

Rhythms of Resistance in Palestine: Political Socialization, Ideology and Cultural Performativity within Hamas Anthems

• Dalal Bajes ^a • Ahmet Yusuf Özdemir ^b

Abstract

This study examines the role of political anthems (nasheeds) in the processes of political socialization, identity formation, and cultural resistance within Palestinian Islamic movements, with a particular focus on Hamas. Drawing on a dataset of one hundred anthems produced and circulated between 1980 and 2012, the article investigates how these songs function as vehicles for transmitting ideology, cultivating collective identities, and mobilizing political action across generations of supporters. The study asks three central questions: How do anthems contribute to political socialization within Islamic movements in Palestine? What ideological and emotional themes do they communicate? And how do they reflect the historical evolution of Hamas's political narratives and modes of resistance? Methodologically, the research employs qualitative content analysis, combining thematic coding with close textual reading of lyrics. Twenty-two thematic categories were identified and analyzed, while supplementary interviews with poets and performers provided contextual insights into the production and circulation of nasheeds. The analysis is informed by Judith Butler's concept of performativity and reiteration, as well as Gayatri Spivak's reflections on representation and political voice. The findings demonstrate that Hamas-affiliated anthems function not merely as cultural expressions but as performative spaces in which political subjectivities are produced and reproduced. Recurring themes include Islamic collective identity, attachment to land and Jerusalem, exile and return, martyrdom, imprisonment, resistance, and political participation. Through repeated discursive and emotional patterns, the songs cultivate a resistant subjectivity that links faith, sacrifice, and national liberation. At the same time, they serve as mechanisms through which collective memory, ideological commitments, and emotional attachments are transmitted across generations. The article argues that political anthems should be understood not only as reflections of resistance but also as active instruments in the construction of collective identities and the performative reproduction of political struggle under conditions of occupation and settler colonialism.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Palestine, political socialization; resistance; content analysis; Hamas; anthems

^a Dr., Postdoctoral Fellow, Ibn Haldun University; Visiting Scholar, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California, Berkeley, CA, USA, dalalbajes@ihu.edu.tr, ORCID 0000-0001-7298-7113

^b Asst. Prof., Ibn Haldun University, Faculty of Political Science, ayusuf.ozdemir@ihu.edu.tr, ORCID 0000-0001-8281-9009

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Filistin’de Direnişin Ritimleri: Hamas Marşlarında Siyasal Sosyalleşme, İdeoloji ve Kültürel Performativite

Öz

Bu çalışma, Filistin’deki İslami hareketlerde, özellikle de Hamas örneğinde, siyasal marşların (neşidlerin) siyasal toplumsallaşma, kimlik inşası ve kültürel direniş süreçlerindeki rolünü incelemektedir. Araştırma, 1980-2012 yılları arasında üretilmiş ve dolaşıma sokulmuş yüz marştan oluşan bir veri setine dayanarak, bu eserlerin ideolojinin aktarılması, kolektif kimliklerin oluşturulması ve destekçi kuşakların siyasal eyleme seferber edilmesindeki işlevlerini analiz etmektedir. Çalışma üç temel soruya odaklanmaktadır: Marşlar Filistin’deki İslami hareketler içerisinde siyasal toplumsallaşmaya nasıl katkıda bulunmaktadır? Hangi ideolojik ve duygusal temaları iletmektedir? Ve Hamas’ın siyasal anlatılarının ve direniş biçimlerinin tarihsel dönüşümünü nasıl yansıtmaktadır? Araştırmada yöntem olarak nitel içerik analizi kullanılmış; tematik kodlama ile şarkı sözlerinin ayrıntılı metin incelemesi bir arada yürütülmüştür. Bu kapsamda yirmi iki tematik kategori tespit edilerek analiz edilmiş, ayrıca şairler ve icracılarla yapılan görüşmeler aracılığıyla neşidlerin üretim ve dolaşım süreçlerine ilişkin bağlamsal bilgiler elde edilmiştir. Kuramsal çerçeve, Judith Butler’ın performatiflik ve yinelenme (reiteration) kavramları ile Gayatri Spivak’ın temsil ve siyasal ses üzerine geliştirdiği yaklaşımlardan beslenmektedir. Bulgular, Hamas bağlantılı marşların yalnızca kültürel ifade biçimleri olmadığını, aynı zamanda siyasal öznelliklerin üretildiği ve yeniden üretildiği performatif alanlar olarak işlev gördüğünü ortaya koymaktadır. Marşlarda en sık karşılaşılan temalar arasında İslami kolektif kimlik, toprak ve Kudüs’e bağlılık, sürgün ve geri dönüş, şehitlik, hapis, direniş ve siyasal katılım yer almaktadır. Tekrarlanan söylemsel ve duygusal örüntüler aracılığıyla bu eserler, inanç, fedakârlık ve ulusal kurtuluş fikirlerini birbirine bağlayan direnişçi bir öznellik inşa etmektedir. Aynı zamanda kolektif hafızanın, ideolojik bağlılıkların ve duygusal aidiyetlerin kuşaklar arasında aktarılmasına hizmet etmektedir. Makale, siyasal marşların yalnızca direnişin bir yansıması olarak değil, aynı zamanda işgal ve yerleşimci sömürgecilik koşulları altında kolektif kimliklerin inşasında ve siyasal mücadelenin performatif olarak yeniden üretilmesinde etkin araçlar olarak değerlendirilmesi gerektiğini ileri sürmektedir.

Keywords: Filistin, siyasal sosyalleşme, direniş, içerik analizi, Hamas, marşlar.

Introduction

Music in grassroots social movements and in state-level party politics has been a major component of political socialization. From the rise of Jazz music within the African American community to the foundation of German-Turkish hip-hop youth culture, music is part of everyday life in a Lefebvrian sense, consisting of melody, harmony, and rhythm. At the state level, national anthems, with their words and music, aim to unite and mobilize people under one flag.

During times of war and national liberation, music becomes a vital tool for resource mobilization. Examples can vary from South Africa, England, Mali, to Estonia¹. One of the

¹ Wiseman Chirwa, “Dancing towards Dictatorship: Political Songs and Popular Culture in Malawi,” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 10, no. 1 (2001): 1–27; Albert Grundlingh, “‘Rocking the Boat’? Voëlvry Music and Afrikaans Antiapartheid Social Protest in the 1980s,” in *Music and Protest*, ed. Ian Peddie (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 293–324; William Warren, “Theories of the Singing Revolution: An Historical Analysis of the

long-lasting conflicts in history, the Arab-Zionist conflict, and specifically in the Palestinian struggle, is not an exception to this. Despite the fact that previous studies that analyze Palestine in general and Palestinian groups in particular put most of their emphasis on ideological divergence or bureaucratic politics, the study of “resistance music” still remains understudied. The book titled “Palestinian Music and Song: Expression and Resistance since 1900,” edited by Moslih Kanaaneh, Stig-Magnus Thorsén, Heather Bursheh, and David A. McDonald, is a particular contribution to this field by analyzing different experiences on the ground. Additionally, Nili Belkind’s work “Music in Conflict: Palestine, Israel and the Politics of Aesthetic Production” is crucial to this article, as the author distinguishes between “music as coexistence” and “music as resistance.” Different forms of expression and the resort to performative media or outfits such as music, poetry, or graphic design can be observed as forms of resistance. Fame attributed to the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, dance performed as a form of resistance in the case of Dabke, the kuffiyah worn as a sign of support for resistance, or graffiti drawn on the separation wall, can be regarded as different types of performative acts.

The content analysis method is applied in this study to explore political socialization within Nasheed. The analysis encompasses a sample of 100 of the most popular songs among Hamas adherents, spanning across different age groups (children, youth, and elders) and covering the period from 1980 to 2012. The lyrics of the songs are manually coded into manageable categories, with a primary focus on words and themes. In total, 22 concepts are identified for coding, and flexibility is maintained to incorporate additional categories that may emerge during the coding process. Notably, the coding process includes not only discerning the presence of a concept but also quantifying its frequency, adding a nuanced layer to the analysis.

In addition to textual analysis, several uninstructed interviews were conducted with poets and Islamic singers whose work features prominently in the dataset. These interviews aimed to provide contextual insight into the production and circulation of Nasheed across generations. Written informed consent was obtained from all participants in full accordance with ethical research standards.

1. Contextualizing Palestinian Resistance Music

Studying the relationship between songs, collective identity, and collective behavior is not a contemporary field. It has been discussed in literature since the eighteenth century or even earlier, as Van der Haven shows in his interesting article *Singing the Nation*. He argues that, frequently, literary attributes and political objectives are intertwined as songwriters’ endeavor to elicit sentiments of collective identity, unity, and fraternity. The potency of cultural expression, as exemplified in song, hinges on its capacity to establish identity,

fostering communal bonds through the cultivation of feelings associated with fraternity and camaraderie².

In their collaborative work, *Who Sings the Nation-State?* Judith Butler and Gayatri Spivak delve into the central question of who possesses the authority to speak on behalf of a collective, employing the pronoun “we” to delineate the inclusions and exclusions within the nation-state. They exemplify this dynamic by examining the act of singing the state’s national anthem³. Furthermore, the authors extend their exploration to contemplate “What constitutes a non-nationalist or counter-nationalist form of belonging,” shedding light on the intricate relationship between the song and the formation of collective identity⁴.

Building on Butler’s notion of performativity, this study approaches anthems not merely as reflective cultural artifacts but as iterative practices through which political subjectivities are continuously produced. The repetition of specific linguistic, emotional, and symbolic patterns across nasheeds constitutes what Butler terms “reiteration,” through which norms of resistance, sacrifice, and belonging are stabilized over time. Simultaneously, drawing on Spivak’s distinction between representation as “speaking for” and “re-presenting”, these anthems are analyzed as sites where the collective subject of resistance is both constructed and authorized to speak.

Political songs emerged as a tool against Zionism as early as the 1950s, particularly through Arab radio stations. The significance of these songs grew further with the advent of television in the mid-1960s and, later, with the spread of cassette tapes in the 1970s. Until that time, most of the singers addressing the Palestinian cause were non-Palestinians. In the 1950s, songs by Mohammed Abdel Wahab, such as “Akhī Jāwaz al-Ẓālimūn al-Madā” (Brother, the Oppressors Have Gone Too Far), “Ṣawt al-Jamāhīr” (Voice of the Masses), and “Nāṣir Ḥabīb al-Kull” (Nasser, the Beloved of All), gained prominence. Following the 1967 defeat (Naksa), the songs of Fairouz and the Rahbani brothers became particularly popular, including “Zahrāt al-Madā’in” (Flower of the Cities), “Sayf Falyushhar” (Let the Sword Be Raised), and “Shawāri ‘al-Quds al-’ Atīqa” (The Streets of Old Jerusalem).

In the 1970s, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) established Radio “Sawt al-’Āṣifa” (Voice of the Storm, Voice of Fatah) in Cairo. After the PLO’s exit from Jordan in 1971, it founded Radio “Sawt Filasṭīn, Sawt al-Thawra al-Filasṭīniya” (Voice of Palestine, Voice of the Palestinian Revolution), which broadcast from Lebanon⁵. In 1977, the PLO formed the renowned Palestinian national band “Firqat al-’Āshiqīn” in Damascus, led by artist Hussein Nazek and poet Ahmad Dahbour. The band drew its lyrics from renowned Palestinian poets such as Mahmoud Darwish, Samih al-Qasim, and Tawfiq Zayyad. Some of their notable songs included “Yā Sha’bī Yā ‘ūd al-Nad” (O My People, O Stick of

² Klaas van der Haven, “Singing the Nation: Imagined Collectivity and the Poetics of Identification in Dutch Political Songs (1780–1800),” *Modern Language Review* 111, no. 3 (2016): 754–74, <https://doi.org/10.5699/modellangrevi.111.3.0754>.

³ van der Haven, “Singing the Nation,” 758.

⁴ Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging* (Kolkata: Seagull Publications, 2007).

⁵ Joseph Massad, “Liberating Songs: Palestine Put to Music,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 32, no. 3 (2003): 21–38, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2003.32.3.21>.

Balsam), “Ka’annanā ‘Ishrūn Mustahīl” (As if We Were Twenty Impossibilities), and “Ishhad Yā ‘Ālam ‘Alaynā wa ‘Alā Bayrūt” (Bear Witness, O World, on Us and Beirut), which documented the 1982 Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon. This song traced the events from the invasion’s onset to the departure of Palestinian fighters to Tunisia⁶. It was around this time that national political songs began to decline, giving way to less revolutionary songs, as secret negotiations between the PLO and the Israelis were underway.

2. Construction of collective Islamic Identity

In the Palestinian context, two main political socialization lines can be observed. Although these lines are not entirely parallel, their shared goals and intersections are many. However, the intellectual origins of each line vary to a degree. Political socialization tools emerged from these lines, including songs. The “official” line, if we may call it that, was associated with Palestinian movements supporting the PLO’s political approach, whose national songs seemed to be an extension of Nasserite nationalism. The opposing line was rooted in Islamic movements that resisted the official stance, drawing its national songs from the ideological framework of the Muslim Brotherhood outside Palestine. This ideological divergence between the two lines in political socialization existed even before the Oslo Accords. This divergence deepened and developed post-Oslo, creating a wider gap between the two approaches that eventually permeated all aspects of Palestinian life.

The Nasheed (anthem, Islamic songs) accompanied all stages of the Muslim Brotherhood presence and spread in Palestine, even before the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, was established at the beginning of the First Palestinian Intifada in 1987. The anthems were used by the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine during scouting trips, and they were famous for the Brotherhood’s method of upbringing. These anthems were also used in mosques, in the summer camps held by the Brotherhood youth for younger generations, and in the schools established by the Islamic movement in Palestine in the early 1970s⁷.

With the rise of universities in the early 1980s, the spread of anthems expanded through the “rotating cassette tape” campaigns organized by members of the Islamic bloc, the student wing of the Brotherhood in Palestine. The students themselves would form groups to perform at various events inside universities. Additionally, the anthems gained popularity through Islamic anthem festivals organized by the movement at universities and later across all Palestinian areas and outside Palestine, particularly in refugee camps and Palestinian diaspora areas, most notably in Jordan and Kuwait⁸.

⁶ Ahmad Muhammad Ahmad al-Rabb Musa, *Dawr al-Firaq al-Sha’biyya al-Filastiniyya fi al-Hifaz ‘ala Turathina al-Sha’bi wa-Tatwirihi* [The Role of Palestinian Folk Groups in Preserving and Developing Our Folk Heritage] (Nablus: Faculty of Fine Arts, Department of Musical Sciences, An-Najah National University, 2009), 5–6, digital copy.

⁷ Dalal Bajes, *al-Haraka al-Tullabiyya al-Islamiyya fi Filastin: al-Kutla al-Islamiyya Namudhajan* [The Islamic Student Movement in Palestine: The Islamic Bloc as a Model] (Beirut: Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations, 2012).

⁸ Dalal Bajes, *al-Lahn wa al-Barud* [Melody and Gun] (Beirut: Dar al-Thakha’ir for Research and Publishing, 2015).

To illustrate the importance of Nasheed in the political socialization of Islamic movements, the former Director of Public Relations for Hamas, Osama Hamdan, emphasizes their significance in the lives of movement members since the first generation. He states: "What Abu Mazen (the pioneer of Islamic anthems in the 20th century) offered was more profound than a constitution; he presented the entire idea in its fullness and elaborated on it. He delivered it to both the mind and the heart, merging the intellectual state with the emotional one. This is the highest way a noble idea can be conveyed"⁹.

Islamic movements believe that the most crucial dimension of their collective identity is Islam. A study done by Sherine Al-Daani revealed that 92% of Palestinian university students affiliated with Hamas identify themselves first as Muslims and then as Palestinians. Furthermore, 96.4% of them have chosen religious affiliation as their primary identity¹⁰. The term "Arabs" was mentioned only 12 times in the 100 study sample songs. This supports previous research indicating that members of the Islamic movement are more concerned with their Islamic identity than their Palestinian identity, rather than their Arab identity.

From a performative perspective, the prominence of Islamic identity within these anthems should not be read simply as a reflection of pre-existing beliefs. Rather, through constant repetition, the nasheeds actively constitute the believing subject as primarily Islamic. In Butlerian terms, identity emerges here as an effect of reiteration: the repeated invocation of Islam as the primary marker of belonging sedimentizes it as natural and self-evident. At the same time, these songs operate in Spivak's sense of representation by speaking on behalf of a collective "we," while simultaneously delineating who is included and excluded from that imagined community.

One of the *nasheeds* affirms the Islamic identity in the lyrics, *wallah ma Akbar hawiyiyeh* (By Allah I do not accept an identity), reinforcing the idea that the primary identity is Islamic. This sentiment is echoed in other *nasheeds* that emphasize the global dimension of the Muslim Brotherhood's call, from which Hamas emerged.

By Allah, I do not accept an identity other than an Islamic identity

And raise the banner of the Qur'an over proud Jerusalem

The blood of the martyrs, O Rabin, blooms among the gardens

*I am a revolution that does not settle and is not satisfied with the humiliation*¹¹.

More than 25 years after the launch of the Hamas movement, its singers still emphasize that when Hamas was launched, it only launched to serve the primary goal of the Islamic movement in general and to highlight the global dimension of the Brotherhood's call from

⁹ Osama Hamdan, interview in Abu Mazen: The Pioneer of Movement Anthems, documentary film, Al Jazeera Documentary Channel, July 2013.

¹⁰ Sherine Aldani, "The Role of Palestinian Political Organizations in Developing Political Awareness among University Students in the Gaza Strip" (MA thesis, Middle East Studies Department, University of Gaza, 2010).

¹¹ Abu Dujana, "Wallah Ma Aqbal Hawiyya" [I Do Not Accept Any Identity], in Laheeb al-Quds [Flame of Jerusalem], 1988.

which the movement emerged. They are also stressing the distinction between Hamas's identity and other Palestinian movements through the song.

Lil Islam Judi (For Islam, Be Generous):

For Islam, be generous with your blood, O Hamas, daughter of the faith

We are the knights of the land, protecting the [Palestinian] cause,

Protecting the path from the absurdity approach

We were neither leftist nor secular. Our banner is Islamic, following the chosen one (Mohammad)¹².

The Islamic identity, distinct from the national identity within defined geographical borders, is characterized by the solidarity of Islamic movement members with the struggles of Muslims worldwide. This is prominently featured in *nasheeds* that connect the hardships faced by Muslims globally with the central issue of Palestine. The suffering of Palestinians is portrayed as part of the larger, oppressed Muslim Ummah, reinforcing the collective Muslim identity¹³.

3. Land, space, and place

While the term homeland was mentioned devoid of any specific name, such as Palestine or Jerusalem, 185 times in the *Nasheed* study sample, Palestine was mentioned by its name 40 times. In comparison, Jerusalem alone was mentioned 81 times. Even the diaspora has its place when the space of the homeland expands for the Palestinians. The terms asylum and diaspora have been mentioned as a collective space for the displaced Palestinians 27 times.

Jerusalem holds a prominent place in Islamic anthems. One of the most famous nasheeds about Jerusalem is *Islami Ya Quds* (Be Safe O Jerusalem), performed by Nizar Abu al-Feda in 1980:

Be safe, O Jerusalem, we are ready to sacrifice,

Here is my hand if the world extends a hand.

You will never be conquered, ever, as I hope for a better tomorrow with today.

With me is my heart and determination for jihad; I do not sway, I do not lose hope, I do not yield.

For you, O Jerusalem, peace and greetings to my country.

If tyranny shoots arrows, I guard them with my heart.

And you will always be safe¹⁴.

Another well-known nasheed is *Al-Ardu Lana* (The Land is Ours), which was performed by Husam al-Ahmad and is rich in religious connotations. Most of these connotations revolve around the battle between faith and disbelief, truth and falsehood, and the

¹² Al-Waad Band, "Lil Islam Judi" [For Islam, Be Generous], in Atyaf al-Istishhad 4 [Spectra of Martyrdom 4], vol. 4, 2012.

¹³ An example of the feeling of unity and common pain among Muslim peoples is the nasheed *Sajjil Ya Tariekh el Ummeh* (Write down, O History of the Ummah) at the nasheed festival on which the Islamic movement in Jordan was founded in the late 1980s. Also in the song *Mahma Khayyam Atmel Layl* (No Matter How Dark the Night) by Abu Ratib in the mid 1990s.

¹⁴ Nizar Abu al-Fida, "Islami Ya Quds" [Be Safe, O Jerusalem], 1980.

struggles of Salah al-Din to reclaim Jerusalem. " Hamas " is depicted as the inheritor of Saladin's glory and an extension of the jihadi line. The lyrics include:

The land is ours, and Jerusalem is ours,

Allah's strength is with us.

The forces of disbelief have gathered,

To defeat us, but they will not defeat us.

If the heroes of Hattin witnessed our deeds,

"Salah" would declare we are at your service, Hamas, our heir.¹⁵

The repeated invocation of Jerusalem, homeland, and sacred geography functions not only descriptively but performatively. Through reiteration, these spatial references become affectively charged anchors of belonging, transforming geography into a lived and embodied political claim. In this sense, the land is not merely represented; it is continuously re-inscribed as a site of obligation and sacrifice. The anthem thus becomes a medium through which space itself is politicized and internalized within the resistant subject.

4. Constant longing to return

Maqam Hijaz, which is spread in Persia, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, and Morocco, is the most common one used within the migrants' songs, followed by Maqam Kurd. The Maqam Hijaz is characterized by an abundance of feelings, as if they were filled with sorrow and pity. Maqam Kurd is known to be the easiest Maqam among all other Maqams, the easiest one to memorize from one to another.

As the human aspect of the prisoners' issue becomes evident, it also manifests in nasheeds that talk about the homeland, exile, refugees, and the right of return. These emotions may be some of the most complex that any Palestinian goes through. The nasheeds start by describing the exclusionary act itself, with its pains and injustices, as seen in the nasheed "Bi Yawm Min Al-Ayyam" (One Day) performed by the nasheed duo Abu Rateb and Abu Al-Majd:

One day, the enemies attacked; they attacked my country.

They killed the elders, slaughtered the young, burned the Quran, and demolished the homes.

They trampled upon my big heart, filled with love for my country.

My homeland was destroyed, all of it; military uniforms replaced the scent of cloves, and the rose no longer blooms.

O my heart, fly up high, go back to my country.

Not all longing for the land and homeland represents what is coming from past days, but the intensity of this longing increases on present occasions that only feel complete in the

¹⁵ Another example of the centrality of Jerusalem in the anthems was when the Al-Wa'd group presented their album "Shadows of Martyrdom II," which included the widely popular nasheed titled *Ya Quds Inna Qadimun* "O Quds, we are Coming." This followed Hamas's success in the second Palestinian legislative elections in 2006 (Al-Wa'd 2006a).

homeland. The nasheed evokes all the childhood memories in Palestine while standing at its borders, not as an immigrant, but as a dreamer of return after a long absence:

*My eyes wept on your borders when all the images, one day,
moved like a dream in sleep.*

I saw the plains and the trees, the seagulls hovering over the sea.

I saw the whole-time pass in your appearance, O father.

O sweet homeland, O image of loved ones.

Longing with tears of sorrow calls for the ones who are absent.

We, through all the time, like the moon when it's absent,

will return at our appointed time, the same time and day.¹⁶

The affective intensity of longing articulated in these songs can be understood as part of a broader process of subject formation. Repetition of exile, memory, and return does not simply express nostalgia; it cultivates a temporality in which the future is structured around *the Return*. Through this discursive pattern, the subject is positioned as perpetually oriented toward return, making longing itself a political disposition rather than a purely emotional state.

5. Resistance, imprisonment, and martyrdom

The resistance, both popular and armed, occupies an important role in the political socialization of the members of the Islamic movement in Palestine. It is interesting to know, for example, that the words resistance and jihad were repeated 251 times in the anthem study sample, and that no other word was repeated in this number or even close to it. The word martyrdom was repeated as a connotation of resistance 69 times, while the word prisoners was repeated 37 times.

The Hamas movement adopted armed resistance since its establishment in 1987. Alongside the other Palestinians, its adherents started resisting with stones and catapults at the beginning of the first intifada. Resistance then evolved into what Hamas called the “Knives War.” Amer Abu Sarhan was one of the prominent fighters of Hamas who used this method, and the movement dubbed him the “Knives War Bomber.” The resistance further evolved in the early ‘90s with the approach of Yahya Ayyash, who initiated the phase of martyrdom operations and the use of explosives in various forms. This included the consecutive kidnapping operations of soldiers in the ‘90s. The movement continued to evolve into the early 2000s with a new method represented by locally made rockets, reaching a range of 75 kilometers in the eight-day war in 2012, known as the “Sijil War” or “Maqadmeh 75.” This evolution in resistance was accompanied by a development in motivational chants encouraging the development of Palestinian resistance methods.

¹⁶ The tragedy of the Palestinian Nakba and then diaspora takes various forms. The nasheed *Abarna Hal Jisr* (We Crossed this Bridge) by the poet Khalil Abid and the singer Abdel Fattah Awainat. Al-Rawabi group, known for their folk singing style and the use of the general Palestinian dialect, in the nasheed *Wi Tachtatna* (We Got Dispersed), and in the nasheed *Ya Tyur Al-Khama'il* (O Birds of the Heavens) by Abu Rateb. Also, *Ya Yama Law Jani Al-Eid* (O Mother, If Only the Eid Arrived) by Abu Arab.

When tracking the chants since the mid- '80s, songs urged Palestinians to resist using available means, as in the song *Qawim Ya Sha'bi Qawim* "O My People, Resist" by the Yarmouk band:

Resist, O my people, resist in continuous jihad
Resist with stones and fire, resist, resist with rocks
The night camped in the valley, and the eye stayed awake on my trigger
*We are the decision-makers; we are the ones deserving of the land*¹⁷.

Among the prominent popular resistance methods used by Palestinians, both during the first intifada and after, is the general strike. It was an expression of rebellion against the existing occupation. The strike was often used to express condemnation and mourning for the lives of martyrs or to impact the Israeli economy by boycotting and burning Israeli products in public streets. In this context, the Yarmouk band sang *Wasil Idrabaka Fi Al-Daffa* "Continue Your Strike in the West Bank" in 1991:

Continue your strike in the West Bank
O eagle of the summit and the desert
Plant in the hot sand
Flowers that bloom with revolution
*From Safed to Sinai*¹⁸.

Praising the weapon of resistance seems remarkable in the context of anasheed; it is the only way, according to the Islamic movement, to defend and reclaim the land¹⁹. Many songs glorify the legendary resistant martyr who knows no fear, while few mention the human martyr with sensitive feelings. Those for whom eyes shed tears for losing someone who had a life with all the details that a dreaming human experiences. However, they chose to abandon it for a greater purpose. The singer Ayman Al-Hallak was one of the few who broke this mold and sang for the human martyr in his album *Fatanta Ruhi* "You fascinated my soul" in the opening chant:

They say he's dead
How will we stop the sorrow of the birds
When they pass by the sun's surface as they don't see him
And how will we stop the sorrow of the fields
if they distract us with his invitation to start the spring
And how will we stop the sorrow of the minarets
*when they call him in the morning, and he does not respond*²⁰.

¹⁷ Abu Ahmad, "Qawi Ya Sha'bi" [O My People, Resist], in The First Chant Festival, 1990.

¹⁸ Al-Yarmouk Band, "Wasil Idrabaka fi al-Daffa" [Continue Your Strike in the West Bank], in Agharid lil Watan [Chants for Homeland], 1993.

¹⁹ Such as *Barudati* "My Gun" by Hussam Al-Ahmad (*al Ahmad* 1993).

²⁰ Ayman al-Hallak, "Fatanta Ruhi" [You Fascinated My Soul], 2003.

Among the resistance *nasheed* that introduced new themes of Islamic songs are the songs that glorify Palestinian female martyrs and emphasize the role of women in the resistance, wielding weapons. This comes after Islamists had previously limited the role of women to raising and educating generations, as well as the religious preaching aspect of the movement. They were also limited by a few resistance activities, such as information transfer and logistical support for the fighters, for years. However, during the second intifada, all political and marital parties, including Hamas, accepted sending female martyrs to the front lines, as Khalil Abed sings:

*O adorned with fire, O proud ones with honor
O seekers of the home, the path of Jihad was recognized
If you hear this land, it shouts "Wafaa Idris"
Calling on "Darin," and barricades exploded
This is a nightingale in the night; the homeland has become a bride
Oh, how beautiful is the age of youth, it was picked early, oh my mother
Our brides' procession, oh my brother, walks with calmness
Carrying flowers and hearts filled with fragrance
Tell the night star that the day has begun
And welcome, O horses, the love of honorable girls²¹.*

One of the significant themes in resistance songs, especially those related to strengthening the spirit of resistance, is the mourning anthem. This refers to the song used in the funerals of martyrs and memorial events held by factions to honor these martyrs. Along with this category goes the praise of leaders of the Islamic movement, often martyrs or prisoners. This praise is rarely directed towards those who are still alive, aligning with the ideological stance of the Islamic movement that considers anyone with a breath left as susceptible to "temptation." One notable anthem is 'Ahd al-Kada, "The Leaders' Oath," where various singers honor prominent figures from Hamas:

*"Muhammad al-Dayf" with your machine gun, chase them
And with the sword's edge, if you meet them, fight them
And for the right of this stolen land, demand them
You are the hunter, accustomed to chasing prey
O Palestine, we love martyrdom
From "Ahmed Yassin," we inherit the will
"Abd al-Aziz al-Rantisi," the pride of our lands
With martyrdom, he achieved the dearest dreams
O "Ibrahim al-Maqadma," on the day of the henna
We knead the dust with musk, and you are invited
We will follow in your footsteps*

²¹ Khalil Abed, "Tullab al-Mawt" [Seeking Death], in *Tahiyyat Watan* [Homeland Sellout], 1993.

*Listen to the land when it calls your name*²².

Along with resistance comes the pain of imprisonment. There is a profound sense of pain and intense sorrow due to the impact of imprisonment on the spirit of the resistor and their families alike. In these nasheeds, the singer attempts to blend common human feelings with the spirit of sacrifice derived from Islamic thought and the commitment to continue the path until the liberation of the prisoner and the land. On the other hand, there are uplifting nasheeds that boost the spirit of the prisoner and their families, alleviating some of the suffering they endure²³:

One of the most famous nasheeds that describes the prisoner and dates back to a moment of human compassion mixed with self-dignity is the nasheed *Akhi Anta Hurr Wa Ra' Al-Sudud* "O Brother, You Are Free Behind the Barriers." It is a poem by Sayyid Qutb, recited just days before his execution, and it became an icon in the world of Islamic nasheeds. It has been composed and performed multiple times in various contexts. The Muslim Brotherhood's nasheed singers in Egypt, from the Nasser era to Sadat and Mubarak, have chanted it, and it persisted through the recent events in Egypt in 2013. Syrian revolution nasheed singers also recited it during the Hama events in 1982 and their new revolution in 2011. Many Palestinian nasheed singers have also echoed its sentiments:

O Brother, you are free behind the barriers,

O Brother, you are free with those restrictions,

If you seek refuge in Allah, what harm can the plots of enslaved people do to you?

O Brother, the armies of darkness will perish,

and a new dawn will rise in the universe.

Release the radiance of your soul;

you'll see the dawn winking at us from afar.

Females are rarely mentioned in the imprisonment songs. It is one of the most sensitive issues in the Palestinian society. Palestinians did not initially accept the idea of imprisoning women as they did with male resistance fighters. This led to pressure on women to avoid engaging in forms of resistance that might lead to arrest due to the fear of the stigma associated with imprisonment. Although this perception has shifted in recent years, the traditional role assigned to women in matters of imprisonment has remained dominant. It is clearly expressed in songs: the mother anxiously awaiting her detained son, the wife who waits for her husband and raises their children during his absence behind prison bars, or the young girl who eagerly awaits her father's release to embrace him and lean on him. The feminine voice perfectly captures the agony of a mother in the absence of her beloved, unable to translate it better than the woman herself:

O Son, no matter how high the prison wall gets high,

It will not keep you away from me.

²² The Knights of Yassin, "Nasheed al-Qada" [Nasheed of Leaders], in Fawaris al-Nasr [Knights of Victory], 2009.

²³ Such as the song *Ruhak Ma Yihimha I'tikal* "Your soul doesn't care about imprisonment" (Al-Wa'd 2006b).

*Count the time; return to me eagerly waiting.
O son, distance is like love, sweetens with pain and yearning,
like the river flowing only with rain and lightning.
No matter how we part, keep your head high,
and even if fire surrounds my heart, I won't show pain^{24, 25}*

The centrality of martyrdom and resistance within the anthems illustrates the performative production of what may be termed the “resistant body.” Through repeated associations between honor, sacrifice, and death, the body is discursively constructed as a legitimate site of struggle. In Butlerian terms, the body becomes intelligible within a specific normative frame, one in which its value is realized through sacrifice. This reiterative linking of death with dignity does not merely describe resistance; it produces a subject for whom martyrdom becomes thinkable, and even desirable, within a moral economy of liberation.

At the same time, these anthems raise critical questions of representation in Spivak's sense: who is authorized to speak as the voice of resistance, and whose experiences remain mediated or absent? While the songs speak collectively, they often privilege a particular masculine figure of resistance, even as they gradually incorporate female martyrs into this representational field.

6. The position regarding the Oslo Accords

Hamas prepared its members to reject in advance the secret agreements that took place in Madrid, which later led to the Oslo Accords, in many songs²⁶, most notably *La Tahlum bil-Hal as-Silmi* (Don't Dream of a Peaceful Solution) by Al-Rawabi Band at the first song festival in Jordan in 1990:

*Do not dream of a peaceful solution. Forget the dreams.
There are eagles and wolves in the universe, but no pigeons
Get up, leave your house, do not sit, carry mine,
leave the chair to those who are cowardly, and leave the pens
You will write with blood that is consumed:
Long live Islam. Long live Islam. Long live Islam
If the cannon is lacking, do not despair and carry stones,
For the rocks of your land are like flames of fire to the tyrant²⁷.*

²⁴ Abd al-Fattah Owainat, “Nater ‘al-Bawwaba” [Waiting at the Gate], 2008.

²⁵ Similarly, the voice of a child powerfully conveys the pains of losing a father in prison, deprived of seeing him and grappling with the emotions in their daily life, such as the nasheed *Nater ‘Al Al-Bawwaba* (Waiting at the Gate) by Abdel Fattah Owainat (Shalash 2002).

²⁶ Many songs also call on the resistance fighters not to submit and to lay down their weapons. An example of this is the song *La Tirmi Slahak* (Don't Drop Your Weapons) by Nizar Abu Al-Fida (*Abu Al-Fida* 1990).

²⁷ Al-Rawabi Band, “La Tahlum bil-Hall al-Silmi” [Don't Dream of a Peaceful Solution], in The First Song Festival in Jordan, 1990.

In a clear rejection of the Oslo Accords, while adopting the approach of resistance in all its forms, including armed ones, with the primitive tools available in that period, the song's impact continues to be full of famous Palestinian terms during the Intifada, such as the keffiyeh, slingshot, and Molotov cocktails, and the use of walls to write slogans and statements as the most famous and widespread means available in that period:

Who are these six young men entering the roof?

These are the Qassam men, my dear

Who is this young child wearing a keffiyeh mask?

This is your son Palestine, rebelling against Zionism

For whom is this eastern house, the one that was said to be blown up?

This is Abu Muhammad's house; they caught him making Molotov cocktails

We wrote on the walls, the schools, and the mosque

that we do not accept self-government, and the deaf tell the listener

Oslo, with its political and security aspects, greatly affected the Palestinian society. The emotional dimension and official and widespread denunciation of these agreements appeared and increased day after day. Security arrest campaigns affected many members of the Islamic movement, including Hamas and Islamic Jihad, and the seeds of disagreement began to intensify, moving from an internal feeling to a resonant melody. It resonated, and the members of the movement heard it and deeply embodied its meanings. The reaction of the movement's members went in one of two directions: Either the heavy burden on the Palestinian Authority and accusing it of treason and that it is the reason for what things turned out to be, or the intensification of the pace of resistance and the high rate of martyrdom operations, which in turn led to counter-security operations by the Palestinian Authority agencies. These two aspects were expressed in the chants of the *Tahiyyat Watan* (Homeland sellout) tape, in which the most prominent Islamic groups participated, namely the Yarmouk Band, Al-Rawabi Band, Al-Baraa Band, the poet Khalil Abed, the vocalist Samih Zureikat, the vocalist Abu Ratib, and the Al-Huda International Band. This tape was considered one of the most successful and widespread albums among the Islamic Movement adherents in the mid-nineties. Samih Zureikat sang "O sea, where are the shipmaster"²⁸ in an apparent reference to the psychological rift between the members of the Hamas movement and the Palestinian Authority:

O sea, where is the shipmaster to be greeting you?

The one who goes through seven seas between one day and one night

The sailor became a stranger when his sail broke,

He has no brother or lover, and his dream is lost

The arrow of treachery breaks the strongest ribs,

But the arrow of the relative kills us, woe

²⁸ Samih Zureikat, "Ya Bahar Wein al-Bahhar" [O Sea, Where Is the Sailor?], in *Tahiyyat Watan* [Homeland Sellout], 1993.

*O sea, fishing nets started to call upon us,
We are both enemies, but we have made a treaty
Our relatives set traps for us; they broke our mast.
They betrayed you, but we never did. They sold us, woe²⁹.*

7. Political participation

Hamas believes in elections as a means of power-sharing, a belief shared by its intellectual mother movement, the Muslim Brotherhood. The movement has participated in all union and student elections in Palestine since the inception of unions, chambers of commerce, universities, institutes, and colleges. However, it did not participate in the first legislative elections due to political reasons, not religious ones. The movement's anthems did not shy away from urging the public to participate in all types of elections. During the 2005 local elections, the movement aired a song on local radios encouraging people to participate and elect the Change and Reform list:

*The day has come to change, build, and settle our Gaza
The day has come to unite our voices, unite our flag
The green flag remains our flag, Islam our voice, and our image
Vote for the source of our pride, the Change and Reform list*

Similarly, during the legislative elections in 2006, one of the most prominent anthems was *at-Tashri'i ya Hamas* (Go to the Legislative Council, O Hamas) by Al-Shimal band. This song, with both popular style and content, gained popularity and circulated widely among the people. The lengthy popular anthem focused on several themes, starting with the importance of Hamas entering the legislative elections because it raises the banner of Islam as the solution:

*Participate in the legislative elections, O Hamas,
the homeland, and people call you
Islam is our foundation,
Our goal is the country and the nations,
and dignity for humans,
Our land needs the Quran,
It's the essence and the title,
the origin and the foundation
We don't want bribes, no personal interests
We need actual actions, with effort and seriousness
We want righteous souls, pure hearts
Administration, art, and integrity³⁰.*

²⁹ Zureikat, "Ya Bahar Wein al-Bahhar."

³⁰ Al-Shimal Band, "At-Tashri'i Ya Hamas" [Go to the Legislative Council, O Hamas], in Khalli al-Silah Sahi [Keep the Weapon Ready], 2006.

The anthems that motivate participation in university elections are numerous due to the importance of universities as a mirror reflecting the balance of political power on the ground. Considering that these elections take place periodically every year, Hamas has actively participated in various union and student elections in Palestine since the establishment of unions, chambers of commerce, universities, institutes, and colleges.

After a hiatus of four years for the Islamic bloc in all universities in the West Bank following the events of the Palestinian division in 2007 and its repercussions in both the West Bank and Gaza, it resumed participation in 2012 in some universities in the West Bank. Notable among them were Birzeit University, Jerusalem, and Hebron. For this occasion, prominent Hamas anthem singers created specific songs to support the Islamic bloc in the election campaign. One such example is the anthem “Al-Wafaa Bloc Is Back” by the singer Abdul Fattah Owainat, which is dedicated to the Islamic bloc at Birzeit University. The song emphasized the role of the Islamic bloc in serving students. It highlighted student leaders in the university who became leaders in the resistance, such as Yahya Ayash and Ahlam Al-Tamimi:

We are proud of Yahya Ayash, who was the head of the Birzeit Islamic Bloc

With Ahlam Al-Tamimi, we grow, walking the path of liberation

We were absent, but now we’ll walk; these are our journeys

We’ll achieve the hope of the future, challenging obstacles with our steps³¹.

In the anthems that encourage student elections, we notice that they do not differ much from political anthems in general. They only add some phrases and expressions related to students and their interests, highlighting the dominance of the political aspect over the union aspect in a transparent manner. This is due to the nature of student elections in Palestinian universities, which distinguishes them as political elections, reflecting the popularity of each political faction outside the university through its supporters within its walls.

8. Politics of emotions, fear, love, resistance, and death: Analysis and discussion

In the sample anthems studied, the words “jihad,” “resistance,” and “revolution” were mentioned (251) times, the word “death” was mentioned (68) times, while the word “martyrdom” in all its variations appeared (69) times. On the other hand, the word “life” seemed only (17) times, and the word “building” only (3) times. The words “victory” and “freedom” appeared (55) times, meaning that the connotations of life in this sample were repeated (75) times. A simple comparison reveals that, for every mention of life or a positive outlook towards the future, death is mentioned five times. The word “homeland” in its explicit form, referred to as “lands” or the names of some significant occupied cities in the studied anthems, appeared (185) times. The word “Palestine” appeared (40) times, and the word “Jerusalem” (81) times, totalling (306) occurrences. The majority of these

³¹ Similarly, in the same year, the singer Abdul Rahman Al-Qariuti released his anthem dedicated to the Islamic bloc at Al-Quds University, titled ‘*Ain Al-Saker Ma Tnam*’ “The Falcon’s Eye Never Sleeps.” The central theme was to encourage determination by mentioning the leaders of the resistance who were also student leaders at the university.

were associated with terms related to resistance, sacrifice, and the loss of life, and were the reason for the proximity in frequency between the two: death and homeland. Khalil Abid illustrates this dialectical relationship in his anthem *Tullab al- mout* (Seeking for Death), justifying and explaining the secret relationship between death and homeland:

I accepted you, O Death, for the sake of the homeland,

So, my people would live

I accepted you, O Death, for those imprisoned

those who drank the bitter cup

How beautiful you are, O Death, above the land's soil

So, our crops rise and are not trampled³².

The quantitative dominance of terms related to death, martyrdom, and resistance can be read through the lens of reiteration as the consolidation of a normative emotional regime. Repetition does not simply amplify these themes; it stabilizes them as the dominant framework through which political reality is interpreted. In this sense, the emotional economy of the anthems is not incidental but constitutive: it produces a subject who feels, desires, and acts within a horizon structured by sacrifice and liberation.

Interestingly, in these anthems, there is a peculiar connection between death and love. Although the word “love” is not frequently found in anthems, neither at the political nor the social level, it was mentioned (18) times in this sample, with connotations like love, longing, and affection. However, its repetition is linked to jihad and death, creating a unique phenomenon in these studied anthems:

A deer asked me in our land, “Do you love-longing in the eyes of a young girl”?

I said, “No, I don’t love apparent beauty or see love in narcissistic eyes.

I only love a full chest carrying death and adorned with martyrdom.”

My deer understood my secret and said: You love nothing but the rifle³³!

However, the relationship between this binary (death and homeland) in Islamic anthems “is not strange or condemned during this specific period. It is essential to differentiate between the liberation phase and the emancipation phase,” as Yasser Ali, a poet close to Hamas, states. The liberation phase requires combat, resistance, and jihad, while the emancipation phase requires construction and revival. Therefore, it is natural for songs with the nature, terms, and jihadi connotations to prevail over songs about revival and construction in works presented to a generation that is supposed to be prepared to reclaim this homeland. If the situation were the same during the emancipation phase, such emotional reflections would have a negative impact on nation-building³⁴.

Moreover, the words “death,” “martyrdom,” and “sacrifice” are linked to the circumstances experienced by the movement, forming the solid ground for these anthems. The constant sense of oppression through the nature of accompanying events for each stage

³² Abed, “Tullab al-Mawt.”

³³ Abu Malik, “Khandaqi Qabri” [My Trench Is My Grave], in *Call and Solitude*, 1988.

³⁴ Yasir Ali, email interview by the author, October 3, 2013.

of the anthem also plays a significant role. Often, the words associated with death and sacrifice are connected to a context that suggests their superiority over life when combined with humiliation. They are also linked to contexts urging to change the reality, which is akin to a death in life, as in the anthem "O People":

O people, how do you accept humiliation?

How do you accept being subjugated and coerced?

O people, where has your spirit gone astray?

Where did it wander? Where does your fire ignite?

O people, rise, let's strive, let's speak, let's act³⁵.

Even though death itself is not the goal, nor is it a substitute for life in Islamic thought, it is a path to a free life for the oppressed. Moreover, it is ultimately a path to eternal life for the rebels, as is the case with martyrs. The philosophy of life and death, sorrow and joy, longing for the motherland and the mother at the same time all converge in the scene of the anthem "O Mother" by the singer Abu Rateb and the Saudi singer Samir Al-Bashiri:

O Mother, if I see you before death comes,

increase your prayers for me and grant my heart contentment

How I call you with a heart burdened by anxieties,

and I see your figure around me, shining like fireflies

I'm not afraid of death itself, as sacrifice is a precious torment

Yet, if I see you, the sad heart smiles

O Mother, do not grieve and rejoice in my migration,

If you want an appointment, it will be in paradise

Remember me afterward, and remember my sacrifice,

All that we possess is for the sake of the Ummah³⁶.

As we can notice, "mothers" have always been the closest and warmest people to be remembered in war songs, refugee and migration songs, and grief songs. It is not a local or eastern phenomenon. Instead, it is a universal emotion or feeling. "Mother, Is the Battle Over? Can I Come Home from Canada?" This song was very famous during the Civil War in America in 1865 (Leppert 2016). Returning to the sample anthems, women are mentioned as mother, daughter, wife, martyrdom, and hours (58) times.

Conclusion

This study has examined the cultural and political functions of Hamas-affiliated anthems as powerful tools of political socialization and ideological formation. Through a detailed content analysis of one hundred nasheeds spanning over three decades, it has demonstrated that these songs are not merely reflective cultural artifacts but active sites in which political subjectivities are produced, circulated, and stabilized. Across themes of

³⁵ Al-Huda, "Ayyuha al-Sha'b" [O People], in *The First Intifada Festival in Jordan*, 1990.

³⁶ Abu Rateb and Abu al-Bishr, "Ihi Ummi" [Oh Mother], in *Masirat al-Khulud* [The March of Eternity], 1999.

identity, land, longing, martyrdom, and political participation, the anthems collectively construct a coherent moral and emotional universe in which resistance is not only valorized but rendered necessary, natural, and continuous.

Taken together, the findings reveal that these anthems operate as a dense discursive field in which multiple dimensions of resistance are interwoven. Islamic identity, attachment to land, the inevitability of return, and the normalization of sacrifice do not appear as separate thematic strands but as mutually reinforcing elements of a broader ideological formation. The repetition of these elements across songs, generations, and contexts produces what may be understood as a durable structure of feeling, one that binds individual experience to collective struggle and transforms political commitment into an embodied disposition.

Engaging Butler's concept of performativity, this study has shown that the power of these anthems lies precisely in their reiterative nature. Through repetition, specific norms of sacrifice, dignity, steadfastness, and faith are sedimented and reproduced, giving rise to a recognizable resistant subject. Identity, in this sense, does not precede the song; it emerges through it. The nasheed becomes a site where the subject learns how to feel, how to relate to death and land, and how to position the self within a collective narrative of liberation. In this process, the body itself is re-signified: no longer merely biological, it becomes a political body whose value is articulated through endurance, sacrifice, and, at times, martyrdom.

At the same time, drawing on Spivak's distinction between representation as speaking for and re-presenting, the anthems can be understood as mediating the voice of the collective. They speak in the name of "the people," "the Ummah," or "the resistance," while simultaneously constructing what these entities are imagined to be. This dual function raises critical questions about voice, authority, and inclusion. While the songs project a unified collective subject, they also privilege certain figures, most notably the male fighter, while historically marginalizing others, even as recent shifts have begun to incorporate female figures into the symbolic repertoire of resistance. The anthems thus not only mobilize but also delimit the contours of belonging within the resistant community.

Furthermore, the analysis of emotional registers, particularly the centrality of death, martyrdom, and longing, highlights the role of affect in sustaining political struggle. The disproportionate presence of death-related vocabulary does not signal a nihilistic orientation but rather reflects a specific political temporality in which liberation is imagined as inseparable from sacrifice. Within this framework, emotions are not secondary to politics; they are constitutive of it. The anthems cultivate an affective economy in which grief, love, fear, and hope are organized around the horizon of resistance, enabling individuals to endure and reproduce conditions of prolonged struggle.

Importantly, these findings extend beyond the Palestinian case. They contribute to broader debates on the role of cultural production in contexts of occupation, settler colonialism, and protracted conflict. By foregrounding the performative and representational dimensions of political songs, this study challenges approaches that treat music as merely expressive or symbolic. Instead, it positions anthems as infrastructures of political

socialization sites where ideology is not only communicated but lived, embodied, and transmitted.

In this sense, Hamas's anthems can be understood as archives of resistance and pedagogies of struggle. They encode historical memory, articulate political visions, and cultivate dispositions necessary for resistance continuity across time and space. Their enduring relevance lies not only in their content but in their capacity to produce subjects who can carry that content forward. Future research may build on this framework by examining how such performative cultural forms evolve in digital spaces, how they interact with other media of resistance, and how alternative voices negotiate, contest, or reconfigure these dominant representations.

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