The Soundtrack of Politics

A Case Study of Anashid in Hamas and Hizbullah

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Rolf and Ywonne,
for endless support and for always believing in me ❤

Abstract

Music is commonly used as a tool in political organizations in general. Due to religious norms and interpretations, Islamist organizations use anashid as the main musical genre for political aims. By exploring how anashid is used in Hamas and Hizbullah, two major political players in the Middle East, this thesis adds to the sparse academic analysis about the role of anashid and its relation to Islamist organizations. By merging the academic fields of politics, music, and Islam, the study makes sense of anashid theoretically in organizations. Of central importance is how music is used intentionally and collectively with the aim of influencing peoples´ behavior and mindset, as well as how the interpretation of music goes beyond primary intentions.

The thesis is based on long term field work inside Hamas and Hizbullah. Trough observations and interviews with supporters and leaders, the thesis inquiries the political function of anashid in different settings of the two organizations and how informants give meaning to anashid. On the basis of these data, the thesis shows that anashid is the main soundtrack of politics in Hamas and Hizbullah. It implies that anashid serves the function of delivering the political messages of the organizations while simultaneously aiming for maintaining religious values. Hence, anashid embraces the unique function of serving as a core messenger of the organizations´ ideology and goals. Moreover, the thesis reveals that integrating the political and religious through anashid creates an overlap of its usage in the organizational and the private domains of Hamas and Hizbullah. Hence, through anashid, the distinction between the private and the public becomes blurred.

The thesis concludes that anashid functions in a politically powerful way in Hamas and Hizbullah, mainly collectively. Anashid possess influence on peoples´ emotions in order to frame identities in a collective manner through the political activities it initiates.

Keywords: Hamas, Hizbullah, anashid, music, politics, Islam, organizations, political tool.

Table of Contents

Empirical Discussion

Concluding Analysis

Future Research

References

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Introduction

> Greet the Qassam[1] men, the guardians of Palestine, the pegs
> of the proud land, the students of Yassin.[2] With a Qur'an and
> a gun, follow the cry of Izz ad-Din.[3] Teach all of the world's
> armies, the way of honor. Oh Qassam-army: March on! Behind
> Muhammad Deif.[4] Teach all of the world's armies […] how a
> resistance fighter is supposed to be. He is martyred and does
> not allow injustice. […] Proclaim: We die and do not bargain!
> We will never betray the sword.[5]

Palestinian Hamas and Lebanese Hizbullah are two major political players in the Middle East that use *anashid*, a specific genre of music typically containing lyrics such as in the quote above, as a political tool. Hamas and Hizbullah are based on religious ideology, where the political programs seek legitimacy in Islam (Gleis & Berti, 2012). Both organizations have from their foundation used anashid as a tool in their political work. Initially, the practice of anashid was unorganized and used sporadically. With the development of the organizations, anashid came to have a systematic organized function with specific management, particularly in the case of Hizbullah. Despite the frequent usage of anashid by Islamist[6] organizations as a whole, academic analyses about the role of anashid are sparse. For a comprehensive understanding of the strategies of Islamist organizations, the function of anashid needs to be addressed and problematized. If one does not take the role of anashid into consideration when studying Islamist organizations, there is a risk of missing one of their vital political tools and how they carry out their political work.

Anashid is an Arabic term meaning songs or poetic chants, which are used in order to encourage and maintain duties and political missions in accordance with religious

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1 For spelling of Arabic words, the thesis uses IJMES Word List from October 5, 2010.

2 Yassin refers to the family name of Ahmad, the founder and spiritual leader of Hamas.

3 Izz ad-Din is a shortening of Hamas' military wing Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades.

4 Muhammad Deif refers to the chief commander of Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades.

5 The *al-Qassam Brigade* (2015) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PUBskdS_MYM

6 In this thesis, the term Islamism/Islamists will be used to indicate religion taking a political form. It refers to political ruling, which stems "from the will of Allah and is not based on popular sovereignty" (Tibi, 2012:1). The text will not debate Islamism as an academic concept since the term refers to the aim of creating a universal reform of Islam, which is not a sufficient explanation of the politics in Hamas and Hizbullah today. The thesis will rather use the term to simplify the writing when referring to Islamic politics. For further reading on the academic debate of Islamism, see for example Asef Bayat 2013.

commitments (Shiloah, 2013). Being classified as anashid verifies that the lyrics, usage, and sometimes even instruments, correspond with Islamic norms. The songs ought to be played or sung in accordance with the pietization of the believers, implying respect and used in proper Islamic settings and not, for example, in nightclubs or for other entertainment without (religious and political) purpose (Van Nieuwkerk, 2013). Islamic scholars have always, even today and as far back as we can go in Islamic history, had an ambivalent relation to music; moreover, opinions about it vary from total banning to broad acceptance (Otterbeck & Ackfeldt, 2012). The justification for using anashid is built on the belief that music can distract the human being away from worshiping God, while anashid rather strengthen beliefs and religious exertions (Nasr, 1997). In Hamas and Hizbullah, music that "leads to corruption, moral vices and debaucheries, or enchantments [is forbidden] since it is thought that desire takes control over reason, rendering man an instinctual animal" (Alagha, 2016:183). Moreover, calling anashid music is avoided in Hamas and Hizbullah as anashid have a strong Islamic significance, which, for example, popular music contradicts.[7] Among Islamic scholars, the variations of attitudes toward music are complex but with the re-occurring consensus that one should "be careful with music, it is powerful" (Otterbeck, 2016:152), which will be illustrated in this study through Hamas and Hizbullah´s political usage of anashid.

Although an analytical distinction is made between religion and politics, these are two entities thoroughly intertwined on an emic level. To Hamas and Hizbullah, religion refers to Islam as a social practice taking a political form. Hamas and Hizbullah are cases of where Islamic and political messages are constantly intertwined in line with the philosophy of the organizations as a whole, as stated by Said "Our religion is exactly our political thought, and our political thought is our religion" and "with the religious believes the political fighting and courage will be stronger" (Personal Communication, Supporter Hizbullah, 14 February, 2013). That religion and politics go hand in hand is reflected through the types and usages of anashid in Hamas and Hizbullah. The lyrics of the Hamas song, "The return of the Qassamist Falcons,"[8] are an illustration of this: "Hit, hit, hit. Hit the Qassam rocket. This is made by our hands and only God is protecting us." Another example is the Hizbullah song "We will remain in Hizbullah." It includes lyrics from a speech by Hizbullah´s Secretary General Hassan Nasrallah, urging for resistance in the name of God: "We are the followers of Haydar.[9] We will avenge for Hussein.[10] […] We will remain resisting. No, we will not compromise."[11] This study shows that such types of songs are played during, for example, political occasions to encourage resistance and to highlight historical, political, and religious events. People of Hamas and Hizbullah also use anashid individually and privately to reinforce their religious and political beliefs, build courage, and strengthen themselves when faced with difficult de-

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7 As mentioned, using the word music when actually referring to anashid is controversial. However, the term music will be used in the thesis since for non-devotees anashid can be understood as a musical style just as any other. Hence, anashid can be explained and understood better if the term music is used. In addition, the term music is consciously used in the theoretical discussion, which is explained further in chapter 3.

8 This song was found on YouTube, but has now been blocked.

9 Haydar refers to the Hizbullah Commander Hamza Ibrahim Haydar who was killed in Syria in 2014.

10 Hussein refers to imam Hussein Ibn Ali, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad.

11 *We will remain in Hezbollah* (2017) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yINkNSjPSxc

cisions and missions. For example, anashid are used to prepare individuals mentally and physically for combat, maintain values of and support for the organization, remember martyrs and historical events such as wars and religious landmarks. As anashid are one of few musical genres accepted in Hamas and Hizbullah (in addition to classical music, military marches, *wijdaniyat*,[12] and *lutmiyat*[13]), anashid are also listened to in the private sphere such as at home, during weddings, and in the car (Berg & Schulz, 2013).

Even though a new understanding of the benefits of using art (with a mission, *al-fann al-hadif*, purposeful art, *al-fann al-hadif al-mufid*, or resistance art, *al-fann al-muqawame*) in Islamic contexts, in general, has risen and gained ground,[14] there is ambivalence among Islamic leaders and scholars regarding the kinds of anashid that are suitable and beneficial within the work of organizations (Said, 2012). Nevertheless, it is crucial to both Hamas and Hizbullah that anashid are produced, broadcasted, performed, and listened to under controlled and ideologically (as Islamic and political) motivated terms (Alagha, 2015 & Hafez, Religious Leader Hamas, Personal Communication, 13 November, 2012). Hizbullah′s spokesman, Sayyid Ibrahim Al-Mussawi, "regards art as the most sublime achievement of humanity, since it brings man closer to the creator, to God, who asks man to be in a continuous struggle to ascend toward perfection" (Alagha, 2011:149). This statement would have been disputed some decades ago, as there was initially no clear vision of the role of art in the work of Hamas and Hizbullah. Today, anashid, as a main component of art, function in an organized and controlled manner and are used for aims such as raising societal concerns, supporting religious and political values and actions, resisting against dissents, recruitment, celebrations, and mourning (Muhammad Kawtharani, Head of Risalat[15] Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 1 April, 2013; Berg & Schulz, 2013).

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the role of anashid in Islamist organizations. Hamas and Hizbullah will serve as two cases of political organizations based on Islamic beliefs, where anashid are used for political purposes.[16] The role of anashid will be studied by using data from fieldwork conducted in the two organizations. The study is guided by the following research question and sub-questions, which are linked to the four articles of the thesis:

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12 This genre is merely religious. It is slow in pace and mainly sentimental. The main aim of the songs is to motivate persons to be mentally close to Allah.

13 This genre is only listened to by Hizbullah, as the songs commemorate Shi'a imams. The songs are slow and sad and mainly concern suffering and oppressiveness. When *lutmiyat* is heard, it is usually accompanied by men hitting their chests in grief, such as during '*Ashura*'. For an illustration, see *Latmiya for Imam Ali* (2013) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x9HyxHIzz5wb

14 A new understanding refers to the actual exertion of art in Islamist organizations. However, the idea was initially launched by the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan al-Banna, already in 1928 (Van Nieuwkerk, 2013:191-192).

15 Some terms and names, such as Risalat, are spelled differently in the cloak chapter and the articles. This is due to spelling requirements of the specific journal.

16 Examples of other organizations are the Muslim Brotherhood, al-Qa'ida, and The Islamic State. Note that the study does not aim at equating these organizations in terms of political goals or tactics. The common denominator of interest is that they are Islamic-political organizations using anashid.

What function does anashid have in the political work of Hamas and Hizbullah?

- In what settings and how are anashid used in Hamas and Hizbullah?
- What is the role of anashid, according to the supporters and leaders of Hamas and Hizbullah?

1.2 Introducing Hizbullah and Hamas

Hamas and Hizbullah are two organizations that operate their politics based on Islamic values. Nowadays, they are established political parties of governments who participate in national elections. They also share the common denominators of being the enmity toward Israel and the amity toward Iran and Syria.[17] Their popularity (and the battle against them) is also a common factor, not only nationally but also regionally and globally. Hamas and Hizbullah are key actors in the Arab-Israeli conflict, which permeates the goals and tactics of both organizations. In addition, they were established during, and as a response to, the Israeli occupation in Lebanon and in the Palestinian territories. Simultaneously, the founding of the organizations was also a reaction to "the culmination of an internal trend of growing Islamization and radicalization of Palestinian and Lebanese societies" (Khatib et al., 2014:185). Nevertheless, Hamas and Hizbullah have separate and specific, but at times also similar, ideologies, political and social agendas, identities, and structures.

1.2.1 Hizbullah

The establishment of the Lebanese resistance movement Hizbullah (The party of God) has its roots in the 1970s. During that time, the Shi'a community in the Middle East began developing ideological stands and political roles for Islamic leaders. The initiative was launched in Iraq, where many high level religious authorities met and exchanged ideas on how to strengthen the Shi'a Muslims as a whole, who had until then held a weak position both politically and socially. The empowerment of the Shi'a community, including the Iranian revolution in 1979, served as a background of inspiration for Hizbullah´s establishment. In 1982, primarily as a response to Israel´s invasion of southern Lebanon, the Iranian-backed Hizbullah began taking form as an Islamic militia, conducted by adherents of ayatollah Khomeini. However, it was not until the mid-1980s that a coherent organization was established and further transformed into a political party with a resistance wing (Norton, 2007).

Starting off as a mere militia group that aimed to resist against Israel and to expel western colonizers in Lebanon, Hizbullah is today one of the most powerful political, as well as military, forces in Lebanon. The internal struggles of the country as well as the multi-confessional political system made it possible for Hizbullah to compete

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17 When Hamas became a core political player in the region, Iran saw the importance of creating a stronger alliance with the organization, which led to an increased dependency by Hamas on Iran. Also, the relation between Hamas, Iran, and Hizbullah was strengthened during this time. However, since the beginning of the Syrian civil war in 2011, Hamas have distanced itself from Iran and Syria as well as from Hizbullah due to Sunni-Shi'a disputes (Khatib et al., 2014).

among other sectarian groups.[18] Soon after its establishment, Hizbullah became part of the Lebanese political system and an authentic Lebanese party. Its success has many times been explained by "a sophisticated political communication strategy that blends military, social, economic, and religious elements while remaining adaptive to changing socio-political contexts" (Khatib et al., 2014:1). In 2011, Hizbullah became part of the majority coalition of the Lebanese Parliament, which increased its power on the national Lebanese level. In terms of political set-up, the so-called *Shura* Council manages the overall administration, policymaking, and planning. Above all, the *Shura* Council governs the Central Council consisting of around 200 founders and leaders of Hizbullah who are in charge of electing the persons of the *Shura*. The management also consists of five additional councils: The executive council, the politburo, the parliamentary council, the judicial council, and the *Jihad* council (Gleis & Berti, 2012). In addition, Hizbullah includes a well-advanced social welfare network that is in charge of administering, for example, education, health, and other basic social services.

Behind Hizbullah´s ideology lies a deep Shi'a Islamic faith, which permeates the organization and has its roots in the Iranian revolution and the Khomeinian doctrine, as mentioned. Islamic Shi'a ideas and customs are used to construct, organize, and lead the organization. Initially, Hizbullah aimed at creating an Islamic state in Lebanon. As for many Islamist organizations of today, this goal has been downplayed for the sake of striving for nationalistic causes in order to gain popularity and trust among all of the religious sects as well as seculars.[19] In Hizbullah´s manifesto, the ´Open Letter,´ of 1985, Hizbullah presents itself as a grassroots Islamic *jihadi* organization. Jihad (and 'Ashura' as we will see further on) is one of the main matters related to the political dimension of Shi'a Islam and is therefore also a central tactic of Hizbullah. However, in the new manifesto of 2009 (Lebanon Renaissance, 2009), the term has been restrained for the sake of replacing jihad with resistance. This does not mean that jihad is not a core aim anymore but that Hizbullah has chosen to downplay the initial terminology as it is a contemporary tense term.

Jihad in Hizbullah is closely related to martyrdom and the so-called smaller military jihad, where the one that embarks on jihad and dies as a martyr enters straight to paradise. Hizbullah follows the belief that jihad (and God) should be put above anything else, such as family and wealth. In Hizbullah, jihad is understood as a mission along a commitment with God, where one will, again, go straight to heaven for fulfilling the duty of martyrdom. In order to conduct jihad in Hizbullah, one needs to be mentally and spiritually prepared to make sacrifices before engaging in military battles. Practicing self-restraint is ongoing for years before one is sent to actual missions in the name of Hizbullah (Amer, Musician Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 18 March, 2013).

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18 Many of the initial leaders of Hizbullah were previously part of the earliest Lebanese Shi'a organization Harakat Amal. With time, after several confrontations over the management of the Shi'a population, Hizbullah won power and control in the Shi'a areas of Lebanon. Eventually, in 1990, Amal and Hizbullah reached an agreement for future cooperation, which has partly lasted until today. Harakat Amal is still considered an important party in Lebanon but is "over-shadowed by its better-organized, better-armed Islamist competitor, Hizbullah" (Khatib et al., 2014:14).

19 In this thesis, the term secular indicates that religion is separated from the state. Hence, when referring to people, secular does not necessarily mean that one is not religious (Bruce, 2009).

In 2000, Israeli troops left Lebanon, which had a great impact on Hizbullah and its work. As a result, the whole organization restructured. They reorganized and put greater focus on, for example, the military, culture of society, and health. Matters of art were moved away from central (attempts of) control to have its own department. After the 2006 war with Israel, Hizbullah saw the benefit of art as a tool, consisting of many devices, for supporting the struggle of its resisting public (Alagha, 2006 & Muhammad Kawtharani, Head of Risalat Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 1 April, 2013). Anashid became one of the main tools of art, which were mostly used as a political means against Israel but also in order to highlight the societal and political issues related to Lebanon and Lebanese politics. The usage and production of anashid in Hizbullah has constantly increased and is today, since 2005, managed under the organizational umbrella of art called *Risalat*, the Lebanese Association of Arts. Before the existence of the arts branch, the political administration of the organization tried to be in charge of bands affiliated with the organization (Firqat al-Wilaya band in 2004, for example). It turned out that managing anashid did not fit the structure of the organization at that time, and it returned to being used but formally unmanaged (Muhammad Kawtharani, Head of Risalat Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 1 April, 2013).

Affiliated bands refer to bands that are not owned by the organization but bands that perform songs about and in the name of the organization. It also means that the organizations sometimes hire the band to perform and record specific songs in their name. In Hizbullah today, there are two official bands managed by the organization through *Risalat* (Shams al-Horriye, The freedom sun´s orchestra, and Firqat al-Kashef, the scouts band, also called the military band)[20] where the remaining are affiliated. *Risalat* controls all art used and produced in the name of the organization. However, the band Firqat al-Kashef belongs to Hizbullah´s scouts branch and is therefore also partly managed by them (Muhammad Kawtharani, Head of Risalat Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 1 April, 2013). In regard to the anashid in Hizbullah, one respondent explained that Hizbullah controls each point of the events, including the anashid: "the control is related to what message Hizbullah wants to send out to the people. Our leader Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah will deliver the real official messages and the songs we play will always reflect and support his speeches" (Ahmad, Musician Hamas band al-Amjad, Personal Communication, 3 October, 2012). Letting bands repeat the messages of Hizbullah´s leader through anashid is an effective way of highlighting the main concerns and selecting the core issues. As shown in the next section, in the case of Hamas, the control rather concerns assurance that anashid are used along proper Islamic manners.

1.2.2 Hamas

Hamas (*Harakat al-Muqawamat al-Islamiyya*, The Islamic Resistance Organization) was

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[20] In Alagha´s (2016) book chapter "Shi'a Discourses on Performing Arts: *Maslaha* and Cultural Politics in Lebanon," he states that Hizbullah´s official music bands are Shams al-Horriye and Firqat al-Wilaya. However, information from personal communication of this study reveals that Firqat al-Wilaya is an affiliated band not formally governed by Hezbollah. It was stated by informants that the second formal band of Hezbollah is Firqat al-Kashef.

established in 1987, a couple of years later than Hizbullah. Hamas was founded by shaykh Ahmad Yassin, as an offshoot to the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, which had a religious branch in the Palestinian territories where Yassin was the leader at the time. The establishment was a result of the first *Intifada* (the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation) and driven by the convergence of socio-economic and political changes in Gaza and the West Bank. Nonetheless, it was not until August 1988 that the organization launched its charter (Harry Truman Research Institute, 1988), where they identified itself as the society´s military wing with the goal of liberating Palestine and creating an Islamic state (Tamimi, 2009). Hamas grew stronger and was soon a full-fledged organization with a resilient social services program, something that the umbrella body PLO, the Palestine Liberation Organization, failed to offer its people (Gunning, 2008). Hamas provided new hope along with new tactics of a strong military wing. Even if the organization initially rejected the creation of a nation-state and aimed for an *umma* (an Islamic community), Hamas grew in popularity among the Palestinians in general. Hamas offered its people an alternative to the failed tactics of the PLO (Gunning, 2009 & Tamimi, 2009). The growing popularity was a fact in 2006 when Hamas won the Palestinian parliamentary elections. However, the PLO´s largest organization Fatah did not approve of the victory and boycotted the Parliament. This resulted in a division of the political system and large political and military struggles and clashes. In 2007, the conflict had become a full-fledged internal war, ending with Hamas gaining control over the Gaza Strip and Fatah taking control over the West Bank. A unity government plan was created in 2011 but has remained unimplemented until today (Gleis & Berti, 2012).

Hamas consist of two main bodies, the advisory council and the political bureau. The advisory council is a decision-making body that manages political and strategic issues. As a consequence of war and occupation, the leadership of Hamas is spread throughout the Arab countries, and the political body is governed from Qatar (previously from Syria). The political bureau is Hamas´ executive organ. It also safeguards the organization´s everyday activities and operations. In addition, Hamas´ military wing is administered under the political body but still has some independent freedom of maneuver. These two bodies function for Hamas in the Palestinian territories as well as in the diaspora countries.

Just like in the case of Hizbullah, Hamas' ideology and politics are based on strong Islamic beliefs. Sunni Islam fills a central role which was verified after the 2006 victory when the Hamas Cabinet was sworn in and one of Hamas' legislators, Hamad al-Bitawi, proclaimed: "The Koran is our constitution, Mohammad is our prophet, *jihad* is our path and dying for the sake of Allah is our biggest wish" (Gunning, 2009:162). Even so, Islamic authorities can only become political leaders through election and not just based on their religious position. Regarding Hamas´ political program, Islam is part of the framework. It means that *shari'a* laws should be the main source of legislation and Islam should be the base in education. But as much as Hamas is an Islamic organization, it is Palestinian with a clear nationalist agenda. So, the two main pillars of Hamas' ideology consist of nationalism and political Islam (Gleis & Berti, 2012). Close to Hamas´

nationalistic strive lies the issue of jihad as military action, which fills a central role in the organization. The main goal of jihad (and hence also military action) in Hamas is to liberate Palestine and defeat Israel. Jihad usually serves as a self-evident mission of Islamic political organizations, on both small and large scale (Hroub, 2010), which will be discussed further in the theoretical chapter.

In relation to anashid, political songs rose in popularity among the Palestinians as an outcome of the first *Intifada* (Qasem, Musician Hamas band al-Amjad, Personal Communication, 3 October, 2012). The political songs mainly concerned exhorting resistance against the Israeli occupation. The Hamas Charter from 1988 stipulates that anashid are "necessary for ideological education and invigorating nourishment to continue the struggle and relaxing the spirit" (Hamas Charter, 1988). The Charter underlines that art, as a whole (where anashid are one of many components such as theatre and poetry), is a necessity in order to encourage Islamic values and maintain resistance against Israel. However, the writing did not state how art should be managed and used. It was first after Hamas' election victory in 2006, when the organization had total administrative control over the Gaza Strip, that they started a specific program for the public cultural life. Rather soon thereafter, "Hamas began enforcing its policies in the formation of cultural spheres, including music" (Berg & Schulz, 2013:144), where it was important that the art did not contradict Hamas′ norms in terms of religious ideas and politics. Today, the use and production of anashid in Hamas are still not managed through a specific department of art, as in the case of Hizbullah. Issues concerning anashid, such as usage, content, etc., are managed by the political bureau, which consults with Islamic leaders (Qasem, Musician Hamas band al-Amjad, Personal Communication, 3 October, 2012). The control rather concerns assurance of anashid being used in proper Islamic manners: "We have to remember two things when we make anashid; to not contradict religion and to not sing about religion in a bad way" (Louai, Musician Hamas band al-Amjad, Personal Communication, 3 October, 2012). It means that lyrics and settings where the songs are used have to be correct according to the Islamic norms. As a large part of Hamas leaders and supporters reside in diaspora countries around the world, a firm control of the usage of anashid is difficult. However, when Hamas requests for songs to be produced in the name of the same, they go through a severe acceptance check by the leadership in Gaza (Berg, Art. 4, Under Review[21]). As far as this study will show, all bands in relation to Hamas, including the boy band consisting of Hamas policemen, are affiliated.

1.3 Contribution of the Study

This dissertation contributes empirically to previous studies on Hamas and Hizbullah in two important aspects. First, the thesis lets voices and events from inside the organizations make sense of anashid through interviews and observations. Thus, it contributes with unique and original empirical data collected during an extended amount of time.

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21 All forthcoming publications are used in accordance to agreement with the author in question.

The focus of exploring the role of anashid from within is used to reach a fuller understanding of the organizations' tools and tactics. This adds to the knowledge and analysis of a contemporary understanding of Hamas and Hizbullah.

Second, the thesis contributes theoretically by merging the themes of politics, music, and Islam, where anashid are used as the prism in order to find how these themes interact in Islamist organizations. Previous studies about music and Islam, apart from studies speaking about genres such as pop, rock, hip-hop, etc., which are several, are often conducted within the fields of either theology or/and musicology and do not discuss the political dimension (see for example, Harnish & Rasmussen, 2011; Hossein Nasr, 1997; Shiloah, 1995; Pieslak, 2015; Irwin, 1983; Salhi, 2014). Vice versa, studies on music and politics rarely address the religious dimension in general and Islam in particular, at least not in a systematic sense (see for example, Street, 2012; Mattern, 1998; Pratt, 1990 & 1994; Fast & Pegley, 2012). However, a few studies, which specifically address the cultural life of Islamist groups with the attempt to understand how music fits into political organizations based on Islam, are to be highlighted (see Alagha, 2011, 2012, 2015, 2016; Müller, 2015; Laan, 2016). Joseph Alagha´s studies underline how the culture of politics has come to take shape in Hizbullah through a political development in the organization. The main part of his texts discusses art in a Shi'a Islamist discourse, focusing on resistance art. However, to some extent Alagha also discusses the specific role of music and anashid in Hizbullah and how it has taken shape as a legitimate artistic expression with specific purpose, promoting the agenda of the organization. Dominik M. Müller´s (2015) study concerns a cultural transformation of the Islamic Party of Malaysia, which went from banning art toward using pop-Islamism, as he calls it. The study, however, does not address anashid, implying that this thesis adds to the analysis of Islam and music in general in political organizations. Nina ter Laan (2016) aims at grasping, what she calls, Islam-inspired music and the impact of political discourses on Islam in Morocco. Even though Laan seeks to cover many types of music and not only anashid, her main concern is to understand the interplay between music, Islam, and politics. Her study analyses the performers, in contrast to this study, which focuses on the role of anashid mainly among supporters and to some extent leaders of the organizations.

Conclusively, acknowledging the lack of studies specifically analyzing the relation between music, Islam, politics, and organizations, this study is important in trying to fill part of the gaps in the existing literature. The study will particularly contribute to illustrating the role of anashid from a perspective within the organizations, as well as in terms of the specific theme of anashid as a political tool.

2

Literature Review

The literature on Hamas and Hizbullah as two core organizations in Middle Eastern politics is continuously growing. Most writings analyze the organizations separately, with a few exceptions (see for example, Gleis & Berti, 2012; Pelletiere, 2004). Many writings about Hamas and Hizbullah are conducted by journalists (see for example, Fernández, 2009; Blanford, 2011; Cambanis, 2011; Jaber, 1997; MacFarquahr, 2009; Noe, 2007; Harb, 2011;22 Pelletiere, 2004; Azani, 2011). However, the number of academic writings about Hamas and Hizbullah is rather small in general and writings on the role of anashid in particular. Putatively, one reason is that it is difficult to obtain permission to enter the organizations and collect primary data.

Regarding Hizbullah, the scholarly writings are mainly general, trying to give the reader a fair overview of the organization′s set-up and goals (see for example, Khatib et al., 2014; Palmer Harik, 2011; Saad-Ghorayeb, 2002). These types of texts highlight Hizbullah′s involvement with Iran, Israel, and the west, trying to make sense of these relations in accordance with the ideology and goals of the organization. There is an underlying tone of describing Hizbullah as fundamentally aggressive and unwilling to compromise. Matthew Levitt (2013) describes Hizbullah as a violent terrorist organization. He emphasizes that Hizbullah exists mainly to fight wars against Israel and the west. Even though Levitt mentions that Hizbullah serves other purposes, such as being part of the national political system and as a social provider to the Shi'a population, these are not core themes of his writing.

Augustus Richard Norton′s (2007) and Joseph Alagha′s (2006, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015, 2016) analysis, however, are different as they aim to try to break the image of Hizbullah as a rigid and sanguinary organization. They both find it relevant to analyze Hizbullah′s multifaceted functions of providing social services and public works, a political party, but also consisting of a strong militia. The important thing for these scholars is to understand how Hizbullah combines the different dimensions and how the organization is responsive to its people. Rather than marking Hizbullah as a terrorist organization and judging the organization's actions, Norton (2007) tries to recognize Hizbullah′s complexity and paradoxes. Alagha′s (2006, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015, 2016) understanding is similar and carries the core argument that Hizbullah is sensitive to contextual matters and has gone through major shifts since its foundation. Alagha is one of few scholars who have conducted long-term academic work about Hizbullah from within, and as we will see below one of very few who addresses the political tool

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22 Zahera Harb is a journalist and a scholar.

of anashid.

The amount of literature about Hamas in English is larger than about Hizbullah and has notably increased since Hamas´ electoral victory in 2006. Precipitously, many scholars gained an interest in understanding the ideology and tactics of the organization and how it reached such popularity and support among the Palestinian population. A person that has similar arguments to that of Norton (2007) regarding Hizbullah is Jeroen Gunning (Open Democracy Free Thinking of the World, 2008 & 2009). He explains Hamas as sensitive to its context and everything but dogmatic. However, he underlines that if the organization is being excluded or isolated by the international community and in Palestinian politics, for example, it will backfire as militant escalation and toward a more assertive approach. There are also other academics arguing similar to Gunning (see Brenner, 2015; Schulz, 2008, 2009; Mishal & Sela, 2006; Hroub, 2000; Tamimi, 2007, 2009). Azzam Tamimi, Björn Brenner, and Michael Schulz, for example, argue that Hamas is a mirror to the context where it acts. All three scholars emphasize the importance of a complete and nuanced understanding of the organization. However, Brenner and Schulz discuss the compatibility/complexity of Hamas and democracy specifically. Moreover, Beverly Milton-Edwards and Stephen Farrell (2010) have conducted a thorough study about Hamas, where they followed the organization's social and military branches for an extensive period of time. As a result, Milton-Edwards and Farrell conclude that rather than understanding Hamas in relation to democracy, one has to focus on the reasons behind the violent struggle that the organization carries out and refuses to give up on. Khaled Hroub (2000) argues somewhere in between the previous researchers, claiming that the strategy of Hamas is a reflection of the context where they act. If Hamas is that mirror, reflecting the context and needs, this is what mainly led to its popularity among the Palestinians.

The well-debated scholar Levitt (2006), mentioned above for his similar view on Hizbullah, portrays Hamas as solely militant and rigid, unable to account for the needs of its people. He argues that, "Hamas is able to use its overt political and charitable organizations as a financial and logistical support network for its terrorist operations" (Levitt, 2006:2). The reason is because all politics the organization drive has a violent approach, even its social services, he argues. Moreover, he claims that Islam is the root cause of this inherently violent approach. With a different conclusion, but with the focus of Islam as the ideological motivation, Andrea Nüsse (1998) and Sara Roy (2007) have also analyzed Hamas. Nüsse and Roy go beyond the understanding that it is Islam per se which makes Hamas act in an inflexible and violent way. Instead, they highlight that the violent ideology of Hamas is a response to external factors and to how the organization is being judged by others.

The mentioned volumes are all trying to explain the ideologies, roles, and tactics of Hamas and Hizbullah as an Islamic political player, from different points of views. However, only a few of the studies explore the role of art in general and the role of anashid in particular and how it fits in the strategies of the organizations. Some scholars, like Alagha (2011, 2012, 2015, 2016), Khatib et al. (2014), Carin Berg (2014), and Wael Abdelal (2016) do include the role of art in their analysis of Hamas and Hiz-

bullah. However, Abdelal only mentions the role of anashid in Hamas briefly as an important part of the media mobilization and Khatib et al. deal with poetry only, as part of Hizbullah´s arts branch. However, Berg´s entire book chapter deals with the complex relationship between music and Islam in Hamas. Alagha argues that Hizbullah is divided into three branches: The political, the social services, and the military branch. He complements these dimensions by adding a fourth branch, which he calls ´cultural politics´ or ´the resistance art branch´. He explains that art in Hizbullah is part of cultural politics, a soft-power tactic that fills the function of "a medium, as a public space for politicization and struggle" (Alagha, 2015:64). It means art with certain goals, that is, purposeful art, which is equivalent to resistance art as Hizbullah´s interests concern "reform, resistance, mobilization, and political struggle" (Alagha, 2015:65). He further mentions that by using art systematically, Hizbullah is consciously showing another face of the organization than the militant. In addition, Hizbullah wants to safeguard the cultural side of the organization to its people as much as militancy and violence, he argues. Not specifically focused on music, in one of his latest publications, Alagha (2016) discusses the role of anashid as part of Shi'a and Hezbollah's cultural politics.

Carin Berg and Michael Schulz (2013) address the role of anashid when analyzing Hamas. Their chapter maps how Hamas produces and uses music, mainly for resistance purposes, arguing that Hamas use music as "a performative means of instigating and strengthening the armed political resistance against the Israeli occupation" (Berg & Schulz, 2013:152). They argue that Hamas' music is produced and used for motivation, triggering mobilization, ideology, and recruitment and is in this regard part of the Palestinian identity formation. Their chapter also discusses how Hamas perceives other types of music such as pop and rock, showing that the views are steered by the particular Islamic ideology of Hamas. It explains how this relational ambivalence, particularly in Gaza, justifies Hamas´ use of force in terms of censoring art and popular culture. In analysis of music and war/combat/violence/radicalism/resistance, and jihadi culture, Hamas and Hizbullah are sometimes mentioned as examples (see for example, Lahoud, Forthcoming; Pieslak, 2009, 2015; McDonald, 2012). These studies do not originate from analysis about Hizbullah and Hamas, but they mention the organizations when discussing other topics related to music and art.

By combining studies about politics, Islam, and music as analytical fields, together with an inside perspective of these areas as empirical grounds, this thesis will add to previous literature by contextualizing questions about the political organization in a new way. In addition, the study will particularly add to Alagha´s (2011, 2012, 2015, 2016) research concerning Hizbullah´s arts branch, by exploring anashid as one of its main components. Regarding Hamas, the thesis will mainly add to Berg and Schulz´s (2013) study on anashid, by focusing on the political context where anashid are used.

14

3

Theoretical and Conceptual Discussion

In addition to providing a theoretical framework for the thesis, this chapter introduces the reader to academic research on music and politics. The themes structuring the chapter are the theoretical points of departure, which will be applied in order to make sense of the usage of anashid as (religiously) appropriate music for political purposes in Islamist organizations. In a scholarly discussion, music is understood as part of complex cultural and political settings filled with power structures and control. As Annemette Kirkegaard (2004) claims, the meaning of music has to be, on the one hand, defined broadly, in this case to include how it relates to politics and religion. However, on the other hand, it also has to be thoroughly contextualized in order to make sense of how music becomes meaningful in specific places. In this thesis, it implies that anashid need to be studied empirically within the concerned organizations. Making place specific meaning is also a way to impose control and power, thus, what is going on at a local level "is a negotiation between systemic forces and local/individual interpretations and meaning-making" (Kirkegaard, 2004:57-58). It means that music is used in many contexts universally, but genres, artists, and songs are carefully selected by groups and individuals in order to fill different purposes and meanings.

3.1 Music and Politics
This section presents certain working definitions of important concepts in the thesis. Thereafter, follows a more in-depth discussion on music as an analytical framework.

3.1.1 Politics
The term politics,[23] in relation to music, will be used according to John Street´s (2012) definition. Street defines music as being political in four ways, which often interact but where each classification is enough to understand music as political. The first way concerns that any use of music that does not only affect someone privately should be understood as political, but the public perspective must include people with agency, meaning that they can act upon situations. Street does not mean that the private cannot be political, but he argues that in relation to music, "if musical pleasure and choice are purely private matters of personal consequence, they are not political" (Street, 2012:8). Secondly, closely related to the first point, music becomes political when its "pleasure (or displeasure) spills over into the public realm and into the exercise

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[23] Politics and political will be used as synonyms in this thesis as it refers to political organizations only. For a further explanation on the potential difference between the terms, see Mouffe, 2005.

of power within it" (Street, 2012:8). Thirdly and fourthly, when we talk about music as political, it implies that it has the capability or effect of inspiring the thoughts and actions of people collectively and can form a site of public negotiation or discussion beyond private reflections (Street, 2012). Street´s four ways of understanding how music becomes political concerns the transition from private to public use of music and how the music is integrated into and becomes part of power structures in the public space. Hence, music used politically has the potential of influencing thoughts and actions. As will be shown, anashid are used privately, but except from article four where the entanglement of the private and the public is in focus, this study mainly concerns public spaces such as political events controlled by power structures defined by Hamas and Hizbullah. Anashid are also an important factor in the negotiation of the political missions of the organizations. In that respect, it corresponds to Street´s notion of music forming a site for public negotiation.

Politics is also a term that can be used in relation to many social phenomena in different societies where position of power is identified, indicating that a further specification is needed to narrow down its meaning for this thesis. Following Street´s definitions of music as political, the term politics will be addressed with reference to the use of power (in the thesis related to organizations) and its effect on people, mainly in terms of actions, behavior, and emotions. Politics in this regard is used to explicate how management over a group of people is executed in order to reach certain goals and effects. Further, it refers to the activities of organizations, when seeking influence and acknowledgment as a legitimate representation of an established group of people (Mouffe, 2013; Nash, 2000). Even if political practices can be carried out individually, the thesis focuses on politics as collective (implying the people part of an organization) strives.

3.1.2 Ideology

In a broad sense, collective acts in Hamas and Hizbullah are based on specific ideologies, meaning that there are certain worldviews and goals that form the policies of the particular collective. Ideology impacts on principles of reasoning, methods to use, and the paths to walk in order to achieve political goals. Accordingly, ideology refers to a subjective view of "communicating commitment to a cause" (Manning & Robinson, 1985:46). Ideology in the thesis is used as a term for formats deployed to orientate members of as well as to position the organization in society. It serves as the base, or the meaning making, for carrying out specific collective action within the organizations (Breiner, 2013 & Geertz, 1993). When using the term ideology in the thesis, it comprises what conventionally is divided into politics and religion. Using ideology in this inclusive way gives room for analysis, which can address the interrelation between religion and politics as non-separate entities, from the perspective of Hamas and Hizbullah.

3.1.3 Music

Returning to the relation between music and politics, William Bascom (1959) argues

that political beliefs will be better understood if one addresses the role and development of songs in a society and "of how [the songs] are modified by the outside influences with which they are brought in contact" (Bascom, 1959:7). What he suggests is that there may exist a close connection between the political development of a society, or often a certain part of society, and the available music of the same. Ray Pratt (1990 & 1994) contends that one of the main functions of music in political contexts is to inspire and support political acts (often done in terms of resistance, according to Pratt, which will be elaborated in chapter 3.3). The connection between music and behavior is nowhere as clear as in the political contexts of a society since political messages usually have a distinct and delimited aim, with the purpose of effecting and even convincing humans of certain ideas (Thurino, 2008). Street (2012) argues that, "music embodies political values and experiences, and organizes our response to society as political thought and action. Music does not just provide a vehicle of political expression, it is that expression" (Street, 2012:1). An obvious example of such is during election times when the candidates, in order to seek popular vote and to underline the political promises, frequently use music.

3.1.4 Organization

As mentioned, one common area where music is used politically is in organizations. In the thesis an organization refers to a social entity with political ideology, where the aims are structured and managed in a certain way in order to strive for collective goals. It does not imply that all behavior in an organization can or should be categorized as political, but it is the political acts that are in focus in the thesis. Moreover, organization will be used as a term for gathered practices and institutions that are used to control and steer people for certain political goals (Mayes & Allen, 1977; Mouffe, 2013). Given this general definition, each particular entity has a specific way of management, aimed to fit the goals and activities of the particular organization.

3.2 Music in Political Organizations

As mentioned previously, music as a means in political organizations is used to embody ideologies, which play out as a powerful way of creating collectiveness. Music is a vehicle that is used to establish a sense of belonging as well as urging for actions through its capacity of making "a collective, such as a[n organization, capable to] objectify itself and its history, making itself visible to others, as well as creating and establishing a sense of continuity" (Eyerman, 2002: 447). Hence, it is not only about using music to create the collective as such but also to assure its endurance. Following Streets (2012) argument on how music becomes political when turning public, organizations are one such place where music is used for collective goals. Since music in organizations aims at effecting people in a joint context of a shared ideology, the music used can be understood as political, since it becomes part of the power exercised within the organization (Street, 2012). Ron Eyerman (2002) maintains that in a collective setting, music creates a more

influential experience than when listening to music alone. He gives the example of Swedish white power music, which at the time played a world-leading role in its genre. Through Swedish white power music, shared collective support for political aims of right wing organizations was created on a global scale. During band performances in Sweden, people traveled from far for the sake of sharing the joint experience of listening to music that supported their political values in a powerful way.

Adding to Street′s (2012) idea about how music becomes political, and taking Eyerman′s (2002) argument further, Thomas Thurino (2008) suggests that in any political context, music is a powerful means to form collective identities (underlining that no other means is as influential to fill this role). The formation of a collective is fundamental to maintaining the political goals of organizations and that is why music can fill such a central role (Thurino, 2008). This goes in line with Chiara Pierobon (2014) who claims that music is a way of spreading the ideology through a means that effect your emotions and therefore becomes part of who you are in a collective setting. In Pierobon′s (2014) empirical analysis of political organizations, the main role of music is to impact peoples′ beliefs through emotions. Her study illustrates how music in organizations is used for two central purposes: to attract and to entertain. The attracting part counts for enticing new supporters and spreading the word of particular political causes. The entertaining function is simply to ′spice up′ the political activities, to make it more interesting, fun, and involving, she argues (Pierobon, 2014:96). Even if this is a common scenario, it simultaneously sounds as a simplification of music′s function since music in organizations can also be used for a multiple other reasons, as this thesis will show.

Adding to Pierobon′s (2014) suggestion, Turino (2008) claims that music in political organizations can be understood from two angles. The first is spreading the leaders' political messages to the society and the second, is the society itself giving tribute to the leaders and their messages. Pierobon (2014) continues by highlighting that music can also be used to criticize and protest against leaders. She discusses the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004, where the role of music was central for carrying out and merging the ideologies of the protesters. In her writing, it is even claimed that music was the "effective ideological machine that significantly contributed to the triumph of Mr. Yushchenko" (Pierobon, 2014:96). What can be understood from this article is that music was a main tool in the political struggle of the revolution that eventually led to the decision of re-election, where Victor Yushchenko was elected for president.

One of the most obvious usages of music in political organizations is for propaganda (and protest which will be elaborated below). Propaganda is defined as "spreading of ideas, information or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person" (Perris, 1985:5). The songs are usually explicit and contain clear messages of marketing and specific purpose. It is one of the most common tools used for political aims, and is often spread through music. Moving away from specifically talking about organizations, national anthems and nationalistic music are typical cases used as propaganda, particularly during times of conflict. For example, in Syria in 2011, President Bashar al-Assad urged the national anthem to be played in all public

spaces in order to suppress the opposition (Street, 2012). Last year, during the 2016 U.S. election campaign, songs were frequently used for political propaganda purposes. For example, during the republican national convention, Donald Trump entered the scene like a rock star to the tunes of Queen′s "We are the Champions."[24]

Moving back in time, the Nazi regime used propaganda music as a political instrument during the Second World War to establish the so-called Germaneness. This was done both nationally to maintain the causes of struggle but also globally as part of foreign policy. The Nazi regime made sure (and sponsored) that carefully selected pieces were played in embassies and concert halls all around the world as a means of propaganda (Meyer, 1991). Another example is how the Serbs used nationalistic music as well as Serbian military songs from the Second World War during the Balkan Wars. As much as it was used for private practice, it was also publically played through loudspeakers during clashes between Serbs and Kosovar Albanians in order to create a feeling of national belonging and remembering the causes of fight (Hudson, 2007). Arnold Perris (1985) argues that the effect of using national anthems or nationalistic music, as well as other propaganda music, for political results is only functional if a sufficient number of listeners accept and are affected by the message. It is particularly true for citizens of totalitarian regimes aiming at steering people toward one certain viewpoint, such as in both cases mentioned above.

This section has discussed the significance of music in political organizations with the aim of emphasizing and embodying ideologies and creating collectiveness. Music that becomes part of exercised power of the collective should be acknowledged as political. Further, permeated by Thurino′s (2008) and Pierobon′s (2014) take on music and the collective, creating a common identity by effecting emotions is a prerequisite for successfully driving certain ideologies in an organization. Moreover, concerning ideological aims in political organizations, music is used for spreading propaganda of identified causes. By providing several examples, the text shows that even in the specific cases where music is used for propaganda (and protest), the effectiveness of music as a tool is related to the collective (as the listeners) and emotions (aimed for steering people′s ideas).

3.3 Music, Protest, and Resistance

One part of Street′s (2012) argument discusses how music becomes political when it is used in the public sphere and as part of the power within it, where for example the ideology of an organization defines what music is to be used and for what purposes. Music aiming for protest and resistance is often used within such political framework, as we will see in this section.

Resistance has been conceptualized in multiple ways, but the type of resistance that is relevant for understanding the usage of anashid in Hamas and Hizbullah is the so-called overt resistance. It refers to "behavior that is visible and readily recognized by both tar-

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24 *Donald Trump Entrance at GOP Convention* (C-SPAN) (2016) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z_v1FwosV_U

gets and observers as resistance and, further, intends to be recognized as such (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004:545). It concerns collective acts of organizations, for example. Overt resistance in organizations is characterized by being organized and collective (in contrast to a more individual based everyday type of resistance). Resistance in this regard is used to confront, alert, and make demands (Lilja & Vinthagen, 2009; Scott, 1985).

Resistance, as part of organization′s operations, should be understood as performances of political action. Jocelyn A. Hollander and Rachel L. Einwohner (2004) emphasize that acts of resistance in organizations generally have a clear intention. However, to understand the usage and function of music for resistance with political aims of an organization requires access to the actual organization and conducting interviews and observations. In line with this, Street (2003) stresses that "we need to look more closely at how music is used politically, and how this use is connected to the way music – as sound and experience – is linked to political thought and action. Typically, these ideas are founded in music's role as a source of resistance and opposition" (Street, 2003:120). He refers to protest songs (or opposition music as in the quote) as music that speaks against a specific issue or about an enemy and where the song itself plays the major role. It functions for both individual and collective use. Protest music and protest musicians aim at opposing "the exploitation and oppression exercised by dominant elites and supporters of dominant groups. Musicians typically couch their music in confrontational terms that draw sharp distinctions between the perceived forces of right and wrong" (Mattern, 1998:25). Already in 1968, Serge R. Denisoff explained that a protest song is the message of an idea, a concept, or even a whole ideology being communicated to the listener. The listener will, in turn, use the music in the following ways: to support or sympathize with an organization or an attitude, to reinforce values of people who are already supporters of an organization or ideology, to join a specific organization, and to invoke "solutions to real or imagined social phenomena in terms of action to achieve a desired goal" (Denisoff, 1968:229). Even if this explanation might be the most obvious, he does not acknowledge the possibility of people simply enjoying the songs without focusing on its message.

Regarding resistance songs, it is the actual performance or situation that is at the core, referring to collective action such as in organizations (Street, 2012). Resistance music goes beyond the lyrics to "an arresting form of attention, a means of commanding public spaces, and a context for the narration of history" (Bohlman, 1993:413). It is important to understand the context in order to interpret the political role of music, whether protest or resistance, and it seems more plausible that the context is of crucial importance when trying to classify music politically (Street, 2012). If a protest song is performed or played in a space of political value, for example, which supports peoples′ beliefs, the song might very well be seen as resistance. Hence, the two terms are closely interlinked.

Both protest and resistance songs are frequently used in conflict struck areas, such as in Ireland, Balkan, Lebanon, Rwanda, and the Palestinian territories. During the Balkan Wars, patriotic Serbian songs played a major role in protesting but also for ce-

lebrating victories. Themes like "heroism, pride, aggression, stubbornness" (Hudson, 2007:163) were recurring. As a continuation of the long-lasting wars, the content of folk music became permeated by politics, protest, patriotism, and military influences as well (Hudson, 2007). A second example is the Croatian war of independence, as part of the Balkan Wars, in 1991-95. The Croats used (mainly pop-) music to address issues of, land, patriotism, and religious ideas and rituals. The songs aimed at protesting and resisting displacement, lack of refuge, and separation. They also addressed the issue of homeland and peoples' relationship to place. The songs speaking about religion had a clear message about a chosen, sacred people, implying 'us' the Croats. The songs were produced in order to distinguish themselves from Orthodox Serbs and Bosnian Muslims (Baker, 2010).

The link between music and protest and resistance as part or as an outcome of war and conflict contexts is that music is a powerful tool or even a weapon. This tool/weapon is used for the purpose of encoding differences, such as in the case of the political division of Ireland. There is the traditional Irish music that is created and used mainly in order to be associated with the colonized and used to clarify opposition. In relation to this, western music is often regarded as connected to the colonizing British. The Vietnam War of 1955-1975 is another example where music as a medium for protest and resistance has been highly influenced by a conflict but also earlier during the Franco-Vietnamese War in 1945 (Norton, 2013). During the latter, songs were of a patriotic revolutionary style marking resistance against the French, whereas later it was mainly used as an ideological weapon to strengthen the population´s commitment to the war but also to resist the United States' foreign policy and the presence of American military. The popular music genre *ca khúc* was used during large gatherings in order to "foster comradeship between troops, and between troops and the rest of the populace" (Norton, 2013:100) but also to a lesser extent for military purposes.

There is also *chimurenga* (meaning revolution or war) music, which was used in Zimbabwe. Initially, it was used by Nedebele-Shona (the main ethnic group) as rebellion music against the British in the 1890s and later by nationalists during the internal armed struggle of 1970. The music has lived on and adopted the role as an instrument of war by the governing party ZANU-PF against the opposition. The government sometimes recruits singers of this musical genre to write specific songs for political advertisement, and the musicians are also sponsored financially. The government consists of two ministers, who write pro-governmental songs themselves (Jonathan Moyo and Elliot Manyika). In other words, the government encourages musicians who are not criticizing against it. Overall, the pro-governmental music in Zimbabwe does not first and foremost tribute President Robert Mugabe, which was expected. It rather tried to "extol the policies, threaten the opponents, and legitimize violence" (Palmberg, 2004:33). This legitimization of violence is explained as a great threat, which the government neither takes responsibility for nor tries to prevent.

This section has discussed how music is used politically for collective acts of protest and resistance. The text suggests that when discussing music in relation to political aims, one has to distinguish between the type of protest, focusing on the songs them-

selves such as lyrics communicating an ideology, and resistance, where the protesting action is in focus. In such regard, the text shows that music and protest and resistance are interrelated. One of the main links discussed is how music is used as a way of marking differences between groups of people. Several examples were presented regarding the different music styles used as protest songs and different conflict contexts where music was used for resistance purposes. The section can be concluded by saying that music for protest and resistance is a powerful medium for urging change. Music in such regard can even be seen as an ideological weapon.

3.4 Sounds of Violence

This section will elaborate further on protest and resistance by looking at the relation between music and violence.

> Some music may help to make some kinds of peace some of the time, but, like many other good things, music has a dark side as well. There is music that celebrates war, viciousness, hate, and humiliation. Music does have the power to heal, but we need to see that it also has the power to hurt. Music can bring us together, and it can also divide us (Kent, 2008:104).

As stated in the quote, music can be used for both peaceful and violent purposes. In the latter case, the role of music is partly to effect and inspire people to commit or while committing acts of violence. Street (2012) argues that this is a case of when music should be understood as political, stretching it to include music´s effect on both thoughts and actions. As with all four ways of how he defines music as political, it has to do with public or collective usage, which is also the main focus of this thesis. However, it should be noted that understanding the relation between music and violence in a private setting is also interesting but cannot be classified as violence for political purposes, according to Street (2012).

In this thesis, violence is restricted to referring to the use of, or the intention to use, physical or psychological harm instigated by music. The thesis deals with violence as a manifestation of politics empowered by music. It further concerns violence against the other in order to define belonging, defend land, and to differentiate between friend and enemy, mainly in conflict situations and war (Fast & Pegley, 2012). Two main ways of understanding the relation between music and violence will be used. The first way concerns any music used to instigate violent acts and the second way refers to music that contains violent lyrics, for example, urging the use of violence or threatening a perceived enemy. The first dimension means that any music can accompany violent acts filling the function, for example, of support, inspiration, and being a trigger. This can be coincidental, meaning that it can be a coincidence that certain music is played during a violent act. But it can also be conscious, implying that the music is selected

for a certain purpose that includes violent behavior. The second dimension refers to violence being represented in the music through the lyrics, containing an outspoken aim of triggering violence (Johnson & Cloonan, 2009).

According to George Kent (2008), all music is potentially violent or non-peaceful, depending on its usage. Even if the music is of an intentional peaceful character, it can easily be used in new (violent) contexts. It is when "music is used to repel rather than attract, that use of music is non peaceful" (Kent, 2008:104). However, Kent does not explain how one should understand music that is used to attract violent acts or violent music which appeals a certain type of listeners. Nonetheless, he does imply that violent music (containing violent lyrics) can never be peaceful since the song itself communicates violence. It is probably rare that music with violent lyrics is used for peaceful matters, but this needs further research to grasp. Kent raises the issue of combat soldiers using both violent songs but also any songs for violent purposes. He highlights that for combatants, in particular, music is rather used to summon up bravery for committing violent acts against the enemy in order to be approved by the comrades rather than for the mere purpose of hating the enemy (Kent, 2008). Martin Daughtry (2012) and Jonathan Pieslak (2009 & 2015) have studied the sonic dimension of combatants, particularly in the Iraq War, and they found that both soldiers from the United States and Iraqi locals frequently used music as a way of pumping oneself up and getting in the mood for combat. Daughtry (2012) explains that, "voices are actions that set the stage for further action, and that action can bend toward or away from violence, sometimes in keeping with our intentions, sometimes in contradiction to them" (Daughtry, 2012:225). The usage of music in the Iraqi conflict context mainly bends toward violence and violent acts. "The ability to demoralize, intimidate, or influence an enemy without physical engagement is one of the most effective tactics of warfare" (Pieslak, 2009:78), where music plays a great role. Specifically of concern for this thesis is how Pieslak (2009) explains music as being a strong ideological indoctrinator related to religion, using the example of Islam. He explains how Muslim resisters (mainly against the United States and Israel) use anashid in order to inspire combat of jihad, which will be elaborated on in 3.5.2.

As is widely known, music, and loud sounds, in general (for example, war cries and banging drums), have been used by troops before battles to frighten the enemy and to summon up courage since times immemorial (Johnson & Cloonan, 2009). Music has the ability to generate direct and indirect psychological harm. In addition to symbolic violence, music during combat is also used for mobilization, as a trigger/motivation, as an identity and group marker, for mere acts of violence as well as for non-violent protest and acts and for tribute to leaders and victims. For all these purposes, radio and TV are frequently used powerful channels of communication, and TV is even more powerful than radio as the songs often include video clips graphically illustrating battles, resistance, and bravery (Deaville, 2012).

John Morgan O'Connell (2011) has conducted research on the role of music both as a means of war and conflict and as a promoting tool of peace and conflict resolution. He finds that the usage of music is complex since it can be a fertilizer in both directions.

If the focus is put on music as a stimulant of conflict, "music becomes a means through which violence is perpetuated off the battlefield, how it is used as a mechanism to extend and deepen the physical wounds suffered in war by further delineating categories of difference and separation" (Fast & Pegley, 2012:35). In the United States, for example, it was argued among the public as well as politicians that a non-violent strategy for the rights of African Americans would never create peaceful resolutions. Music by artists, such as Bob Dylan, became a very important part of the violent fight for the rights of African Americans. At a first glance, this way of using music is unintended by the original songwriter. However, the songs used in the struggle had clear elements of intolerance toward non-violent action and protest. It points toward an initial way of influence, where, for example, Dylan could foresee a violent usage of the songs due to the lyrics (Whitehead, 2008). It is difficult to prove that music is the reason for committing violent acts, but as mentioned in the introduction the power of music effecting people´s behavior should not be underestimated.

Permeated by Street´s (2012) definition of how music becomes political, this section has discussed how the relation between music and politics can be understood in political organizations, for protest and resistance purposes, and in relation to violence. The text suggests that music should be understood as political at the time when it is used publicly and collectively with the aim of influencing people along certain ideology. The section further argues that one main arena for using music politically is in organizations, with the aim of strengthening and influencing the collective, as well as inspiring and steering thoughts and actions. In the setting of organizations, one of the main functions of music is to spread propaganda and support resistance and protest of political values for the specific organization. It is particularly argued that acts of protest and resistance are important for embodying political opinions and struggle where music fills an important role, both in terms of the song itself (such as lyrics) but also along with the actual enactment. Further, music is a common tool in political contexts that include violence. Either when music is violent in terms of lyrics or when music is used to accompany the violent acts, music has the power of effecting humans to perform in ways which are morally questionable outside of the political context. The section has provided examples of how music is situated in the public and collective spaces, in four different ways along Street´s (2012) definition.

In the next section, the cases of Hamas and Hizbullah will be further examined using examples of how anashid are used publicly in political collective settings. Anashid are a tool of power used in order to create collectivity and collective identity and for the aim of effecting thoughts and actions along the ideological agendas of Hamas and Hizbullah. The use of anashid in this manner is what allows us to speak about it as political. However, the view of music as political will be further problematized in the empirical section, since politics and religion are usually not differentiated from a local perspective.

3.5 Islam, Politics, Music, and Anashid

The term religion is used several times in the thesis with the aim of indicating "a distinct kind of (…) experience or practice" (Fitzgerald, 2011:1) rather than a world phenomenon that can be observed. Clifford Geertz's (1993) proposition on religion is a continuation of such understanding of religion, where he argues that through religion, a society can obtain valuable guidelines on how to view reality but also how to behave in certain situations (Geertz, 1993). In particular relation to Hamas and Hizbullah, such a definition of religion indicates social practices of Islam embedded in a politically driven society, which is constantly being revised. It lies close to Geertz's (1993) further explanation on religion as a social-political system, legitimizing group identities.

In specific regard to Hizbullah, as a Shi'a organization, the interrelation between religion and politics has a certain background through the historical event of 'Ashura'(which is also an important landmark for the division of Sunni and Shi'a Islam) as a main political inspiration, or even a political base. 'Ashura' is celebrated for ten days once per year and commemorates the killing of Imam Hussein Ibn Ali, the grandson of Prophet Muhammad. However, the level of activity among Shi'a Muslims during the yearly event has varied. But a core landmark was the Iranian revolution where the political and religious activities around 'Ashura' regained force. Such is reflected in the Shi'a organizations of today, where 'Ashura' is the core event (Dabashi, 2011). 'Ashura' is an expressive example of how certain religious-political factors are reflected in the kinds of events that Shi'a organizations celebrate, which also steer the types of songs that are played and used. Many previous writings focus on the restrictiveness of Shi'a organizations such as Hizbullah, but where reality shows that the majority holds relatively moderate views concerning, for example, music today. According to Alagha (2016), this has to do with Hizbullah's rather flexible way of using the Shi'a jurisprudential concept maslaha, explained as interest or advantage, in relation to art, which includes anashid.

Understanding the role of anashid as a tool in Islamist organizations is a way of approaching the interaction between what researchers often divide into religion and politics. However, since this thesis explores anashid as a political tool in organizations that view religion and politics as intertwined, or even the same, the enmeshment of these categories is essential. This study deals with and oscillates between the fact that although the empirical data reveal that Islam plays a crucial role in Hamas and Hizbullah and is not distinct from politics, the conventional theoretical viewpoint is that Islamist organizations reflect a politicization of religion. However, the focus is not Islamist groups aiming to create a universal reform of society into an Islamic kalifate. The point of departure is that Hamas and Hizbullah are contemporary political organizations based on Islamic beliefs aiming for local and national reforms. It is from this standpoint that it becomes interesting to study the role of anashid as a tool for integrating politics and religion.

Within the sphere of art, Muslim scholars have and have had, as far back as we can go in Islamic history, an ambivalent relation to music, at the same time as "music has permeated Muslim societies throughout history" (Otterbeck & Ackfeldt, 2012:227).

When aiming at understanding the role of anashid in Hamas and Hezbollah, it is not helpful to talk about music as an overarching and encompassing concept. First, it is important to select a terminology that reflects the emic as well as the etic understanding. Secondly, one has to understand how art as such has found its way and comes to take a place in contemporary Islamist organizations. Only then is it possible to talk about the role of music and/or anashid (Hossein Nasr, 1997). The relationship between Islam and music is an issue of interpretation, and the views among believers range from total negation to broad acceptance of all kinds of music, where many fall somewhere in between. The ambivalence around music in the Muslim world mainly concerns that many believers argue that there are certain kinds of music, like pop, rock, punk, etc., which lead the person mentally and hence, also physically away from God. It is also about the time, place, and company where the music is listened to. It can, for example, concern a situation where people are consuming alcohol or other drugs, gatherings of mixed sexes such as during weddings and concerts, or situations that have the possibility of generating sensual feelings that can distract one from the worship of God. But it can also concern usage of certain instruments, or instruments at all, and lyrics of songs that invite to sinful living, such as love songs about non-married couples (Otterbeck, 2016). Few conservative Muslims argue for a total ban of musical instruments. However, some claim that certain instruments, such as drums and string instruments, have a higher potential of encouraging sinful living than, for example, wind instruments (Shiloah, 1995). The concerns of music among many Muslim practitioners relate to what was claimed in previous chapters, that music affects the emotions and makes people act, not least in certain settings.

The discussion about art as a whole can serve as an entrance to anashid and which role it should fulfill in Islamic contexts. Just a few decades ago, art played little role in an Islamic settings (Otterbeck, 2016; Van Nieuwkerk, 2013). Yet, artistic expressions have always been used in Muslim societies. However, the usage has become more internalized today, not least within Islamist organizations where the goals and agendas are sometimes communicated through a specific arts section. Hassan al Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, for example, considered art to be useful for Islam for specific purposes (Van Nieuwkerk, 2011:191-192). In addition, the usual interpretation of Islamism, based on traditional Islamist discourses within an Islamic religious-political sphere (al-hala al-Islamiyya), has transformed to move away from ideological constructs such as an Islamic state to include various new aspects of Muslims' everyday lives such as art. It is argued that, "the ideology of political Islam, like all other ideologies, has gradually evolved over time towards more modern social, cultural, economic and institutional ways of using Islam politically" (Boubekeur & Roy, 2012:3). This new understanding includes an Islamic cultural sphere (al-saha al-Islamiyya). Further, it focuses on the individual choice but where the individual practices are Islamized. This is in contrast to previous understandings of political collective strives, for example, of establishing an Islamic state, which is argued to have served its purpose (Roy, 2004; Alagha, 2011:151-152). The new era includes both those who adapt to a changing global arena and those who take a clear stance against it, which is also reflected in the sphe-

re of art. For example, during the 1990s, female artists in Egypt within the popular culture genre that chose to turn to Islam (explained by starting to wear hijab) also chose to retire from their career. It gave them a new sort of fame in society where they were referred to as retired female artists (*al-fannanat al-mu'tazilat*), which implies that they had returned from sin and now chosen the right track along religious ideas and family concerns. About ten years later, some of the same artists returned to their previous careers, but now veiled. This became possible as religious leaders suddenly encouraged artistic expression. According to Valentina Frate (2012), the women returned in order to resist against prohibition of combining art and a committed Islamic life, something that was even more challenging in the past.

Karin Van Nieuwkerk (2008) argues that due to Islamists gaining influence in the public sphere where they act, art has to be handled in accordance with religious commitments, to a larger extent than before. Art is a sphere, which used to be dominated and handled by seculars. Hence, art in Islamic contexts, she argues, is highly questioned and understood as in the need of defense by secularist regimes. A situation has occurred where "Journalists, Islamists, artists and art consumers redefine the relationship between religion, art and leisure activities" (Van Nieuwkerk, 2008:169). It seems that the discussion is not anymore so much about if there should be a relation between art and Islam, because it already exists. On the contrary, it concerns ownership and usage. Asef Bayat (2007), for example, discusses the compatibility between Islam, or any religion, and art used for mere entertainment. Bayat rather advocates what Stokes (2015) spells out as "committed Islamic art of resistance with a mission" (Stokes, 2015:98), which is also how Alagha (2011, 2012, 2015, 2016) explains Hizbullah′s usage of art. Art and entertainment that is respectful and has a clear mission, in accordance with Islamic values but not necessarily with resistance purposes, can endorse Muslims' lifestyles and spread its message. Van Nieuwkerk (2008) claims that generally Islamists have an intricate relationship with art and not least toward entertainment. The Taliban is an illustration of this ambiguity. They strictly censor all sorts of cultural activities, but at the same time they have created their own version of anashid, so-called *taranas*. The aims and usages of *taranas* are similar to that of anashid, but where the previous are under more strict control in terms of usage of instruments, performance, etc. In this regard, Hizbullah serves as an interesting case since it has changed from not formally managing art to including it in its politics, toward embracing cultural productions into the agenda of the organization (Alagha, 2012). Hamas is similar, where art has come to play a major role in driving the organization's goals and tactics (Berg & Schulz, 2013).

3.5.1 Anashid

So, how to place anashid in the context of art? Anashid are one type of Islamic music among others, such as *wijdaniyyat* (slow sentimental religious songs), *latmiyat* (songs for Imams), and *na'at* (poetic songs praising the prophet Muhammad). Anashid (nashid in singular) are a genre of music widespread in the Islamic world and are often explained as "a piece of oratory, a chant, a hymn and a form of vocal music." (Encyclopedia

of Islam, 2016). The songs are with or without instrumental accompaniment and are thought to support people's beliefs and bring one closer to God. Today, anashid are used as an umbrella for many different musical styles. The songs can vary from being monotonous without any instruments to songs of energetic pop-style including multiple instruments (Al Faruqi, 1986 & Laan, 2016). In this thesis, anashid refer to songs with political and religious messages that are consciously used in Islamist organizations. Anashid often raise concerns about morality, politics, nationalism, heroism, unfairness, resistance, revenge, etc. Jonas Otterbeck and Göran Larsson (2017) classify a certain genre of anashid called pop-anashid, which can have both secular and religious variations. This style differs from the anashid used in Islamist organizations, which always include religious messages or are built on such. Their explanation indicates that anashid are in some ways similar to other genres of music (Otterbeck & Larsson, 2017:117). However, as mentioned previously, Martin Stokes (2015) discusses the importance of not using the term music when referring to anashid. He argues that by using the term music when referring to anashid, one enforces a European view onto people whose goal is often to resist it. During the last few years, another term has appeared in order to distinguish between Islamic correct and non-correct tunes, namely, *handasat al-sawt*, meaning the art of sound (Salhi, 2014). This term is still not used as commonly as anashid, and it will not be used in this thesis.

One core type of anashid used in Islamist organizations is jihadi anashid. The following section will elaborate on jihadi anashid and how they are used in relation to the Islamic duty of jihad, as an important part of the ideology of Islamist organizations. It will talk about how anashid contain lyrics related to jihad and how anashid are used for support of jihadi missions. It concludes that anashid are used as a means of jihad where the songs serve as a messenger for spreading the words of jihad as well as for motivating and supporting the physical struggle.

3.5.2 Anashid and the Duty of Jihad

Jihad, in a most simplistic form, means holy war against enemies of Islam (Kepel, 2002). In Islamic thinking, jihad is often separated into two categories: the greater and lesser jihad. The greater jihad concerns the internal individual battle against base instincts such as greed, lust, and envy. The lesser jihad, expressed as simple as possible, is the collective duty or war to be waged by the believers against the enemies of Islam, especially when Muslims or Muslim territories are threatened (Springer et al., 2009). Even though jihad is circumscribed by a number of rules set up by scholars of Islam, the rhetoric of jihad has frequently been used in conflicts and wars. During the last few decades, the practitioners of jihad, the jihadists, have many times been part of, and hence often committed acts in the name of, an Islamic political organization, through a military wing such as in Hamas and Hizbullah. This section will address anashid in relation to jihad in Islamist organizations focusing on the smaller jihad. However, the smaller and greater jihad is often intertwined since the smaller jihad requires a strong personality and commitment, which is strengthened by practicing the greater jihad

(Springer et al., 2009).

The relation between anashid and jihad stems back to the late 1980s when the number of anashid groups and singers grew rapidly, calling for Islamic resistance against, for example, the occupation of the Palestinian territories and later against the United States presence in Afghanistan. Today, anashid bands, for example, in Hamas and Hizbullah are "concerned with producing Islamic *anashid* (…) that mobilize the (…) constituency to perform *jihad* against any aggressor" (Alagha, 2011:161). Nelly Lahoud (forthcoming) explains the main purposes of anashid for jihadi aims as "an instrumental tool of forging bonds between jihadis, mining the emotions to produce an activist jihadi culture that could be translated into jihad and even lead to martyrdom" (Lahoud, Forthcoming:2). Anashid are also used in order to create a feeling of hope, victory, comfort, and the presence of God, she claims. Alagha (2012) states that both Hizbullah and the Taliban practice jihad through music. The difference is that Hizbullah incorporates music as part of an Islamic discourse, while the Taliban officially prohibit artistic expressions meaning that art is evil and anashid are hence not an artistic expression. Nevertheless, the explanation is rather rhetorical as the Taliban popular culture is rich with artistic expressions such as music.

The relation between anashid and the smaller jihad can be understood from two angles; jihadists who use any kind of suitable anashid in the struggle (such as before and during battle) and anashid that contain elements of the struggle, i.e., jihadi anashid. Benham Said (2012) explains jihadi anashid as songs/hymns of battle, martyrdom, mourning, and praise, which focus on justice rather than peace. The texts mainly speak about dignity and freedom that is lost as well as heroism of the jihadi fighters. The songs urge one to fight until the end since the only thing to fear is God, and the songs are mainly "used to encourage and mobilize the warriors and their supporters" (Said, 2012:871). To die as a martyr is an important part of jihadi rhetoric, mentioned above as the encouragement of fighting until the end. The songs about martyrdom speak in general terms about the desired goal of dying for the cause of God, which is directly linked to songs of mourning of the martyrs. These songs are often dedicated to specific persons. There are also songs of praise. Said (2012) argues that they are closely related to songs of martyrdom and mourning, raising issues of generosity, bravery, and honor of jihadi fighters and leaders.

In addition, Lahoud (forthcoming) explains that anashid fill a central role in jihadi contexts such as in jihadi recruitment videos and websites, which often contain a special folder for anashid. Moreover, jihadi leaders' official statements commonly contain recitals of anashid and vice versa. She further states that "anashid are the instrument through which ideology ceases to be just an intellectual exercise and becomes also an emotional state of being" (Lahoud, Forthcoming:3). It is used for giving spirit and emotions to dry ideological dogma in order to, in the best case, "create a jihadi soul that could be put in the service of militancy" (Lahoud, Forthcoming:3), she argues. A contemporary illustration of this is used through the spiritual manual used by the 9/11 hijackers, which featured a role for anashid in preparation of the operation (Lahoud, Forthcoming). Even though Lahoud describes the relation between anashid and jihad, it

is questionable whether the ideologies of Islamist organizations shall be understood as "dry dogma" until the moment it is sung. In addition, the discussion would benefit from bringing forward other components than ideology as reasons to raise emotion, such as personal experiences of injustice.

This section discussed the debated relation between music and Islam. It argued that it is opinions, mainly by Islamic scholars and religious leaders, which are time, and place bound, which decide whether certain music is legitimate and should be used or not (Ibsen al Faruqi, 1980 & 1983). The text also described the meaning of anashid and how it can be understood as a political tactic permeated by Islamic ideas. The last part of the section above explained how jihadists in Islamist organizations, mainly as part of the lesser Jihad, use music as a tool in their religious-political mission for mental and physical support, preparation, and encouragement.

3.6 Using Music Politically: The Purposive and Effective Dimensions

As mentioned earlier, anashid are used as a tool in order to reach specific goals along certain political ideologies of an organization. Keeping that in mind, music is about directing people toward specific desired behavior. According to Pratt (1990 & 1994), there are four ways of understanding how music is used for political purposes: the purposive, effective, expressive, and instrumental dimensions.[25] However, in the thesis, the purposive and effective dimensions are mainly used as analytical tools, since they are the relevant dimensions corresponding to the purpose of this study. The two dimensions will be used as analytical tools and guide the study in order to answer the research question.

A purposive way refers to the explicit intentional usage of music corresponding to the initial message of the song that influences, or with the aim of influencing, the ideas or behavior of people. Protest songs are one of the most obvious examples of purposive music since they usually contain clear messages of protest against a specific something, which also makes the usage of these songs more specific. Hence, "[…] throughout its history [purposive protest music] has proven to be highly effective politically in terms of its instrumental utility. This function arises out of the unique ability of music seemingly to create a kind of spontaneous collective identity or facilitate the investment of people´s psychological energies" (Pratt, 1990:4). In other words, music with a clear purpose has a potential ability to steer people's political manners along the initial meaning of the song.

The second way in which Pratt (1990 & 1994) explains music used for political purposes is the effective way. It suggests that all music, at the moment it is being created, is set free for any kind of usage. Whether the music is intentional for certain purposes or not, it means that the music is used for certain reasons to effect people (often in order

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25 Courtney Brown (2008) uses a similar approach as Pratt (1990 & 1994) in order to understand the relation between music and politics. However, Brown uses the terms representational and associational music (See paper one of this thesis).

to act). This effect is not, or does not have to be, related to the composer´s primary intention. It is rather related to the interpretation of a song and how it is used to fit a certain, often multiple, purpose(s). It mainly refers to popular music since messages are not always as clear and distinct as, for example, in formal protest songs. Nonetheless, any kind of music can be used in the effective way, as argued by Pratt. One illustration is during the British elections in 1987, where Margret Thatcher "stood before several thousand conservative youths who joined together to sing a re-written text of John Lennon´s 'Imagine,' heretofore considered an anthem of utopian visionaries" (Pratt, 1990:5). It was something that Lennon most likely did not intend when producing the song. This way of using music is more common in political contexts than the purposive way as the political users often seek to find music, which can be used as an identity and group marker illustrating their particular place in society, as in the case of Thatcher. The initial meaning of such songs does not fill the main purpose for the user, contrary to the purposive dimension, as much as interpretations of the song, which can be multiple. The purposive and effective dimensions are ideal-types, meaning that they do not always fully correspond with reality. Also, the intention of the user is not necessarily explicit, and the usage of a particular song can then show traits stemming from both categories (Esaiasson et al., 2017).

However, by using the purposive and effective dimensions as analytical concepts, they can point to important aspects of how anashid are used politically. As mentioned initially, purposive and effective use of music in organizations are illustrations of how music can become political for specific groups. The music can be used for propaganda or resistance, for example, which falls under the purposive understanding of how music is used politically. Or it can be used for mere entertainment, which is usually an example of the effective way, as any song could be used to entertain a political crowd, for example, songs of irony with an opposite political message. This is about the interpretation rather than the intention. However, one of the main usages of music in organizations´ work is to create collectiveness and a common base in order to generate unity in the political context of the supporters. This can be understood in both purposive and effective ways, depending on if the music is created specifically for, and even by, the organization or a specific occasion or whether the organization takes on music and makes it 'theirs.' Music in organizations should also be understood as a force to create a feeling beyond the individual state toward a shared identity (Pratt, 1990). Such would imply that the music is political, using Street´s (2012) argument. However, on an analytical level, anashid are not always intentionally political but rather have religious messages. As it is used in contexts when religion and politics merge (or, on an emic level, are the same), the purposive and effective dimensions also merge. The religious becomes political by effective use, but it is also reinterpreted and ascribed a purposive dimension. Hence, it is when the purposive and effective and religious and political dimensions are merged that the usage of anashid is strengthened. Or, one could turn that around and say that under certain circumstances anashid merge the purposive and effective dimensions and religious and political dimensions letting them enforce each other, hence, strengthening the organization and its ideology.

As stated above, in addition to the purposive and effective dimensions, music for political purposes can also function in, what Pratt (1990 & 1994) calls, an expressive and instrumental way. These dimensions imply the musical performance, which often meets important personal, but sometimes also collective, political needs. These additional dimensions refer to energies that music sets free by a performer and can be understood as an expressive form of political activism, with the aim of enlightening, effecting, and motivating. The focus thus is on the performer, and not the supporters and leaders or members of a political organization. Also, Pratt (1990 & 1994) highlights that it is difficult to determine how or even if, a certain movement is actually effected by the performed music only because it is played live. He argues that in regard to the instrumental dimension, which refers to instrumental music only, it is even more problematic to distinguish or value its effect. Since anashid are the main objective of the study, consisting of songs that most often include lyrics, this dimension is of less relevance to the study. However, the expressive and instrumental dimensions are acknowledged as additional to the purposive and effective dimensions but will not be systematically used. The main reason refers to the aim of exploring anashid among supporters and leaders of Hamas and Hizbullah rather than studying the function of anashid as a performed means. However, the study will recognize the importance of the performed anashid during, for example, events if such is relevant in the exploration of the function of anashid for the political work of Hamas and Hizbullah.

Purposive and effective ways of using music for political purposes are applied to identify aspects and dimensions in the material regarding the usage of anashid. The theoretical framework allows politics and religion to meet through Pratt′s definition, showing how anashid are permeated by the tensions of purposive and effective ways of using music politically. Using the purposive and effective dimensions to analyze the empirical material will specifically be conducted in article four, but it will also be discussed in the final analysis of the cloak chapter.

4

Research Design and Methods

Studies of Hamas and Hizbullah from within are rare. Few people have managed to enter these organizations to conduct research and even fewer have carried out long-term studies. This chapter includes a discussion on the choice of conducting a qualitative case study from within the two organizations and how the data were gathered. First, it will present the case study approach and the selection of cases. Second, it will account for the methods used and the process during the data collection phase. Finally, the selected cases as well as the methodological choices for the data collection, requiring specific ethical considerations and immense security thinking will be addressed as a last section of the chapter.

4.1 The Case Study – Design and Selection

The thesis consists of one case study using Hamas and Hizbullah as two contrasting cases, representing two Islamist organizations using anashid as part of their political work. Hamas and Hizbullah play a crucial role in and have great impact on the political environment where they act. Further, the two cases are examples of Islamist organizations taking part in popular elections and governing its populations.

   The two organizations were also selected due to my prior work in the region, specifically regarding Hamas where previous networks made it possible for me to get an entry into the organization. Further, since I speak Arabic, choosing organizations whose political work is mainly conducted in Arabic was an opportunity and gave me, as a Swede, access to encounters and respondents otherwise impossible to reach. Selecting the two cases was not done in order to perform a comparative analysis but to situate the understanding of anashid in a broader context and to avoid particularities of a single organization becoming representative for the use of anashid (Gerring, 2007 & 2008). Hence, exploring anashid through two cases will add to the external validity of the study, especially if similarities are found. It would imply that the findings are not unique to one of the organizations (Creswell, 2009; de Vaus, 2010). However, even if a systematic comparative analysis is not conducted, the cases are contrasted in terms of how they use anashid. The case study approach as such, allows for retaining "the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events" (Yin, 2009:4), which is at the core in the thesis.

   The study is qualitative, focusing on exploring anashid through peoples′ own voices and actions (Babbie & Mouton, 2009). Several interacting aspects will be considered, such as how respondents conceptualize their understanding about anashid and how anashid are used in practice during events and in other settings. These different aspects will be studied in contexts where anashid are used, allowing for an exploration of

anashid from within (Babbie & Mouton, 2009; Yin, 2009). The meaning respondents make of anashid will further be put in a wider context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Merriam, 1988) where events, activities, etc. will be considered as part of the organizational structure of Hamas and Hizbullah.

4.2 Data Collection

The main part of the data, on which this study is based, was collected during a nine-month period from September 2012 – May 2013. The data were collected among Hamas and Hizbullah in Lebanon as well as among Hamas in Jordan. Unfortunately, no data collection about Hamas was conducted in Gaza due to multiple denials of entry. However, many Hamas leaders and supporters reside as refugees in Lebanon and Jordan, meaning that they are representing the organization in the diaspora. In addition to the main period of the fieldwork, I returned to Lebanon three times during 2014 and 2015 in order to conduct follow-up interviews, asking questions about issues that were unclear or incomplete. Some of the data about Hamas used in the articles of the study were collected in 2011 during another work-related fieldtrip to the West Bank.

In order to gather data about Hamas and Hizbullah, I had to be formally accepted and cleared of any security concerns. Regarding Hamas, I was already trusted due to my previous work with the organization in the West Bank and in Lebanon during a project concerning Hamas and democracy. This meant that I could use former contacts in order to find the suitable people for this specific study. However, for unknown reasons, I was repetitively denied entry to the Gaza Strip. Concerning Hizbullah, I went through a formal process of security control during three months, which will be elaborated below.

The data were collected through semi-structured interviews, observations (participant to some extent), and informal conversations. Triangulating data by using multiple methods of collection was beneficial in two ways. Using three methods of data collection was complementary since only conducting interviews would have put less focus on the context of the study and vice versa. At the same time, triangulation allowed for providing different aspects of the same issue, i.e., anashid. All three types of data collection relate to the complementary aspect of how the respondents understand anashid as well as how they are used in practice (Bryman, 2008; Yin, 2009).

In order to find the right respondents, or respondents at all, creating initial good relations with core people was a prerequisite when working with Hamas and Hizbullah. As mentioned, I had already settled the primary contacts with Hamas, which allowed me to interact with my earlier respondents directly and find relevant persons for this study through them. Regarding Hizbullah, the media office eventually delegated two initial contact persons to me. They were responsible for the arts section of the organization and put me in contact with additional respondents and other core persons. Overall, snowballing was used as a main tool in order to find respondents to interview in a strictly securitized environment (Ormston et al., 2014). Thus, the method of snowballing was controlled, in the sense that I could only approach people and find my

own respondents, to a small extent. Being restricted by how to carry out the fieldwork and in some cases who to meet was limiting since I could not gather the exact data corresponding to the aim of the thesis. On the other hand, the strict mechanisms are an interesting aspect of the research itself, in terms of who the organizations selected as the officially correct persons, settings, and events illustrating the preferred official appearance of the organizations.

During the nine months of fieldwork, I regularly followed the Hamas affiliated band al-Amjad. I also met with a Hamas affiliated women´s band twice and spoke and hung out with several Hamas supporters. In addition, I met with different musicians associated with Hamas in Jordan and participated in some events in Lebanon organized by Hamas or where Hamas supporters were present. In Lebanon, the meetings with people from Hamas were often dependent on one certain person who had to be present and part of organizing the meetings with respondents. Concerning Hizbullah, the situation was different, as I had to have a formal permission from the leadership to speak to anyone. It took me three months to receive the approval. Meanwhile, I tried organizing meetings and interviews on my own, which was difficult as everyone asked about my permission to study a certain part of the organization. Since I did not have it yet, most people refused to be interviewed. After receiving permission, I had access to the majority of people formally involved with anashid, and I gained access to anyone who permitted me themselves, which was not always the case. In addition, I was assigned to systematically follow and observe one of Hezbollah´s two main bands, Firqat al-Kashef.

4.2.1 Interviews

The people selected were people from the organizations with specific knowledge about or relation to anashid. They were mainly supporters and leaders of the organizations or specific branches related to art, or band members and musicians. In total, 26 semi-structured interviews were conducted.

Most of the interviews were conducted in English, but when the respondent did not know English at all or well enough to be interviewed, they were conducted in Arabic with a translator. Even though I speak rather good Arabic, my skills are not sufficient enough to conduct hour's long interviews. Nevertheless, my language knowledge was an asset if side conversations that were not translated took place, where I could at least understand what was going on. On a few occasions, for example, when an unplanned interview situation arose, I conducted the entire interview in Arabic. However, this was not preferable as some of the data were lost. No recorder was used during the interviews, as it was strictly forbidden by both organizations. This put a large responsibility on me to focus well and take careful notes during the interviews. However, not using a recorder was beneficial in the sense that it forced me to keep excellent attention to what was being said and what took place in the room. To the extent possible, I transcribed the interviews directly after each session, often at a nearby café or at home, or as soon as possible in order to not lose valuable information (Trost, 1997; Ormston et al., 2014).

In order to obtain the respondents´ understanding of anashid, I conducted twelve se-mi-structured interviews with Hizbullah in Lebanon and ten with Hamas in Lebanon and Jordan.[26] In addition, I carried out four follow-up conversations/interviews when returning to the field, one with Hamas and three with Hizbullah. The follow-up me-etings expanded on valuable threads that the respondents brought up, which came to my knowledge while going through the data back in Sweden. The themes of the inter-views were pre-determined and concerned the organization's structure, goals, events, and the interviewee's role in or in relation to the organization in regard to anashid. I specifically tried to discuss what anashid mean for their political work and how anashid affect people. But complete questions and the order in which they should be posed were not previously decided upon. This turned out to be a good strategy for the inter-views to take new directions, steered by the respondents´ answers (Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Trost, 2005). During the interviews, particularly with Hizbullah, the time was often limited which challenged my ability to steer the respondents back to the origi-nal question or subject if it started to be too farfetched. However, overall, it turned out to be advantageously, letting the participants themselves rather freely elaborate on their understanding of anashid and how they perceived its function in the organization (Ormston et al., 2014).

Four of the interviews, including one follow-up interview, with Hamas were condu-cted with members of the band al-Amjad in their studio in Saida, the southern part of Lebanon. During three of those interviews, three respondents were present as well as the key person. He was obliged to be present during all interviews, as mentioned pre-viously. The interviews lasted for about three hours each, which allowed for extensive sharing of information as well as discussions. The follow-up interview lasted for two hours and was conducted with one of the band members in the key person´s office in Beirut. Three interviews were conducted about anashid in Hamas with the key person himself, one in his office in Beirut and two in his house in Baalbek. They all lasted app-roximately two hours each. This person is a supporter of and a well-known man among Hamas who holds crucial information about anashid, as he is also a shaykh and an Isla-mic scholar. I spent a lot of time with him and his family in the city of Baalbek where we had many informal discussions, which will be explained below. Two interviews took place in the Palestinian refugee camp Shatila in Beirut. One of them was conducted with a local Hamas leader in a café. In addition to being a Hamas leader, he was also in charge of organizing Hamas events in the camp where anashid were frequently used. The interview lasted for about an hour. The second interview in Shatila was conducted with a female singer of the Hamas women's band mentioned earlier. The interview took place in the respondent´s private house with several persons present and lasted for approximately 45 minutes. In addition to the interviews in Lebanon, I conducted two interviews in Jordan in a studio for anashid, which was not directly managed by Hamas. However, the director of the studio, as well as several musicians affiliated with it, are Palestinian and Hamas supporters. Initially, I conducted a two hour-long inter-

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26   One of the two interviews conducted in Jordan was with one person only, where the second interview included three persons.

view with the director. Following that I carried out another two-hour interview with two anashid musicians who had also been the founders and musicians of Hamas' first band al-Wael.

Regarding Hizbullah, it was not as clear as in the case of Hamas in terms of what positions the respondents held in the organization due to confidentiality. However, I assumed that some were leaders, or at least held prominent positions due to how they were treated and spoken to by others, the security team around the meetings, and the kinds of offices they have. I conducted ten interviews, including three follow-up interviews, with musicians of the Hizbullah band Firqat al-Kashef. Nine of these interviews took place in the rehearsal venue and one at *Risalat*. Both places are located in the Shi'a area al-Dahiya in Beirut. The first six interviews were conducted during actual rehearsals, which made the time limited in some cases as the respondents had to return to their classes. However, in general, each interview was approximately one hour long except for one follow-up interview that lasted for two hours. The other two interviews were conducted with Hizbullah supporters in two different cafés in al-Dahiya and lasted two to three hours.

The fact that I was not alone with the respondent during most of the interviews, particularly in the case of Hizbullah, most likely affected both the respondent′s and my ability to speak freely. It was common that the additional person(s) interrupted the respondent in order to correct or add things. I am hence aware of the fact that some of the responses have been impacted by other voices and opinions. However, it also provides an idea of what is an appropriate version of anashid in public space according to these organizations.

4.2.2 Observations and Informal Conversations

Observations were mainly conducted during organizational events, rehearsals, and in studios. Throughout the observations, many conversations, mainly with supporters of Hamas and Hizbullah, ascended regarding anashid. I followed anashid during two Hamas events of the *al-nakba*, the Palestinian catastrophe remembrance day, in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. I also spent several days with members of the band al-Amjad and one day with Hamas supporters and musicians in a studio in Jordan. Regarding al-Amjad, as was mentioned earlier in relation to the interviews, the obstacle was that a specific person had to be present every time I met them. It would have been a benefit to spend additional time with this particular band, but the key person had limited availability. As previously stated, I also lived with a Hamas supporter′s family in Baalbek during several periods of time, hanging out with them and with other Hamas supporters related to the family. It allowed me to become familiar with the use of anashid in everyday context. During my time in Baalbek, I also participated in two Hamas events at a religious school. In addition, I spent as much time as I could in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in Beirut where Hamas has a large presence. It allowed me to discuss the issue of anashid and to spontaneously engage in settings where anashid were used, such as in cafés and in the streets.

Hizbullah activities were more organized and planned, which made it easier for me to attend. The band Firqat al-Kashef, which I had been assigned to follow, met during fixed days twice a week, for around four hours during rehearsals when I hung out in the premises and with members of the band. Being able to spend a lot of time with persons in the band also allowed me to receive information about events that were taking place within the organization. Many events and celebrations were held in Hizbullah's main hall *Sayyid Shuhada* as well as in their art center Risalat. I participated in 16 events. The largest, and as I was told the core, event was 'Ashura.' The event takes place during the same dates every year, with 10 days of mourning in *Sayyid Shuhada*. The event ends on the tenth day with a three-hour walk through the city symbolizing the actual day Hussein died.

With time, when I got to know people better, I also started to hang out with persons outside of the formally organized events. For example, I went to a soccer game, cafés, religious-political music stores, etc. It was valuable in the sense of knowing the respondents and the context where they live and where anashid are used outside of the events. Also, I eventually began accepting the offer to be driven home after interviews or events, which turned out to be a great opportunity for informal chats. Informal conversations also took place continuously during and in between the observations. During these informal chats, I received a lot of valuable information as people spoke more freely, and it gave me the opportunity to follow-up on previous threads that were raised.

If the situation allowed, in order to not lose important reflections, I took brief notes (often just words or phrases) during the actual observations. These notes served as the basis for writing a field journal, which I tried to do every day or at least every day that I had been to the field sites. In addition to simply being able to document my observations, the benefit of writing a journal was that it allowed for "the immediacy of the experience to be captured, and also provided (…) accounts of phenomena over time" (Symon, 2014:98). Using data from the field journal, allowed me to go beyond the interview situations and add to the spoken words. Another benefit of writing a field journal was that it allowed me to start processing and analyzing the material in writing, giving the possibility to pose questions and write down ideas to follow-up on.

In addition to the interviews and observations, I have analyzed anashid composed and/or used by Hamas and Hizbullah from collected CDs and from YouTube. These sources have been used occasionally as examples, but not in a methodologically systematic way. The texts of songs exemplify what anashid used for political aims in the organizations concerns. The texts are also used to illustrate how Islamic and political themes are merged in the songs. YouTube clips are also examples of songs but include videos showing how an often rather violent military style of clips accompanies the songs. It frames what political picture the organization wants to disseminate.

I have chosen not to use the word participant observations, as I did not participate in a methodological conscious way; hence, my participant role was limited. Most of the times, I was part of the actual setting present among the people, such as a demonstration, but I was not active in the sense of screaming slogans or carrying flags. Neither did I, for example, pray when it was time for prayers, nor play an instrument when I

was part of rehearsals. In some cases during band rehearsals with Firqat al-keshef, I was even given a chair beside the band in order to observe. However, in some situations, such as during the '*Ashura*' event, I was veiled and did more or less the same as the other women did because I was obliged to or out of respect. There is a fine line between what participation and mere observation means in practice, but I prefer the latter formulation even if I did, on a few occasions, participate to a certain extent (Blommaert & Jie, 2010). Regarding documentation of information, during some of the events in both Hamas and Hizbullah, I was free to take pictures and record videos with my phone. As for Hizbullah, this was only allowed during official occasions, but for Hamas it was also permitted during rehearsals in the studios and during some smaller events such as in the religious school. However, in Hamas, it was not permitted in settings of females only, where the women removed their veils.

Since observing is continuous and does not really have a beginning and an end while in the field, it can be exhausting and overwhelming (Blommaert & Jie, 2010:29). Nevertheless, overall, observing was a great asset as it enabled me to endorse a wider understanding of anashid and place it in context. Using observations broadened the information given during interviews in terms of actions, locations, social settings, etc. Actually participating in events gave me a fuller understanding of the social interaction and emotion related to these events, instead of just being told about them (Babbie & Mouton, 2009:295). It deepened my understanding of anashid received through the interviews and my general understanding of the role of anashid. Also, the unspoken brought my attention to new aspects of anashid in Hamas and Hizbullah that did not appear during the interview sessions, such as how anashid energizes people and situations and how familiar songs and slogans were particularly meaningful to people. It also made me familiar with the organizations and what the supporters actually do on a daily basis, on occasional events, and how anashid play or do not play a role in certain settings. As was touched upon in the beginning of the chapter, initially during the observations, I observed more or less everything. Gradually, as I got more familiar with the field, I was able to sort out specific targets related to the aim of the study. Although sorting during observations could lead to the risk of losing breadth in data, narrowing the focus allowed for more complexity. I pursued various usages and expressions of anashid in different settings, trying to make the observations as rich as possible. Once again, the logic of association for the different locations was anashid as the object of the study. Tracing anashid through several contexts enriched the potential of understanding the complexity in the meaning-making of the phenomenon (Marcus, 1998). Following anashid in different field sites was highly dependent on the information from key persons about what was going on in the organizations, in terms of events, celebrations, demonstrations, etc. as I could not freely hang around wherever and whenever I wanted. As I lived in a Christian area of Beirut and not in a Shi'a area or in a Palestinian refugee camp, I went in and out of the field sites. On the other hand, living in Lebanon and moving around the country and cities meant that I met and interacted with people affiliated with the organizations on a daily basis, where informal conversations and observations took place.

4.2.3 Security and Ethical Considerations

During the first three months, Hizbullah´s media office rejected my study several times per week. The media office is in charge of issuing all kinds of permits to outsiders. Even though I was introduced and accompanied by a specific person from al-Dahiya, well familiar with the area and people from the organization, we were constantly misled to wrong locations and denied access to speak to anyone. Once, when we managed to find the actual office to submit an application, I was told that they would investigate me and that I should return. Hizbullah would not deny anyone access formally but claimed that they would contact me eventually, which they never did. During my time of waiting, I was security cleared and had someone following me at all times. During the time of waiting (even though I carried out my work with Hamas meanwhile), I managed to get direct phone numbers to Hizbullah officials by people that I got in touch with through my key contact. They always answered the call the first time and promised to return to me in order to set a meeting. But then, they would never get back to me and stop answering the phone. Suddenly, after three months when I arrived to the media office, a woman entered the waiting room and congratulated me on getting approval. She handed me a piece of paper with the contact information of the person who was supposed to assist me in everything I needed.

For several meetings, interviews, and events, with Hezbollah I was escorted from the entrance by (sometimes armed) personnel that always rushed me and seemed quite stressed. The venues where most of the interviews and observations took place were underground without windows and mobile phone connection. In one venue where I conducted observations, there were also a lot of weapons lying around, with civilian armed guards outside. This is only a glance of the everyday situations I faced that put me, as an unaccompanied researcher, in vulnerable positions. I believe that the security issues restricted my possibilities of being relaxed, which also limited the research in terms of acting and speaking freely. Even if knowing that security measurements are part of the organizations' strategy, it constrained my ability to freely choose which material to collect and when. However, I tried to be as sensitive to the contexts that I researched as possible by for example wearing a hijab when required, speaking to women only during the events that were separated between the sexes (most of the times), and using religious terms when I spoke Arabic.

When I applied for an entry permit to the Gaza Strip, it was denied. Nevertheless, I was able to use previous good relations with Hamas in the diaspora. I have had worthy relations with a certain key person for many years, which eased my access extensively. The security issues with regard to Hamas were mainly related to tense situations between Palestinian fractions of the camps I visited. For example, several times after an interview I had to wait in someone's office or home, as there were clashes and shooting taking place outside. Also, security in Hamas concerned secrecy. Sometimes I was instructed over the phone on how and where to go, to not talk to anyone during the ride and that someone would pick me up at a certain place.

Ethical issues and building trust in order to receive data were major concerns during the fieldwork and it often related to security issues. To be present in the organizations,

built on high security measures to function, places great responsibility on me as a researcher to gather and re-tell the correct/permitted material. Vice versa, I had to be aware of the risk that people could use the situation to send biased information about the organization through me. There was also a constant suspicion toward who I was and what I was actually doing, which might have affected the information I was given and the situations I observed. But by being open and transparent about my work as well as about my past in terms of having lived and worked in Israel and the Palestinian territories, for example, I gained trust. It also turned out that with regard to Hizbullah, they nevertheless had a vast record of information about me.

The security issue also concerned the respondents. Some people that I interviewed were persons holding official positions. They had no problem being identified through my study, or that I would use their real names. Some even encouraged it. For others, they would not speak to me unless I guaranteed their anonymity. Hence, except for Muhammad Kawtharani, the director of Hizbullah's arts section who always reveals his "real"[27] name when speaking officially, all persons in this study are anonymized. To secure the identities of the respondents even further, the names have been changed once again if voices of the same persons were used in more than one article and in the cloak chapter.

Moreover, strict religious ideologies of the studied organizations and respondents forced me to consider issues of proper versus improper behavior on the cost of needed data. In some cases, I was ordered to stay in the women's section even though the material I needed could only be collected from the men. These were the easier clear-cut situations when I was actually told what or what not to do. But there were other cases that were more ambiguous. For example, when I was invited to people's houses and men and women were separated. In order to conduct my work, many times I had to join the men even if I knew that was not appropriate. I held the position of an ′honorary male,′ which is maintained by outside women who are not part of the internal gender logic but still get access to it (Nader, 1986). Dress codes were also an issue, where I chose not to wear a veil and long skirt at all times, even if most females of the organizations did so. Possibly, my choice generated disrespect against me as a person and as a researcher. On the other hand, knowing that I was not a Muslim and dressing like one might instead have been considered invidious, I chose not to dress in such a manner.

After approximately nine months in the field, some respondents from Hizbullah opened up and shared more personal experiences and opinions. That was also the time when Hizbullah decided that my data collection period was over, which was communicated through a supporter during a regular observation of a rehearsal, even though my field time was not initially time-limited. Being able to continue my research would have added to and clarified issues about anashid further. But it might also have jeopardized the positions of the respondents as well as my security. Some information that I received at the end of the fieldwork is valuable but has not been used in this study, as I

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27 During one interview with Hizbullah, it was explained to me that all persons with any sort of leading position or part of the military wing exists under fictive names.

have been specifically asked not to.

4.3 Data Analysis

The data received during the fieldwork, documented through transcribed interviews and field journal, function as the basis for the analysis in order to explore how anashid are used as a political tool in Hamas and Hizbullah. Two overarching themes, politics and religion, are used as the main subjects of analysis. In order to make sense of the data, the themes are also the ones on which the theoretical discussion is built upon. The analysis is permeated by politics and religion as two main subjects, where field data and theory interact, which infuses the study as a whole. However, since the focuses of the four articles differs, the analytical frameworks diverge for each one of them.

In addition to the two main themes, the research field was also explored for other possible topics of importance related to the aim of the thesis. As new themes were identified in the data, they were added as sub-themes in the theoretical discussion in order to merge field data and theory at the analytical stage (Yin, 2009). Since I have studied both Hamas and Hizbullah, the findings of anashid were analyzed separately in the two cases. Simultaneously, I used the same analytical strategy for both cases. Even if the study is not of a comparative nature, similarities and differences were highlighted when found. It is noteworthy that as the findings of this study are partly presented in four articles, the method for data analysis is used in order to synchronize with the structure of the four articles.

In order to reveal the important aspects and to make valuable use of the material that I collected, I worked in several stages. Both regarding the interviews as well as the observations, I first made myself familiar with the material. Regarding the transcribed interviews only, I focused on how people, through their explanations, made sense of anashid. This implies, for example, personal meaning, usage, and the role of anashid in terms of the respondents′ relation to the organization. When familiarizing with the material from the observations, it rather concerned what the usage and role of anashid looked like in practice. For example, what were the typical situations when anashid was used and how was it used? How did it effect, support, and strengthen people and their actions? The main aim of using the journal as documentation from the observations in the analysis is to make sense of events and other settings in relation to anashid. The observations were then interpreted and analyzed together with what was said during the interviews (Jie, 2010). It was also during this initial stage that the main themes of politics and religion were established as key subjects of analysis.

At the second stage, I synchronized the two sets of data in order to understand how the spoken word, settings, and actions/activities interact. I used the overarching theoretical themes and the sub-themes as guidelines for finding interactive dimensions as well as differences. In addition, I was sensitive to the occasional findings that digressed from the general themes that were valuable for the analysis. During the third stage, when the theoretical discussion was applied to the empirical findings, two analytical tools were identified, namely, the purposive and effective dimensions of how music

is used politically. These two dimensions developed the analysis on a theoretical level, particularly in article four. It should be mentioned that the first two articles were written and published during the fieldwork and the third and fourth at a later stage, which will be explained in the next chapter. In articles 1-3, the analytical subjects, as politics and religion, including the sub-themes, have been present continuously and have permeated the analysis. It is only article four that deals with the analytical tools of the purposive and effective dimensions in depth. Conclusively, the data and the theoretical discussion will work in reciprocation. The interrelation of the two will determine the meanings and uncover the patterns leading to fulfill the aim, answering the research questions, and drawing conclusions (Yin, 2009).

5

Summary of papers

In addition to the cloak chapter, the thesis includes three articles and one book chapter, which will be summarized below. The first two papers of the thesis were written and published at an early stage of the study during the fieldwork. All of the data were not yet collected, and the analytical subjects and tools were not fully developed. In addition, I was invited by the editors to write papers one and two, and they had certain demands in order to fit the edition. Since the process of having articles published often takes a very long time, it was important to get started. But publishing at an early stage implies that some of the data in papers one and two are different, and at times even contradicting, in regard to article three and four as well as the concluding analysis of the cloak chapter. I find it useful to briefly address a few of those aspects, as they are important takeaways from the research process and ought to be elaborated on and highlighted before proceeding with the summary of the four papers.

In paper one I refer to Hizbullah as a mere resistance organization. My further data collection shows that it is rather a full-fledged political party, but partly became so due to its initial (mere) resistance practices, which made their popularity rise. Paper one also states that Hamas′ affiliated bands in Gaza are free to perform and record songs about any subjects, in contrast to the Hamas bands in the West Bank. A more correct statement is that they are free to sing about any subject in line with the rules of Hamas, which is not the case in the West Bank where Fatah constantly censors Hamas. Some issues in the second article about Hamas also need to be highlighted due to an increased understanding of the study over time. First, the article concludes that Hamas′ resistance music was not focused on religion, which was later reconsidered and problematized. This is the most obvious example in my research of why it is important to conduct in-depth fieldwork of a subject that is rather under-studied, as in the case with anashid and Hamas. Second, the article mainly speaks about music and not anashid, something that I have problematized far more today, particularly in the discussion of music and anashid in the cloak chapter. Third, the article differentiates between the types of music (resistance, for leaders, etc.) and anashid, claiming that anashid require praising of the Prophet Muhammad. If the article had been written at a later stage of the thesis writing, it would have acknowledged that the music referred to are anashid, but they speak about and are used for different purposes. Fourth, the second article points out that instruments are used differently in different kinds of Hamas produced music. However, different kinds of instruments are used for all types of anashid in Hamas, but the issue of instruments as such is debated within the organization. Knowing that some of the issues stated in the first two papers have to be reinterpreted and adjusted, I emphasize

that extensive time for data collection and analysis brings out new information and dimensions. It also shows that an extensive time in the field spent with the cases of study can change one's initial ideas and develop primary assumptions. Long-term fieldwork made it possible to solidify the description and findings in a more complex context, which also provided new meanings and opened up for new interpretations and in some cases, revisions of previous findings.

The logic of the four papers follows a certain structure. Paper one is a descriptive overview of anashid in Hamas and Hizbullah and introduces the topic of music in Islamist organizations. Paper two conducts an in-depth study on Hamas and anashid only, specifically focusing on music as a resistance tool in a conflict context. Further, the focus of paper three concerns music and collective identity in a political context, and paper four analyzes the purposive and effective dimensions of understanding music in the public as well as the private domains.

Paper 1 This book chapter scrutinizes the ways in which music is used in Islamist organizations through two cases: Hamas and Hizbullah. The overarching question of this chapter is: How can we understand music as a tool in Islamist organizations, such as Hamas and Hizbullah? The selected movements will function as examples where music (anashid) is frequently used as a political (and religious) tactical part of the organizations´ work. Several studies have been done on music as a cultural means of expression. However, there is a lack of studies on the political meaning of and the rationale behind music in a context of political organizations, particularly among Islamist groups. Very few studies about Hamas and Hizbullah have touched upon the role of music, even if it appears to be a frequent tactic for resistance, unification, and tribute purposes. The methods used are observations of and interviews with musicians, songwriters, and audience and supporters of Hamas and Hizbullah, in Lebanon and the Palestinian Territories. The chapter concludes that music/anashid are frequently used in Hamas and Hizbullah for sending political messages, tributes and commemoration, unification, encouragement and support, and inspiration.

Paper 2 This article discusses anashid as one of Hamas´ resistance tools, which it produces, performs, records, and uses. The aim of the article is to scrutinize how anashid in Hamas are being created, how they are used, and how they are linked to the organization's resistance struggle against Israel and for a Palestinian homeland in the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Music in the Palestinian context creates a political space for expression that the Israelis cannot control; inasmuch as Hamas was established as a result of the occupation, so also, to a large extent, was its music. The methods used are observations, interviews, and conversations with Islamic leaders, musicians, and supporters of Hamas. The article concludes that Hamas resistance music is not permeated by the religious affiliation of the organization. Rather, it aims at social connection, spreading the messages of the organization, and exhorting resistance against Israel. In addition to resistance music, Hamas produces and uses music of grief and music tributing political and Islamic leaders, as well as anashid, songs different from the

resistance music saturated by a religious character.[28]

Paper 3 This article specifically acknowledges the role of anashid and Hizbullah. The aim of the article is to explore political anashid during events in Hizbullah, and the question to be answered is: How does the usage of anashid in Hizbullah synchronize with the goals of the organization? The article's core argument is that anashid constitute a vital part in fostering a collective identity that underpins political action. A collective identity is primarily sustained and created by mainstream anashid, while jihadi anashid are mainly used in relation to military missions. Together, mainstream and jihadi anashid can be understood as two genres of political anashid. The methods used are observations, interviews, and informal conversations primarily with Hizbullah musicians, arts managers, and supporters. The article concludes that political anashid create emotions stimulating expressions and actions that help establish a collective identity, which, in turn, is essential to conducting political actions in accordance with Hizbullah's ideas.

Paper 4 This article shows how the political use of anashid crosses the public domains of Hamas and Hizbullah into the private lives of the supporters. The article focuses on this capacity that anashid possess, moving back and forth between the public and the private, fusing political and religious messages with emotions. The concepts purposive (intention) and effective (interpretation) are two dimensions of how music is used politically, which is applied as the analytical framework. The article argues that through anashid, due to religious and political values, the organizational and the private spheres interact. The methods used are derived from a rich empirical material collected through observations, mainly during political events, and interviews and conversations with musicians and supporters of the two organizations. The article concludes that as much as Hamas and Hizbullah exercise intentional influences through their management of anashid along religious and political manners, implying a purposive usage of anashid, the role of anashid spills over and functions along the effective dimension among the supporters in the private sphere.

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28 See the introduction of this chapter for amendments in relation to this article.

6

Empirical Discussion

The main part of this chapter stems from the empirical findings of the four articles. In addition, discoveries that are not part of the papers, but which are still relevant to the aim of the thesis, will be presented. The data are divided along the two sub-questions of the thesis to indicate how findings relate to the main question. The sub-questions concern in what settings and how anashid are used in Hamas and Hizbullah and what role anashid have according to the supporters and leaders of the organizations. The themes of the settings concerning where anashid are used and the role of anashid are further divided into sub-categories along the main empirical findings.

6.1 Anashid in Different Settings

The data discussed in this section is a description of how anashid are used in different settings within the organizations. It also concerns how anashid make people participating in these settings feel and how they act upon the feelings that anashid generate. The settings identified in the material are events, rehearsals, studios, and leisure.

6.1.1 Events

One of the key settings where anashid are frequently used is during official, mainly political, events of Hamas and Hizbullah. Even if a certain event is not outspokenly political, such as Hizbullah′s scouts event, it is permeated by political as well as Islamic messages through the anashid played. In Hizbullah, the main events are: the scouts' events (*al-hadath al-kashfi*), 'Ashura', the resistance day (*yom al-mukawama*), the martyrs' day (*yom al-shuhada*), and the military day (*yom azkari*). Hizbullah also hold concerts with their two official bands *Shams al-Horriye* and *Firkat al-Kashef* regularly. In Hamas, the main events are: the catastrophe day (*al-nakba*), Hamas anniversary day (*yom al-dhikraa*), commemoration of the Sabra and Shatila massacre (*thikra majzarat Sabra wa Shatila*), celebration of prisoners (*al-aihtifal al-sujana*), and commemoration of martyrs (*yom al-shuhada*). In addition, anashid are also used during celebrations in Hamas' Islamic schools. I participated in all Hizbullah events and concerts discussed except the military day. In Hamas, I only participated in two of the events at the catastrophe day and a celebration at one Islamic school. The other events were referred to and explained to me during the interviews and informal conversations.

   Hizbullah have two main venues for events: *Sayyid Shuhada* and *Risalat*. The first is Hizbullah′s main hall where all events except concerts and scout events took place. The venue is situated in the heart of Beirut′s Shi'a area *al-Dahiya* and holds thousands

of people, separated between men and women. During some of the events, like '*Ashura*,' the security measures are massive, with guards stopping all cars passing by the venue and metal detectors and body searches at the entrance. '*Ashura*' lasted with ten days of mourning in *Sayyid Shuhada*. Each day consisted of three hours of storytelling, where specific slow and sad '*Ashura*' anashid (*latmiyat*) and acapella singing about the killing of Imam Hussein Ibn Ali and the suffering of the Shi'a population was played. The anashid were mainly played during arrival, explained as aiming to put people in the right mood, but sometimes also in between the stories. Everyone was seated on the floor. Many cried loudly during the story telling and a few even fainted. Special nurses were present to hand out tissues and take care of the ill. During '*Ashura*,' it was clear how the anashid were selected to give conscious effects of sadness, calmness, and compassion which serve as an important part of the event: "Crying is important. I feel embarrassed if I don´t cry. But if I go deep into the story for sure I will cry" (Rania, Supporter Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 15 November, 2012). I was further told that anashid help people to feel the '*Ashura*' on a deeper level. The tenth and last day of '*Ashura*' indicated a peak in the event, which began with a mourning-session outside of *Sayyid Shuhada* where sad and slow chanting was performed live. People were very still and many cried. Some hours later, a three-hour march took place, and the anashid changed in character to being fast, powerful, and (outspokenly) political. People were active, screamed passionately and raised their fists along with a male voice screaming slogans through a loudspeaker against Israel and the USA and paying tributes to Shi'a leaders and Hizbullah (Berg, Art. 3, Under Review). Suddenly, the historical and religious focus turned political. Many respondents explained that '*Ashura*' is the base for Hizbullah's political work and that the '*Ashura*' anashid are the most powerful and effective.

During the other two events, which also took place in *Sayyid Shuhada*, the resistance day and the martyrs' day, anashid were played in the beginning, during, and at the end of the events. In the beginning and at the end, the anashid were always recordings. During the events, there were live performances in addition to recordings. The two events were similar in the set-up, and the walls were covered with posters of martyrs; furthermore, in front of the hall, a slideshow showed pictures from battles and of martyred soldiers. In addition to anashid that were played from loudspeakers, bands with mixed participants from *Firqat al-Kashef* and *Shams al-Horriye* performed. The songs were political, raising issues about resistance and jihad and urged people to maintain the struggle of Hizbullah. One respondent said: "Anashid let me stay focused on the missions of Hizbullah. I feel strengthened and motivated when I hear it" (Hassan, Supporter Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 24 April, 2013). This quote, along with what many expressed, shows that what anashid make them feel is directly related to the aims of the organization and hence their relation to the same. Many respondents said that anashid go to their hearts and minds. It was expressed in terms of actions during these two events. The supporters were in general very active, particularly while anashid was playing. They were raising fists, waving flags, and screaming political slogans intertwined with praises of God and political leaders. During the resistance day, the military branch marched through the hall with musicians playing marching music,

which aimed to bring a grand and proud feeling but also in order to ease the walk of the soldiers (Hamid, Musician Hizbullah Military Band, Personal Communication, 12 October, 2012). Both events ended with a political live speech on screen by Hizbullah's Secretary General Nasrallah. People got rather wild and screamed supportive slogans even louder than while listening to anashid. As I did not participate in the military day, it was only explained to me as a highly political day that takes place in the form of a march through the center of Beirut. It is associated with a lot of counter-reactions and violence, where the Lebanese government has prohibited any public celebration for this day during the last few years. However, I was shown some video clips from previous years where political anashid, mainly about resisting Israel, were played from loudspeakers as people walked through the city with Hizbullah flags.

As mentioned above, *Risalat* is Hizbullah's center for art where persons like the arts director Muhammad Kawtharani have their offices and where different art activities and performances take place. All concerts by the two main bands that I participated in were held there. The venue is located on the outskirts of *al-Dahiya* and is seemingly open[29] for anyone to visit except during stays of prominent people, like leaders from Iran, when the security is particularly high. The concert hall looks like any other except that men and women enter through different doors and are seated separately. However, on some occasions, families were sitting together. The anashid played during these events were mixed between political-religious and nationalistic as well as military marches and re-made songs by famous artists like Fairouz and Abdel Halim. The supporters were mainly sitting, watching, and listening, but during some songs, particularly the nationalistic songs, many would stand up, sing along, and clap. One of the concerts was held on the Iranian Independence Day where important religious and political leaders from Iran were present. Hence, many of the songs were paying tribute to Khomeini, Iran, and the Shi'a population.

The three scout events that I participated in were held at two different venues in Beirut with no particular affiliation to Hizbullah, as I was aware of or could determine. The scout events were more open and less politicized and securitized than many of the other events. However, several of the anashid played concerned issues of patriotism and nationalism but many were also military marches. The aim of the scout events was to celebrate the branch's work for and the accomplishment of Hizbullah youths, not least the music school. However, it was also held in order to recruit new members, which was an indirect recruitment for different departments in Hizbullah as many supporters are handpicked from the scouts to different positions in the organization: "It is very popular to be part of the scouts because you know that maybe one day they [the leaders] will see you and choose you to be a soldier, for example" (Hamid, Musician Hizbullah Military Band, Personal Communication, 12 October, 2012).

Regarding Hamas, I participated in three events. The first concerned the commemoration of the *al nakba* day and took place in the refugee camp Sabra in Beirut. The event was for Hamas women only and was held in a small old and austere building equipped

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29 All venues governed by Hizbullah have strict security measures and are constantly supervised even if it does not appear so.

with plastic chairs and a tiny stage with a microphone and an amplifier. The windows were covered in order for the around 40 women present to be unveiled. Hence, all filming and photographing was also prohibited. This event was in general unorganized. However, first, a woman entered on the stage singing slow pace anashid about the suffering of the Palestinians. People were still and mumbled religious words individually, such as "My God," "God is generous," and "God will protect us." Then, when the female band Amrar entered on the stage and started singing, people got wild, applauding frenetically, screaming enthusiastically and aggressively, and raising their fists. One of the singers of the band explained that people get very enthusiastic because "We mainly make songs about the land and Palestine. Our message is about our love for Palestine and that we will return and until then to be strong and support the fighting" (Sabreen, Musician Abrar band Hamas, Personal Communication, 19 April, 2013). She added that these themes are all issues that Palestinians can generally relate to and substantiate the collective struggle. Around five nationalistic songs about returning to the homeland and demolishing the occupation were performed. During one of the songs, the supporters got very excited and angry. They began screaming different slogans concerning death to Israel and the occupation. In between the songs, a theatre group dressed in traditional costumes performed short plays about a future Palestine and the Israeli occupation.

The second event commemorated the Sabra and Shatila massacres and was organized by both Fatah and Hamas. It began in Shatila with a mourning walk through the camp to the cemetery of the massacre victims. The walk was quiet, without any songs. But at the cemetery, large loudspeakers were put up playing political anashid, mainly against Israel. It was interesting as I got conflicting information about whether the songs were Hamas or Fatah productions. The style was very much like the Hamas songs I knew previously, but the facts of what party that were behind the anashid was never confirmed. The whole event was quiet with pro-Palestinian organizations present, people holding flags with text of commemoration, pictures of persons who died in the massacre, and people standing beside the graves and at a monument. Anashid, mainly against Israel and about Palestine, had a background function in this event.

The third event was the graduation for children at an Islamic Hamas school in the refugee camp Wael in Baalbek. Anashid were played in between the different diploma ceremonies. It was political Hamas songs with resistance messages, played very loudly through speakers in the small venue. No specific reactions were noticed; it was more the expected songs that used to be played in similar gatherings it seemed. The kids played and the adults tried to speak, which was difficult due to the loud anashid. One could expect an Islamic school to play religious songs, but as discussed previously and in the theoretical chapter, religion and politics are intertwined in the organizations meaning that political songs are simultaneously religious, which this event was an obvious example of.

It was explained to me that the other Hamas events (the anniversary, celebration of prisoners, and commemoration of martyrs) all include a lot of anashid. The anniversary, in particular, is where Hamas affiliated bands, like al-Amjad, are always performing.

This event is usually held at a large rented arena outside of the camps. The common denominator of these events is that the anashid played are political and concern issues such as resistance against Israel, jihad as a duty of Hamas and Islam, and particularly paying tribute to Hamas´ military wing. As mentioned on several instances, such also implies that the political commonality includes religious issues. Specifically related to the matter of Hamas and the Palestinian population, most anashid also refer to Palestine as a homeland and the right to return, as was illustrated in the events discussed above.

6.1.2 Rehearsals

One of the main sites for observation in Hizbullah concerned rehearsals in the scouts' music academy. It is also musicians from this school that are part of the band *Firqat al-Kashef* and some also in *Shams al-Horriye*. At this site, the observations did not concern how anashid were used, but rather what the rehearsals look like and what anashid mean to the persons who are part of the bands. The location was situated in al-Dahiya, and from the outside it looked like any other building. Only when you entered, you could see the flag of Hizbullah and a main desk where you would be stopped and questioned. There was no phone connection in the building. One wall at the entrance was covered with faces of young men, martyrs from the band I was told. As mentioned in the previous section, it was common that musicians from the scouts´ bands were recruited to Hizbullah´s military department, which was also several persons highest wish: "If I was asked to fight for Hizbullah and conduct jihad missions, I would definitely do it. It is a dream" (Hassan, Supporter Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 24 April, 2013). It was also explained that being a musician that sings anashid will improve your position in heaven, and hence many persons are dreaming of being part of the Hizbullah bands, or at least the affiliated bands like *Firqat al-Israq*. Some musicians, such as one saxophonist in the academy, explained that the main function anashid have is the mental support they give when actually playing the music himself: "Playing music helps my feelings. When I play instruments I do not need to talk to anyone. It will give me the support I need" (Zakaria, Musician Hizbullah Military band, Personal Communication, 15 May, 2013). This type of quotes were not many, but still a few respondents stressed that it was the practice of being involved in music or listening to music without lyrics that satisfied them personally and politically. It was also initiated that the fact that they, as supporters of Hizbullah, did not have any choice than sticking to the genre anashid being part of the Hizbullah bands was the only way of exercising their musical interest or profession (see article 4 for further discussion).

The school has three official rehearsals per week. Most of the time, all persons playing a certain instrument would rehearse in a separate room; occasionally, the conductor would gather them all in the main hall to rehearse jointly. All musicians are part of the bands in their free time. They do not get paid as professional musicians, but they get several benefits from Hizbullah such as healthcare. For performances during events and concerts, persons from the school are selected to participate in the two bands. Adjacent to the performance, the members also have several rehearsals in the actual venue, such

as *Risalat*, together with other musicians.

6.1.3 Studios

Studios were another main site for observations, which concerned Hamas. I followed Hamas´ main affiliated band al-Amjad in their studio in Saida in southern Lebanon. The situation for the musicians was the same as in Hizbullah, that is, everyone had other regular jobs and were part of the band in their free time. The studio was situated above a crafts shop, very hidden and impossible to discover on your own. The small studio premises were well equipped with high technological items, mainly sponsored by rich supporters and religious leaders from the gulf. The band produces songs and records CDs on their own occasionally, but their largest mission is to produce songs and CDs requested by Hamas leadership in Gaza and to perform during Hamas' festivals and events, both in Gaza and in the diaspora countries. It was explained that, "the powerful messages of anashid are very satisfying for the listeners, especially about resistance" (Sabreen, Musician Abrar band Hamas, Personal Communication, 19 April, 2013). Therefore, the main genre of songs requested concerns resistance. For example, during the last war in Gaza, Hamas asked al-Amjad to record a special CD about the loss of lives and land and specifically on maintaining resistance against Israel. These songs were frequently played on Hamas´ TV-channel after the war and the band was also invited to a resistance celebration in Gaza to perform and promote the release of the CD. The songs they produce without request from Hamas often concern morality, that is, how to be a good human, husband/wife, father/mother, Muslim, etc., which will be developed below. One member said that they all have their preferences, but many members of the band like to sing about morals. It is a softer issue than resistance and jihad and speaks more widely to the Palestinian audience, they claimed.

I also visited an anashid studio in Amman, Jordan, which was not outspokenly related to Hamas but where the owner and musicians are strong supporters and also produce requests from the organization. In addition, two of the three musicians that I met had also been part of and the founders of Hamas' first band al-Wael, which does not exist anymore. One of the respondents is the anchor for a kids show on the Hamas TV-channel where he broadcasts a lot of anashid. It is of importance to teach Palestinians from a young age in order to not lose their history and the causes for struggle and resistance, I was told. Another has become a famous anashid singer worldwide and prefers to work on his own rather than in a band owned by Hamas, for example. However, they both perform and record for Hamas when requested. The owner of the studio further explained that one should not think of anashid today as what it meant 20 years ago, when it was low quality and only listened to by some. Today, it is a high technological musical genre, which attracts a lot of youth, especially the songs about resistance and jihad, he said.

6.1.4 Leisure

In relation to the understanding that anashid are one of the very few musical genres accepted in Hamas and Hizbullah, they are also what people listen to in their free time. Some respondents indicated that even if they had the possibility to listen to other types of music, they would still not do so as their religious and political devotion would regardless guide them toward listening to anashid. Others rather spelled out their frustration, explaining that even if you like other music you are limited to listening to anashid. One person was particularly upset about the musical limitations when he was going for car rides with his friends. He meant that he would listen to other music if he could, but people would know and it would cause problems for him. Once, when a Hamas shaykh was going to drive me home, loud pop-music played from the speakers as he started the engine. It was turned off immediately and he uncomfortably mumbled that it is haram (forbidden). Since it was his car, the question arose as to whether he listened to pop-music when he was alone or if it was just a coincidence.

In addition to listening to anashid in the car, they are also listened to at home. All respondents who mentioned this claimed that they either listened to anashid or classical music at home and that the songs were mainly used for relaxation and moral guidance, but also for reminding about the struggle of the organizations. Weddings are another situation outside of the organizations where anashid are used. Most of the times during weddings for supporters of Hamas and Hizbullah, men and women are separated at the event, and the music played would be anashid. However, during one occasion at a wedding for a person from a Hamas family, the situation was different. It was a mixed party, pop-music was played, and people were dancing. Some Hamas supporters refused to participate, even if the celebration took place in their backyard. They did not try to stop the event but stayed indoors with the motivation that they did not like these kinds of occasions as it was against Islam. Upon further explanation, it was the mixed setting, the dancing, and the non-correct music that prevented the persons from attending. However, one of the resisters said that his son played pop-music during his wedding some years ago. The father did not support the choice but accepted it, as it was in a closed setting of men only.

6.1.5 Summary of Settings

What is significant concerning the usage of anashid in different settings in Hamas and Hizbullah is the interplay between the religious and the political and how anashid stimulate supporters´ emotions. The empirical data show that anashid are used in most events that are organized by Hamas and Hizbullah but also in settings of leisure, which overlap the role of anashid between the public and the private (developed in article 4). The main setting where anashid are used is events, serving as a religious-political tool. By intertwining the religious and political messages of the organizations through anashid, the ideologies are delivered to the supporters in a conscious, controlled, and effective way. Through anashid, the religious becomes political and vice-versa. Justifying religious ideas by political stands and political ideas by religious stands, anashid have

a role as a convincing messenger. Adding its effect on supporters´ emotions, anashid are powerful. However, as mentioned, anashid are also used outside of the organized settings, with the aim of making religious-political sense of different contexts. It is used as a way to frame the everyday life of supporters, along the ideology of their respective organization.

6.2 The Role of Anashid

This section discusses the role of anashid in Hamas and Hizbullah along some of the themes presented in the theoretical discussion. The themes that are predominant and reoccurring in the empirical data are anashid used for morality, propaganda, resistance, protest, mourning, and jihad. The focus on morality is additional, in terms of the theoretical themes. All these themes are permeated by both politics and religion, which serve as the base for Hamas and Hizbullah. Hence, before deliberating on these themes, the section will illustrate how religious-political themes of anashid can generate feelings, along the ideologies of the organizations and how this is superior to the other roles anashid play. The relation between anashid and feelings is also a way of illustrating how anashid should be understood as political, as we will see below.

6.2.1 Anashid and Emotions

The empirical material shows that using anashid in organizations is a means to enunciate emotions, which can take political form (Pierobon, 2004). Many respondents claimed that anashid impact, directly or indirectly, and support their beliefs through emotions, where some would even say that anashid are what make them act politically (since it effects their emotions). One respondent explained that Hizbullah´s anashid reveal a lot of feelings due to their messages, adding that "it even affects our souls" (Said, Supporter Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 14 February, 2013). In the interviews, it became clear that anashid touch and produce feelings in supporters, both in the private sphere as well as in the collective settings, which are both related to religious and political messages. However, listening to anashid collectively during an event showed to have a strong effect in terms of acting, as shown in the section above. Such actions justify an understanding of anashid in Hamas and Hizbullah as political along Eyerman´s (2002) argument and Street´s (2012) categorization of the private and the public. In the private sphere, it rather concerns maintaining and supporting the ideology that is already part of you as a supporter of Hamas and Hizbullah. In one way, anashid blur the lines between the private, i.e., the intimate and personal, and the collective public. Anashid efface many bounds and fill the life, including your feelings, with religious-political meaning, duties, and values.

In regard to feelings which anashid reveal and which link the private with the collective and religion with politics, one respondent said that, "Every political party is related to its religion so religion and politics are closely interlinked, also in regard to anashid" (Hassan, Supporter Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 24 April, 2013). The Islamic

messages in the anashid are used to strengthen or give a base to the political ideas of the organizations or of the song as such. Respondents expressed how Islam through anashid helps them strengthen their courage, to maintain focus, and to carry out difficult political missions if needed. Many songs are mixed with political and Islamic messages and some contain mere religious issues. For example, the song "*Altahadduth ma Allah*" (Speaking with God) is a song that is often listened to by Hamas supporters. Part of the lyrics goes: "God, God, there is no God but God. When I say ′Ya God,′ he says ′My slave, I am God.′" This song is used when wanting answers to challenging questions because "God will give us the answers" (Hani, Musician Hamas band al-Amjad, Personal Communication, 18 December, 2012), as explained by one of the respondents. Another song about asking God for help is "*Kalimat wahidat min Muhammad*" (One speech of Muhammad) with lyrics such as: "Keep God, and you will see your God in front of you. If you want any help it is not from any person but from God." It is on this ground that political anashid can take many ways of effecting supporters. Unifying religion and politics is not only found in the anashid but also revealed through the slogans used during events, often right after a song is played but occasionally before or even in the middle of songs. The slogans, for example, were "In the name of God we will resist" and "We will fight and God will credit us" or "Death to Israel and America and God will save us," "Our land is ours, and we will return in the name of God."

6.2.2 Moral Proclamations

The first theme concerns morality, which as mentioned is additional to the previous theoretical categories. Morality concerns how anashid fill the role of directing supporters toward a correct way of living, along religious and political ideals. Anashid about morality is an informational platform of how to behave in order to be accepted, both as part of the organizations but also in society in general. One respondent said that "a main issue about anashid is that it speaks about morals. That is the reason why the Muslim society accepts our music. It speaks about correct behavior" (Ahmad, Musician Hamas band al-Amjad, Personal Communication, 3 October, 2012). Another informant continued, "Anashid give the human inner peace. Basically, through talking about how to act in society and that it is ok to make mistakes because we will be forgiven by God." The same person also added that, "these kinds of anashid interest me most. The ones that concern how I can be polite and be a better person and how to be closer to God than I already am" (Zakaria, Musician Hizbullah Military band, Personal Communication, 15 May, 2013). These quotes indicate that anashid serve an important role as a life-guidance. If one feels temporarily lost, anashid can help in returning to the right track again. The teaching of morality through anashid can also concern, for example, family issues, such as how you should behave toward your parents, partner, and children. But it can also be on a political level regarding how to defend your land and religion and resist the enemies. One respondent from Hamas gave an example about the religious, moral, aspect of politics: "Hamas songs talk about how Islam prefers us to struggle against our oppressors. It makes me feel that I know what I have to do and how to live" (Khaled,

Founder of Hamas affiliated band al- Rawabi, Personal Communication, 13 January, 2013). It is a statement confirming the vague, or non-existing, differentiation between religion and politics, which was discussed previously. Returning to morality in general, another respondent from Hamas said, "I used to listen to love songs by Scorpions, Creed, Amr Diab etc., but it did not give me anything so I stopped and began listening to anashid. It teaches me about life and how to be a good Muslim" (Monir, Musician and Studio Manager Hamas, Personal Communication, 13 January, 2013). In order to live and act correctly as a Muslim and as a supporter of Hamas and Hizbullah, one has to be convinced of the ideas behind the organizations, which will be discussed in the following section.

6.2.3 Spreading Propaganda

Anashid also have the role of spreading propaganda in the name of Hamas and Hizbullah. One respondent from Hamas was very explicit about this, saying, "Hamas use its music to spread its words and messages of the organization, often mixed with praising Islamic figures and leaders of the organizations" (Rwad, Supporter Hamas, Personal Communication, 23 March, 2011). As described in the previous section, events are core places to spread the ideas through anashid since the message can reach a large crowd at once. In addition, the songs recorded for or about the organizations are permeated by what image the organizations want to send. Anashid are also used during events in order to spread propaganda along the ideologies and agendas of the organizations for the sake of a collective effect, often along the aim of the specific event. One respondent from Hizbullah underlined how anashid serve as a political informer in a convincing way: "For me anashid fill a very important purpose, because I feel that if I understand what the Hizbullah songs are really about, I can understand what my organization wants, where our country is going, and what is happening around me" (Said, Supporter Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 14 February, 2013). He continues by explaining that anashid are very important for Hizbullah in order to spread the messages and make people believe in their ideas through a means that goes to your heart as well as the mind. Using anashid to convince is also a matter of recruiting new supporters and spreading the message outside of the organizations. This was particularly emphasized during my interviews with Hamas supporters in Jordan, where the respondents stated that anashid are one of the main means to keep a joint struggle along the ideology of Hamas since the population is spread all over the world. Also, in terms of recruitment for Hamas, anashid have the role of sending propaganda to supporters worldwide for maintaining a firm ideology and struggle.

6.2.4 Resistance, Protest, and Mourning

The third theme is the role of anashid for resistance, protest, and mourning. The empirical material (as well as the theoretical) shows that resistance and protest are closely interlinked. The anashid used in the organization often speak about a certain issue or enemy (as protest). At the same time, the songs are used with the aim of urging mas-

ses for collective actions (as resistance). Keeping that in mind, this part of the paper will not further separate the empirical findings accordingly. Anashid urging for (overt) resistance against Israel and the U.S., or any threat against Islam or the nation, was a common theme during both Hamas and Hizbullah events and is popular and frequently used in general. These types of songs have firm messages of resisting and obliterating Israel as well as nationalistic features urging for a Palestinian future state, particularly in the case of Hamas but also in Hizbullah.

In Hamas, resistance songs were also used to demarcate the standpoints of the organization, related to the discussion above on ideology, which functions as an identity marker for the participants. The Hamas band al-Amjad pointed out two songs in particular that they produced and which are frequently used during Hamas events for resistance purposes: "*Raqmil il alam*" (Despite of pain) and "*Ya moqawami, mshtaddi hizzi hzoone il 'aida*" (Oh resistance, spread wider and shake the barriers of the enemy well). Persons from both Hamas and Hizbullah expressed that a collective identity is important in order to maintain, but not least to carry out, resistance. Hence, anashid are often very powerful and admonishing for action. As in the previous examples of songs, themes such as pain and enemies are used for strengthening the collective, as they are shared sensitive issues for both organizations. When songs concerning protest and resistance were played during events in Hizbullah, the collective reactions were strong and firm and created a heated and sometimes rather angry atmosphere. The slogans screamed were well-known to the supporters and seemingly well-rehearsed (Berg, Art. 1, 2013). During events in Hamas, the reaction to these types of songs was also strong and a lot of anger was revealed, but in a more unorganized manner than in Hizbullah. In Hamas, songs of resistance most often concern issues of (re-taking) land and liberating Palestine (Berg, Art. 2, 2012). When anashid about the issue of land was played during Hamas events, people expressed anger, but as mentioned above not in a unified and organized manner to the extent as during Hizbullah events. It was individuals screaming out their anger and hate sporadically.

During some events where the role of anashid mainly concerned protest and resistance, such as the resistance day in Hizbullah and the *al-nakba* day in Hamas, anashid concerning mourning were played in addition. Rather than building up power and even anger, which is common for anashid about resistance, these anashid aimed to comfort and grieve for the collective loss. Some respondents also explained that they listened to these anashid privately in order to feel calm and focused. These types of anashid have a slower pace and might or might not include instruments. Interestingly, during the Hizbullah martyrs' day, one could expect similar anashid of mourning in order to remember and grieve for the lost martyrs. Yet, the main genre during this event was anashid about resistance and maintaining the mission of jihad. As was explained to me, continuing the struggle and resistance is a way of grieving in itself and also a way of giving meaning to the death of martyrs.

6.2.5 Jihad

Anashid about both resistance and mourning usually contain lyrics about jihad and fighting, which serves as the fourth and most common theme of the anashid used in Hamas and Hizbullah. Anashid urge for resistance along the meaning of jihad where martyrdom is an honored result of resistance acts. If politically and religiously convinced, one can use the conviction to justify acts in the name of Hamas and Hizbullah. One of the most prestigious acts, or goals, in both Hamas and Hizbullah is to carry out jihad missions where anashid are frequently used to support such, mentally and physically. The role of anashid for jihad and militancy can be divided between songs as support for jihad and songs used during the actual mission, where the latter includes preparation in direct relation to battles. To be noted, the same anashid are often used in both situations as they concern the same issues; it is the role of usage that differs.

Regarding the role of anashid as support for jihad, one respondent said that, "Hizbullah produces anashid which really affect our souls. The songs make you feel relaxed and at the same time strong against Israel. I believe that anashid are a weapon against Israel. It is not a killing weapon, but a tool for spreading the message" (Hassan, Supporter Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 24 April, 2013). Anashid are used to support the causes of jihad and to summon up courage and mental strength. One nashid that is commonly used for this aim in Hamas is "*Atiya fi ishtisaad*" (the spirit of martyrs) by the band al-Waed. It is used to glorify the martyred as an honorable outcome of jihad. Another Hizbullah supporter said, "good anashid which affects me, include things concerning fighting Israel, that we are strong people, to save our land and Jerusalem" (Hassan, Supporter Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 24 April, 2013). Again, the role is to support the main jihad causes of the organization. Another dimension on the role of anashid to prepare for battle is mental support during harsh times: "when there is a circumstance, anashid make you focus well on the problem, and the bigger problem the bigger focus. It is similar to watching news, it makes you feel better and makes you see the issue better" (Hassan, Supporter Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 24 April, 2013). Anashid are specific in that sense, that is, it informs you in terms of what is going on around you.

As explained in the theoretical chapter, one core motivation or reason for driving the certain politics of Hizbullah specifically is '*Ashura*.' Several respondents from Hizbullah expressed that it is the specific anashid for '*Ashura*' that also give people the inspiration and mental support to conduct jihad (Berg, Art. 3, Under Review): "'*Ashura*' is like a soul for us in order to go to fight. The more one supports '*Ashura*' and listens to the anashid, the stronger we will be in our belief, also politically" and "'*Ashura*' is religion and politics at the same time. It is in our soul" (Hassan, Supporter Hizbullah, Personal Communication, 24 April, 2013). When the historically meaningful story of '*Ashura*,' which also separates between the Islamic branches of Sunni and Shi'a, is mediated through anashid, it becomes very powerful as both sources are explained to strongly affect the feelings in an influential way. No historical event equal to '*Ashura*' was mentioned by Hamas. If '*Ashura*' is understood as the base, or as in the quote above the soul, for Hizbullah´s politics, the Israeli occupation functions similarly to Hamas. Fighting

Israel is the main driving force for political struggle and hence also the main subject of anashid in general and jihadi anashid in particular. It can be concluded that a large majority of the quotes from Hamas supporters, not least during the discussions about resistance and jihad, concerned the struggle against occupation as the core role of Hamas´ entire existence: "Palestinians use anashid as part of their resistance against Israel and our resistance exists because of Israel and the occupation" (Louai, Musician Hamas band al-Amjad, Personal Communication, 3 October, 2012).

When using anashid in direct relation to acts of jihad, many respondents from both organizations often spoke about the need to feel and to be mentally strong; they added that anashid support people to manage conducting violent acts in the name of politics. The issue of strength was repeatedly raised in regard to what effect anashid have on the individual. One Hizbullah respondent mentioned, "Hizbullah fighters listen to our anashid before and during the fights. It gives them support when they hear it" (Hamid, Musician Hizbullah Military Band, Personal Communication, 12 October, 2012). Another respondent, from Hamas said, "anashid are used for motivation and for resistance purposes. To conduct jihad missions is not an easy thing. But anashid help us to be strong" (Rwad, Supporter Hamas, Personal Communication, 23 March, 2011). This statement reveals the personal vulnerability and doubts of offering one's life, and how anashid can be a comfort in such situation. A respondent from Hamas claimed, "Music gives the fighters enthusiasm and support to their resistance. I am sure it gives enthusiasm to the fighting, especially the jihadi songs. If not, why should they listen to it?" (Hani, Musician Hamas band al-Amjad, Personal Communication, 18 December, 2012). The last two statements concern using anashid in order to summon up bravery to conduct difficult tasks. Similarly, another respondent stated, "songs which are fast and powerful with strong lyrics will push soldiers to be strong and give them courage to face the enemy and to not give up" (Zakaria, Musician Hizbullah Military band, Personal Communication, 15 May, 2013). There are numerous similar quotes. To exemplify further, one Hamas respondent had parallel thoughts adding, "when I hear Hamas music I get very active and I am ready to fight! I think I share that feeling with all people who hear it" (Rwad, Supporter Hamas, Personal Communication, 23 March, 2011). During one interview, this statement was even taken one step further by a person explaining how anashid actually have the capability to effect the emotions so strongly that it can be the catalyzer of conducting jihad missions, which supports Hani´s argument (Berg, Art. 2, 2012). Whether anashid can actually trigger people to fight and conduct jihad or not is difficult to prove, of course. What this study has shown, though, is that there is something very powerful about the songs and how they strengthen the political missions of the organizations.

6.2.6 Summary of the Roles

From this section, on the role of anashid, in combination with how anashid are used in different settings, two main conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, anashid are used as a way to assure that the ideology and mission of Hamas and Hizbullah is remembered and

maintained and even internalized, mainly carried out during official events but also as part of the private spheres of the supporters. The empirical material allows for questioning if there is even such a thing as a private sphere in terms of political dedication for supporters. Even if the answer might be no, this chapter has nevertheless shown that somewhat there is a difference between the role of anashid for individual and collective usage. In a collective context, the effects of anashid are more explicit resulting in physical actions during, for example, events. Listening to anashid in a collective setting further has the capability of strengthening the organizational spirit of striving toward the same goals. On an individual level, anashid are rather used to assure that such goals and values are maintained. The data also show that supporters use anashid privately for individual goals and reasons such as relief but all along the religious-political values of Hamas and Hizbullah. Secondly, anashid have the capability of effecting emotions within all spheres, that is, in the private and in the public, on the individual as well as on the collective level. Anashid function as any music does, in terms of touching one's feelings. However, the role of anashid in relation to Hamas and Hizbullah is to steer peoples′ emotions toward certain predetermined effects, through lyrics and specific settings of usage. Hence, anashid should not be understood as any kind of musical genre that is used for various purposes in any context. It is controlled both in terms of the role it has as well as in what settings it should be used, including peoples′ private sphere.

7

Concluding Analysis

In Hamas and Hizbullah, politics has a soundtrack, which primarily is anashid. The study reveals that anashid have several functions in the work of Hamas and Hizbullah. On an overarching level, anashid are used to deliver the political messages of the organizations and simultaneously maintain religious values. In Hamas and Hizbullah, politics and religion are interlaced throughout the organizational ideologies and agendas. This intertwining gives anashid a unique function of serving as a core messenger of the organizations' values, missions, and goals.

Integrating the political and religious through anashid in Hamas and Hizbullah creates an overlap from the organizational and the private domains. The data of this thesis reveal that the usage of music in the collective versus the private spheres is not as distinct and separated as Street (2012) suggests. The study rather implies that due to the vast restrictions on music in the organizations, the options are limited mainly to anashid, classical music, and military marches. Hence, the same types of songs used during events or other activities in Hamas and Hizbullah are also used in the private sphere. Further, there is also another dimension to this issue. The study concludes that belonging to these organizations is not a political role that you can choose to walk in and out of. Being a supporter or leader of Hamas and Hizbullah is an identity that you carry with you in and between the organization and your private sphere. Hence, separating between the private and the collective in order to understand the function of anashid in Hamas and Hizbullah becomes irrelevant. Instead, in order to fully understand the function of anashid, the entire contexts have to be incorporated and acknowledged.

The study concludes that for those respondents that spoke about a private sphere outside of the organizations, the usage of anashid was still explained as strongly related to the ideologies and support of Hamas and Hizbullah. Outside of the organizations' contexts, anashid are used as a tool for maintaining and strengthening religious and political beliefs in order to stay true and firm to the ideals of the organizations. This strengthens the emic thought, where political use of anashid self-evidently implies that the politics is based on religious notion. Speaking about religion and politics as something separate is useful from a theoretical point of view when aiming to make sense of the religious aspects on which the politics of Islamist organizations are based. However, the data showed that statements and explanations regarding political goals and strategies implied justification in Islam, meaning that when speaking about anashid used for political functions, they are always permeated by Islamic goals.

Further, this study shows that anashid function in a politically powerful way collectively. A mass of people listening to the same songs, at the same time and place provides

anashid with power to frame peoples´ identities in a collective manner through the political activities it initiates. The messages that are sent through the tunes of anashid are part of framing the specific kind of ideas Hamas and Hizbullah delivers. When people act on these messages, during events and otherwise, they act collectively along a certain ideology that further establishes an identity, in accordance with the beliefs of the organization. Along Pratt´s (1990 & 1994) argument about music, anashid are used for political aims in a purposive way. The study shows that the songs used during events, for example, are selected and controlled by Hamas and Hizbullah (in particular). Hence, the way in which anashid are used is intentional, and the events correspond to the initial messages of the songs, which influence the behavior of people. Regarding Pratt´s (1990 & 1994) second perspective, the effective dimension, of how music is used politically, this study shows that several songs which are used by the organizations are not their own products, but externally brought in, changed and sometimes censored, and put in context. This is particularly true in the case of Hamas who use external songs exclusively. However, since most of the songs are still requested and controlled by Hamas, the usage slides between the purposive and the effective dimensions. As suggested in article four, the private usage of anashid has a large implication for the effective dimension since the individuals choose, within limits, what songs to use for what purpose. However, the data show no indication of persons using anashid privately in a completely different way than how it is used during organized occasions. Neither has it been provided any evidence in the interviews that other music and songs than those used in the public organizational spheres are used privately for political aims. In addition, as most anashid used in Hamas and Hizbullah are explicit in their messages, it is also not useful to reinterpret the meaning of the songs in order to expand the possibilities of usage. However, if we understand anashid as religious (and not political) from an etic perspective, it indicates that the songs become political by the use and context of Hamas and Hizbullah. Hence, it serves as an example of the effective dimension. If we take on such understanding, the purposive and effective dimensions merge and generate the specific strength of anashid. Anashid should also be understood along the effective dimension according to the way in which individuals constantly relate to and interpret the songs and place them in relation to their own feelings. Hence, they place themselves politically through anashid. It is by intertwining the religious and the political with the purposive and effective dimensions of music that anashid acquire its specific strength and function.

More specifically, the function of anashid in the political work of Hamas and Hizbullah is to create and reveal emotions in order to promote political missions such as spreading propaganda, maintain values, peak political events, and prepare for and carry out resistance missions and war. This goes in line with how Pierobon (2014) discusses music in political organizations, which shows that the main role of music is precisely to impact peoples´ beliefs and acts through emotions. This thesis particularly found that when anashid are played and emotions are expressed in a collective setting, such as during events, it creates commonality, which is of benefit for maintaining the political struggle of an organization. Anashid are also used to direct emotions in order to

stimulate political action. The study shows that when anashid containing commanding political messages about resistance and jihad, for example, were played during events, the people responded actively to a larger extent than when other types of anashid were played. Also, in regard to events, some persons expressed that anashid go to their hearts and minds simultaneously, which makes them want to act; this is something that they did not experience that other mediums are able to do. Many persons underlined that anashid affect their feelings, which strengthens their religious beliefs and impacts on their political thoughts and actions. Touching upon emotions was shown to be a useful tactic in order to let people stay true to their ideals and to believe in the acts that are carried out, which is similar to Eyreman′s (2002) understanding of the power of music in collective settings of political organizations. It is also a conclusion along Street′s (2012) four ways of defining how music becomes political, i.e., when the effect of music spills over to the collective, and gets integrated into the power structures of the public space and becomes a site for negotiation.

8

Future Research

This study has displayed that anashid are a vital tool playing a significant role in the political work of Hamas and Hizbullah. The findings of the study have stimulated thoughts about and new takes on possible further research about Islamist organizations as well as about anashid. Considering that the role of anashid in Hamas and Hizbullah is a rather unexplored area, it would be beneficial to conduct research about anashid from the perspective of the musicians and the performers. Naturally, this thesis includes the voices of musicians, but mainly as supporters. One thread to further investigate in a future study, which this thesis touches very briefly on, is what it means to be a musician in Islamist organizations and hence being limited. In addition, it would be interesting to have a larger focus on the lyrics of the songs and the composers. Interesting questions that could be posed include: What do the texts actually say and why? Who decides what the lyrics should look like and what implications do they have for the musicians and composers, in terms of artistic freedom and censorship, for example?

Also, a study covering other or additional Islamist organizations would be an asset in terms of generalizability. Exploring several organizations would give a more representative answer to understanding the role of anashid as a political tool embedded in Islam. Systematically comparing different organizations in order to ascertain different roles and functions that anashid possess would also be an asset in widening the understanding of the relation between music, politics, and Islam. Achieving a more systematic comparison, it would also be useful to deepen the knowledge about the implications of differences concerning Shi'a and Sunni organizations. Even if this study has the potential to investigate implications on anashid between the religious fractions of Shi'a and Sunni, it would need to be systematically addressed and theoretically framed accordingly.

Lastly, as an outcome of this thesis, I find it crucial to conduct further academic research on the genre of anashid, in general. This study has shown that there are many question marks in need of answers. Anashid are such a wide concept with an even wider field of usage, which requires a study taking on the many questions that remain unanswered in terms of contemporary understanding of anashid. Given the growing usage of anashid, as a legitimate genre of music in the Islamic world, an all-embracing chronological study about the evolution of anashid would be academically beneficial.

9

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Svensk Sammanfattning (Summary in Swedish)

Palestinska Hamas och Libanesiska Hizbullah är två organisationer i Mellanöstern vars politiska ideologi genomsyras av islam. Båda organisationerna använder anashid (nashid i singular), en specifik musikgenre, som ett politiskt redskap. Den övergripande anledningen till att Hamas och Hizbullah främst använder sig av anashid beror på religiösa normer och tolkningar av vilken slags musik som är godtagen enligt islam. Organisationerna har sedan dess början använt anashid, men då på ett sporadiskt oorganiserat sätt. I takt med att organisationerna har utvecklats och förändrats så har anashid fått en alltmer systematisk och organiserad roll, särskilt i fallet Hizbullah. Trots att anashid används flitigt i islamistiska organisationer generellt finns det få akademiska studier som belyser detta. För att få en bättre förståelse av vilka strategier islamistiska organisationer använder, är det viktigt att belysa anashids roll. På så sätt kan man även få en bättre förståelse för vilka medel som används för att driva politiska agendor och processer. Förbises vikten av anashid vid studiet av islamistiska organisationer, finns det en risk att ett fundamentalt verktyg hamnar utanför analysen och därmed försämrar en förståelse av hur deras politiska arbete utförs. Genom att studera anashid ur ett inifrånperspektiv avser denna avhandling att bidra till en bredare förståelse av anashid som ett redskap i Hamas och Hizbullahs politiska arbete. Syftet är att undersöka vilken roll anashid har i islamistiska organisationer. För att uppnå syftet struktureras studien med hjälp av en övergripande fråga samt två underfrågor. Den övergripande frågan är: Vilken funktion har anashid i Hamas och Hizbullahs politiska arbete? De två underfrågorna är: I vilka miljöer och hur används anashid i Hamas och Hizbullah? Vilken roll har anashid enligt supportrar och ledare i Hamas och Hizbullah?

Avhandlingen är en sammanläggning bestående av en övergripande kappa samt fyra artiklar. För att kunna analysera anashids roll i islamistiska organisationer har två kontrasterande fall, Hamas och Hizbullah, undersökts. Fallen valdes inte i syftet att jämföra, utan för att placera förståelsen av anashid i en bredare kontext än utifrån ett fall och därmed undvika att särdrag gällande anashid hos endast en organisation skulle få alltför stort genomslag. Studien är kvalitativ med fokus på individers röster och handlingar. Empirin har samlats in genom semistrukturerade intervjuer, observationer, och informella samtal under nio månaders tid. Personerna som deltog var supportrar eller ledare av Hamas och Hizbullah med särskild kunskap om eller relation till anashid. Datan har använts som analysbas för att undersöka hur anashid används som ett politiskt redskap i Hamas och Hizbullah. Kappan såväl som artiklarna genomsyras av en ambition att väva samman två huvudteman, religion och politik, teoretiskt och empiriskt.

De teoretiska utgångspunkterna i avhandlingen har valts utifrån syftet att förstå hur anashid blir meningsful som (religiöst) anpassad musik för politiska ändamål. Musik

som politisk bör förstås med utgångspunkt i att musiken inte bara påverkar någon individuellt. Det bör finnas ett offentligt och kollektivt perspektiv i musikens användande. Vidare måste det offentliga perspektivet inkludera individer som har möjlighet att inverka och påverka en aktuell politisk situation. Avhandlingen diskuterar vidare hur musik används politiskt i organisationer. Det innebär främst att musiken blir ett uttryck för ideologier, vilket är ett kraftfullt sätt att skapa kollektivitet. Musik som ett politiskt redskap i organisationer förstås i avhandlingen som ett verktyg ämnat för att skapa tillhörighet och för att uppmana till handlingar vilka skapar kollektivitet. Musik som används politiskt i organisationer syftar till att påverka människor i enlighet med en bestämd ideologi. Några av de mest vanliga ändamålen med att använda musik i politiska syften är för propaganda, protest, och motstånd. Propagandamusik har syftet att sprida idéer och information för att hjälpa eller skada en institution, situation, eller individ. Sångerna är explicita och innehåller tydliga budskap för ändamålet. Protestmusik avser text som handlar om ett specifikt problem eller en fiende där det är sången i sig som är i fokus. Protestmusik skiljer sig ifrån motståndsmusik, vilken går utöver texten där det snarare är handlingarna eller situationen som står i fokus. Motståndsmusik implicerar kollektiva handlingar, vilket är vanligt i organisationer. Inom ramen för att förstå musik som politisk kan musik även användas med syftet att påverka och inspirera människor att begå våldsamma handlingar, vilket diskuteras i avhandlingen. Relationen musik och våld handlar om att använda musik med intentionen att uppmuntra fysiskt eller psykiskt våld. Relationen mellan musik och våld diskuteras på två sätt i avhandlingen. Dels handlar det om all slags musik som används för att egga våldsamma handlingar. Dessutom refererar det till musik som innehåller våldsamma texter som till exempel uppmanar till våld eller hotar en uttalad fiende.

Tidigare forskning som fokuserar på politik och religion har vanligtvis separerat dessa enheter för att förstå till exempel en organisations mål och ideologi. Men för att förstå anashid som ett politiskt redskap i Hamas och Hizbullah bör religion och politik ses i samverkan, eller till och med som samma sak. Avhandlingen tar sin utgångspunkt i att Hamas och Hizbullah är samtida politiska organisationer baserade på Islam som strävar efter lokala och nationella reformer. Utifrån denna förutsättning blir det intressant att studera anashids roll som ett redskap där religion och politik integreras. Vidare problematiserar avhandlingen relationen mellan musik och Islam, vilken historiskt sett har varit komplex. Ambivalensen i förhållande till musik som finns i vissa Muslimska kontexter handlar främst om argumentationen att det finns viss musik, så som pop, rock, punk etc. som leder individen mentalt och fysisk ifrån Gud. Men det handlar även om i vilken kontext musik används. Det kan till exempel gälla situationer där alkohol eller andra droger används, där män och kvinnor är blandade, eller andra situationer som potentiellt kan frambringa känslor som distraherar förpliktelsen att ära Gud. Genom att använda anashid säkerställer man att musiken är och används i överensstämmelse med Islamiska normer.

Anashid, ofta förklarat som en form av vokalmusik eller lovsånger, är en vanlig

musikgenre i den Muslimska världen. Anashid kan sjungas med eller utan instrument-ackompanjemang och antas främja människors religiösa tro och närheten till Gud. I denna avhandling refererar anashid till sånger med religiösa *och* politiska budskap som medvetet används i islamistiska organisationer. Anashid innehåller ofta text om till exempel moral, politik, nationalism, heroism, orättvisor, och hämnd. Som tidigare nämnts används anashid som ett redskap för inspiration, support, och för att trigga känslor, situationer eller handlingar för att uppnå specifika mål i enlighet med organisationers politiska ideologier. Avhandlingen diskuterar specifikt två sätt hur musik används för politiska syften, nämligen ändamålsenlig (purposive) och effektiv (effective). Den första innefattar explicit och medveten användning av musik som korresponderar med sångens ursprungliga syfte. Målet med musiken är att påverka individers åsikter och/eller beteende. Den andra dimensionen menar att så fort musik skapas frigörs den för alla typer av användning. Båda sätten handlar om att musik påverkar människors åsikter eller beteende. Den effektiva dimensionen innefattar dock att musikens påverkan och användande inte nödvändigtvis måste korrespondera med kompositörens eller textens ursprungliga intention. Det handlar snarare om tolkning och hur musiken används för att passa specifika ändamål.

Avhandlingen kommer fram till att anashid i Hamas och Hizbullah främst används för att förmedla politiska budskap, synkroniserat med organisationernas ideologi och mål, för att samtidigt upprätthålla religiösa värderingar. Genom att integrera politik och religion i analysen av anashid visar studien på att dess funktion överlappar från det organisatoriska till den privata sfären. Att tillhöra Hamas och Hizbullah är inte en politisk roll som går att kliva i och ur, det är en identitet som man ständigt har med sig. Därmed belyser avhandlingen att anashid som används vid olika politiska aktiviteter i organisationerna även används utanför, i den privata sfären. Studien påvisar vidare hur anashid blir politiskt kraftfull när det används kollektivt. En grupp människor som hör samma sånger på samma plats och tidpunkt förser anashid med en styrka att skapa en känsla av tillhörighet och identitet genom att de politiska aktiviteter som sångerna initierar också får en personlig resonans. När människor agerar på sånger de lyssnar till, till exempel under events, så handlar de kollektivt i enlighet med en specifik identitet och ideologi som synkroniserar med Hamas och Hizbullah. När anashid spelas under politiska event relaterar sångerna även till människors känslor vilket skapar en samhörighet som är till fördel för att vidmakthålla en enhetlig politisk kamp inom en organisation. Att anashid frambringar känslor är också fördelaktigt i syfte att stimulera politiska handlingar och befästa ideologier.