.550

The traditional meaning of *sumud* refers to a Palestinian conception of steadfastness and resilience (Hammad & Tribe, 2021; Marie et al. 2018).[48] It is a way Palestinians interpret and respond to the context of occupation they live under, being "(…) both a value and an action that manifests via individual and collective action to protect family and community survival, wellbeing, dignity, Palestinian identity and culture, and a determination to remain on the land." (Hammad & Tribe, 2021, p.1). Expanding on this, Lena Meari (2014) affirms that *sumud* has no fixed meaning because it encompasses a variety of practices as will be explored briefly in this section.

With the background of Israeli occupation, Palestinian ordinary expressions of identity connected to religious or national celebrations became charged with a political meaning, embodying *sumud,* as they stand as symbols of an identity subjected to deliberate attempts of erasure (Skare, 2016). These cultural expressions soon became "the glue of the social fabric of the Palestinian community ("communal solidarity") necessary to cope with the situation" (Skare, 2016, p.29). It is pertinent to acknowledge, however, that in an occupation context, the deliberate rejection of celebration practices can itself constitute a form of cultural resistance – a phenomenon common during the first Intifada. The second Intifada in its turn, was characterized by resistance that defied occupation by seeking normality, searching for joy (Rijke & van Teeffelen, 2014). The preservation and celebration of the Palestinian identity stood in contradiction to the occupations' ideals and pursuits of erasure. As so, small acts like crossing the military checkpoints under Israel's constant violence and humiliation (Meari, 2014), or going to school were considered *sumud*, an embodiment of "everyday heroism" (Rijke & van Teeffelen, 2014) and "everyday resistance" (Scott, 1985).

The Palestinian resistance against forced immobility can also be transposed to the virtual realm, (Aouragh, 2011) with *sumud* being present in the online presence and defiance. At the same time, the understanding of *sumud* practices is incomplete without considering the community bonds associated with them. The sharing of identity and values builds stronger resistance and collective strength (Marie

---

[48] The limits of the resilience discourse will be explored next.

et al., 2018; Rijke & van Teeffelen, 2014). Hence, engaging with and sharing cultural practices that reproduce Palestinian identity and culture represents a manifestation of *sumud.*

While resilience practices are not geographically exclusive, they are more prone to development in areas and within people affected by subjugation and conflict (Hammad and Tribe, 2021). This holds particularly true in the context of Israel's colonial occupation of Palestine. In light of this, it is important to recognize resistance, resilience, and *sumud* as deeply embedded cultural practices (Marie et.al, 2018), being shaped by and shaping the material reality and context they are inserted in. Henceforth, *sumud* emerges as an anti-colonial way of being (Meari, 2014). However, the use of resilience as a conceptual framework introduces some complexities. If on the one hand, resilience in conflict or occupation settings has been the target of scarce research, particularly in Arab contexts (Hammad & Tribe, 2021; Marie et al. 2014), on the other, the very notion of resilience has been an object of critique. Ryan (2015) contests its use in IR scholarship, with resilience being used in a neoliberal governance context related to peace building, security, or aid while not enough attention is given to how communities may establish resilience on their own, free from outside meddling or intervention.[49] Furthering the issue, and through interviews with survivors of wars and violence in different countries, including Palestine, Malaka Shwaikh (2023) contends that the discourse surrounding resilience is embedded in ways of thinking and policy making that portray the "resilient other" as extraordinary instead of analyzing the onus of the violence setting. Drawing upon her own liven experiences as a Palestinian, Shwaikh distinguishes *sumud* from resilience, given their intentionality. S*umud* is a conscious choice exercised by Palestinians to defy the occupation, whereas in contrast, resilience is often assumed or imposed upon individuals facing violence, leading to an unfair expectation of strength. This perspective connects to Scott's (1985) analysis of resistance, where the intentionality of an act has s greater meaning than the result, focusing on agency. In light of these perspectives, it is fundamental to look critically at the resilience discourse, recognizing its limitations and implications- especially in a decolonial scholarship.

In sum, *sumud* offers ground for explorations of collective liberation, new ways of creating and producing knowledge, new methodologies, and above all hope and imagination (Marie et al., 2018). *Sumud* is synonym with resistance while at the same time existing at an intersection of resistances. It is a revolutionary existence that simultaneously challenges Israeli occupation, and it is through this frame of analysis that this research takes place.

---

[49]Ryan (2015) explores the Western gaze on resilience which can be transposed to the mainstream IR scholarship on Palestine. I believe, and I came across it many times during my academic path, that there is an hyperfocus of scholarship around the "solution" to the Palestine question, with precedence given to peace building, aid, or foreign policy, whereas communities and Palestinians themselves are often overlooked. This reflects, once again, the retrieval of agency and provides a western and orientalist gaze, with the shift in the paradigma lens being needed for a true decolonization of IR, and academia.

2.3. International Solidarity

> There is nothing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives.
>
> - Audre Lorde

Internationalism is a key component of socialist theory and movements. The relation between labor and internationalism provided a new sense of community for the workers and in the 19th and 20th centuries was marked by a heavy sense of statism (Waterman, 2001). However, this state-centric vision has been challenged, particularly by a civic society movement known as the New Left, connecting networks of Black, indigenous, migrant, women, socialists, anarchists, and other groups in an anti-imperialistic front (Thomson & Olsen, 2023). This aligns with Angela Davis's (2015) approach to the need for an intersectionality of struggles in order to engage with international solidarity, and Lilja et al. (2017) exploration of how resistance practices encourage other resistance forms, inspiring and connecting each other. Freedom is therefore a communal pursuit and only through community can be achieved (Lorde, 1988). In Globalization, Social Movements and the New Internationalism (2001), Peter Waterman, an activist and scholar, explores how the new internationalism, which found an exponent during the World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle in 1999,[50] assembles different movements, ideologies and strategies, being "networked, informatized and cultural in form and content" (p.viii). He also emphasizes the importance of 'communications internationalism', acknowledging the growing importance of technology and media for civil society organizations as well as contemporary women's movements, and focusing on global solidarity.

Overall, the scholarship attention given to international solidarity beyond the scope of labor has been scarce (Fominaya, 2014). Nonetheless, in *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism,* David Featherstone (2012) offers an in-depth view of solidarity practices. Featherstone focuses on the creation of solidarities from below, from the working class and marginalized, believing they have the strength to reshape the world more equally. By challenging reality, solidarity becomes an inventive practice. Inherently connected to political struggle, solidarity challenges forms of oppression and is a fundamental aspect of the political left. Solidarity is, therefore, a transformative relation. Moreover, solidarity is fomented through uneven power relations and geographies.

In a world where Zionists attempt to erase Palestinian identity and culture, showing solidarity and support for the Palestinian cause challenges this attempt. Palestinian internationalism was inspired by different national liberation movements like the one in Algeria and South Africa, connecting anti-

---

[50] The WTO protests are a landmark for the anti/alter-globalization movement.

colonial and anti-imperialistic struggles in an attempt to shift the power balance. The PLO was a central element to the adoption of international solidarity as a practice in the Palestinian struggle, as it used it as a diplomatic technique (Thomson & Olsen, 2023). However, international solidarity soon expanded, with the Palestinian diaspora throughout the world facilitating the networks of connection (Said, 2007). While existing in a diplomatic approach, international solidarity undertook many forms, with cultural and artistic solidarity practices emerging. These artistic practices ranged from anti-colonial literature to posters and were disseminated in various languages, building an international revolutionary canon (Ibid, 2023).[51]

Following, some examples of international solidarity movements with Palestine will be presented. Veronique Dudouet (2006) approaches her volunteering work with the International Solidarity Movement (ISM)[52] and its contribution to international solidarity regarding Palestine. One distinctive point about ISM is the connection between foreign volunteers and locals, with international advocacy serving Palestinian activists. This relation is very different from many foreign aid and international volunteering projects, and it is essential to counter colonization practices. The most significant contribution of the movement is what the author considers the resource that international people can provide to the Palestinian struggle – global attention (Arraf and Shapiro, 2003 in Dudouet, 2006). In an interview with the Institute for Palestinian Studies, Palestinian activists mention the importance of connecting local struggles to global ones. One of them mentions that when recording the Black Lives Matter protests, people in Palestine were, for example, sending tips on how to get tear gas out of their eyes (Singh in Rajagopal, 2023). Another global movement based on international solidarity is the BDS movement. The BDS movement advocates for Palestinian rights through the boycott of Israel (Wiles, 2013), and was already presented in this dissertation, being analyzed further in the case study. In the past few years, Zionist groups have attached anti-semitism claims to Palestinian solidarity movements, attacking the BDS movement in countries like Germany for example (Haugbolle & Olsen, 2023). Through the years, many solidarity networks to Palestine have shifted and changed, with some collapsing. Nonetheless, the solidarities built in these networks outlived the institutional framing they were built on (Thomson & Olsen, 2023).

---

[51] When referring to Palestine, the focus on non-violent or peaceful resistance has seen a rise in scholarly attention, with national liberation struggles and resistance to colonialism being delegitimized when aided by the use of force. However, and grounded on Losurdo (2015) analysis of the myth of non-violence, the proliferation of this narrative privileges state, colonial and imperialistic violence. Therefore, this dissertation will not use the phrasings, conceptions, and distinctions of violent/non-violent practices, nor make value judgments on what is an acceptable or better resistance form.

[52] The ISM is "a Palestinian-led movement committed to resisting the long-entrenched and systematic oppression and dispossession of the Palestinian population, using non-violent, direct-action methods and principles." (ISM, n.d.) and has rose as one of the most visible international activism in Palestine.

Regarding radio's power, Marta Wódz (2021) analyzes Radio Earth Hold (REH) and its relation to the conceptions of intimate listening and sonic solidarity, a solidarity demonstrated through sound waves. This radio combines research on anti-occupation movements in Palestine and anti-racism movements in North America, particularly the BLM, and examines radio in the British mandate as a form of colonial control and resistance. Using REH, radio transmissions are portrayed as inherently political. This article gains amplified importance for this dissertation as it references Radio Alhara as one example of online radio projects that appeared during the pandemic. Additionally, Gretchen King and Laith Marouf (2018) present the concept of cross-border solidarity, based on the chain broadcast of a program between community radios. It is a collaborative process that amplifies the message around the world, giving it more strength and allowing it to reach broader audiences. The authors analyze Radio Free Palestine (RFP) and how it broadcasts Palestinian voices and establishes international parallels between issues. It is through the lenses of sonic solidarity and cross-border solidarity that Radio Alhara's potential to foster international solidarity will be analyzed.

2.4. Revolutionary Love – an ethic of care

> A global ethic of care, as presented by feminists, emphasizes the need to recognize our interconnectedness and mutual vulnerability, the importance of listening to the voices of others, and the recognition of care as a public value that has to be negotiated at all levels of human life, including the international
>
> -Robinson, 2011 in Fierke, 2014, p.788

Taking into account all the paths to resistance contemplated throughout this chapter, it is important to consider a fundamental aspect to all of them. This is the revolutionary practice of care. Shwaikh (2023) article "Beyond Expectations of Resilience: Towards a Language of Care" begins with:

> I dream of never being called resilient again in my life. I am exhausted by strength. I want support. I want softness. I want ease. I want to be among kin. Not patted on the back for how well I take a hit. Or for how many. Instead of hearing "You are one of the most resilient people I know," I want to hear "You are so loved." "You are so cared for." "You are genuinely covered. (Zandashé l'ore in Shwaikh, 2023, p.1)

This quote summarizes Shwaikh's approach to the resilience discourse and the need to replace it with a language of care. But what exactly is care? This is a question that arises frequently in feminist spaces, and in truth, no one can provide a definite answer.[53] Care, following conceptions of feminist

---

[53] In June 2023 I was part of the organization of the "Feminist Abolitionist Care Summer School", which motivated my interest in exploring further the care dimension of community radio. The focus was on practices of care in

Audrey Lorde (1988) and bell hooks (2001), is connected to the radical act of love. In *All about love*, bell hooks (2018, p.87) explores how "A love ethic presupposes that everyone has the right to be free, to live fully and well. To bring a love ethic to every dimension of our lives, our society would need to embrace change." In her turn, Audre Lorde's famous quote "Caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare" (1988, p.131) frames self-care as a radical act of war. Care is neither harm minimizing nor dependence, as it assumes a much more positive conception. Communal care encompasses a variety of acts, from intimate care - childcare, elderly care, and communal cooking, among many others, to care for nature and the world (The Care Collective, 2020). The main focus is the care towards the other and the radical action of caring in an uncaring world. A known example of radical care work is the Black Panther's Party free breakfast, health, and education program. The dynamics of care and mutual aid saw a growth during the COVID-19 pandemic with communities coming together to survive. [54]

In the *Care Manifesto* (2020),[55] the authors advocate for putting care at the center of the economy and the state, answering to collective joy and not individual pursuits. Moreover, the ethics of love was always a part of the revolutionary Palestinian tradition. From the self-organization and dynamization of education programs in prisons (Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association, 2020) to the creation of a radio that connects the families of the Palestinians incarcerated in Israeli prisons (Waked, 2009) among several other practices like community schools and childcare, the notion of community and care are a Palestinian daily reality.

Fierke (2014) explores how a gendered notion of care, framing it as feminine in opposition to traditional masculinized security, poses a risk at the international level. This aligns with Ryan's (2015) questioning of resilience in IR and its co-optation. Care needs to be connected to community, mutual aid, and solidarity to go further. In this connection, both this dissertation and hope for the future are set. In a violence setting, such as Israel's colonial occupation of Palestine, care assumes a greater importance, [56] offering a tool of analysis questioning how a reality came to be and how and by whom it is sustained while offering the potential to change it through our connections. One campaign that conveys the connection between love and resistance was "Love in the Time of Apartheid". The Palestinian Campaign was launched in 2012 in response to an Israeli law banning Palestinians married to Israelis from obtaining Israeli citizenship or living in Israel. The initiative organized a symbolic wedding march to

---

abolitionist settings regarding anti-borders and anti-carceral struggles, and the discussions around the issue were endless.

[54]. For an exploration of this theme see for example D'Alessandro, 2022; Lindgren, 2022; Dowling, 2021.

[55] The Care Manifesto was written by The Care Collective, a 2017 London-based collective that was created as a reading group to understand and address the crisis of care (Rottenberg & Segal; n.d)

[56] Furthermore, care encompasses the preservation of memory and Palestinian history (Fierke, 2014) as it was explored in the Methodology section.

draw international attention to the human rights violation. (AFP, 2013; Jadaliyya Reports, 2013). The situation also exemplifies how love, family, and kinship can be weaponized by the occupation force.

Audre Lorde's thoughts are followed in the article "For Slow Scholarship: A Feminist Politics of Resistance through Collective Action in the Neoliberal University" (Mountz et.al, 2015) with the attempt to practice and foment care practices in the academia.[57] One example of the practice of care and resistance in academia is the South Asian, Southwest Asian and North Africa Initiative created in 2019 at the University of California, Berkley. The initiative is directed by Doaa Dorgham, a Palestinian Muslim who felt isolated from her community while growing up. The initiative provides resources and community for students from the region. Moreover, it uses education as an empowering tool, exploring the effects of colonialism and imperialism, as well as learning about liberation movements and the importance of storytelling (Natividad, 2023). By doing so, it creates not only the space but also the language and the community to explore identities, cultures, and histories, engaging in a praxis of care. The connection between the need for care in academia is also present and defended in this research, in the principles of ethical, decolonial, and feminist research, as well as through the relations with other researchers and peers in a supportive network dynamic.

Finally, in an attempt to start bridging the conceptions explored in this literature review, some studies explore community radio as a space of care. Serafini (2019) establishes this link through fieldwork in Argentina, connecting environmental struggles with a feminist perspective. She explores how "community radios can be understood as being embedded in networks and economies of care" (p.5454) by strengthening and supporting the community, providing protection and potential for personal transformation, and taking form as networks of care and solidarity. Serafini connects the protection and community feeling provided by a resistance tool with the conception of care, viewing them as interdependent and facilitating the transformation of social relations. This framework is the last piece for the analysis of Radio Alhara in the next section, focusing on its potential as a space of community building and care.

---

[57] "That is, cultivating space to care for ourselves, our colleagues, and our students is, in fact, a political activity when we are situated in institutions that devalue and militate against such relations and practices" (Mountz et al., 2015, p.5). This dissertation shares these hopes and commitments.

CHAPTER 3

The Neighborhood Radio: Radio Alhara

Radio Alhara is a Bethlehem-born community radio that emerged during the 2020 COVID lockdown (Tan, 2021). Alhara, meaning "neighborhood" in Arabic,[58] creates an online neighborhood through community (Art Dubai, 2021). When opening Alhara's website (see Annex B), the name appears in Arabic (راديو الحارة). Next to the play button that shows which program is playing, there is an ever-present location item identifying it as Bethlehem-based. They broadcast shows in their original languages and intend to foment and open platform where the line between listener and producer is blended. This happens through the open submission of content and the existence of a live chatroom on the station's website. Like clandestine radios since the British Mandate, the freedom of waves does not confide the radio to a specific physical location. Alhara receives contributions from all over the world, and its programs are broadcasted by radios scattered everywhere.

Although not initially created as a political project, Radio Alhara was confronted by its existence as a Palestinian cultural project. Moreover, as explored in the first chapter, before the Oslo Accords in 1993, Alhara could not have existed as a licensed radio (Inscoe-Jones, 2020). The isolation faced by the founders of the radio as Palestinians under Israeli occupation was exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic, which, for the first time, was also felt in the rest of the world. According to Yousef Anastas, "maybe what was special this time was that the lockdown wasn't only happening here, but globally. It was the first time we didn't feel lonely – the whole world shared the lockdown with us" (in Yalcinkaya, 2021, para.6). This created an opportunity for the radio, as sound could cross any geographical barriers and restrictions (Yousef Anastas in Imanova, 2021).[59]

What started with music soon evolved into a bigger cultural dimension, encompassing cooking programs, talk shows, and architecture talks, among many others. The open platform now connects people all over the world and has gathered more than fifty-eight thousand followers in its Instagram account. In the following sections, Alhara's constitution, programming, and social media will be

---

[58] Some articles already make the association between "Alhara" and community, translating the station's own name to community radio (see for example https://www.resistormag.com/features/radio-al-hara-sonic-solidarity-one-year-in/).

[59] The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic in the cultural and musical sector are still being assessed but several studies have already been released. For instance, Howard et al. (2021), explores how young musicians in Australia, Portugal and the United Kingdom reported short-term benefits from the pandemic, namely related to the newly found free time to produce and consume. However, these benefits come with long-term disadvantages to their career. They also explored how music became more of an individualistic process than a collective experience with an audience, while at the same time allowed for long-distance collaborations through digital platforms - like it is the case with Radio Alhara.

explored in order to understand its role as resistance, in community building and in fostering international solidarity.

3.1. Active Listening[60]

When the digital realm becomes the field,[61] the conceptions of active research and active participation gain other meanings. While doing online research, the danger of being a lurker (Kozinets, 2010) is a prominent ethical issue. Although with radio the participation is a complex factor as explored next, it is important to know that this study was presented to the radio, with all the participants giving their informed consent (Konken & Howlett, 2022; Murthy, 2008) for the interviews and use of the data in this research.[62]

The conception of active participation in a different media format is explored by Markus Lundström and Thomas Poletti Lundström in the 2021 article "Podcast Ethnography". Here the authors present the conception of Podcast ethnography by analyzing a far-right podcast called Motfigt. They expose three stages of podcast ethnography "(i) explore the podcast openly and even inductively, (ii) engage with the podcast by reflecting upon its consultation, and finally to (iii) examine the podcast through applicable analytical and/or theoretical tool" (Lundström & Lundström, p.290) that given parallels to the radio regarding the apparent lack of interaction,[63] will be applied to the study case in question. This framework will be combined with Rachel Winter's and Anna Lavis' conception of active listening presented in the 2020 article "Looking, but not listening? Theorizing the Practice of Ethics of Online Ethnography" where they argue that listening as a multisensorial action that requires context, is a key factor in representing all the cultural and emotional complexity of online spaces.

Accounting for these two conceptions, the first step in this research is moved by reflections on the choice of the object. Although an intrinsic process, the reasoning was throughout this thesis and in the previous paragraph and is mainly influenced by the online and community approach of the radio, as well

---

[60] In participatory and decolonial research, the boundaries between the researcher and participant blend. When considering a digital ethnographic exploration of a radio, the researcher's role as a listener possesses methodological and analytical considerations. Following this, Active Listening is a methodologic approach and a tool used and promoted by the radio and listeners as it will be explored further, resulting in its inclusion in the analysis section.

[61] However, even the digital field has in person ramifications. In the 2012 article "Social Media Ethnography: The Digital Researcher in a Messy Web", Postill and Pink present their going to Barcelona for twelve months to do research about social media and activism. They follow the argument that although online, online communities also exist outside the virtual realm. A good example is that during the process of this research, Radio Alhara opened Wonder Cabinet, a physical space that proves this online/offline linkage and will be analyzed further.

[62] See Annex C.

[63] One can even argue that radios are inherently more participatory, at least given their live broadcast and live chat section on the website.

as its programming. The next step consists of engaging with the radio, namely through active listening (Winter & Lavis, 2020). It is important to note that following the nexus theory-praxis, this conception was also freely introduced as "deep listening" by one of the participants of the research when considering international solidarity:

> I think the idea is if you're a listener that you learn that's not a passive function. That to listen is part of a whole movement that I'm also part of (…) called deep listening. And this idea of deep listening is that the act of listening and hearing aren't necessarily the same thing. Hearing is a passive function, it's involuntary. But to listen is to give it intent. (Jackson Allers, 30/5/2023)

Active listening surfaces as an answer to the challenges of participant observation, a fundamental element of ethnographic research, when regarding online outlets such as internet radios. Here enters the engagement with the social media posts of Radio Alhara; listening to the broadcast and events; and interviews with people connected to the radio in order to evaluate their goals and message as well as the content of the broadcasts and the correlation with resistance ideals and international solidarity. The following paragraphs will explore this process which had an informative nature rather than an exhaustive one.

Emissions from Alhara were listened to casually throughout February-August 2023 while following the social media presence, accompanied by note-taking. Regarding the interviews, as Kozinets (2010) argues, they are the most appropriate for researching an online community as through them, it is possible to "gain a detailed, grounded, subjective sense of an online community's perspective and sense of meaning" (p.47). The interviews comprised approximately ten questions divided into four main themes to support the research question and sub-questions: Background information and connection to Radio

Alhara; Narrative and Identity; Resistance; and International Solidarity.[64] It is worth noting that the interview with one of Alhara's founders was slightly different as the initial questions delved into the Mission and Objectives of the radio, data about the listeners, and programming. However, being a community-based collective, the lines that separate different roles are blurred. Overall, six people connected to the radio were interviewed. All participants were contacted directly through email and were chosen by their involvement with Alhara. Following participatory research, every participant was asked if they had suggestions of other artists I should contact and include in the study and any themes not encompassed by the questions. Table 1 illustrates the demography of the participants:

Name[65]	Age	Nationality	Connection to Radio Alhara
Dirar Kalash	41	Palestinian («1948 border, now known as "Israel"»)[66]	Artist, Sonic Liberation Front
Jackson Allers	40	Armenian (US-based)	Artist, Sounds of Solidarity
Omar Nooreddin	38	Jordan (Portugal-based)	Artist, Technical Support
Stefan Christoff[67]	42	Canadian	Artist, Musicians for Palestine
Elias Anastas	40s	Palestinian	Artist, One of the founders
SC MoCha[68]	40s	Tunisian	Artist, Checkpoint303

Table 1

Participants' sociodemographic information

---

[64] See Annex D and E for the Interview Guides

[65] It is important to note that given the subject and scope of the study the names of the participants were not anonymized. This is given their public engagement with the theme and their engagement with the research, acknowledging the participant's agency and not just considering them subjects. Moreover, it was done with the agreement of all parts. In sum, "The people whose online activities we chronicle are not anonymous "subjects," but "participants" in a collaborative process between researcher and participant in making sense of this new medium." (Bruckman et al., 2015, p.11).

[66] The participant provided this self-identification as a Palestinian born in the territories defined as Israel after 1948, relating to Kannaned and Nusair (2010) exploration the dynamics this kind of exile entail – altought through a gendered perspective.

[67] This interview was shorter (30 minutes) because of the participant availability but the missing two questions regarding International Solidarity were sent and answered through email.

[68] Stage name. Moreover, the interview was done through email given the participant's availability.

Finally, the third stage of this ethnography is the examination, a common research practice. The programs, interviews and news articles were thematically analyzed to answer the research questions. This was done through MAXQDA, a data analysis software, to assure verifiability and replicability of the results. A hybrid approach of deductive and inductive coding was used (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006), with the main themes derived from the frameworks and subthemes emerging from the participant's interviews.[69] By using a hybrid approach to thematic analysis, there is a balance between theory and data, providing a better encompassing of participant's contributions. The results will be presented in the following sections according to the main themes: Community, Cultural Resistance, International Solidarity and Future.

3.2. Radio as *sumud*

> In the same tradition, the music and cultural community of Palestine, through Radio Alhara, declares itself a space for resistance against political oppression and tyranny, where they are free despite the increasing restrictions they face simply for being Palestinians.
>
> -Tan, 2021

The quote from Ashley Tan (2021) in Aljazeera sets the tone for the analysis of Alhara as a cultural resistance site. For that, it is essential to recall that there is not a single definition of resistance (Skare, 2016), with conceptions varying in different axes of participation, involvement, tactics, and goals, and this dissertation does not attempt to define or limit it. It does however contemplate the resistance in Palestine in an occupation context as an anti-colonial way of being (Meari, 2014), deeply connect with *sumud*. As Skare (2016) explores, Palestinian resistance is simultaneously built on the inside, but also in sharing with the international community the reality of the occupation. It is through this outreach that international solidarity gains importance, with the conception applied to Radio Alhara, explored in the following sections. Moreover, it is important to note that one cannot try to dissect and separate resistances, as all components are part of the anti-colonial and liberation struggle, and therefore, all the themes of this analysis are deeply interconnected. In an attempt to answer the main research question regarding if and how community radio, through the case study of Radio Alhara, manifest resistance practices, the role of community building, culture, and international solidarity will be explored.

---

[69] See Annex F for the coding map.

3.2.1. Community Building

> (We want to) gather a community without having any particular predefined shape,
> but by adapting, transforming and interacting with the world – or, with *alhara*.
> -Elias Anastas in Yalcinkaya, 2021

While the project of Radio Alhara started with five friends – Elias Anastas and Yousef Anastas, Yazan Khalili, Saeed Abu-Jaber, and Mothanna Hussein, between Ramallah, Bethlehem, and Amman; the community soon expanded and Alhara became a global movement. Elias Anastas, one of Alhara's founders and participant in this research recalls that moment, mentioning:

> And what happened is that it grew very quickly into this community project where we started inviting friends who were DJs, and some other friends that were artists. But then we decided that it's not only music- we started inviting chefs, people that were working in the politics, some historians. We had this combination of super random programming that had to do with Palestine and didn't have to do anything with Palestine. (Elias Anastas, 24/06/2023)

Castells (2012) conceptualizes community as the next step of togetherness: sharing values after coming together as a group. Community building is, therefore, the act of building and strengthening the community, shaping common goals and objectives. This community building is particularly strong among diasporas (Aouragh, 2011; Tawil-Souri & Aouragh, 2014), contributing to creating and exchanging a shared identity and culture. According to one of the participants, Omar Nooreddin, Radio Alhara created this sense of unity and community among Palestinians in the diaspora. He explores it further, saying:

> For me at least personally, it felt very good because I felt there are other people - because I lived abroad, I never had that experience of Palestine unity or anything like that and then with Radio Alhara I discovered there are other people around the world, and you sort of create a bond with them. (27/06/2023)

The unity felt correlates to Kozinets' (2010) argument that online communities help strengthen ties as the people partaking in them add and create new connections. Elias, considers collectiveness an extremely powerful conception, starting from a territorially disconnected Palestine and bringing together people worldwide. Apart from the homeland, any resemblance of what was lost strengthens the national identity. Palestinian diaspora, expelled by force and often confined to refugee camps, engages in a feeling of belonging known as long-distance nationalism (Anderson & Kligman, 1992 in Aouragh, 2011). In a global world coined by technology and mobility, community can also be understood as "a network of social relations marked by mutuality and emotional bonds" (Bender 1978, cited in Caliandro, 2017, p.11). It is in this notion of community that Radio Alhara comes into existence.

Creation, Organization and Participation

Starting with its creation, Radio Alhara manifests the personification of a community organization and international solidarity network. Yamakan, an online radio platform from Lebanon, launched a call for different initiatives of radios within the Middle East and North Africa region to try and expand them across one platform as explained by Elias Anastas. The platform had in turn been inspired by Radio Quartiere in Italy and launched several other radios. As Wódz (2021) mentions, these initiatives expanded, supporting and maintaining connections with each other. Radio Alhara answered the call and launched itself as a Palestinian-based online community radio.

Alhara started as an open-source sharing station where everyone could share their music or programs through a Dropbox link (Imanova, 2021). The objective is to erase the distinction between producers and listeners, encompassing them in a community of cultural sharing. Therefore, the radio's audience rises as more than consumers, being a fundamental part of the radio (Dahal, 2013). As Elias Anastas phrases:

> What we always say is that the listeners of today are the producers of the next day. And this idea of putting together and mixing the people that produce and the people that listen in a certain way, allows us to flatten up how things operate and put everyone in the same kind of structure where you can just be a music enthusiast or you can run a magazine and say I want to put together a line up about a certain topic or I want to speak out. (24/06/2023)

This approximation is also enhanced by a live chat room on the Radio's website where everyone worldwide can comment and interact.[70] Omar Nooreddin expresses that chat contributes to the building of the community.

It is through the participatory component of the radio that the first foundations and practices for community building are set. Radio Alhara depends on its contributors and grows with them. Yousef Anastas, one of Alhara's co-founders, commented in an interview for Middle East Eye that Alhara was conceptualized as more than a radio, being "a voice, rather free, which broadcasts music, records podcasts and conversations" (Anastas in Mraffko, 2020, para. 5). Moreover, Alhara exists in the intersection of radio and social media, taking advantage of the collective imaginary of both mediums (Khaleejesque, 2021). In the radio's social media accounts, the visual identity of Alhara also represents and embodies this community-oriented goal. On its Instagram profile, there is a pinned story referring to an open call for designers of the posts.[71] According to Elias Anastas, the idea of the radio as "freedom through sound (…) was nourished on a daily basis with imagery, because in order to promote all the shows, in order to speak about the program, we had all these images that were produced on a daily basis"

---

[70]For more information see: https://www.radioalhara.net/.
[71] https://www.instagram.com/stories/highlights/17894807467724045/.

(24/06/2023). Alhara's ellipse logo is arranged and disarranged by the artists to expose their shows, following the idea of the identity of the radio being shared and built by the community.

The formation of Alhara was compared to a "sort of pirate-radio-like expedition" by Jackson Allers. The use of pirate radios in the Palestinian resistance was common throughout history, as mentioned by Wódz (2021) and Stein and Swedenburg (2005). This comparison rests in the fact that neither pirate nor internet radios operate under a license. In an interview with Resistor Magazine, Saeed Abu-Jaber, another of Alhara's co-founders, commented that he always dreamed of having an FM station, but it was too expensive and bureaucratic. He concluded that Alhara would have been closed long ago if it were an FM station in Jordan or Palestine (Arnott, 2021). Internet here provides an escape from the imposed norms and rules, allowing creative freedom as explored by King (2021).

Being a community radio, Alhara embodies the community radio characteristics explored in Chapter 1 such as autonomy, independence, and the volunteer base. These characteristics center Alhara's potential as,

> We are totally independent and for us what's really refreshing, it's that it can really evolve and this malleability, this flexibility of this platform, to be able to adapt one day to specific conditions, to be able to be present on a festival, but as well to curate line ups in different places in the world - is really this idea of flexibility without really trying to force a projected idea on, with an objective that we need to reach is the most refreshing idea of the radio. (Elias Anastas, 24/06/2023).

For Jackson Allers, another participant and creator of the program Sounds of Solidarity, Alhara is "this really inviting place that gave us a platform to do all of these things that we wanted to do on a volunteer basis so that it would not be profit-driven and thus would always be a resistance in that form" (30/05/2023). According to him, this autonomy means that Alhara "will never be reliant on money to operate". Not depending on outside institutions and funding to decide and determine what they can or cannot do grants Alhara the freedom to be authentic in its programming, creating and engaging in resistance practices.

Moreover, according to Stefan Christoff, the horizontality of a network "has a lot of good aspects because it creates the capacity for people to be agile, to move quickly, to create affinity groups, to take action, to create projects" (22/06/2023). In an interview with Resistor magazine, Elias Anastas exemplifies this flexibility:

> The independence and autonomy of the Radio is allowing us to be flexible and make decisions on a daily basis. For example, today the bombings were non-stop on Gaza. We were like "What do we do? Should we maintain our usual content?" We didn't have an answer and we decided to go silent for 24 hours until we could figure what exactly we wanted to do. (Elias Anastas in Arnott, 2021).

As explored in the literature review, community radio organization and participation are intrinsically related to the conception of community building. Connecting to Darder (2011), Alhara engages in the

art of community resistance, with issues explored in a collective and participatory way both through its participatory genesis and development and the design, content, and diffusion of its programing.

Background: Music, research, and activism

Alhara's multidisciplinary and open approach is visible through its artists, activists, and people involved with the radio. The participants interviewed present different levels of involvement with music and combined different backgrounds of activism and research. While Omar Nooreddin had never played as a DJ before joining Radio Alhara, Jackson Allers and Stefan Christoff had already crossed the bridge between music and resistance in their creative lives. Jackson Allers had started a radio show in university, focusing on different forms of resistance music, from punk and hip-hop to jazz. Then, he branched into activist journalism in an attempt to cause a more significant impact. On the other hand, Stefan Christoff had always played music, with his first album *Duets for Abdel* Razik, part of a campaign with groups like Amnesty International to "support a man who was exiled in Sudan and was accused of being part of Al Qaida" (22/06/2023). Here, Stefan Christoff already used music's potential to sensibilize and crowdfund money to help a cause, mentioning how importance it was for him to "find a way to link creative practice with activism" (22/06/2023). This cultural resistance form connects directly with community care and international solidarity. Checkpoint 303, the non-profit activist sound-art electronic and experimental music collective led by SC MoCha, has collaborated with numerous activists, musicians, singers, and visual artists from North Africa and the Middle East, and Palestine in particular. This diversity of contributors' musical backgrounds created the variety of the radio's lineups.

When questioned about their involvement with Palestinian liberation, two main topics arose. On the one hand, there was a close geographic or cultural proximity with some participants from Palestine, Jordan, Armenia, or Tunisia. On the other, there is a clear involvement with leftist movements, politics, and ideals that shaped the political consciousness and converged in liberation ideals. For example:

> And then my exposure to much more of the radical leftist politics that I could help articulate my ideas around - whether it be sort of anarchist models or communist Marxist models of things and I think that all of those things lent themselves to the kind of act, you know, solidarity and activism that I was doing. (Jackson Allers, 30/05/2023).

Anarchist ideals were also prevalent, marked by non-hierarchical and full liberation principles, classically linked to solidarity, mutual aid, and horizontal organization, with movements like anti-globalization or global justice as presented by Stefan Christoff. Additionally, participants also engaged directly with Palestine in the physical realm through activistic practices.

Regarding connections to other movements, Stefan Christoff and Jackson Allers were engaged in leftist movements from early on, like the WTO protests or the Anti-capitalist convergence. Stefan, who describes himself as a "public community organizer and activist" (22/06/2023), is also connected to the World Education Forum and Artists Against Apartheid. Artists Against Apartheid is an organizing space

where musicians play together, building support in the arts community for Palestinian human rights. The activist background of the participants creates a vital network for the programs and projects discussed later in this section.

The participants also frequently give talks and interviews connecting music to different practices and exploring its potential. Jackson Allers researches mainly pirate radios and the link between genocidal study issues and the Nakba while Dirar Kalash focuses on radio art, the social history of radio in Palestine, and improvisation potential, and Elias Anastas (and his brother Yousef Anastas) run an architecture multidisciplinary studio involved in research projects materialized through art production. This multilayered characterization of the participants also provides a strong argument for their contribution as active participants in the research, since they possess both practical and theoretical knowledge and experience. It also relates to their own characterization and view of themselves, as in the words of Dirar Kalash:

> I'm a musician but I don't see myself as a musician or an artist or… more than I see myself as somebody who's part of this kind of community that it's facing all those problems on an everyday basis... It's just by chance that I am a musician. I find it just a tool that I can use in order to say something or just to use it as a kind of exercise on how to think about sharing and caring and all of that stuff. (29/05/2023)

This conception as primarily part of a community is present in many of the participants' descriptions, emphasizing the importance of community building. Everything else - the music and radio-steams out of this notion of community. For SC MoCha, his music "is deeply intertwined with and directly connected with my identity, but "identity" in a large and inclusive sense. Not only as a Tunisian and an Arab but as a human being deeply concerned with universal values of justice, equity, and human dignity" (30/06/2023). SC MoCha collective, Checkpoint 303, is also an example of how the choice of music regarding genre and language is also an integral part of how Alhara positions itself, fostering a cultural identity and community. In hindsight, the variety and richness of background of the community involved in Alhara promotes Alhara's own variety. In the words of Elias Anastas, "We had music, and it was articulated with punctual talk shows that were suggesting as well new formulated ideas around territory, geography, exchange of knowledge, culture" (24/06/2023). Alhara therefore exists as a multidisciplinary medium with a range of diversity parallel to the diversity of its community.

Narrative

Stefan Christoff describes Radio Alhara as "a way of bringing a bunch of musicians into a creative space online that is an opening for them to think about a different possibility of what is going on in Palestine". For Omar Nooreddin, Alhara "gave people the sort of sense of unity - not that it did not exist, but it sort of fortified that sense of unity even further. And it went beyond even Palestinian". By sharing the

Palestinian identity, culture, and language, Radio Alhara helped the understanding of the multilayered existence of being Palestinian. Omar further explains:

> Usually the idea behind it [Palestine] is more people suffering and war, which is true, but there is the other aspect of Palestinian people are just like any other people, they have interest in music like Brazilian music for example – and it gave an alternative face to it. (27/06/2023)

This explores an agency often retrieved from Palestinians, with one of the Zionist successes being the reduction of the Palestinian identity to the occupation (Lloyd, 2012). By giving space to exist beyond the orientalist conception of being, Radio Alhara offers a space to resist and oppose these conceptions. Moreover, it correlates to the perception of the Radio "to go beyond preconceived ideas of contextual politics, the idea of using the radio is to transmit a voice that will resonate throughout the globe" (Elias Anastas in Everpress Team, 2022, para. 15), engaging in a counter-narration that challenges the hegemonic occupation (Darder, 2011).

Care

Community care is a fundamental aspect of a safe and healthy community. Alhara's creation during the COVID-19 pandemic helped counter the isolation, bringing people together. This connects to Dedman (2021) conclusion that community radio's capacity to unite individuals and communities increased at a time of isolation as the COVID-19 epidemic when several programs and initiatives started. It was also during this isolation that, according to Elias Anastas, "you can really break and take the time to think about your future, to think about the environment, think about the connectivity, the community, etc." (24/06/2023). Moreover, following bell hooks (2000) correlation between love ethics and the freedom of all people, by advocating for Palestinian freedom, Alhara is embodying care.

Care dynamics are also present in Alhara's programs. For example, Shirine Saad hosts a talkshow called "Hiya" which means she in Arabic, interviewing female Arab musicians. According to her, the show does not focus on changing Western perspectives but on creating intimate conversations "by us, for us — where we free ourselves from these mental barriers and simply talk about our creative process" (Shirine Saad cited in Faber, 2020). This program embodies the ethics of care explored in Chapter 2, with a community focus catering to a kinship relationship. Moreover, when Dirar Kalash, one of the participants of this research, suffered an accident in 2022 and was hospitalized, Radio Alhara launched a crowdfunding campaign to help support medical expenses. The campaign post reads, "This campaign aims to bring together collective support to cover his medical and living expenses until he is able to get back on his feet" [72] and is a prime example of care within a community. As explored, an ethic of care also encompasses

---

[72] https://www.instagram.com/p/ClxqnUeMtGh/?igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA%3D%3D.

health and healthcare (The Care Manifesto, 2021), and supporting a community member in times of need is an example of it.

Alhara also launched several T-shirt campaigns through the Sonic Liberation Front, a liberation campaign built through sound that will be explored in the next section, collecting money for different organizations. They collected almost 6000 dollars for "Reem's Dream", an association to help cancer patients in Palestine, almost 5000 for Grassroots Alquds, supporting the Palestinian community in Jerusalem, and 23000 for Medical Aid for Palestine. This connection to other movements and social issues also displays a dynamic of care and a sense of community, exemplifying the intersection of struggles. Lastly, the musical creations themselves create a space for reflection. For Stefan Cristoff, these different creations and practices are about

> creating space as artists and activists to do something - for us to do something - and to create moments of beauty, to create moments of reflection, to create moments where we could share something, that was less stressful than a protest, so I think that's very important. (22/06/2023)

The creation of spaces to reflect and care connects to Audre Lorde's (1988) and bell hooks (2018) concept of care as warfare, being a different kind of weapon that can be used to fight oppression and dynamize kinship and community bonds.

Physical space

To better exist as a multidisciplinary space that fosters community and encompasses care practices, the Wonder Cabinet was launched in 2023.

> The main idea of the Wonder Cabinet is to be this infrastructure, not-for-profit, cultural space that has the Radio, it has our studio, it has production spaces, it has designer and artist residencies, we have a restaurant that runs as an artist residency as well so we get chefs every couple of months - the restaurant fits into this idea of thinking about how can we create new forms of economies within art institutions. So, it's as well the idea of how we can sustain ourselves very quickly by being autonomous. (Elias Anastas, 24/06/2023).

Since Radio Alhara is also present in Wonder Cabinet through a recording studio, it is exposed, as well as the people who come to use it, to other forms of art. This creates a multidisciplinary and interconnected platform: "There's always this idea of trying to bridge in between different disciplines, and that's really the possibility that the Wonder Cabinet is opening up." (Elias Anastas, 24/06/2023). The space creates links between different artists and provides the space to learn and grow. The existence of both Radio Alhara and The Wonder Cabinet aligns with King's (2021) approach that innovation in media practices is connecting Palestinians under Israeli occupation to the world and how, in recent years, new artistic projects have combined their practices with radio, countering the idea of its overturn by other media (Wódz, 2021).

3.2.2. Cultural resistance

For Dirar Kalash, media is closely interlinked with "the power to say something, the power to realize something" (30/05/2023). It is through this power that, according to the participants, community media in general and Radio Alhara in specific have the potential to engage in counter-hegemonic narratives. Elias Anastas and Omar Nooreddin also mentioned the manipulation and power to influence the narrative conceded by mass media. Omar adds that by introducing a cultural face to the Palestine question, people start to understand that the reality is not as simple as the mass media portrays.

The focus on community issues also brings to light more mundane aspects that do not have the reach to broadcast in the mass media (Dahal 2013; King & Maruf, 2018). In the words of Elias Anastas:

> We started thinking how we can do that and how can we do that in a collective way and how can we do it in a way that is a bit different - totally different, from the usual expected media that is covering these parts of the world. (24/06/2023)

Protests

Radio Alhara engages in a particular type of resistance practice that can be called Sonic Protests. These protests, as the name presents, take place on the sonic ground and bring with them all the potentialities inherently to sound waves. The use of sound, aligns with Oliveros' (1999) and Bull and Les Back's (2003) perspective of another approach to sound, with an activist and reflexive focus in order to create new understandings of reality. For Jackson Allers, the radio transmission and music waves connect with the waves propagated by them, in an analogy that travels beyond border conceptions. Whether through the production of music – sound, or its absence, by the use of silence in order to convey and broadcast a message, Radio Alhara's exploration of sonic protests as resistance will be explored next.

Fil Mishmish

A few months after the radio was launched, in July 2020, Alhara emitted a week-long marathon broadcast entitled "Fil Mishmish" dedicated to Palestinian liberation. This broadcast was a protest in response to Israel's plans to annex the West Bank. Fil Mishmish, with the literal translation, "when the apricots bloom", meaning wishful thinking, a hypothetical scenario that will not happen (Alhara's Instagram post in Annex G; Omar Nooreddin, 27/06/2023). Against an illegal and unilateral plan by Israel backed by the US, Alhara's co-founders took the station off the air while they tried to convey a response. They thought the best response the radio could offer was through a massive online protest and planned a 24-hour broadcast welcoming submissions of any kind related to voices of resistance. Due to the numerous submissions, the protest was extended to three days. The Instagram post read, "While this 72-hour event arises from events in Palestine, it addresses the anger of populations worldwide and aims to unite struggles against injustice and occupation while acknowledging the specificity of each case." It is an anti-colonial and anti-racist protest. The choice of the marathon format exemplifies King and

Marouf's (2018) argument that this kind of broadcast helps counter the silencing of Palestinian voices and provides the needed context of the struggle. One of the contributors was Nicolas Jaar, a renowned artist who launched snippets of his new album live on Alhara. At the same time, he took his slot to explain Israel's colonial water control in Palestine. And the 10,000 people who had rushed to hear his new album were now exposed to the reality of Israeli settler-colonialism. This resulted in a way to challenge information and speak about oppression and injustice through a new medium. The music/information nexus was explored by Elias Anastas, who said:

> And what was really interesting is that, for example, at the moments where we reach these peaks of audience, there were specific people that were tuning in to listen to like a musician that they really love, and they connected to listen to that. And most of these DJ's who committed to create a piece that was protesting this illegal project didn't only play music, they played music with the specific framework. (24/06/2023)

In addition to the 80 plus DJs and artists that participated in the protest "from Colombia, New York, France, Palestine, Asia, etc" (Omar Nooreddin, 27/06/2023), producing "a stream of music, field recordings, protest songs, sound pieces" (Badran, 2020, para. 7), the radio marathon was broadcasted on other radios across the globe, engaging in what Wódz (2021) calls cross-border solidarity broadcasting. In the words of Elias Anastas, this cross-border broadcasting is a form of "structural solidarity," with a network of independent radios scattered around the world taking turns broadcasting the programs, reaching a broader audience. When considering the contributors and the listeners, both from Alhara and from all the radios that transmitted the protests, the international reach is enormous, with the message against the illegal settlements spread across the globe. The protests ended up "creating awareness through the radio because a lot of people are not aware of the Palestinian issue outside of the Middle East" and "created unity across borders, across countries" (Omar Nooreddin, 27/06/2023).[73] A year after the protest, the Radio launched a celebratory program with the caption, "No one is free until we are all free".[74]

Sonic Liberation Front

In 2021, following the eviction of Palestinians from the occupied district of Sheikh Jarrah in light of the ongoing ethnic cleansing of Palestinian people (Yalcinkaya, 2021), protests arose all over. Radio Alhara launched a solidarity campaign called "Sonic Liberation Front" which became a prime example of cultural resistance. The name was inspired by the Palestinian artist Dirar Kalash, one of the participants of this research, who collected sounds in the streets since attacks on Gaza in 2003 and called it the "sonic

---

[73] Furthermore, the protest was combined with the creation of T-shirts whose sell would fund the radio and help the cause but following the explosion in the port of Beirut on August 4th 2020, the funds were reallocated to the victims. Furthermore, Alhara also engaged in a 30-hour fundraiser stream as explored in the following section.
[74] See Annex H.

front." His work was inspired by Palestinian radios that transmitted messages from families to their imprisoned relatives (Lambert, 2021), which was also mentioned as a care practice in Chapter 2. According to Dirar, the idea is the connection between his sonic practices and something that is more than his context - a reality that is intrinsically tied to "how I perform, how I think, how I create my music and how I live here as a Palestinian", resulting in a way "of doing a kind of politics in sound" (29/05/2023). In one of Alhara's posts announcing the program it reads:

> A new Sonic Liberation Front episode with Dirar Kalash, who creates his Sonic Front pieces using sound recordings of protests and confrontations with the Israeli occupation. Through the use of different electronic music techniques like sampling, synthesis and real-time processing, Kalash politicizes sonic experience and transforms sound-making into an act of amplified persistence, insistence and of speaking up for all Palestinian rights (…) FREE PALESTINE.[75]

This process of collecting soundscapes is related to Shafer's (1990) view of Radical Radio, altering the world's perception by collecting new and forgotten sounds. For Dirar, "the whole idea is not about creating a beautiful soundscape composition(..) But using real sounds that could actually say a little bit more about what they are" (29/05/2023). The music and soundscapes created by Checkpoint 303 share this relation, as they are based on field recordings, sounds, and archives from Palestine and the Arab world. These sonic practices state a clear resistance message, advocating for Palestinian rights and freedom, and Alhara's transmission of them is an example of how the radio engages with cultural resistance.

For the radio, the Sheikh Jarrah protests provided an occasion where it did not make sense to continue the regular programming. In May, due to violent attacks by Israel in Sheikh Jarrah, Alhara turned the radio off for a day, reflecting on which sound experiences they wanted to create (Menon, 2021). Sound was once again used through its absence, in the engagement of an active silence as a protest. They concluded that "within the reach of the radio we need to use it as a way as well to protest the annexation of all these lands" (Elias Anastas, 24/06/2023) and launched an open call for anyone wanting to express solidarity with Palestine our parallel the protests to their own struggles. A radio statement read "The asymmetric relationship between those who give orders and those who must obey is always demonstrated by who controls access to the soundscape" (NTS, 2021, para.2), exposing another facet of Israeli occupation. The reception to the call was once again so big that what was planned as a 24-hour protest, received content able to fill more than 40 days of broadcast (Lambert, 2021). The emissions featured the words "No one is free until we are all free" (Yalcinkaya, 2021). Through this participatory-driven content and with an international focus, the program soon expanded from being directly about Palestine to a broader conception of worldwide injustices and protests. In the words of Elias Anastas,

---

[75] https://www.instagram.com/p/CjscamtMGdL/?igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA%3D%3D.

And what started to become really super interesting is that many of the people that contributed started to want to mirror their own form of oppression or their own form of injustice that they live in their own conditions with Palestine, so showing their own solidarity, but in a way that is speaking about another form of oppression, another form of injustice, and this becomes like this collective back and forth solidarity that is really forming a resistance. (24/06/2023)

The broadcasts were also mirrored by other radios, magnifying the message and creating a community united by global solidarity. Globally, over 600 musicians came together to support Palestine (Menon, 2021).

In addition to the Sonic Liberation Front, Alhara engages and creates several protests, posts, and programs that focus on Palestinian liberation and echo global struggles. On May 11th 2022, following the murder of the Palestinian-American journalist Shireen Abu Akleh by Israeli forces, Alhara launched a solidarity post calling for voice testimonies of what Shireen Abu Akleh represented to play them throughout the week. The post included the words "was murdered by the occupation forces",[76] and another post showed a video of Israeli violence at Shireen's funeral.[77] Following this, on May 15th 2022, marking the Nakba, the post announcing the radio lineup read, "We will return. Palestine will be free from the river to the sea".[78]

On April 6th 2023, before the announcement of the daily lineup, the sentence "Alaqsa mosque and worshipers are being savagely attacked by the Israeli army" could be read in a Facebook post.[79] On May 2nd 2023, Radio Alhara went silent in memory of Khader Adnan, a Palestinian political prisoner who died following a hunger strike against his administrative detention by Israeli police.[80] These moments of silence also reflect the techniques used during the First Intifada with the stop of all celebratory practices (Rijke & van Teeffelen, 2014), and the use of silence as an active verb by choosing when to stop the sound to broadcast a message.

On May 15th, 2023, following the 75th memorial of the Nakba, Radio Alhara did a compilation of "a 12-hour program of talks, discussions, book presentations, music and films to learn, teach, engage, think and know about the ongoing catastrophe, the steady fastness of the Palestinian people and the international solidarity with them".[81] The use of the words "steadfastness", which inherently connects

---

[76] https://www.instagram.com/p/CdagVtGsjsS/?igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA%3D%3D.

[77] https://www.instagram.com/tv/Cdkt-WeFu6s/?igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA%3D%3D.

[78] Annex I.

[79] https://www.facebook.com/radioalhara/posts/pfbid02AyRFVuNjYQ7cj8kd1fp3qwzgwSis2KQqAVNp4wK7K Q22Ax81t3Mgc5ewbGrFExqcl.

[80] Administrative detention refers to summary imprisonments with no trial. As it happens on the grounds of preventive action it has no time limit, and is a practice employed routinely by Israel against Palestinians (B'tselem, n.d.). The United Nations Special Rapporteur condemns this practice, reporting "In violation of international law, Israel continues to use administrative detention to imprison more than 500 Palestinians" (Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders, 2021)

[81] https://www.instagram.com/p/CsQYmVuMOWS/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&igshid=MzRlODBiNWFl ZA== .

to *sumud*, and "international solidarity" – present two key concepts to this research. This emission occurred from 10 am to 10 pm and included a presentation for the Center for Palestine Studies.[82] Through the programming, the combination of the musical aspect of the radio with the sharing of knowledge and information is visible.

The most recent protest was following the June 2023 Israeli raids of the Jenin refugee camp in the occupied West Bank, with airstrikes and ground invasion resulting in several deaths and injuries (Ibrahim & Pietromarchi, 2023). Radio Alhara launched a 12-hour program of "lectures, interviews, book presentation, talks, storytelling, music, songs, poetry, and chants" titled Until Liberation.[83] The program encompassed authors mentioned and explored through this dissertation like Edward Said, Judith Butler, and Angela Davis, which exemplifies once again the connection between theory and praxis. The program was followed by a post in Instagram where it could be read, "Jenin is resisting", calling for the community to share audio material about Palestine in any topic, form, and language. They also affirmed that Alhara would dedicate the rest of the week's emission to sharing this material. This program is another example of how community, radio, resistance, and international solidarity conflate together, sharing and building, with the common goal of Palestine liberation. In the words of Elias Anastas, "As long as we can make noise and use our own platforms and the radio as a platform, we're going to keep doing that. [*al Hara*] is online, so we can be anywhere." (in Arnott, 2021). In hindsight, the use of radio to reflect on current events also resembles the radio's suspension of regular programming to provide coverage of the second intifada (King, 2021). Moreover, these protests exemplify how Alhara addresses social justice issues and the commitment and involvement to the Palestinian struggle.

Conceptions

For Stefan Christoff, and as explored by Skare (2016), "resistance is such a meaningful idea, but it is also broad" (22/06/2023). And regarding the power of radio to foster it, the participants' opinions are diversified. Stefan Christoff explored how a spiritual space that can be interpreted as resistance is opened through making music and expressing yourself outside convention and norms. The simple fact of creating without monetizing the creation is a form of resistance in a capitalistic world. He also mentioned the potential granted by radio's ability to communicate across borders, being used as a tool for social movements to share ideas in a horizontal technology, and the unmatched potential granted by music being vastly appreciated. Music's potential is also referenced by SC MoCha, who evidences that Checkpoint 303 spreads a message for justice, equality, and human rights through its electronic

---

[82] I listened to this program while in Lyon for the *Nuits Sonores Festival and Lab*, where I participated in, among others, a workshop on "Building your Own Community Radio" with Refuge Worldwide, a Berlin-based community radio. For more information see the website: https://nuits-sonores.com/en/evenement/lab-friday/.
[83] See the full program in Annex J.

compositions. He mentions how their music is often considered too political for the mainstream magazines, radio channels, and music festivals and adds "To us, all forms of art are inherently political. In countries like Palestine, breathing is political and mere existence is resistance" (30/06/2023). The music of Checkpoint 303, since the very beginning, has sought to express solidarity, empower, and raise international awareness about the ongoing plight of the Palestinian people in the settler colonial and Apartheid state they live in under Israeli occupation.[84] Moreover, SC MoCha reflects on their role as musicians:

> I think that the ability (possibly luxury) to be able to do art gives us the obligation to use it, at least in part, to speak truth to power and express solidarity, and amplify the voice of those fighting for dignity and freedom. (30/06/2023)

Additionally, Elias Anastas mentioned the potential of radio and sound to grant another perspective, fomenting interpretations that differ from images. Moreover, the reach of a radio protest is not to be disregarded with moments where 18 thousand people were listening, and "when you try to materialize what is a protest in the street of 17,000 people - if you google search a protest of 17,000 people- you would understand that it is a quite massive one" (24/06/2023). He also mentions other projects that use art like Forensic Architecture, which determines cases of state violence and human rights violence worldwide, including in Palestine, through architectural techniques.[85]

On the other hand, Dirar Kalash and Jackson Allers are more skeptical. Although Jackson Allers considers the power of music as a universal language, encompassing resistance in the lyrics, the context, and the emotions expressed, he does not have any grand illusions that music changes the world as "real movements and revolutions and physical confrontations with the state - these are what make the change". (30/5/2023). Dirar Kalash expands on this adjacent role, mentioning that Alhara is not his main "thing" but an addition to his practices. SC MoCha also warns that we cannot be too idealistic to think that culture, music, or radio will by themselves change the reality on the ground but considers the multilayered role and faces of resistance.

> It does provide a space for expression and creativity, and allows this to happen despite the occupation, oppression and settler-colonialism. It helps create a sense of community and helps empower artists and musicians to resist through art. Resistance can take many forms. It can be putting on a brave and defiant smile to a camera while being illegally arrested by a soldier. It

---

[84] For example, their debut album "Checkpoint Tunes", available in remastered version on the streaming website Bandcamp.

[85] The discoveries made can provide profs to counter the Israeli narrative. A few examples of investigations are about executions and mass graves in Tantura https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/executions-and-mass-graves-in-tantura-23-may-1948, the assassination of Shireen Abu Akleh https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/shireen-abu-akleh-the-targeted-killing-of-a-journalist and the ethnic cleansing in Sheikh Jarrah https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/sheikh-jarrah.

can be affirming your presence and existence through any form of artistic expression, including music, theater, visual arts, etc. (SC MoCha, 30/06/2023)

Henceforth, it is crucial to account for both the potential and limitations of resistance forms and their interconnections, with digital resistance efficiency also dependent on physical movements (Aouragh, 2012; El-Nawawy & Khamis, 2012). Dirar Kalash also comments that he does not think people listening to the radio understand the concept behind the Sonic Front, as he only explores its meaning during a workshop or lecture. Understanding the message is pivotal to its diffusion, and the concept of active listening (Winter & Lavis, 2020) resurfaces. In order to engage with the medium, listeners cannot only resolve to listen without question, they must search and interact. Above all, Dirar Kalash considers that the radio "serves people outside Palestine who want to express the solidarity more than it serves Palestinians" (29/05/2023) and should share the Palestinian community more. For him, the direction forward should be the construction of a more "solid solidarity" since "if you look at the program like most of the time, it doesn't have anything to do with the situation in Palestine". This also happens due to the collaborative and open nature of the radio, but in his opinion, we are living in times of urgency that demand stronger action. Above all, due to the radio's participatory nature, he voices his opinions and concerns to the members.

Omar Nooreddin agrees that cultural resistance is not the same as political work and protests on the street but, in his opinion, is a stronger, albeit longer process of changing people's mentality. He adds, "It's a sort of a slow-moving change, but it's more effective, in my opinion, because as I mentioned earlier, it gives the Palestinian cause and the resistance a cultural face" (27/06/2023). This cultural face is more palatable, lowering the entry barrier for those interested as it transcends the idea that resistance can only happen by force.

In summary, Alhara engages in various resistance practices, from sonic protests to information dissemination and sensibilization and community building. These practices embody the anti-colonial way of being defined by *sumud* (Meari, 2014). As previously explored, *sumud* intersects different resistances and provides ground for explorations of collective liberation (Marie et al., 2018), with community and hope forging the way to new ways of existing. O'Sullivan (1994) argues that alternative media is not only political and resistance media but encompasses different cultural forms, and Radio Alhara exists in the intersection of both these elements. As SC MoCha mentioned regarding Palestine, existence is inherently political, so Alhara's existence, born as a Palestinian cultural project embodies an anti-colonial resistance. Moreover, according to Duncombe (2002, p.7)

> And finally, the very activity of producing culture has political meaning. In a society built around the principle that we should consume what others have produced for us, throwing an illegal warehouse rave or creating an underground music label — that is creating your own culture — takes on a rebellious resonance. The first act of politics is simply to act.

And Alhara is taking action.

3.2.3. International Solidarity

> The Palestinian cause is not a cause for Palestinians only, but a cause for every revolutionary, wherever he is, as a cause of the exploited and oppressed masses in our era
>
> - Ghassan Kanafani[86]

Conceptions

Solidarity and support are essential aspects of activism (Aouragh, 2008), and the common thread of intersection of struggles creates solidarity. In reality, "We are facing all those problems, and we have to think of how to actually deal with those. Whether in Palestine or Europe or anywhere" (Dirar Kalash, 29/05/2023). According to Stefan Christoff, "The last thing is to avoid the idea that Palestine is disconnected from the world. It is really important (…) to think intersectionally and to think about anti-colonial movements around the world as tied to the Palestinian struggle." (Stefan Christoff in Butland, 2023, para. 35). Elias Anastas adds that we can't think about Palestine, the Middle East, Colombia, Somalia or any country and struggle alone as "there are global struggles and using waves, using something that's very fluid such as radios, something that's really a common language – and music by the end of the day is the most common language- and using this form of a common language to create solidarity is the way to form the strongest resistance" (24/06/2023). Dirar Kalash adds "We are facing all those problems and we have to think of how to actually deal with those. Whether in Palestine or Europe or anywhere" (29/05/2023). And for SC MoCha, "International solidarity is crucial for all justice movements. Struggles for freedom and liberation are all interconnected, all around the globe" (30/06/2023).

Based on these perspectives, all the participants envision international solidarity as a crucial aspect of resistance practices and community building. The connection to other struggles reinforces the belief that oppressed people are not alone or in a unique situation, as oppressive powers manifest in various forms, providing collective hope in the achievement of liberation. Furthermore, this internationalism was a significant part of the organizing as evident in the analysis of the participants' background, and is present in all of their conceptions of Radio Alhara. In his view of internationalism, Jackson Allers says that the movements' work connected to the international because "that was a model that we really saw as taking our own struggles and magnifying them into a much larger lens" (30/05/2023). He claims that solidarity is a broad term encompassing many ways we can support each other, being a big thing in his life. Even regarding music, he considers the solidarity he shows to people's sounds and ways of expressing themselves, and people being open to hearing it, participate "and see it as a resource that they can utilize to get their messaging" (30/05/2023). Solidarity is therefore present in all aspects of the radio,

---

[86] Ghassan Kanafani was a Palestinian communist political leader known for cementing the conception of resistance literature (Alghoul, 2017).

from the creation to the programming to the community and resistance. And like sound, it travels through the waves of the radio.

> You can't control a broadcast wave (…) so I see these as waves of solidarity that go out into the universe that are part of these physical models of the universe. I find that the solidarity, the internationalism and the ways that we link, are like an analogy, to these things that we're doing in the music and that we're doing with radio. (Jackson Allers, 30/05/2023)

Music and radio

Any struggle gains power by aligning itself with others fighting for similar values; this is the key principle of internationalism. Stefan Christoff mirrors the anti-colonial fight in Canada as the country exists in colonized, occupied indigenous land, and the current struggles against gentrification that are also fights for space and community. Elias Anastas uses the example of the fight against climate change, a global issue and struggle that needs a global community, to show the global tendency of international solidarity.

Internet community radio, like any other form of media through time, "exposes different people to different issues around the world". (Omar Nooreddin, 27/06/2023). The difference with community radio is that the issues are generally not broadcasted in mass media (Dahal, 2013; King & Maruf, 2018) and therefore do not reach a wider audience. In the words of Omar Nooreddin,

> Because of this, more and more people started getting introduced to the issues around Palestine and researching about it, and for me at least personally, it really felt very good because I felt there are other people - because I lived abroad, I never (had) that experience of Palestine unity or anything like that and then with Radio Alhara I discovered there are other people around the world and you sort of create a bond with them (27/06/2023).

Music and radio then bring together struggles that already exist in the same field but are not connected yet - and here lies their potential. For SC MoCha:

> Radio has the potential to contribute to organizing solidarity and protest by amplifying actions, communicating about initiatives and events. Community radio can also be an extremely useful tool for people to meet each other and join forces and organize. (30/06/2023)

Jackson Allers adds that community radio "drops the kind of knowledge that's necessary about people's situations in a format that many people can access" (30/5/2023). At the same time, it is important to note that as explored in Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation, for Palestinians in the diaspora, no matter its strength, the internet cannot reverse the physical circumstances in which they encounter themselves (Tawil-Souri & Aouragh, 2014). However, there are several actions and tactics that can be employed, with solidarity practices being fundamental. As Castells (2012) argues, observing and listening to protests in other locations, no matter how far or culturally distanced, provides hope about the prospect of change, inspiring mobilization. Omar Nooreddin defines Alhara as "a platform for, as

cheesy as it sounds, the call of freedom" (27/06/2023), a connection open to anyone. And with people connecting from Latin America, Europe, Arab Countries, and many others, reaching between 2000 and 5000 people in regular days with regular programming and achieving peaks beyond 25000 (Elias Anastas, 24/06/2023), Radio Alhara's reach is very significant.

Considering international solidarity, the station has organized several fundraising campaigns for relief following for example, the 2020 Beirut explosion and the Turkey and Syria earthquakes in 2023.[87] The chat on Radio Alhara's website is also a demonstration of this internationalism, with messages from all over the world. Moreover, Alhara actively engages in broadcasting programs and shows supporting different socio-political issues. Following, for example, the protests in Iran in 2023 regarding human and women's rights, Alhara broadcasted a radio marathon showcasing women and non-binary artists (Guttridge-Hewitt, 2022; Shukla, 2022). This relates to the role of the radio as a space of care, where marginalized and oppressed voices can have a space, and creates ground for future analysis of the role of the radio in the feminist struggle.

Following the Black Lives Matter protests and Blackout Tuesday, Alhara canceled the usual transmissions in solidarity and broadcasted speeches from Angela Davis and James Baldwin (Faber, 2020). These marathon formats are very valuable, as explored by King and Marouf (2018), because when oppressed groups produce a marathon format, therefore voicing their concerns, the amplification effects are very powerful as the message echoes. Alhara therefore establishes relationships with other anti-colonial and anti-racist movements, promoting community building and engaging in the intersectionality of struggles.

In its turn, the Sonic Liberation Front encompasses several solidarity practices, with submissions from all over the world reflecting on their own forms of oppression and in solidarity with Palestine.[88] Even bigger platforms like NTS Radio broadcasted the Sonic Liberation Front.[89]

The international platforms through which Palestinians speak today reach a much wider audience than the platforms used throughout time explored in Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis. However, as Thomson and Olson (2023) explore, it is still not common to hear Palestinian resistance voices, especially to an audience that shares the same ideals and not in a confrontational matter. The authors concluded that there were signs of the situation changing, as part of a broader turn to anti-capitalist and

---

[87]In the post it read "We would like to call on all friends and collaborators, across various radio and music entities to use their platforms to help spread awareness and highlight the aftermath of this disaster" https://www.facebook.com/radioalhara/posts/pfbid02dp6iZVjAgZPygU4A4aeUGrEq5vNvrrVQNmjx2VQhF5w wd2mYoCjgmue28ZnuVkbMl. Moreover, the post announcing the lineup for February 10 for example, started with "Donate to orgazations that are aiding the rescue and recovery efforts in turkey and Syria".

[88] Included Mexico, Chile, Peru, South Africa and Australia as seen in Annex K.

[89]NTS is a global radio platform broadcasting music all over the world live 24/7, https://www.nts.live/shows/sonic-liberation-front.

anti-imperialistic commitments, from which Radio Alhara is a prime example. Moreover, today's solidarity movements regarding Palestine are forging connections worldwide, not just in the traditional 1970s anti-imperialistic framework but also in a broader global critique of neoliberalism and racism (Haugbolle & Olsen, 2023) as seen with Alhara's connection to feminist and anti-racist struggles.

Movements

One of the most prominent examples of Palestinian internationalism is the BDS movement. The participants acknowledge BDS's role and potential, particularly in the cultural and intellectual field. This importance comes especially to counterpose the "liberal idea that art does not have borders, that artistic production needs not to be limited by the short-sightedness of governments" (Jackson Allers, 30/05/2023) as that is not the material reality we live in. This need is also expressed by Elias Anastas:

> You when you consume for example a product or when you showcase an artist that is coming from a space that is an occupied space or a space that is illegally exploited, then you're favoring an artist or you're favoring an enterprise or you're favoring a production facility that is illegal. This simple aspect of thinking about the most basic rights that you can…When you start not understanding what you're consuming, what you're exposing, what you're staging, you can as well start to be complicit of expanding forms of oppression. (24/06/2023)

For Stefan Christoff, BDS provides a clear way for people to express solidarity with Palestine, as there are guidelines and boycotts that make it easier to follow. According to Omar Nooreddin, "BDS creates a buzz on the news" (27/06/2023). As mass media controls most information, this buzz is generally negative, but at least the airtime brings awareness. However, he questions whether the awareness is good or bad. This framing of attention as positive or negative correlates to how mass media portrays and frames narratives.

Participants also expressed the view of BDS and other movements as a part of a bigger resistance. Jackson Allers describes himself as "not a blanket BDS support but a BDS supporter", adding that many times the BDS does not address all the nuances of the situation, but with the disclaimer that these opinions and discussions are internal and he does not have these conversations outside people who support BDS. Dirar Kalash adds that BDS work is very symbolic, with everything being a reaction to something. There is a need to create and act, not only react in order to create change. In sum, he believes that boycotting is important but not the most essential, as more action is needed.

Another solidarity movement broadcasted by Alhara is Musicians for Palestine. MFP was created in May 2021 as a global attempt to respond as musicians to the Israeli bombing of Gaza. The process of creation of the program was quite similar to Alhara, with musicians with different degrees of experience coming together, as Stefan Christoff explains: "I invited a lot of musicians to make mixes with me, some of whom are not super aware of what's happening in Palestine, and I did this for a few years and that also was another mechanism through which I could build a support network that led to Musicians for

Palestine" (22/06/2023). The artists, including Checkpoint 303 for example, signed a common declaration that was reviewed by groups involved with the BDS National Committee. It is possible to see the solidarity potential of these programs because they exist as independent projects that can also be broadcasted by other initiatives. MfP is broadcasted by Radio Alhara among multiple other online radio stations, giving form to cross-border broadcasting that reaches more and more people and the interconnections between different movements. In hindsight, all solidarity movements make Palestine a global issue, share knowledge, and raise awareness. However, in order to gain power as a resistance form, they should be connected to other movements and struggles. In the words of SC MoCha:

> These movements are crucial and some of the most important incarnations of international solidarity and call for justice. By calling for supporting justice in Palestine, these movements call for supporting justice everywhere and for everyone. One cannot pick and choose the rights one wants to support. You either support the notion that all Human beings should have basic human rights, or you don't. There should be no grey zones when it comes to supporting everyone's rights to life in freedom and dignity. (30/06/2023)

In the Epilogue of Palestine in the World: International Solidarity with the Palestinian Liberation Movement (Eds: Thomson & Olsen, 2023), Mezna Qato concludes: "Solidarity is, we learn, a commitment, first and above all, to listen. And through our bonds to each other, we pull away from the precipice of alienation and defeat and advance together towards a just world" (p. 248). This quote presents the perfect summary of international solidarity, being even more present in the role of radio. The need to listen, and active and deep listen, is a pivotal and even mandatory component of solidarity. It is through the act of listening that care is also displayed and communities built.

> In summary, the potential of international solidarity lies in:

> (…) using music to speak about analogies of struggles, using music or art production to speak about forms of oppression that can be mirrored across borders to try to bring people that are fighting certain power structures through new forms of a kind of exchange of certain knowledge is a way to as well defy the systems of power structures (Elias Anastas, 24/06/2023),

being on its own a form of resistance. All these resistance practices echo through a network of other radios and listers, reaching and creating a community through what Wódz (2021) presents as sonic solidarity. In its turn, the community creates new resistance practices as explored by Lilja et al. (2017), building to their expansion. In the words of Jackson Allers, Alhara "was a lifeline for a lot of us that needed to express ourselves, that needed to discuss what was going on in in all of these places that required our solidarity and required our internationalism" (30/05/2023). This quote conveys the role of Alhara simultaneously as a community-driven collective that manifests care, with a focus on international solidarity, setting the ground for answering this dissertation's research questions.

3.2.4. Future: Challenges and Possibilities

When questioned about the future, a common topic arose between the participants: more community and care. Given the intersections explored in this analysis, resistance, and international solidarity are dependent on the community, which in turn needs care to exist and resist. In the words of Dirar Kalash, "it would be nice to see more growth, communities that care. And communities that can produce other ways and other forms of knowledge (…)" (29/05/2023). This is inherently dependent on the unity of communities, and it is here that community initiatives and projects like Radio Alhara can make a difference.

In Radio Alhara, as a community space, discussion and reflections are a constant practice and are an example of care. Dirar Kalash explained how he felt that Alhara should broadcast more about the Palestinian identity and struggle. When Elias Anastas was supposed to give a talk at the Barbican Center, an art center in London, he received a message saying "I also wanted to say that in terms of content would be able to avoid talking about free Palestine at length its just to further safeguard the audience."[90] According to Elias, Alhara spoke a lot internally, deciding if to make the message and the issue public, ending up deciding that "as we are public space and as we are a shared space that is porous and open to everyone, we felt that there's a responsibility as well to make this public and to let people understand what's the dilemma that we're all facing today" (24/06/2023). This censorship, however, is present in the daily Palestinian life. Stefan Christoff, for example, was deported by Israel when visiting the West Bank in 2010, and that is how he stayed in Jordan and first came into contact with the founders of Alhara. In social media, several platforms restrict Palestinian content, and Israel's cybercolonialism (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2011; Aouragh, 2012; Cristiano, 2022) is ever-present. In this inhospitable landscape, Alhara tries to create "a platform that people engage with, but is outside of the mainstream media and algorithm's censorship" (Yousef Anastas in Tan, 2021, para. 29).

Regarding the media format, many participants believe mass media, also known as legacy or corporate media is decreasing its influence. Jackson Allers and Omar Nooreddin believe community and alternative media are on the rise, as younger generations consume information differently and do not carry the physical costs or succumb to the same power influences as mass media. SC MoCha believes and hopes that community radio will grow both locally and as a global network of radios, supporting and amplifying each other while "conserving local identities/missions while strengthening the common sense across all like-minded communities that we all need to learn from one another, support one another and work hand in hand to stand up against the hegemony of mainstream/commercial/biased media" (30/6/2023). The growth of community radio encompasses both the growth of the media format and of

---

[90] For more details see https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2023/06/22/barbican-exhibition-cancelled-in-wake-of-anti-palestinian-censorship-row.

the community and community issues, never neglecting the latter to foster the former – as that would result in a medium transformation into the mainstream. For Omar, "The concept of radio is changing in my opinion. And it is interesting to see, as the younger generation, how they are going to view radio moving forward and what does radio mean." (27/06/2023). Moreover, Jackson comments that independent media is not "censored or sterilized or neutered", offering ease of access and a bigger variety of content choices. Above all, "(…) what community radio will always have that the mainstream and legacy media will never have is real connection to the people" (Jackson Allers, 30/05/2023).

Music also has potential as a critical pedagogy related to personal memories, stories, and knowledge. According to Dirar Kalash, this happens mainly through improvisation and is related to the idea presented by Schafer (1990) that we are at war with time and with a productive-driven society. For that, things must be viewed through different layers, from political, spiritual, social, and cultural, and conceived in unity. The question is how to use these tools, and Dirar concludes that "everything comes back to one basic idea of actually how do we organize as a community" (29/05/2023). Additionally, he considers that fewer people are interested in fighting power structures while acknowledging the extent of energy that not everyone has needed to oppose these powers. Stefan Christoff also approaches activist burnout, as resistance and solidarity practices consume a lot of time, resources, and energy. The dangers of burnout represent why community and care essential resistance practices. Lastly, as pointed out by Jackson Allers, it is important to note that although more accessible, these media formats still depend on the internet and electricity which can result in an accessibility barrier for many.

For SC MoCha, community media plays a constructive role in the shaping of narratives, but he is unsure of its power to counter the dominant narratives. However, he acknowledges its potential to "create a much-needed space that allows alternative and independent views/research/art to flourish and develop", with the space for the community "to express themselves, feel part of a larger community and, in some cases, the visibility they get through these media will pave the way for them to get exposure in more mainstream media with a larger reach/visibility" (30/06/2023). So, even if community media is unable to generate a groundbreaking change, at a local level it creates the space for local change. And who knows what a collection of localized changes can make at a bigger level.

According to Dirar Kalash, there needs to be more deep thinking about how to present the existing information, how we relate to and experience it in the political sense, and what relations we are building. The key question concerning the movements is "Do we want to talk about the situation, or do we want to change it?" (Dirar Kalash, 29/05/2023). Moreover, to question the purpose of the experience and what to do after. This questioning is particularly important when considering the role of the listener, here entering once again the conception of deep listening, with the need to research, question, and engage with the topic in continuity. This continuity is of the utmost importance to community projects and is one of the things most valuable about Alhara, according to Stefan Christoff, as it is not easy to obtain.

"Especially in a context like Palestine where you have so many external pressures of colonialism, military occupation, the economic instability that results from that. So, I'm happy to contribute to it." (Stefan Christoff, 22/06/2023). Following the participant's conceptions, solidarity is related to change, and change needs a continuous reflection effort, community power, and care. Jackson Allers adds,

> People are given the sense that the continuity of what it is that they listen to needs to be out in the world that they participate in (…) and change can really help creating new energy to continue going and it helps to acknowledge the great work that people are doing in the meantime and that they have done. (30/06/2023).

Considering all, Alhara's future is as diverse as the community that contributes to it.

> That's why the future of Radio Alhara is, not limited, but unexpected in a way, because it keeps on growing according to whoever plays a set, what story they are telling us, and what is happening around us. Alhara means neighborhood, and it's about what happens in your neighborhood, and the neighborhood of each and every producer on the radio. (Elias Anastas in Everpress Team, 2022, para. 18)

No matter what the future holds, there seems to be a certainty: people's need to listen and engage:

> But what's not going to change in my opinion is the need for people to sit down, listen to radio, listen to people, listen to music, listen to people talk and being coalesced around a certain idea or a language or certain part of music. This will not change. It doesn't matter the technology, if it's via FM radio or online radio or something like this. The idea of transmitting and sending will always be there. (Omar Nooreddin, 27/06/2023)

New things, mediums, and ideas always emerge, and "it is nice to know that that thing that started all of this can continue to be the inspiration for what we need to move forward" (Jackson Allers, 30/05/2023). That is the idea of Alhara and community radio: to keep creating and inspiring together. Moreover, regarding Alhara, Elias Anastas affirms that "The radio is there, we have doors wide open to people to come and contribute for shows and to play music and to speak out to try to trigger different subjects and topics" (24/06/2023). And to whoever is listening,

> The idea for me in terms of international solidarity is how to use that listening as an active verb, as an action that then can have a reflective element that spurs on actions outside of the broadcast or the thing that's distributed so that people are given the sense that the continuity of what it is that they listen to needs to be out in the world that they participate in. (Jackson Allers, 30/05/2023)

In the end, listening becomes an active verb as explored before. And through this sonic act, community, care, and international solidarity interlink, building resistance practices and generating waves of hope.

Conclusion (and sonic hope)

> Without community, there is no liberation.
>
> - Audre Lorde, 1988

This research locates itself against the background of the Palestinian anti-colonial resistance by looking through community radio with Radio Alhara as a study case. Through a decolonial and feminist approach to research, accounting for the participants' agency and attempting to research in a collaborative way, this dissertation hopes to open space for reflection on the importance of methodological choices, with a focus on ethical responsibility and the politics of language. Like Scott's (1985) approach to resistance, where the intentionality of an act carries a greater meaning than its result, the epistemological considerations in this research assume perhaps bigger importance than the conclusions reached. The state of the art in this dissertation allowed for a better understanding of the framework used and presented the initial interconnection between the themes and concepts grounding this dissertation – radio, internet and Palestine history, community radio, resistance practices such as cultural resistance and *sumud*, international solidarity, and care. The use of a digital ethnography through the scope of active listening provided a comprehensive understanding of the reality and role of the radio, with the analysis of programs, social media posts, and interviews with the community.

In order to analyze community radio's resistance potential, it was fundamental to account for the intersection of struggles, in pair with their internationalization. The strength of a movement lies in its compositions, and internationalism broadens its base of support. In this internationalism, civil society campaigns like the BDS or MfP, and above all, community radio, are built upon. Community radio confluxes the internationalism potentiated by the internet's mobility and the local and global features of community building. Consequently, it rises as a space that can provide ground for resistance, as it is the case of Radio Alhara. Through its programming and functioning, Alhara fosters a sense of community, opening up new spaces for reflection, dialogue, and solidarity. As Badran (2020) explores, the connectivity provided by the radio may create a space from which "we can harness the constitutive political powers to better self-organize." (para.7), echoing hopes and lessons for the future. However, this analysis also concluded that the role of community radio in resistance encounters multiple challenges, particularly related to its need to be part of a bigger conception of resistance that encompasses the offline world. Furthermore, the mere act of tuning in on the radio and hearing it is not enough to build solidarity. To foster international solidarity, listers must engage in deep/active listening as the interaction and full understanding of the message and the catalyst it causes are fundamental parts of the solidarity movement.

This dissertation concluded that while different programs vary in their linkage to Palestine or resistance ideals and potential, Alhara as a whole functions as a vehicle for resistance. Radio Alhara

provides a micro lens into Palestinian cultural resistance but offers valuable insights into alternative forms of resistance and solidarity practices. These practices shape an ever-present interconnection of resistance, community building, and international solidarity. Together, they foster a stronger resistance and, henceforth, a stronger liberation and anti-colonial fight.

Resistance strengthens when fortified by kinship and communal bonds grounded in a collective identity, shared values, and common causes (Hammad & Tribe, 2021). In this reality, community radio emerges as an expression of communal resistance. Within the Palestinian context, resistance practices embody *sumud*, which is an anti-colonial way of being and resisting occupation. Furthermore, *sumud's* is not a static concept and can adapt and be transposed to the digital realm (Aouragh, 2011), evolving into digital practices. Moreover, given its connection to identity and culture preservation, *sumud* is also related to community survival and the social relationships that build them as explored by Hammad and Tribe (2021). Consequently, community media assumes a double form of resistance – its mere existence, and the practices it embodies. It is in this scenario that Radio Alhara, through its existence as a Palestinian radio and broadcasting choices, helps construct and diffuse a Palestinian identity, embodying *sumud*. Radio Alhara emerges as an empowering tool for cultivating a collective identity and consciousness, manifesting anti-colonial ways of being (Meari, 2014). The *sumud* of Radio Alhara is therefore built through community building, care, cultural resistance, and international solidarity.

Community radio creates a space to exist and resist in a situation where space is traditionally challenged by the occupation. In this research, Radio Alhara emerges as a space of cultural resistance, community building, care, and international solidarity, all in a broadcast format. These broadcasts transport protests to the sonic ground, and it is through this landscape that sonic hope arises. Sonic hope comes from the cross-border wave that cannot be stopped and is continuously circulating. It bridges people and causes together, amplifying their voices and broadcasting their messages, strengthening them. These resistance practices echo through a network of other radios and listers, reaching and creating a community. In turn, the community creates new resistance practices, as explored by Lilja et al. (2017), building to their expansion. To sum it up, community radio is a stimulating force for the anti-occupation struggle, but it needs to be interlinked with offline efforts and community visions, efforts, and issues. By doing so, community radio's potential as a resistance tool increases, with sonic solidarity and cross-border broadcasting echoing and spreading awareness and the struggle, while connecting and strengthening different movements.

Although an embryonic research on the role of community radio in Palestinian resistance, this research achieved its goals and aims. It analyzed the interconnections between community radio, resistance, sumud, international solidarity, and care, demonstrating that resistance practices are a multilayered phenomenon that depends on the community as a moving vehicle. Community is, therefore, the unifying link that provides the space and connection for resistance to flourish. This

resistance is enhanced through international solidarity, which only exists through community conceptions. Moreover, to ensure community building, care rises as a fundamental practice, and future research should delve into its role in community organizations and resistance practices in general, accounting for feminist and decolonial perspectives. Moreover, it offered a preliminary introduction to the investigation of *sumud* in community radio. Through this research, an attempt was also made to demonstrate the role of activism in academia and its ever-growing need. This is particularly crucial when accounting for feminist and decolonial approaches and goals, and future research should continue to engage with these practices critically. Decolonial practices in a colonial world are always attempts at decolonization. This means they always have space to shift, evolve, transform, and innovate while having an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle and goal in mind. Therefore, this research does not attempt to present itself as an approach to be followed, but as Pink et al. (2015) suggest regarding their work, it provides a source of inspiration for developing new approaches. It is also important to note that although most programs and mixes are available to download and in the radio's Soundcloud account, this research also helps record and catalog the emissions and programs. As explored in the literature review, there is simultaneously a disregard for Palestinian history by the occupation forces and a conscious effort to erase it, so every effort to preserve it is of great value. This analysis of community radio also demonstrates its social value which, as defended by Serafini (2019), has the potential to influence media practices and policy-making both in Palestine and internationally.

Future research should go deeper into care conceptions as it proved to be a fundamental part of community and resistance practices. Moreover, and accounting for the abovementioned limitations disclaimed at the beginning of this dissertation, future research should include social network analysis (Kozinets, 2010), as the potential and future of community radio are tied to these networks, and consider the inputs and stances of the listeners as members of the community. Moreover, future research should also focus on other oppression in order to better understand their intersectionality and internationalism. To conclude, there is a need for communities and organizations to be constructed in an optic of care but also using a care lens to analyze reality and account for this prism in research. Using the words of one of the participants in this dissertation, "I want to see more care" (Dirar Kalash, 29/05/2023).

In the epilogue of *Palestine in the World. International Solidarity with the Palestinian Liberation Movement* (Eds: Thomson & Olsen, 2023, p.247), Mezna Qato poses and answers the question:

> What to the world is Palestine? What in the world is Palestine? We've learned that it is a cause, it is an inconvenience, it is guilt and redemption, it is survival, and it is freedom. Palestine is adventure; Palestine is an escape hatch. Palestine is a mirror and reminder. It haunts political programs and mocks ideological hypocrisies. It is a muse and an experiment. It produces rebellion, and it demands testimony, by voice, by pen, by brush and by frame.

Following this, Palestine is a multitude and not just a case study or research field. Above all, this dissertation hopes to add that Palestine is community, and in community there is hope.

Bibliography

Abu Moghli, M. (2023). Research ethics in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip: Between institutionalisation and the power of praxis. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *0*(0), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2023.2165479

Adam, A. (28 September 2020). *Palestinian Intifada: How Israel orchestrated a bloody takeover.* Retrieved June 2023, from Al Jazeera: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/9/28/palestinian-intifada-20-years-later-israeli-occupation-continues

AFP. (9 March 2013). *'Love in the time of apartheid': Israel army prevents 'symbolic marriage' near barrier.* Retrievd September 2023, from Alarabiya News: https://english.alarabiya.net/News/2013/03/09/-Love-in-the-time-of-apartheid-Israel-army-prevents-symbolic-marriage-near-barrier-

Al-hassan, S., Andani, A., & Abdul-Malik, A. (2011). The Role of Community Radio in Livelihood Improvement: The Case of Simli Radio. *Field Actions Science Reports. The Journal of Field Actions*, *Vol. 5*, Article Vol. 5. https://journals.openedition.org/factsreports/869

Al Jazeera. (2023, May 24). *Why was a Palestinian song removed from Spotify?* Retrieved June 2023, from Al Jazeera: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/5/24/why-was-a-palestinian-song-removed-from-spotify

Alghoul, D. (8 July 2017). *For the love of Palestine: on Ghassan Kanafani's 'literature of resistance'.* Retrived August 2023, from The New Arab: https://www.newarab.com/analysis/love-palestine-ghassan-kanafanis-resistance

American Anthropologival Association. (2023, July 24). *AAA Membership Endorses Academic Boycott Resolution.* Retrieved July 2023, from American Anthropologival Association: https://americananthro.org/news/aaa-membership-endorses-academic-boycott-resolution/

Anderson, H., Backhaus, B., Fox, J., & Bedford, C. (2020). Fifty Years of Resistance and Representation: A Historical Account of Australian Community Radio. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, *27*(2), 234–254. https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2020.1754827

Aouragh, M. (2008). Everyday resistance on the internet: The Palestinian context. *Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research*, *1*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.1.2.109/1

Aouragh, M. (2011). Confined Offline, Traversing Online Palestinian Mobility through the Prism of the Internet. *Mobilities*, *6*(3), 375–397. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2011.590036

Aouragh, M. (2012). Framing the Internet in the Arab Revolutions: Myth Meets Modernity. *Cinema Journal*, *52*(1), 148–156.

Aouragh, M. (2016). Online politics and grassroots activism in Lebanon: Negotiating sectarian gloom and revolutionary hope. *Contemporary Levant*, *1*(2), Article 2.

Arnott, R. (2021, June 18). *Radio al Hara: Sonic Solidarity One Year In.* Retrieved April 2023, from Resistor Mag: https://www.resistormag.com/features/radio-al-hara-sonic-solidarity-one-year-in/

Art Dubai. (2021). *Radio Alhara: Creating a sense of community through music and conversation.* Retrieved January 2023, from Art Dubai: https://www.artdubai.ae/planetary-feed_radio-al-hara/

Badran, R. (2020, July 20). *(Reverberation).* Retrieved April 2023, from The derivative: https://thederivative.org/reverberation/

Bailur, S. (2012). Who Is the Community in Community Radio? *Economic and Political Weekly*, *47*(17), 92–99.

BDS. (March 2023). *What is BDS?* Retrieved from BDS Movement: https://bdsmovement.net/

Boellstorff, Tom & Nardi, Bonnie & Pearce, Celia & Taylor, T. (2012). Ethnography and Virtual Worlds: A Handbook of Method. 10.2307/j.cttq9s20.

Bookmiller, K. N., & Bookmiller, R. J. (1990). Palestinian Radio and the Intifada. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *19*(4), 96–105. https://doi.org/10.2307/2537391

Boyd, D. A. (1999). Hebrew-language clandestine radio broadcasting during the British Palestine mandate. *Journal of Radio Studies*, *6*(1), 101–115. https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529909391711

Browne, D. R. (1975). The Voices of Palestine: A Broadcasting House Divided. *Middle East Journal*, *29*(2), 133–150.

Bruckman, A., Luther, K., & Fiesler, C. (2015). When Should We Use Real Names in Published Accounts of Internet Research? In E. Hargittai & C. Sandvig (Eds.), *Digital Research Confidential* (pp. 243–258). The MIT Press. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9386.003.0013

B'tselem. (n.d.). *Administrative Detention.* Retrieved September 2023 from B'tselem: https://www.btselem.org/administrative_detention

Butland, P. (2023, January 1). "When colonized people call for solidarity, the Left should respond". Retrieved April 2023 from The Left Berlin: https://www.theleftberlin.com/when-colonized-people-call-for-solidarity-the-left-should-respond/

Butler, J. (2006). Israel/Palestine and the paradoxes of academic freedom. *Radical Philosophy*, *135*, 8–17.

Butler, J. (2015). Exercising Rights: Academic Freedom and Boycott Politics. In *Who's Afraid of Academic Freedom?* (Akeel Bilgrami ; Jonathan R. Cole). Columbia University Press. https://issuu.com/columbiaup/docs/butler

Castells, M., (2012). *Networks of outrage and hope : social movements in the Internet age.* Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA :Polity.

Correia, R., Vieira, J., & Aparicio, M. (2019). Community radio stations sustainability model: An open-source solution. *Radio Journal:International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, *17*(1), 29–45. https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao.17.1.29_1

CRIA. (n.d.). *Curso CRIA Etnografias e Experimentações Etnográficas.* Retrieved March 2023, from https://cria.org.pt/en/etnografias-experimentacoes-etnograficas

Cristiano, F. (2022). *The Blurring Politics of Cyber Conflict: A Critical Study of the Digital in Palestine and Beyond* (SSRN Scholarly Paper 4169767). https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4169767

D'Alessandro, L. (2022). Careful Cracks: Resistant Practices of Care and Affect-ability. *Krisis | Journal for Contemporary Philosophy*, *42*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.21827/krisis.42.1.37886

Dahal, S. (2013). Power, empowerment and community radio: Media by and for women in Nepal. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *40*, 44–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2013.05.003

Dana, T., & Jarbawi, A. (2017). A century of Settler Colonialism in Palestine: Zionism's Entangles Project. *Brown Journal of World Affairs, 14*(1), pp. 1-23.

Darder, A. (2011). Radio and the Art of Resistance: A Public Pedagogy of the Airwaves. *Policy Futures in Education*, *9*(6), 696–705. https://doi.org/10.2304/pfie.2011.9.6.696

Davis, A. (2015). *Freedom is A constant struggle* (F. Barat, Ed.). Haymarket Books.

Dawson, B., Cafolla, A., & Waite, T. (2021, May 14). *It's not a conflict: how to talk about Palestine.* Retrieved June 1, 2022, from Dazed&Confused Magazine: https://www.dazeddigital.com/politics/article/52785/1/it-is-not-a-conflict-how-to-talk-about-palestine-israel

Dedman, R. (2021, March 11). *Pandemic Objects: Radio.* Retrieved March 2023, from V&A: https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/projects/pandemic-objects-radio

Dowling, E. (2021). Caring in Times of a Global Pandemic. Introduction. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, *46*(4), 7–30. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27081872

Downing, J. (2001). *Radical media: Rebellious communication and social movements*. Sage Publications.

Dudouet, V. (2006) Cross-Border Non-Violent Advocacy during the Second Palestinian Intifada: The Case of the International Solidarity Movement. Colloquial communication presented at the Unarmed Resistance: the transnational factor 13-17 July 2006 Centre, Coventry University

Duncombe, S. (2002). *Cultural Resistance Reader*. Verso.

El-Nawawy, M., & Khamis, S. (2012). Cyberactivists paving the way for the Arab spring: Voices from Egypt, Tunisia and Libya. *Cyber Orient–Online Journal of the Virtual Middle East*, *6*(2), 4–27.

Essel, E., & Govender, E. (2023). Vernacular Radio and the Practice of Resistance: Community Radio as a Cultural Tool to Engage on Health and Social Identities among Marginalized Communities in Ghana. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, *0*(0), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2022.2142230

Everpress Team. (2022, October). *Creating a neighbourhood with Radio Alhara.* Retrieved April 2023, from Everpress: https://everpress.com/blog/creating-a-neighbourhood-with-radio-alhara/

Faber, T. (2020, July 3). *Turn up the dial on Palestinian protest radio.* Retrieved April 2023, from The Face: https://theface.com/music/palestine-radio-al-hara-interview

Fanon, F. (1965). *A Dying Colonialism.* (H. Chevalier, Trans.) New York: Grove Press.

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *5*(1), 80–92. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500107

Featherstone, D. (2012). *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism*. Zed Books. https://books.google.pt/books?id=8-BiDgAAQBAJ

Fierke, K. M. (2014). Who is my neighbour? Memories of the Holocaust/al Nakba and a global ethic of care. *European Journal of International Relations*, *20*(3), 787–809. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066113497490

Fisher, M. (2007). *Something in the Air: Radio, Rock, and the Revolution that Shaped a Generation*. Marc Fisher.

Fominaya, C. F. (2014). *International Solidarity in Social Movements*.

Forde, S., Foxwell, K., & Meadows, M. (2009). *Developing dialogues: Indigenous and ethnic community broadcasting in Australia* (1. publ). Intellect.

Fraser, C., & Estrada, S. R. (2001). *Community radio handbook*. UNESCO.

Guerra, P. (2019). Rádio Caos: resistência e experimentação cultural nos anos 1980. *Análise Social, 54*(231), pp. 284-309. doi:https://doi.org/10.31447/as00032573.2019231.03

Ginsburg, F. (2012). *Radio Fields: Anthropology and Wireless Sound in the 21st Century* (L. Bessire & D. Fisher, Eds.). NYU Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qgcpc

Gudaityé, I. (2020). The Invisible Politics of the Radio: the case of Budapest community radios.[Unpublished Master Thesis, University of Amsterdam]

Guttridge-Hewitt, M. (2022, September 29). *Palestine's Radio AlHara broadcasts 12-hour Iranian solidarity shows amid ongoing protests.* Retrieved May 2023, from DJ Mag: https://djmag.com/news/palestines-radio-alhara-broadcasts-12-hour-iranian-solidarity-shows-amid-ongoing-protests

Hair, N., & Clark, M. (2023). An Enhanced Virtual Ethnography: The Role Of Critical Theory. *Stream 5: Exploring the Meaning of 'Critique' in Electronically-Mediated Work.*

Hamdi, T. (2011). Bearing witness in Palestinian resistance literature. *Race & Class*, *52*, 21–42. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396810390158

Hammad, J., & Tribe, R. (2021). Culturally informed resilience in conflict settings: A literature review of Sumud in the occupied Palestinian territories. *International Review of Psychiatry*, *33*(1–2), 132–139. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540261.2020.1741259

Harding, S. G. (2004). *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies*. Psychology Press.

Hassan, S. (2011). Oslo Accords: The Genesis and Consequences for Palestine. *Social Scientist*, *39*(7/8), 65–72. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41289422

Haugbolle, S., & Olsen, P. V. (2023). Emergence of Palestine as a Global Cause. *Middle East Critique*, *32*(1), 129–148. https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2023.2168379

Heywood, E. (2021). Increasing female participation in municipal elections via the use of local radio in conflict-affected settings: The case of the West Bank Municipal elections 2017. Journalism, 22(7), 1702–1719. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918820752

Hilmes, M. (2002). Rethinking Radio. In M. Hilmes, & J. Loviglio (Edits.), *Radio Reader: Essays in the cultural history of radio* (pp. 1-20). Routledge. Retrieved from https://books.google.pt/books?id=iSJTLDDg0XEC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pt-PT&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

hooks, b. (2018). *All About Love: New Visions* . HarperCollins.

Howard, F., Bennett, A., Green, B., Guerra, P., Sousa, S., & Sofija, E. (2021). *It turned me from a professional to a 'Bedroom DJ' once again: COVID-19 and new forms of inequality for young music-makers*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1103308821998542

Hussain, H. (9 de December de 2017). *Remembering the First Intifada.* Obtido em August de 2023, de Middle East Monitor: https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20171209-remembering-the-first-intifada-2/

Ibrahim, A., & Pietromarchi, V. (2023, July 4). Jenin updates: Israel hits Gaza after 12 killed in Jenin raid. *Aljazeera*. Retrieved July 2023, from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/liveblog/2023/7/4/jenin-attack-live-10-killed-as-israeli-raid-enters-second-day

Inscoe-Jones, L. (2020, August 18). *Radio Al-hara: Accept It Or Not, There Will Be Vibes*. Retrieved February 2023, from The social: https://www.thesocial.com/radio-al-hara-accept-it-or-not-there-will-be-vibes-liam-inscoe-jones/

International Solidarity Movement. (s.d.). *About ISM.* Retrieved July 2023, from International Solidarity Movement: https://palsolidarity.org/about/

Jadaliyya Reports. (27 de April de 2013). *Press Release from Love in the Time of Apartheid Campaign on Extension of Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law.* Obtido em September de 2023, de Jadaliyya: https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/28517

Jewish Voice for Peace. (2011, November 29). Israel and Palestine conflict explained. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y58njT2oXfE

Kanaaneh, R.A., & Nusair, I. (Eds.) (2010). *Displaced at Home*: *Ethnicity and Gender among Palestinians in Israel*. (1 ed.). Albany: State University of New York Press., doi:10.1353/book1362.

Kilomba, G. (2019). *Memórias da Plantação. Episódios de racismo quotidiano.* (N. Quintas, Trans.) Orfeu Negro.

King, G. (2017). History of Struggle: The Global Story of Community Broadcasting Practices, or a Brief History of Community Radio. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, *12*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.16997/wpcc.227

King, G. (2021a). From Chiapas to Palestine: Historicizing Social Movement Media Before and Beyond the Arab Uprisings. *Media and Communication*, *9*(4), 320–330. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v9i4.4455

King, G. (2021b). Palestine: Resilient Media Practices for National Liberation. In C. Richter, & C. Kozman (Eds.), *Arab Media Systems* (pp. 37-54). OpenBook Publishers.

King, G., & Marouf, L. (2018). *Radio Free Palestine*. https://laur.lau.edu.lb:8443/xmlui/handle/10725/14536

Khaleejesque. (2021, June 20). *Radio Alhara: Communal Media of the Third Space, from Palestine to the World.* Retrieved May 2023, from Khaleejesque: https://khaleejesque.me/2021/06/20/radio-alhara-communal-media-of-the-third-space-from-palestine-to-the-world-2/

Khalidi, R. (2020). *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance.* London: Profile Books .

Konken, L. C., & Howlett, M. (2022). When "Home" Becomes the "Field": Ethical Considerations in Digital and Remote Fieldwork. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592722002572

Kozinets, R. V. (2010). *Netnography: Ethnographic research in the age of the internet* (1st ed). Sage Publications Ltd.

Lambert, L. (2021, November 2). *A Sonic Liberation Front from Palestine with Radio Alhara.* Retrieved April 2023, from The Funambulist: https://thefunambulist.net/magazine/music-and-the-revolution/a-sonic-liberation-front-from-palestine-with-radio-alhara-2

Lilja, M., Baaz, M., Schulz, M., & Vinthagen, S. (2017). How resistance encourages resistance: Theorizing the nexus between power, 'Organised Resistance' and 'Everyday Resistance.' *Journal of Political Power*, *10*(1), 40–54. https://doi.org/10.1080/2158379X.2017.1286084

Lindgren, R. (2022). The Limits of Mutual Aid and the Promise of Liberation within Radical Politics of Care. *Krisis | Journal for Contemporary Philosophy*, *42*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.21827/krisis.42.1.37884

Lloyd, D. (2012). Settler Colonialism and the State of Exception: The Example of Palestine/Israel. *Settler Colonial Studies, 2*(1), pp. 59-80. doi:10.1080/2201473X.2012.10648826

Lloyd, D. (2014). It Is Our Belief That Palestine is a Feminist Issue... *Feminists@law*, *4*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/03/fal.107

Lorde, A. (1988). *A Burst of Light: Essays*. Firebrand Books. https://books.google.pt/books?id=0yZhQgAACAAJ

Lundström, M., & Lundström, T. P. (2021). Podcast ethnography. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *24*(3), 289–299. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2020.1778221

M. Lewis, P. (2000). Private passion, public neglect: The cultural status of radio. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *3*(2), 160–167. https://doi.org/10.1177/136787790000300203

Manning, J. (2018). Becoming a decolonial feminist ethnographer: Addressing the complexities of positionality and representation. *Management Learning*, *49*(3), 311–326. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350507617745275

Marie, M., Hannigan, B., & Jones, A. (2018). Social ecology of resilience and Sumud of Palestinians. *Health*, *22*(1), 20–35. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363459316677624

Mathers, A., & Novelli, M. (2007). Researching Resistance to Neoliberal Globalization: Engaged Ethnography as Solidarity and Praxis. *Globalizations*, *4*(2), 229–249. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747730701345259

Meari, L. (2014). Sumud: A Palestinian Philosophy of Confrontation in Colonial Prisons. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *113*, 547–578. https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-2692182

Menon, V. (2021, June 14). *Solidarity As A Factor Of Resistance: Radio From India, Palestine & Beyond Open Up Sonic Liberation Front.* Retrieved from Wild City: https://www.thewildcity.com/features/18505-solidarity-as-a-factor-of-resistance-radio-from-india-palestine-beyond-open-up-sonic-liberation-front

Metras Editorial Board. (2021, September 9). *'Simply put, I call things as they are': Mohammed El-Kurd on shifting the Western discourse on Palestine.* Retrieved April 2023, from Mondoweiss: https://mondoweiss.net/2021/09/simply-put-i-call-things-as-they-are-mohammed-el-kurd-on-shifting-the-western-discourse-on-palestine/

Mitchell, C. (1998). Women's (Community) Radio as a Feminist Public Sphere. *Javnost - The Public*, *5*(2), 73–85. https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.1998.11008676

Mohammed, J. (2018). The use of Community Radio to Support Local Development Efforts in Ethiopia: The Case of Waghimra Community Radio. *Jurnal Komunikasi, Malaysian Journal of Communication*, *34*(2), 188–204. https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2018-3402-12

Mountz, A., Bonds, A., Mansfield, B., Loyd, J., Hyndman, J., Walton-Roberts, M., Basu, R., Whitson, R., Hawkins, R., Hamilton, T., & Curran, W. (2015). For Slow Scholarship: A Feminist Politics of Resistance through Collective Action in the Neoliberal University. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, *14*(4), Article 4.

Mraffko, C. (2020, April 28). *From Palestine, Radio Alhara decompartmentalizes quarantine.* Retrieved May 2023, from Middle East Eye: https://www.middleeasteye.net/fr/reportages/depuis-la-palestine-radio-alhara-decloisonne-la-quarantaine

Murthy, D. (2008). Digital Ethnography: An Examination of the Use of New Technologies for Social Research. *Sociology*, *42*(5), 837–855. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038508094565

Musicians for Palestine. (2021). *Musicians for Palestine*. Retrieved January 20, 2023, from https://musiciansforpalestine.com/our-letter

Natividad, I. (11 April 2023). *How using 'love as resistance' can bring collective liberation.* Retrrieved August 2023 from Berkeley News: https://news.berkeley.edu/2023/04/11/how-using-love-as-resistance-can-bring-collective-liberation

O'Connor, A. (1990). The Miners' Radio Stations in Bolivia: A Culture of Resistance. *Journal of Communication*, *40*(1), 102–110.

Oliveros, P. (1999). Quantum Listening: From Practice to Theory (To Practice Practice)

O'Sullivan, T. (2004). Alternative Media. In T O'Sullivan, J Hartley, D Saunders, M Montgomery and J Fiske (eds) Key Concepts in Communication and Cultural Studies. New York: Routledge

Palestine and Praxis: Open Letter and Call to Action. (n.d.). Retrieved from Palestine and Praxis: https://palestineandpraxis.weebly.com/

Palestine Online Radio Station. (2023). Retrieved April 2023, from My Tune In: https://mytunein.com/asia/palestine

Palestine Radio Stations. (2023). Retrieved April 2023, from Streema: https://streema.com/radios/country/Palestine

Palestinian Feminism Collective. (2021, May 14). *A Love Letter to our People in Palestine.* Retrieved May 20, 2022, from https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/42739?fbclid=IwAR1YoA52rs60Y-IsMEgQEhx7528dahdctZVhdEMXHR2Ab1ccNMkQvtZVOA0

Pappé, I. (2006). *The ethnic cleansing of Palestine.* Oneworld Publication .

Patil, D. A. (2014). Exploring the Subaltern Voices: A Study of Community Radio Reporters (CRR's) in Rural India. *Qualitative Report*, *19*. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2014.1024

Pavarala, V., & Malik, K. K. (2007). *Other Voices: The Struggle for Community Radio in India*. SAGE Publications India.

Pink, S., Horst, H., Postill, J., Hjorth, L., Lewis, T., & Tacchi, J. (2015). *Digital Ethnography: Principles and Practice*. SAGE.

Postill, J., & Pink, S. (2012). Social Media Ethnography: The Digital Researcher in a Messy Web. *Media International Australia*, *145*(1), 123–134. https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X1214500114

Primavera Sound. (2022). *Building a strong music community through streaming radio*. Retrieved January 2023, from Primavera Sound: https://www.primaverasound.com/pt/primavera-pro/building-a-strong-music-community-through-streaming-radio

Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association. (26 de January de 2020). *THE CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL LIFE OF PALESTININ POLITICAL PRISONERS IN OCCUPATION PRISONS.* Retrieved August 2023 from Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association: https://www.addameer.org/publications/cultural-and-educational-life-palestinin-political-prisoners-occupation-prisons

Que, C., & Pappé, I. (2017, October 11). *Activism and political organising in academia: a conversation with Ilan Pappé.* Retrieved junho 2023, from openDemocracy: https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/activism-and-political-organising-in-academia-conversation-with-ilan-Pappé/ (Kilomba, 2019)

Radio Stations in Palestine. (2015-2023). Retrieved April 2023, from Online Radio Box: https://onlineradiobox.com/ps/?cs=ps.tarab&p=1

Rajagopal, A. (2023, June 26). *Palestinian Digital Resistance: Conversation with Tara Alami and Sunny Singh.* Retrieved from Institute for Palestinian Studies: https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1654017.

Rijke, A., & van Teeffelen, T. (2014). To exist is to resist: Sumud, Heroism and the Everyday. *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, 2014.

Rimmer, A. (2021). Breaking the silence: Community radio, women, and empowerment. *Community Development Journal*, *56*(2), 338–355. https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsz030

Rottenberg, C., & Segal, L. (n.d.). *What is Care?* Retrieved May 2023, from Goldsmiths Press: https://www.gold.ac.uk/goldsmiths-press/features/what-is-care/

Ryan, C. (2015). Everyday Resilience as Resistance: Palestinian Women Practicing Sumud. *International Political Sociology*, *9*(4), 299–315. https://doi.org/10.1111/ips.12099

Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism.* New York, Pantheon Books.

Said, E. W. (1992). The Question of Palestine (2nd ed.). New York, Vintage Books Edition.

Said, E. W. (2007). *Power, Politics, and Culture*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

Said, E. W. (2007). *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. https://books.google.pt/books?id=xd85ltHV4boC

Salih, R., & Richter-Devroe, S. (2014). Cultures of Resistance in Palestine and Beyond: On the Politics of Art, Aesthetics, and Affect. *The Arab Studies Journal*, *22*(1), 8–27.

Sandoval, M., & Fuchs, C. (2010). Towards a Critical Theory of Alternative Media. *Telematics and Informatics*, *27*, 141–150. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2009.06.011

Schafer, R. M. (1990). Radical Radio. In D. Lander, & M. Lexier (Eds.), *Sound by Artists* (pp. 207-217).

Scott, J. C. (1985). *Weapons of the weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance.* London: Yale University Press.

Serafini, P. (2019). Community Radio as a Space of Care: An Ecofeminist Perspective on Media Production in Environmental Conflicts. *International Journal of Communication*, *13*(0), Article 0.

Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. (2011). E-Resistance among Palestinian Women: Coping in Conflict-Ridden Areas. *Social Service Review*, *85*(2), 179–204. https://doi.org/10.1086/660067

Shwaikh, M. (2023). Beyond Expectations of Resilience: Towards a Language of Care. *Global Studies Quarterly*, *3*(2), ksad030. https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksad030

Skare, E. (2016). *Digital Jihad: Palestinian Resistance in the Digital Era*. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350219663

Shukla, A. (2022, September 29). *Palestine's Radio Alhara broadcasts Iran solidarity shows featuring women and non-binary artists.* Retrieved May 2023, from Resident Advisor: https://ra.co/news/77882

Snounu, Y. (2021). Positionality and self-reflexivity: Backyard qualitative research in Palestine. *Research in Education*, *111*(1), 126–140. https://doi.org/10.1177/00345237211034888

Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders (2021, October 21). *Special Rapporteurs Call on Israel to Release or Charge Five Palestinian Hunger Strikers* [Press Release]. *https://www.un.org/unispal/document/special-rapporteurs-call-on-israel-to-release-or-charge-five-palestinian-hunger-strikers-press-release/*

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2012) What is culture? A compilation of quotations. GlobalPAD Core Concepts. Available at GlobalPAD Open House http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/al/globalpad/interculturalskills/

State Of Palestine Radio Stations. (n.d.). Retrieved April 2023, from All Radio Net: https://www.allradio.net/country/139

Stanton, A. L. (2013). *This Is Jerusalem Calling: State Radio in Mandate Palestine*. University of Texas Press. https://doi.org/10.7560/747494

Stein, R. L., & Swedenburg, T. (2005). *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture*. Duke University Press.

Tan, A. (2021, October 20). *Palestine underground: A new face for local radio*. Retrieved from Al Jazeera: https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2021/10/20/palestine-underground-a-new-face-for-local-radio

Tawil-Souri, H., & Aouragh, M. (2014). Intifada 3.0? Cyber Colonialism and Palestinian Resistance. *The Arab Studies Journal*, *22*(1), 102–133.

Thambinathan, V., & Kinsella, E. A. (2021). Decolonizing Methodologies in Qualitative Research: Creating Spaces for Transformative Praxis. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *20*, 16094069211014766. https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069211014766

The Bindery. (2020). *What is a zine?* Retrieved July 2023, from The Bindery: https://www.binderymke.com/what-is-a-zine

The Care Collective. (2020). *The Care Manifesto: The Politics of Interdependence*. Verso Books. https://books.google.pt/books?id=IlzrDwAAQBAJ

The Electronic Intifada. (n.d.). Retrieved April 2023, from The Electronic Intifada: https://electronicintifada.net/

Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing Critical Ethnography*. SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412983945

Thompson, A., Stringfellow, L., Maclean, M., & Nazzal, A. (2021). Ethical considerations and challenges for using digital ethnography to research vulnerable populations. *Journal of Business Research*, *124*, 676–683. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2020.02.025

Thomson, S. A. M., & Olsen, P. V. (Eds.) (2023). *Palestine in the World: International Solidarity with the Palestinian Liberation Movement*. (1 ed.) Bloomsbury Academic. SOAS Palestine Studies

Top Palestine Radio Stations. (n.d.). Retrieved April 2023, from My Tuner: https://mytuner-radio.com/radio/country/palestine-stations

Tuhiwai Smith, L. (2021). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350225282

UN General Assembly. (1974, November 22). Question of Palestine. Retrieved June 20, 2022, from https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f0468.html

UNESCO. (2022, February 9). *Radio remains one of the most trusted medium of communication.* Retrieved April 2023, from UNESCO: https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/radio-remains-one-most-trusted-medium-communication

University College London. (s.d.). *Why We Post*. Retrieved May 2023, from University College London: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/why-we-post/

University of Texas Library. (2023, July 27). *What is a Zine?* Retrieved July 2023, from University of Texas Library: https://guides.lib.utexas.edu/zines

Veracini, L. (2015). What can settler colonial studies offer to an interpretation of the conflict in Israel-Palestine? . *Settler Colonial Studies, 5*(3), pp. 268-271. doi:10.1080/2201473X.2015.1036391

Wadi, S. (2019), "Nakba", *Dicionário Alice*. Retrieved July 2023, from https://alice.ces.uc.pt/dictionary/?id=23838&pag=23918&id_lingua=1&entry=24419. ISBN: 978-989-8847-08-9

Waked, A. (22 de October de 2009). *Gaza presents 'Prisoner Radio'.* Retrieved August 2020 from Y Net News: https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3793656,00.html

Waterman, P. (2001). *Globalization, Social Movements and the New Internationalism.* (2 ed.) Continuum

Webster, S. (2021). The 'Palestine poster' and everyday memoricide: Making killing memory mundane. *Human Geography*, *14*(3), 346–361. https://doi.org/10.1177/19427786211032350

Wilbricht, J. (2019). Tribal radio stations as key community informants and sites of resistance to mainstream media narratives. *Journal of Alternative & Community Media*, *4*(3), 43–55. https://doi.org/10.1386/joacm_00057_1

Wiles, R. (Ed.). (2013). *Generation Palestine: Voices from the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement.* Pluto Press.

Winter, R., & Lavis, A. (2020). Looking, But Not Listening? Theorizing the Practice and Ethics of Online Ethnography. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics*, *15*(1–2), 55–62. https://doi.org/10.1177/1556264619857529

Wódz, M. (2021). Intimate listening and sonic solidarity. Radio in the works of Radio Earth Hold collective as a way towards the sonic turn. *Ikonotheka*, *30*, 191–207.

Wolfe, P. (2006). 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native'. *Journal of Genocide Research, 8*(4), pp. 387-410.

Yalcinkaya, G. (2021, October 7). *Radio Alhara: the online station that prompted a global movement*. Retrieved February 2023, from Dazed: https://www.dazeddigital.com/music/article/54399/1/radio-alhara-palestine-online-station-prompted-global-movement

Yin, J. K. H. (2009). The Electronic Intifada: The Palestinian Online Resistance in the 2nd Intifada. *Journal of Information Warfare*, *8*(1), 1–19.

Zahzah, O. (2021, May 13). *Digital apartheid: Palestinians being silenced on social media.* Retrieved April 2023, from Aljazeera: https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2021/5/13/social-media-companies-are-trying-to-silence-palestinian-voices

Annex

Annex A. Initial Zine.

Annex B. Radio Alhara's website main page.

Annex C. Consent Form.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

This study is part of a Master's thesis in International Studies in **ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, oriented by Professors Filipe Reis and Shahd Wadi.** This study focuses on community radio in Palestine and its potential to embody Sumud and foster international solidarity.

The study is being conducted by Ema Vaz Constantino Gonçalves (evcgs@iscte- iul.pt), who you may contact if you have any questions or comments.

Your participation, which will be highly valued, consists of being interviewed as someone connected to the radio in an approximately 45-minute interview. There are no significant expected risks associated with participation in the study. Your responses will contribute to an understanding of the role of the radio in fostering international solidarity.

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary: you can choose to participate or not.If you choose to participate, you may discontinue participation at any time without having to provide any justification. I am asking for your permission to conduct an interview and to make the voice recordings needed for the study. I also request yourconsent to use the information and data collected in the study.

In view of this information, please indicate whether you accept to participate in the study:

I ACCEPT ☐   I DO NOT ACCEPT ☐

Name: _____Date:_____

Signature: _____

Annex D. Interview Guide Radio Alhara: Founders.

Participant's Demography: Name, Age, Nationality

Mission and Objectives

1. Can you describe the mission and objectives of your radio station?

    1.1. How do you perceive community radio? Do you describe yourselves as such?

    1.2. Is there any radio you took as a model?

Demography

2. How many listeners do you have on average a month? From how many countries?

Media narratives

3. What role do media formats play in shaping the Palestinian narrative?

    3.1. How do you counter hegemonic and dominant narratives?

Content and Programing

4. How do you select the content and programming for your radio station?

Narrative and Identity

5. What intersection do you view between music and identity and telling and shaping your own narrative?

Resistance

6. Do you feel that music and radio can serve as resistance?

Challenges

7. What challenges do you face in operating a community radio station?

    7.1. Is there any kind of censorship especially connected to Israeli control of algorithms and the internet?

    7.2. Are you afraid of boycotts to Alhara in some countries like Germany for example?

International Solidarity:

8. How do you view the importance of international solidarity and radio's potential?

    8.1. What role do you view the listeners of the radio to have?

9. How do you view movements like the BDS movement or Musicians for Palestine?

    9.1. Do you engage with them?

Physical Space

10. You recently opened Wonder Cabinet in Palestine. How do you view the importance of breaking out of the digital realm?

    10.1. What were the motivations behind its creation?

Future of the Radio

11. How do you view the future of the radio?

Participation

12. Is there any topic you feel it is important to mention related to the theme that I didn't cover?

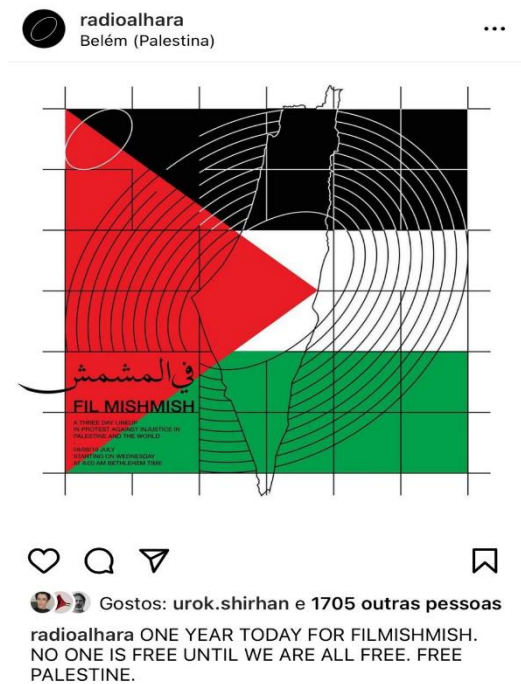*13.* Do you have any suggestions of artists connected to Alhara that I should contact?

Annex E. Interview Guide: DJs and Artists connected to Radio Alhara.

Participant's Demography: Name, Age, Nationality

Background

1. Tell me a bit about your background,artist/activist wise

   First Contact

2. When did you learn about Alhara?

   Narrative and Identity

3. What intersection do you view between (your) music and identity and telling/shaping your own narrative?

   Media narrative

4. What is the role of the media regarding Palestine?

   4.1.How can we counter hegemonic and dominant narratives?

   Resistance

5. Do you feel that music and radio can serve as resistance?

   International Solidarity:

6. How do you view the importance of international solidarity and radio's potential?

   6.1.What role do you view the listeners of the radio to have?

7. How do you view movements like the BDS movement or Musicians for Palestine?

   7.1.Do you engage with them?

   Future of the Radio

8. How do you view the future of the radio?

   Participation

9. Is there any topic you feel it is important to mention related to the theme that I didn't cover?

10. Do you have any suggestions of artists connected to Alhara that I should contact?

Annex F. Coding Map.
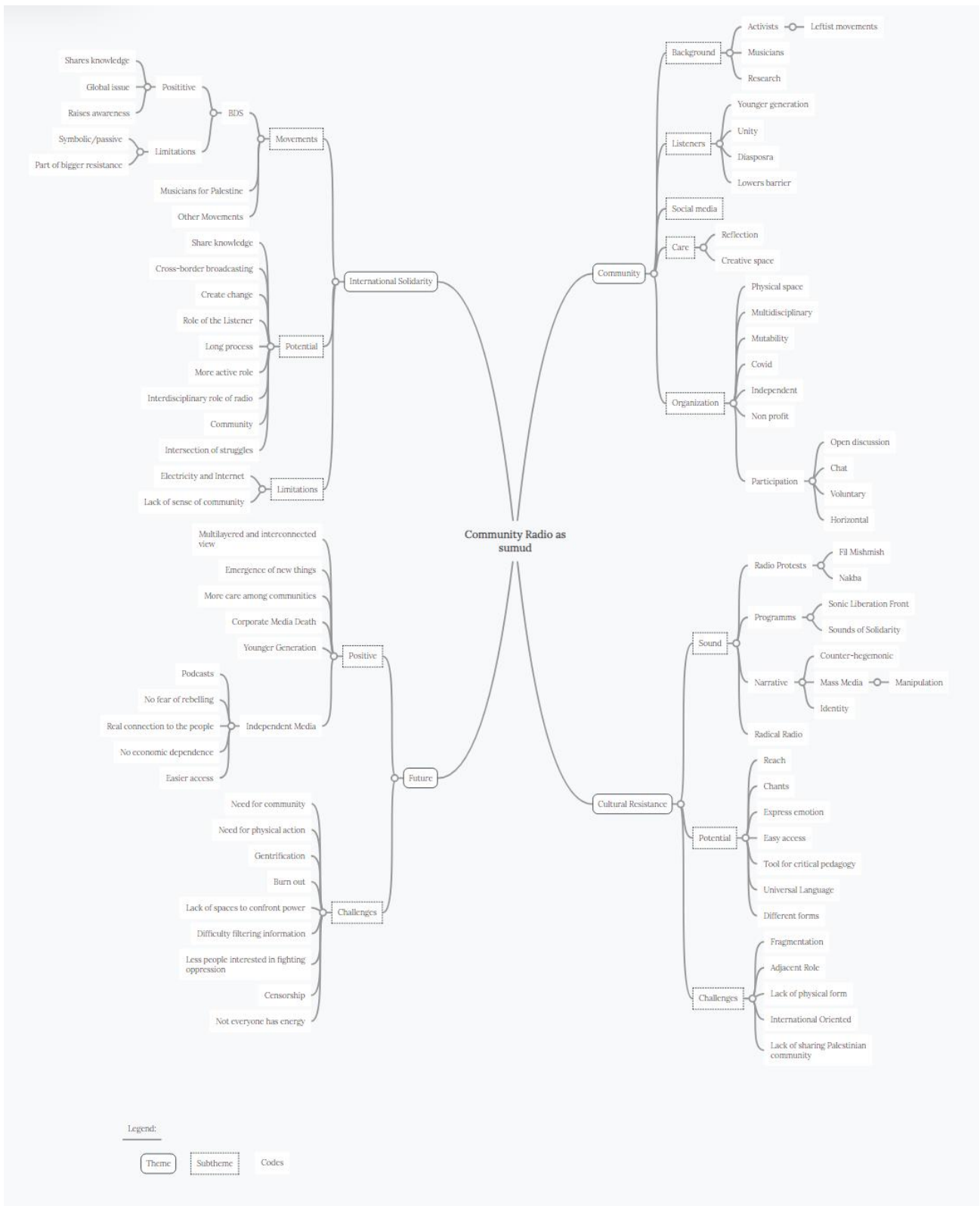
Annex G. Radio Alhara's Instagram post about Fil Mishmish.

Annex H. Instagram post marking one year since the Fil Mishmish protest.

Annex I. Instagram Post marking the Nakba on May 15th 2022.

radioalhara
Belém (Palestina)

سنعود radioalhara
We will return
Palestine will be free from the river to the sea

#nooneisfreeuntileveryoneisfree

Annex J. Lineup 24-hour program Nakba 2023.

"Until Liberation: lectures, interviews, book presentation, talks, story telling, music, songs, poetry and chants.
Put together by Learning Palestine Group

00:00:00 Learning Palestine Group

00:01:14 Wedding chanting (Live recording)

00:12:00 John Berger reading a story by Ghassan Kanafani

00:28:54 A Song: Goerge Kirmiz: I'm The mountain of Galilee أنا يا سحابة عمري

00:34:35 Kwame Ture on Zionism and Imperialism

00:38:17 A Song: A Dabkeh Chant from Termos Ayya 1986 نازل على خطوط النار يما هاتي البارودة ترمسعيا

00:42:20 A Poem: Mahmoud Darwish: The Speech Before the Last by the Red Indian (in Arabic)

00:49:50 Edward Said: The Interview 1986

1:44:04 A Song: Sabreen: Smoke of Volcanos

1:48:36 A Song: The Flower of Fire يا زهرة النيران

1:51:46 Deep Dive: A history of Black Palestinian Solidarity

2:02:55 Angela Davis Speaks at Oranienplatz Berlin 2022

2:51:37 A Song: AlFajr Group: Berlin festival 1989 فرقة الفجر الفلسطينية عنيد انا

2:54:20 A Dabkeh Chant على دلعونه وعلى دلعونه روابط القرى ما يمثلونا

2:57:48 Interview: Mohammad Al Kurd on CNN 2021

3:02:43 Basel Al Araj: Details of an operation (in Arabic)

3:12:00 A Song: Marcel Khalifa: Fighters without an Address مناضلون بلا عنوان

3:15:36 A song: Abdallah Haddad and Martyrs Children Group: I'm the Child of Sumod أغنية انا ابن الصمود

3:17:54 Ghassan Kanafani interview with Richard Carleton 1970

3:23:04 Brave French Students Stand Up to Israeli Ambassador (In French)

3:29:06 Amer Zahr: comedy clip: Palestine Fully Furnished اخدوها مفروشة Akhaduha Mafroosheh

3:33:34 A Song: Al Ashiqeen group: A Boy Walks on Embers: Yemen concert 1984

3:36:50 Judith Butler on BDS and Antisemitism

3:58:00 A Song: Fayrouz: One Day We Shall Return

4:02:50 Fred Moten speaks on Solidarity with Palestine

4:11:35 A Song: This Monster Haneen Odet Allah & Jowan Safadi. حنين عودة الله وجوان صفدي هذا الوحش

4:14:24 A Song: Sabreen Love on the Palestinian Way حب على الطريقة الفلسطينية

4:22:30 A Song: Marcel Khalifa: Ahmad Al Arabi Musical غنائية أحمد العربي مارسيل خليفة

5:28:40 Rashid Khalidi The Hundred Year War in Palestine SOAS University of London

7:06:40 A Song: Fayrouz: The Bridge of Return جسر العودة

7:24:30 A Song: Marcel Khalife: Promises from the Storm وعود من العاصفة

7:30:20 A Song: Sabreen: On Wishes عن الأمنيات

7:35:20 Ilan Pappé: On 1948 Part I Interview 2018

8:39:30 A Song: Daboor/Shabjdeed Inn Ann Prod Al Nather ضبــور وشب جديد إن أن

8:42:36 A Chant in a wedding: For Dalal- التغني بشهداء فلسطين في الأغاني الشعبية الشهيدة دلال المغربي

8:44:31 A Song: Al Ashiqeen group: Sour: Yemen concert 1984

8:50:30 Podcast: النكبة في المعجم الاجتماعي مع علي حبيب الله Nakba in the social lexicon (in Arabic)

10:02:00 A Song: Stay Away from the Army حيد عن الجيشي يا غبيشي

10:06:30 Dabkeh in a wedding: دبكة عالشبابة عدي القطاوي بيرزيت سهرة امجد وشحة

10:14:40 Rana Barakat: Decolonial Futures Palestine in and the Global South

11:10:40 A Song: Kofia group: Palestinian struggle songs مدفعية و دبابات

11:14:25 On Tragedy Resistance Israels Apartheid System in al Khalil (Hebron) by PALFEST

11:20:00 Amnesty: Israel Palestine Apartheid Explainer

11:33:54 Suheir Hamad: Poetry: On the Brink of for Rachel Corrie

11:40:50 Ultras chant for Palestine in Morocco : روعة أغنية رجاوي فلسطيني من مباراة الرجاء و هلال القدس

11:44:06 Mohammad Al Kurd: Palestine: Double Down News

11:54:00 A Song from Sweden: Leve Leve Leve Palestina" (the program was available to download and was retrieved from the chat of https://yamakan.place/palestine/ on 4th June 2023)

Annex K. Sonic Liberation Front international solidarity lineups.