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PORTRAYAL OF NATIONALISM IN JORDANIAN
NATIONALISTIC SONGS

by
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROJECT OF

Ramz Shafic Sahuri   for   <u>Master of Arts</u>
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There is a strong relationship between social structure and linguistics, and discourse could never exist without a parallel social meaning (Kress & Hodge, 1979). Music as a medium that encompasses discourse reflects the inherent social values, ideologies, and circumstances of a society. The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the portrayal of national discourse in Jordanian nationalistic songs and how culture and power structures can aid in molding national discourse among people. Using qualitative critical discourse analysis (CDA) and a purposive sample of 19 nationalistic Jordanian songs, the study attempts to examine the ideologies portrayed, transmitted, and reinforced in Jordanian nationalistic songs within the context of critical theory concepts of standardization, ideology, and hegemony.

Keywords: Jordanian Songs, Nationalism, CDA, Critical Theory, Ideology, Hegemony

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

During the capture and following the killing of the Jordanian pilot Moaz Al Kasasbeh by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, several nationalistic songs urging Jordanians to stand side by side during times of turmoil came out ("Al fannan al 'urduni," 2015; "Wisam Sultan wa 'ughnia," 2014). During that stressful period, Jordanian artists expressed their sorrow, their hope, and later commemorated the death of the pilot through music. Investigating the power of music is valuable in understanding feelings, mentality, and circumstances of a given society. According to Daynes (2010) music is a form of social practice, product, and resource. People produce music in a certain time and place through which they reveal a lot about themselves, their society, and their circumstances (Daynes, 2010).

Popular music is considered one of the most powerful expressions of the "culture industry" globally (Chambers, 1982). Music is considered a form of cultural transmission and an expression of communities' shared beliefs and experiences (Blau, 1988). Music promotes social cohesion and bonds between individuals of a given community. Blau (1988) argued that music is very important when studying relationships between social well-being representations and culture because of its ability to reflect and express social values and circumstances.

To understand social structure and culture of a given society through their songs, it is vital to closely examine the song lyrics. Dukes, Bisel, Borega, Lobato, and Owens (2003) argued that lyrics of popular music not only follow cultural trends, but also account for novel societal developments. To establish the importance of lyrics as a form of communication, Pettijohn and Sacco (2009) stated that lyrics of songs resemble story telling in human conversations but communicate to a bigger audience. Media and technological advancements -such as free online song download sites- have indeed facilitated communicating to bigger audiences (Pettijohn & Sacco, 2009). And the case is not different in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The percentage of households owning a computer nearly doubled between 2005 and 2008, while traditional radio receiver ownership decreased by almost a half (Sweis & Baslan, 2013). By mid-2012, the percentage of the population with access to the Internet reached 56 percent (Sweis & Baslan, 2013). Before delving deeper into Jordanian media and nationalistic songs in specific, it is important briefly review the establishment of Jordan as a state.

A. A Brief History of Jordan

It was not until 1921 that the efforts of the Hijazi amir Abdullah and the British established Transjordan as a nation-state. Before that period, there was no "territory, people, or nationalistic movement that was designated, or designated itself, as Transjordan" (Massad, 2001, p. 11). Hand in hand, the Hijazi amir Abdullah and the British attempted to set up structures necessary for the functioning of the young nation-state. Such structures included an army, a police force, a governmental structure, a bureaucracy, and laws. In

1946, the ruling amir declared himself king of Transjordan, transforming it from a mandate emirate into an independent kingdom. Moreover, the nation-state changed its name "Transjordan", a name the British parliamentarians had chosen proceeding World War 1, to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Massad, 2001).

The first Jordanian radio station was established in 1950 in Ramallah, while the first television station was established later on in 1968 (Massad, 2001). The trend of Jordanian nationalistic songs goes way back. Both the radio and the Jordanian television have been airing nationalistic songs "exalting Jordan, Amman, the army, and King Husayn" (Massad, 2001, p. 250).

B. Jordanian Nationalistic Songs

Al-Azzam and Al-Quran (2009) argued that songs could represent a living cultural history of a given community and are perceived as its unique legacy. Furthermore, songs have been viewed as a significant player in mobilizing the masses (Massad, 2003). This study will attempt to examine portrayal of nationalism in popular Jordanian songs because these songs are a rich medium that could help us better understand the social and cultural norms and values of Jordanian society (Al-Azzam and Al-Quran, 2009).

As a society, Jordan is "mainly tribally-structured, though now has almost all of the characteristics of a modern state, whose members share attributes and common cultural habits and traditions" (Al- Azzam and Al-Quran ,2009, p. 1). Therefore, it is important to

study Jordanian nationalistic songs and examine the ideologies embedded in their lyrics to gain a better understanding of Jordanian society.

Nationalistic songs in Jordan are a prominent way of demonstrating "nationhood awareness, through expressing senses of belonging, pride, patriotism, and loyalty to homeland and the leader is a quotidian behavior in which nationhood is produced and reproduced in everyday life" (Al- Azzam and Al-Quran, 2009, p. 3).

Al-Azzam and Al-Quran (2009) said that Jordanian nationalistic songs are national messages symbolizing the societal structure at large; through these songs people's declaration of national pride is continuously pronounced. Ho (2006) argued that nationalist songs portray people's ethnic affections and national identity and through these songs people are continuously mobilized and defined.

This study will execute qualitative critical discourse analysis (CDA) on a purposive sample of 19 nationalistic Jordanian songs. The purpose of this study is to investigate how Jordanian artists use discourse to portray nationalism and how culture and power structures can aid in molding national discourse among people.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Critical theory is traced back to Frankfurt school theorists who based their work on Marxist theory and defined critical theory by contrasting it with traditional Marxist theory through saying that it is critical as far as it attempts to free individuals from conditions that enslave them (Bohman, 2001). Adorno and Horkheimer viewed art as culture's indication of a social wellbeing rather than a useless pleasurable addition to the world (Horkheimer, 1941). They tackled the issue of homogenization in art arguing that mass culture is what leads to homogenization. For these theorists, less variety of cultural forms are available for audiences because of standardization and mass production (Burnett, 2002). This standardization is leading to a "systematic reduction" in innovative ideas and themes presented (Burnett, 2002). Koval (1988) explained in regards to Adorno and Horkheimer's argument that culture is no longer characterized by diversity because old ideas keep being repeated hardly ever changing.

Adorno (2002) argued that popular music is characterized by standardization (p. 438). He referred to standardization of structure in the details and the form of popular music. Standardization was probably imposed due to the commercial nature of these songs, to promote "easy listening" among listeners (p. 438). Standardization in music makes listening to new songs effortless, as listeners already have an idea of what to expect. The underlying grounds behind this standardization such as the case in industrial mass

production where standardization is inevitable. He talked also about imitation, how hundreds of songs imitate one successful song and that creates homogeneity in the market.

To contrast, Middleton argued that standardization does not necessarily entail a negative connotation as Adorno perceived it (DeNora, 2003). For Middleton, folk music for example follows predictable patterns, which is rather a style than a negative characteristic (DeNora, 2003). Middleton viewed Adorno's analysis lacking emphasis on the social aspect of the process, where people collectively share methods for facilitated coordination, where these conventions could be viewed as enabling rather than constraining (DeNora, 2003).

Horkheimer (1941) argued that the economic system should be blamed for standardization of the arts as it "carves all men to one pattern" (p. 158). He criticized popular entertainment saying that it is composed of "demands evoked, manipulated and by implication deteriorated by the cultural industries… it has little to do with art, least of all where it pretends to be such" (p. 164). For him, popularity of the arts is no longer related to the specific content of the artwork (p. 165).

Horkheimer (1941) claimed that entertainment has increasingly occupied the arts, and the ruling social strata have taken more control of entertainment. Popular entertainment consists of what the managers of the amusement industry think the masses like. "Supply and demand are no longer created by the social need but by reasons of state" (p. 165). For Horkheimer, communication is the consequence rather than the intention of artistic work. However, he argued that art today is no longer communicative.

Art in an economic system suffers from standardization and a lack of variation between contents of artworks (Horkheimer, 1941). Individual acts such as art lack human essence and stick to popular judgment, which are dictated by the ruling class (Horkheimer, 1941).

While Adorno looked closely at standardization of music, examining specific components that lead to the rise of standardization, Horkheimer looked at the bigger picture and tried to understand why standardization arose in this economically driven world. It is also worth mentioning that the two theorists argued that the cultural artifact would lose any inherent meaning with continuous repetition. As new ideas are neutralized and normalized with constant repetition, a message loses its impact and for the theorist that is how culture loses its critical role in society (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972).

Shils (1957) argued that Horkheimer depersonalized the ordinary citizen. To Horkheimer, the conventional person who watches television and listens to the radio is stripped of feelings, religious beliefs, private life, and a family that means anything to him or her. This is a standardized anxious person that lacks individuality and is incapable of creating novelty. That person has turned into an impersonal industrial machine. He or she has no taste or intelligence and are satisfied with the cheap mass production of culture. Shils argued that at the time the masses had no access to high culture but had their own art, folk art. Folk art that Adorno and Horkheimer so much detested was in fact genuine and expressive of the people.

Moving from the notion of standardization in critical theory to ideology and hegemony it is vital to explore Marx's seminal work. According to Marx, ideology is created and reproduced by the ruling class who are both the material and intellectual force of society (Thomposon, 1990). He considered ideology as a product of the ruling class; it portrays their interests, concerns, and struggle to keep on dominating society. Such elitist ideologies are fed to the working class to generate profit, serve their purposes, and the continuity of the ruling class (Thomposon, 1990). The dominant class -whether the government, the owners of the media, or those who fund the production of these songs- benefits from spreading their ideology through these songs. That could explain the market's orientation towards nationalistic songs and those references that all nationalistic songs include. These songs could be viewed as agents of hegemony perpetuating ideology of the dominant ruling class.

Ideology is "a conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and in the manifestations of individual and collective life" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 328). Gramsci viewed ideology as tied to action, and rather than their true values, ideologies are judged according to their social effects (Fairclough, 1995).

Ideology does not only play a critical political role in the decision making process of the governing authority, but it also influences how the media communicate information that persuades people. Through the media, ideology engages hegemonic control in national politics, where it creates a consensus on how the world should be, normalizing hegemonic control in people's everyday lives (Rucker, 2012).

The authority may not be directly dictating certain actions to the people. However, favorable actions are rewarded. For example, the authority may not be advising producers and singers to produce songs that would put them in a favorable light; however, producers and singers still do. They do so because they aspire to please the authority and gain recognition, hence be rewarded either financially or socially. For example, Omar Al Abdullat received royal recognition for his work on nationalistic songs ("Al Malek Abdullah Al Thani," 2007). King Abdullah bestowed on him the Hussein medal for excellence ("Al Malek Abdullah Al Thani," 2007).

To provide a critique of critical theorists' conception of ideology, one can examine the work of Geertz and Swidler. Both Geertz and Swidler attempted to dissociate ideology from its orientation towards power. To them, ideology is almost apolitical.

Geertz (1973) viewed ideology as a cultural system that people within a culture hold in order to regulate political understandings. Geertz also argued that ideologies develop as a cultural response during periods of cultural crisis. Through ideologies, people interpret and make sense of the natural world. When other cultural systems such as religion and common-sense fail to interpret or handle social change, ideologies arise as a system of meaning.

Also, Swidler (1986) adopted Geertz conception of ideology. She thought that during normal times culture regulates people through binding them to certain acceptable ways of conduct. However, during times of turmoil new means of understanding reality come to light. People start to hold ideologies because their ways of living have been

challenged and have lost their taken-for-granted status. Ideologies become ductile and vulnerable to extortion by those looking after promoting and legitimizing their specific vision. In other words, people usually use culture as a benchmark to how to act, think, and feel. Nevertheless, when culture fails to play its role in unsettled times, ideologies emerge to help people interpret their surrounding. A concept that also involves people's contribution is hegemony.

Hegemony as a concept originated in Lenin, however, it is Gramsci that specialized in it. He elaborated and expanded on it in his work on analyzing western capitalism and European revolutionary strategies (Fairclough, 1995). Liowitz (2000) discussed how Gramsci identified hegemony as the domination of a subordinate class by a superior class, not only through coercion but also through persuasion and ideology. In this case the subordinate group 'voluntarily' reproduces the system, because they believe that is the right and only way of living. The dominated class reifies these ideologies and learns to internalize the system, accept it, and idealize it. That is how Gramsci thought the dominant class dominates the internal world of the dominated class (Lioitz, 2000). Orlowski (2011) described hegemony as the "ideal representation of the interests of the privileged groups as universal interests, which are accepted by the masses as the natural order"(p.42).

Hegemony as a concept best provides a theoretical framework for understanding ideology and discourse (p. 75). Fairclough (1995) explained that hegemony is more complex than merely dominating inferior classes; it is about forming alliances and integrating to win their consent through either ideological means or concessions. In general, discourse theorists argued against economism of ideology. They believed that the working

class played a big historical role in molding social power, which is diffused rather than centered (Stoddart, 2007).

As for discourse, Fairclough (1989) explained that it "can never be 'neutral' or value-free; discourse always reflects ideologies, systems of values, beliefs, and social practices" (p. 21). Repeated usage of a certain discourse in the media may result in increasing the social power of some over others (Orlowski, 2011). Discourse is a way of struggle that relentlessly contributes to the transformation and the reproduction of preexisting power and social relations (Fairclough, 1995). For example, nationalistic songs are a manifestation of national discourse. Analyzing these songs can help gain a better understanding of the ideologies embedded in the lyrics of the songs.

To explain portrayal of nationalism in Jordanian nationalistic songs and how culture and power structures can aid in molding national discourse among people, this study will adopt critical theories of standardization, ideology, and hegemony. This section theorized standardization as discussed by Adorno and Horkheimer and offered critique of these theories. Also, it examined the notions of ideology and hegemony as presented by critical theorists such as Marx and Gramsci to present a theoretical base. This study argues that Jordanian nationalistic songs are hegemonic vehicles the dominant class uses to legitimate authority, control discourse about themselves, and serve their purposes. Hegemony explains that ideology of the dominant group is integrated in the "general consensus" (Van Dijk, 2008). Van Dijk explained that through influencing people's minds –such as their opinion and knowledge- one could control some of their actions. So those

who control influential discourse –song producers in this case- have better chances at controlling others' minds and actions. The research questions this study proposes are:

RQ1: How do Jordanian nationalistic songs portray Jordanians and Jordan as a nation-state?

RQ2: Which arguments are used to validate governance and authority in Jordanian nationalistic songs?

RQ3: Which names are given to the king in Jordanian nationalistic songs?

RQ4: In what way is religiosity featured and Islam incorporated in Jordanian nationalistic song?

RQ5: How are Jordanian customs and cultural strands integrated into Jordanian nationalistic songs?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

To answer this study's research questions, this paper implemented critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis as a method is powerful in a sense that it determines ideologies underlying an examined text (Orlowski, 2011). The study investigated a purposive sample of 19 Jordanian nationalistic songs produced in the past 10 years to answer the research questions.

A. Critical Discourse Analysis

A qualitative approach to data analysis seeks to find "general statements about relationships among categories of data" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 150). Discourse theory is based on the idea that the use of language helps construct people's realities rather than simply mirroring their social and mental reality (Karlberg, 2005). This study will use critical discourse analysis (CDA) because it is interested in studying the social meaning behind the lyrics rather than the mere linguistic unit per se (Wodwak & Meyer, 2009).

Fairclough (1995) conceptualized discourse analysis by saying that "discourse is use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice" (p. 7). In discourse, power is identified as an asymmetry between discourse participants and uneven control over production and consumption of discourse (Fairclough, 1995).

Because this study is interested in ideology and hegemony CDA appears to be a suitable method of research. According to Fairclough (1995), ideology exists in language as an underlying structure. This structure shows that discourse practices and events are highly impacted by social customs, norms, history, and conventions (p. 71). Language is ideology materialized (p. 73). Because ideology and discourse reflect the real world, the real world is affected by ideology and discourse (p. 73).

CDA argues that discourse is a form of social action, which is hugely affected by social structure and is concerned with the ways discourse does ideological work (Van Dijk, 2008). CDA is interested in examining everyday ideologies in latent in common beliefs that appear as neutral and largely remain unchallenged (Wodwak & Meyer, 2009). Wodwak and Meyer (2009) explained how hegemony is perpetuated when people think in the same way regarding a certain matter and forget the existence of "alternative to the status quo". Using CDA to study Jordanian nationalistic songs, this study hopes to gain a better understanding of discourse regarding nationalism in the Jordanian social context.

B. Sample

This study used a purposive sampling technique because it is specifically interested in Jordanian nationalistic songs. Wodwak and Meyer (2009) explained that most CDA studies examine typical texts, which are usually chosen by purposive sampling. According to Merriam (2009), purposive sampling is grounded in the idea that the researcher wants to "discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (p.77). A typical sample is one that is selected

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because it reflects a certain "phenomenon of interest" (Merriam, 2009, p. 78). Guarte and

Barrios (2006) defined purposive sampling as "randomly selecting units without

replacement from the particular section of the population believed to yield samples that will

give the best estimate of the population parameter of interest" (278). Because this study is

interested in portrayal of nationalism in recent nationalistic Jordanian songs, the study

selected a typical purposive sample of Jordanian nationalistic songs produced during the

last 10 years. A well-known Jordanian music store called "Music Box" provided the study

with a list of Jordanian nationalistic songs and a list of singers who sing Jordanian

nationalistic songs. In order to cover as many singers as possible, the study analyzed a

randomly chosen song from each singer until saturation and redundancy in the analysis was

achieved. Redundancy or saturation is the point where no new information arises from the

data (Sampling, 2008).

C. Design and Procedure

Fairclough (1995) explained a "three-dimensional method of discourse analysis"

this study will use:

Discourse, and any specific instance of discursive practice, is seen as

simultaneously (i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text

production and text interpretation), (iii) sociocultural practice… the method of

discourse analysis includes linguistic description of the language text, interpretation

of the relationship between the (productive and interpretive) discursive process and

the text, and the explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes

and the social processes. (p. 97).

In other words, the first step of the analysis starts at investigating the production

process, which leans towards descriptive text analysis. The second step incorporates more

interpretation in processing analysis. Thirdly, the sociocultural aspect of the text is

examined. This step offers more intensive explanation and social analysis. To put it more

simply, the CDA method follows these three steps: description, interpretation, and

explanation (Titscher, et al., 2000).

For this study's adaptation of Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional method of

discourse analysis, the language text will be the sample of Jordanian nationalistic song

lyrics. As Marshall and Rossman (1999) indicated, discovering substantial categories in

one's sample and properties that characterize these categories is a fundamental in

qualitative research (p. 152).

Therefore, this study will analyze the texts in an attempt to discover categories and

their properties. Afterwards, the study will interpret the text and the latent ideology and

hegemony presumed in these texts. Lastly, the study will provide an explanation by trying

to understand these categories and their characteristics in the bigger social context of

Jordanian society.

The study will follow Marshall and Rossman's (1999) six-phase analytic

procedure. The procedure starts by data organization and transcription, followed by

categories, patterns, and themes generation. Afterwards, the data is coded and evolving

understandings are tested. Finally, looking for alternative explanations is the last step

before writing the report.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This section analyzes the sample of nationalistic songs, offering an interpretation and an explanation of the nationalistic discourse found in the songs in comparison to critical theory. To put the lyrical content of this study's sample into perspective, it is important to analyze them using the research question proposed previously.

A. Research Question One

How do Jordanian nationalistic songs portray Jordanians and Jordan as a nation-state?

1. Jordanians

To begin with, Jordanians' sentiments and feelings were mostly reflections of patriotism that were demonstrated through their love for the country and the king. The lyrics constantly talked about Jordanians having strong sentiments of love, adoration, and admiration for the king. Majed Zureiqat in his song 'my master is Jordanian' (أنا سيدي

أردني) expressed his love and admiration for the king as a Jordanian, and explained that he

would sacrifice his life gladly for the king[1]. Bashar Al Sarhan in 'sugar on sugar' (ع سكر

سكر) explained that it is Jordanian traditions to adore their leader[2]. Also, love for Jordan

was repeatedly mentioned through sentences that said that Jordanians find Jordan more

precious than their own souls and that Jordan's love is instilled in Jordanians since

childhood. As Amal Shibli said in 'Jordan O Jordan' (أردن يا أردن), she has been taught to

love Jordan ever since she was a child[3].

Moreover, the lyrics established that Jordanians are loyal to the king and proud of

his ancestry a subject more extensively examined in research question two. In the song 'for

your eyes Abdullah' (لعيونك عبدالله), Al Loziyen said that they are proud that the king's

ancestor is the prophet[4]. The lyrics also showed that Jordanians think that the king is

untouchable. Bashar Al Sarhan in 'sugar on sugar' (سكر ع سكر) called the king a red line

not to be crossed[5]. Additionally, lyrics talked about Jordanians being protective of Jordan

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[1] 'God commends death for you' (الله حيى الموت يوم يكون فيك)

[2] 'Our customs are to adore our leader' (هذه عوايدنا نموت بقايدنا)

[3] 'He taught me his love when I was a child' (علمني حبه وأنا طفلة زغيرة)

[4] 'Your lineage goes back to the prophet and in that we are proud' (نسلك من نسل النبي و
حنا بنسلك نفتخر)

[5] 'Red line' (خط أحمر)

and proud of the Jordanian Army. Hussein Al Salman in 'say mashallah' (قولوا ما شاء الله)

explained that Jordanians protect Jordan with their gunpowder[6].

Additionally, the lyrics tackled Jordanians' actions and what they would and

would not be willing to do in the name of nationalism. These actions included Jordanians'

willingness to sacrifice their lives gladly for the king and Jordan. In the song 'special

forces' (العمليات الخاصة), singer Nahawand described Jordanians' devotion to the king and

their enthusiasm to sacrifice themselves for Jordan and the king[7]. Another action would be

Jordanians' devotion in serving and obeying the king, actions they perceive as honorable.

For example, in the song 'for your eyes Abdullah' (لعيونك عبدالله), Al Loziyen said that

Jordanians are devoted to attend to and obey the king[8]. Moreover, the lyrics depicted

Jordanians as not being tempted by gold and materialistic riches because they only value

Jordanian soil, the family and ancestry, and their roots. Sa'd Abu Tayeh explained in his

song 'salute our king' (حيوا ملكنا) that Jordanians are not tempted by either money or gold

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[6] 'We protect the land…we write with gunpowder and this land is protected' (نحمي
الأرض...ونكتب بملح البارود و هذه الأرض محمية)

[7] 'We are men who are not afraid of death…we sacrifice our souls for you' (رجال و ما
نهاب المنية...أرواحنا فدوى لك)

[8] 'We listen to you and obey you' (لك السمع والطاعة)

but value Jordanian soil[9]. Lastly, the lyrics discussed how Jordanian's pray for the king's longevity and prolonged rule. Majed Sammaan prayed for God to preserve the king[10] in 'from Amman' (من عمان).

The way these songs constantly attribute pride, satisfaction, and content to Jordanians and the way they describe Jordanians' adoration to Jordan and the king are insights to the dominant ideology in Jordanian nationalistic songs. Looking at national songs as hegemonic tools, hegemony explains that the dominated class or the mundane citizen reifies ideologies dictated by the dominant class and learns not just to accept the system, but also to internalize and idealize it (Lioitz, 2000). For example, certain ideologically charged phrases from songs such as 'Jordan land of determination' (أردن أرض العزم) by the infamous Lebanese singer Fairouz made their way to stickers, graffiti, and caricature around the country. People receive the songs and produce art incorporating the ideologies transmitted through that song.

The logic behind this is that people are convinced in the ideologies embedded in nationalistic songs to the point that those ideologies become a non-negotiable part of their way of living (Rucker, 2012). People unconsciously internalize feelings of pride, happiness, and satisfaction when they are repetitively exposed to such feelings in the media. For

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[9] 'We have never been tempted by gold or money, and your soil is my homeland, kin, and roots' (ما أغرانا الذهب ولا قروشي وترابك ربعي وهلي وشروشي)

[10] 'May God preserve you for us along the times' (ربي يديمك علينا و للزمان)

example, certain feelings of patriotism and nationalism are stirred when people listen to songs talking about Jordanians' devotion to the king and their enthusiasm to sacrifice themselves for Jordan and the king.

Finally, lyrics recurrently described Jordanians and gave them certain attributions in the songs. Those characteristics were as follows: strong, honorable, righteous, chivalrous, proud, kind, hospitable, macho, manly, knightly, fierce, and magnanimous. Ahmad Abanda in 'Jordan for those who love it' (الأردن للي يحبه) described Jordanians as righteous, chivalrous, and honorable[11]," In 'for your eyes Abdullah' (لعيونك عبدالله), Al Loziyen said Jordanians are good, kind, generous, hospitable, and proud[12]. Feras To'aimeh described Jordanians as free, fierce, and knightly[13] in 'we are the nashama' (حنا النشامى).

What is interesting is that those characteristics if found in one person draw the perfect image of what Jordanians perceive as the perfect "Jordanian citizen." These characteristics

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[11]'A Jordanian is special, gallant, and chivalrous… Jordanians are of noble birth' (أردني غير و نخوة و حمية... أردني ولاد أصول)

[12] 'We are people who console others, we are kind gallant, fierce and no obstacles stand in our way, we sacrifice ourselves for Jordan. Generosity, chivalry, and the smell of coffee in pots, we are proud people and these are your men's traditions' (حنا أهل العزاوة الطيبين النخوة, على الكايدات نقوى حنا فدوى للأردن, الكرم والشهامة و فوح البن بدلالك شعبن مرفوع الهامة هذه عادات رجالك)

[13]'We are prodigious, gallant, free and we do not succumb to oppression, Jordanians where would you find people like us knightly in all battlefields' (حنا جود وشهامة أحرار و ما نرضى بالشين, أردني وين تلاقينا فرسان بكل الميادين)

allow people to better understand what Jordanians idealize and what they look up to. To be more critical, this study argues that these are the principles Jordanian nationalistic songs push for as a dominant ideology. They do so in order to serve power, legitimate the state, and shape people's mentalities and cultures.

C. Wright Mills (1959) talked about ways in which the modern elites dominate the society of masses. Such ways he calls "unique instruments of psychic management and manipulation" include compulsory education and the media of mass communication. The same way as Gramsci's civil society employs hegemony. Mills also discussed how the media filtered into both people's experience of their own selves and their external realities. In the same way as nationalistic songs, media have presented people with new identities and aspirations of what they should like to be and what they should like to appear to be. Those nationalistic songs provided people with higher reference groups and an ideal image of how a person should be. Also, they tell people who they are, what they want to be, how to get there, and how to feel when they realize that they do not conform to these ideals. In other words, Jordanian nationalistic songs give their listeners an identity, aspirations, technique, and an escape from reality. The media generate ideology and the dominant class controls the media, so again the dominant class dictates ideology (Mills, 1959).

2. Jordan

Four categories developed under this theme. The first category described Jordan as highly regarded, respected, and honored by others because it is untouchable and high in stature. Ahmad Abanda said in 'Jordan for those who love it' (الأردن للي يحبه) that Jordan's

status is unreachable high in the sky[14]. The second category portrayed Jordan as beautiful

and green with soil worth of gold. Mahmoud Al Sultan said that the whole world swears

that Jordan has always been beautiful[15] in his song 'O precious' (يا غالي). Tima Al Jabr

started her song 'our leader' (قايدنا) by saying that Jordan's sky is different; its soil is full of

bounties, even Jordanian trees stand tall[16]. Zain Awad called Jordan a piece of heaven[17];

she also said that Jordan's soil is made up of precious gold[18]. The third category explained

how Jordan grows and develops through the king's efforts. Addressing the king, Ahmad

Abanda said in 'Jordan for those who love it' (الأردن للي يحبه) that Jordanians grow with

the help of the king in whom they are proud, and through the king Jordan flourishes[19]. Also,

Samira Al 'asali thanked the king for what he did to Jordan[20] in "deerat hawashem." Last

category tackles Jordan's rapid development and how it started out from scratch and now

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[14] 'Our Jordan is unreachable and high in status' (أردنا بالسما عالي ما ينطال)

[15] 'The whole world swears by your beauty' (كل العالم يشهدلك حلو من يومك)

[16] 'O Jordan your sky is special, you soil is bountiful, even trees stand tall proudly' (سماك
(يا الأردن غير, رملك معبى بالخير, حتى شجرك برضك شموخه غير

[17] 'Piece of heave' (قطعة من جنة)

[18] 'Your soil is worth precious gold' (ترابك ذهب غالي)

[19] 'We grow in you, we are proud of you, Jordan flourishes through you' (فيك منكبر فيك
(منفخر فين بيعمر أردنا

[20] 'We give thanks to him who built the country and made it more beautiful' (تسلم إيدين
(إلي بنى وعلا و زاد الحلا

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became one of the greatest countries in the region. Ahmad Abanda said in "il 'urdom lilli yhebbah" that Jordan started out from nothing to have become the greatest[21]. It is obvious that these lyrics portray Jordan as a flourishing and an economically sufficient country. However, in reality Jordan has always relied on the assistance of other countries and foreign aid from the United Kingdom, the United States, and other Arab countries (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009). To give more details, the website of the World Bank (2014) stated that:

> Challenges facing the country today include vulnerability to fluctuations in the oil market because of its energy import dependency and the disruption of gas supplies from Egypt; high unemployment and a dependency on remittances from Gulf economies; increasing pressure on natural resources, especially water; and escalating spillovers from the Syrian and Iraqi conflicts. (World Bank).

According to Karimeh (2014) the Ministry of Finance in Jordan declared that by the end of 2013 the public debt in Jordan reached around 19.1 billion Jordanian dinars, which is equivalent to 26.9 billion dollars. That debt comprises 83 percent of Jordan's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It is worth mentioning that the region surrounding Jordan has been political instable, however, Jordan seemed to survive the external crises impeccably. A major contributor to Jordan's stability is the outstanding foreign aid the state receives. Also, low interests and easy financing terms characterize the grants and loans

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[21] 'Jordan started out as nothing but evolved to became one of the best countries' (من ولا شي الأردن صار أكبر شي)

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Jordan receives. Countries concerned with regional happenings, such as the Arab

revolutions, are the source of financial assistance the state gets. These countries include: the

United States of America, countries of the European Union, Japan, and the Gulf

Cooperation Council States. Also, international financing institutions aid Jordan financially

such as: the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, Arab financing funds, and the

Islamic Development Bank. These countries and institutions race to help Jordan in times of

regional volatility in order to serve their own agendas. For example, the United States of

American (USA) considers Amman a key ally in the region. The USA provides Jordan with

one billion dollars a year, from which a substantial amount goes to the military fund.

The lyrics of these nationalistic songs are hardly representative of the real

situation. The songs never reflect the financial hardship Jordanians have to face, the debt

the country is facing, nor do they shed light on the magnitude of the foreign aid the country

relies on.

Fairclough (1995) highlighted that texts such as song lyrics reflect their producers'

social identities while addressing the presumed social identities of their audiences. Milton-

Edwards and Hinchcliffe (2009) explained that the Jordanian authority wanted people to

clearly perceive its priorities as "a stable internal situation, national unity, socioeconomic

development, the battle against poverty and unemployment, peace and national security" (p.

65). Milton-Edwards and Hinchcliffe (2009) continued to explain that those priorities could

not be achieved in the absence of peace, which has a foreign and domestic dimension. On a

domestic note, peace required "national hegemony" that pushed for the Transjordanian

traditional identity in contrast to the Palestinian identity. Also, the notion of peace

domestically required control over Islamist parties especially in times of turmoil following the 9/11 events.

This study argues that the nature of these nationalistic songs is of control and hegemony. Ideologies transmitted in these songs create the illusion of satisfaction to prevent people from attempting any authority challenging social movements. As Chandler and Munday (2011) asserted, the dominant groups choose to consciously disguise or misrepresent social inequality through means of ideology.

One can argue that these hegemonic tools develop into numbing instruments, by which people dissociate from the reality of their social and economic situation. One can also argue that these songs are resilient agents that blind people from their impoverished reality. Internalizing ideologies these songs transmit, people grow satisfied to the point that they no longer question the system or the possibility of a different course of life. Aslo, as Liowitz (2000) said the dominated class 'voluntarily' reproduces the system; because they believe that is the right and only way of living. The dominated rather than the dominant class may be producing these ideologically charged songs. That is because people internalized those ideologies and they reproduce them themselves. However, the question of who produces the songs is beyond the scope of this study, as this requires delving further into the production process of these songs.

The proposed explanation for why the dominant class transmits certain ideologies is because the dominant class keeps profiting from the rewarding system they created for themselves. As Marx said, ideology is a product of the ruling class, which portrays their

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interests and their strife to keep on dominating society (Thompson, 1990). Those elitist ideologies are fed to the dominated class to generate profit, serve their purposes, and ensure the endurance of their domination (Thompson, 1990).

However, to avoid portraying the dominated classes as ignorant passive receivers of ideologically charged messages it is important to highlight that there are always disputes of power between the classes (Stoddart, 2007). Ideologies are constantly engaged in a battle for the dominant ideology (Stoddart, 2007). Therefore, ideology is also a product of the ruled and other political movements and is always challenged (Stoddart, 2007).

In an interview with Jadaliyya, Tariq Tell (2012) explained that all major political groupings accept the constitutional umbrella of politics in Jordan. Even the opposition calls for reforming the regime rather than replacing it. He added that there is a public consensus in favor of the monarchy where a Hashemite king -rather than the whole dynasty as the regime's discourse implies- manages the state's affairs. Tell used the example of an attack on the king's motorcade in 2012 in al-Tafilah to highlight some Jordanians' dissatisfaction with the rule. He explained that some Jordanians favor the rule of a different Hashemite. Some fear the Palestinization of the regime when the King's eldest son ascends the throne, because of his mother's Palestinian origins.

B. Research Question Two

Which arguments are used to validate governance and authority in Jordanian nationalistic songs? The most prominent argument that surfaced in answer to this research

question was based in the king's ancestry and legacy. Majed Zureiqat in his song 'my

master is Jordanian' (سيدي أنا أردني) said that the king's roots are the most honorable of

roots and that Jordanians are proud of that[22]. In his song 'salute our king' (حيوا ملكنا), Sa'd

Abu Tayeh said that the Hawashem who are the king's family hold the crown to all

thrones.[23]Majed Sammaan explained in his song 'from Amman' (من عمان) that the king

carries the Hashemite banner[24]. Ahmad Abanda in 'Jordan for those who love it' (الأردن

اللي يحبه) said that Jordan's king's grandfather is the prophet[25]. In the song 'for your eyes

Abdullah' (لعيونك عبدالله), Al Loziyen addressed the king saying that Jordanians salute son

of Hashem, obey him, and acquiesce to his demands as he is the offspring of the prophet,

and Jordanians are proud in his ancestry[26]. In mapping the king's ancestry, El-Sharif (2014)

said:

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[22] 'We celebrate your noble descent' (فينا أعرق عرقك ونتباها فيك)

[23] 'The Hashemites own the crown to all thrones' (الهواشم تاج العروشي)

[24] 'You who hold the Hashemite banner' (يا رافع راية هاشم)

[25] 'Our king's ancestor is the prophet' (ملكنا جده الرسول)

[26] 'Son of Hashemwe listen to you and obey you… your lineage goes back to the prophet

and we are proud of that' (يا ابن هاشم لك السمع و الطاعة...نسلك من نسل النبي و حنا بنسلك

نفتخر)

The Hashemite ruling-class is regarded as one of the most distinguished ruling

families in the history of the Arabs of the Middle East. Its fame is attributed to the

claim of a direct lineage to the Arab tribe of Banu Hashim to which the Prophet

Muhammad belongs. The Hashemites descendants of the Arab chieftain Quraysh,

that is a descendant of the Prophet Ismail, himself the son of the Prophet Ibrahim

(Abraham). (p. 38)

After the end of the Ottoman Empire in 1916, Hashemites claimed rule of a few

countries such as Iraq, Syria, and Jordan. However, it was only in Jordan that their rule

endured. In Jordan they attempted to legitimize their rule using two allegations; the support

they have from the West in general and Britain in specific, and their historical affiliation to

their homeland the Hijaz. Nevertheless, they dropped these allegations after a while

emphasizing what they share with Jordanians in terms of mutual social code from a shared

destiny, common good will, and cohabitation (El-Sharif, 2014).

Nonetheless, El-Sharif (2014) argued that the Hashemites have always prided

themselves in the fact that their lineage goes back to Prophet Muhammad's tribe Banu

Hashem. They ground their rule in the historical legacy of Islamic faith and that

differentiates them from other Arab ruling families.

In other words, the legitimacy of their rule is grounded in the Jordanian collective

memory about the Hashemites' role in Islamic and Arabic History what Massad (2001)

calls the "Hashemite hegemony" (p. 223).

According to the U.S Department of State (2005), Jordan is a country with more than 95 percent Muslim majority and Islam is the state religion based on the country's constitution. Therefore, Islamic religious faith as a legitimating ideology is undoubtedly effective. Especially when embedded in various forms such as the words of a nationalistic song.

As shown in the sample, the authority has established legitimacy and maintained dominance over Jordanians through implicit ideologies. They were able to establish their self-identity because "social power is based on privileged access to socially valued resources, such as wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 254). The discourse the authority generated is viewed as the most influential hegemonic construction of knowledge relating to the Jordanian and Hashemite identity. The Hashemites have tremendous access to persuasion tools such as the media, given their great deal of social power in Jordan. Therefore, according to Van Dijk (1993) the Hashemites being the dominant class have the means to manipulate the mindsets of others in service of their interests.

C. Research Question Three

In what way is religiosity featured and Islam incorporated in Jordanian nationalistic song? Religion and Islam in particular are major influencers in Jordanian nationalistic songs. The songs used Islamic religious language and words frequently used were: Allah, rab, mashallah, wallah. Also, the songs evoked sacrifice and prayer; at many places the songs seemed to be addressing God, as a form of prayer. In other places the song

would be asking Jordanians to pray for the longevity and wellbeing of the king and Jordan. To mention a few examples, Majed Sammaan prayed that God preserves the king[27] in 'from Amman' (من عمان). Omar Al Abdulat prayed for the king's protection[28] in 'raise up your head' (ارفع راسك). Diana Karazon in her song 'your head is high' (ارفع راسك) said God is great Jordan is my country[29]. Hussein Al Salman in 'say mashallah' (قولوا ما شاء الله) asked Jordanians to say mashallah to the king and pray to the prophet by God[30].

The use of religious discourse could be a reflection of everyday Jordanian language as piety in everyday Arabic language is common. Piamenta (1979) explained that the word Allah that means 'God' is not exclusive to Muslims; all Arabic speakers use it regardless of their religion. Allah appears several hundred times in the Quran and is called the 'word of majesty' (لفظ جلالة). In Islam, Muslims are ordered to keep remembering God through dhikr which is when one reminds oneself of God through "mentioning His name…the tireless repetition of the ejaculatory litany allah, allah"(p.20). The author also explained that Arabs use rab 'Lord' to refer to God.

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[27] 'May the lord preserve you for us and for all time' (ربي يديمك علينا و لالزمان)

[28] 'Allah protect King Abdullah' (الله احمي الملك عبدالله)

[29] 'Allah is great Jordan is my country' (الله أكبر الأردن يا بلادي)

[30] 'Say mashallah to our master Abdullah, by Allah pray for the prophet' (قولوا ماشاءالله لسيدنا عبدالله سايق عليكوا الله صلوا عالنبي صلوا)

On mashallah, Piamenta (1979) started by explaining mashi'a 'divine will' which is viewed as a blessing. One uses mashallah 'it's God's will' as a form of blessing the admired person who exists in a state of grace. Upon encountering the admired person mashallah is used so as to "suppress one's jealousy, covetousness, or the affliction of one's evil eye; in order for one to when expressing one's admiration, surprise, delight, or excitement, to avoid being preoccupied with bad intention, or to avoid being accused of such preoccupation" (p. 198).

Piamenta (1979) described wallah 'by Allah' as a modern form of swearing similar to saying I swear by God. Wallah is used as an oath strengthened by the occurrence of God and implying confidence in him because "the most binding guarantee for a promise is to swear by the name of Allah" (p.41).

Langman (2006) held that significance of religion lies in its ability to provide people with "emotional gratifications through integration into an identity-granting community of meaning with powerful rituals, while providing believers with explanations of adversity, means of assuaging hardships, and often promises of a better life to come" (p.288).

According to Langman (2006), Islam in particular has central creeds on which it is built as a religion; "Allah is the one God, Muhammad was his messenger, and there is a unity of faith, community (alumma) and governance" (p.311).

Islamic phrases or religiosity as a whole could be viewed as ideology spreading through nationalistic discourse. Goldstein (2006) explained how Marx viewed religion as

ideology of the oppressed and related religion to dissatisfaction and suffering that surface

due to everyday inequality. Based in Marx, critical theorists viewed religion as "a

dialectical interplay between ideology (religion) and material interests (economics)" (p. 2).

In others words, in critical theory religion is viewed as ideological domination of people

where the dominant class produces and manipulates aspects of religion as means to control

the subordinate class.

D. Research Question Four

Which names are given to the king in Jordanian nationalistic songs? This question

is based on the pilot study that showed that specific names were recurrently given to the

king. The most redundant names the song lyrics repeated were 'our master' (سيدنا), 'father

of Hussein' (أبو حسين), Abdullah, nashmi, and sheikh. Other less used names were:

'Hashemite or son of Hashem' (هاشمي أو ابن هاشم), and 'falcon' (صقر). To give an

example of each name in a song Hussein Al Salman called the king 'our master' (سيدنا) in

'say mashallah' (قولوا ما شاء الله), Bashar Al Sarhan called the king abu Hussein in 'sugar

on sugar' (سكر ع سكر), Majd Sammaan called the king Abdullah in his song 'from

Amman' (من عمان), Tima Jaber in her song 'our leader' (قايدنا) called the king nashmi,

Sa'd Abu Tayeh called the king sheikh in 'salute our king' (حيوا ملكنا), Al Lozien in 'for

your eyes Abdullah' (لعيونك عبدالله) called the king 'son of Hashem' (ابن هاشم), Mit'ib Al

Saggar in 'sheikh of knights' (شيخ الفرسان) called the king 'falcon' (صقر).

Narratives portraying the king using words such as 'master' have ideologically charged meanings. By calling the king 'our master' the social power structure is reinforced through highlighting the binary opposition between the master and the inferior, the dominant versus the subordinate.

'Father of Hussein' (أبو حسين) was also among the names given to the king. Antoun (1968) explained that phenomenon as teknonymy, which is the practice prevalent between Arabs where people name each other by the name of their first-born male child (p. 159). People call a married man usually by the name of his first son; father of Hussein or abu Hussein is an example. The importance of teknonymy lies in it being a "critical index of adult status since it establishes a man as the head of a true family, a family of sons" (p. 162). Antoun (1968) also explained that a teknonym is so important to establish a man's manhood and social status to the point that people give it to men even if they have no children. Therefore, this study argues that Jordanians call the king Abu Hussein in acknowledgment of his respectable social status and in compliance with Jordanian Arab culture and customs.

Perhaps calling the king by his first name Abdallah is an attempt at personifying him and drawing him closer to the listener. As one calls family, friends, and peers by their

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first name, it becomes easier to identify with the king when calling him by his first name. It is as if all barriers between the listener and the king shatter.

Another common name is Nashmi, which according to Al Shunnaq and Abu Al Kaas (2000) is the good generous devoted man.

Layne (1994) explained that a sheikh is the leader of the tribe or the clan. The sheikh possesses many good attributions besides being of noble birth such as "bravery, generosity, charisma, and leadership abilities" (p.41). His role is to act as the spokesman of the tribe, to mediate disputes within and between tribes, and to open his home to community meetings. Therefore, calling the king sheikh is based in Jordan's tribal heritage.

The songs used the name Hashmi or Ibn Hashem to remind the listener of the king's honorable ancestry as discussed previously in research question two.

Describing the king as 'falcon' (صقر) says a lot about falcons' status in the Jordanian Bedouin culture. Bedouins cherish falcons because of their significant hunting techniques in the dessert ("Desert survival: Falcons an indispensable hunting tool for Bedouin," 2011). Also, Bedouins form tight trust bonds with falcons and consider them as part of their families. ("Desert survival: Falcons an indispensable hunting tool for Bedouin," 2011). Thus, it could be that calling the king a falcon means that people love him as much as they love family, and that they admire him like they admire the skilled hunting bird

The study explains these positive names using critical theory. As critical theorists explained, the dominant class or those who fund production of these songs benefit from spreading their ideology through these songs (Thomposon, 1990). Calling the king such positive names such as those aforementioned did not happen haphazardly. These names affect people's perception of him and what ideas they hold about him. Each name tackles a certain aspect of how he is perceived whether a fatherly figure, a leader, or a friend.

E. Research Question Five

How are Jordanian customs and cultural strands integrated into Jordanian nationalistic songs? This research question is important because "since nationalism lives through rituals, practices and performances, it is through them that the nation is constituted" (Massad, 2001, p. 102). The first apparent answer to the fifth research question was the use of Jordanian colloquial Arabic rather than classical Arabic. The songwriters perhaps chose to use colloquial Arabic because Jordanians could better identify with the songs that are sung in their everyday language.

Also, the songs this study analyzed mentioned many Jordanian cultural concepts, traditions, and items. To begin with, a recurrently mentioned concept was the Deera. Hussein Al Salman in 'say mashallah' (قولوا ما شاء الله) said that Jordanians' deera is a deera of actions[31]. Al Shunnaq and Abu Al Kaas (2000) explained that the deera is the place where the tribe or clan gathers. A tradition mentioned was the zaghroota. Majed

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[31]'Our deera is one of actions' (ديرتنا ديرة أفعال)

Sammaan in 'from Amman' (من عمان) said "zaghriti ya nashmiya." Al Shunnaq and Abu

Al Kaas (2000) explained that the zaghroota is a sound women usually make to express joy

and happiness in happy events and weddings.

Among the items the songs referenced were coffee and cardamom, for example

Amal Shibli in her song 'Jordan O Jordan' (أردن يا أردن) said O homeland we are the coffee

in your pots and our chivalry is the cardamom that perfumes your divan[32]. Another item

was the Jordanian national dress represented in the shmagh or hatta, Mahmoud Al Sultan

talked about the best-looking Bedouin dress and shmagh[33] in 'O precious' (يا غالي). Also,

kohl was an item repeatedly mentioned as Zain Awad said in 'Allah O homeland' (يا الله

هالوطن) Jordan's soil is kohl for the eyes[34]. Plants and flowers found in Jordan were

mentioned in the songs as well such as dahnoon and jasmine. Samira Al Asali in

'Hashemites' deera' (ديرة هواشم) talks about dahnoon.

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[32]'O homeland we are coffee in your pots, our chivalry is the cardamom that perfumes your
divan' (حنا يا وطن قهوة بدلالك والنخوة هيل بفحوى ديوانك)
[33] 'Best-looking shmaghs and abays' (أحلى الشمغ والعبي)
[34] 'O this soil is kohl for the eyes' (يا هالتراب كحل عينك)

Additionally, some songs described Jordan's landscape and mentioned names of Jordanian cities. Feras To'eimeh said in 'we are the nashama' (حنا النشامى) that Jordanians salute men of Balqaa' and Dana and blessed is the land of Zay and Dibbeen, Fuheis is house of nashama and Al Karak is the apple of the eye[35].

Na'amneh, Shunnaq, and Tasbasi (2008) explained that a lot of Jordanian Bedouin culture is expressed in everyday materialistic things. "Motifs such as the tent, the coffee pot, the camel, in addition to the Bedouin dress and folklore, are the main logos that represent Jordan and display its identity in both national and international contexts" (Bocco, 2006, p. 158).

It is interesting that most of the cultural concepts, traditions, and items mentioned in the songs are Bedouin. One speculates how did Jordan's culture become synonymous with Bedouin tradition? That did not happen by coincidence as Massaad (2001) explained. An important character that played a big role in identifying Jordan's national identity and cultural personality was John Bagot Glubb. He was "second in command of the Arab Legion, Transjordan's army, from 1930 until 1939, and its chief from 1939 until his deportation on March 2, 1956" (Massad, 2001, p. 101). It is worth mentioning that the colonial officer, who invested in the Bedouinzation of Jordan, did not work solo but reported back to and took his orders from the colonial authority in London. His project

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[35] 'Salute men of Balqaa' and Dana and blessed is the land of Zay and Dibbeen, Fuheis is house of nashama and Al Karak is the apple of the eye' (حيي زلم البلقاء و الضانا وتسلم أرضك زي و دبين و الفحيص دار النشامى و الكرك يا قرة العين)

started out as a military project attempting to integrate the Bedouins into the nation-state; however his efforts surpassed the boundaries of the military institution into the civilian life. "The result was the invention of a specifically Jordanian national cultural product, ranging from mannerism and comportment to national dishes…national dress and music… which the recently released and eruptive exclusivist Jordanian nationalism identifies as part of its very essence" (Massad, 2001, p. 102). What to eat, listen to, dance to, or wear, how to talk or act became imperative rituals submerged in specific significations. Glubb's transformative policies involved initiating these rituals whilst giving content to their significations. "The creation of new national icons, ranging from a flag to military dress, became part of this process of nationalizing not only the Bedouins but also everyone living in Jordan" (Massad, 2001, p. 102).

The shmagh or hatta are considered a Jordanian national symbol. Massaad (2001) explained that Jordanians wear the hatta as a sign of Jordanianness "assertion on national pride" (p. 250). However, it was not until Glubb in 1931 that the hatta gained that status. In his autobiography, Glubb explained that he introduced the Jordanian hatta as we know it now, "red-and-white checkered headcloth… previously, only white headcloths had been worn in Trans-Jordan or Palestine" (Massad, 2001, p. 121). He chose the red-and-white hatta as distinctive marker that would differentiate the supposedly real Transjordanians from those from a Palestinian origin. From their part, Palestinian Jordanians assumed the black-and-white hatta as a signifier of their Palestinian national identity.

Moreover, the red-and-white hatta gained more salience after king Hussein started wearing the headcloth following the events of 1970 where confrontations between the

military and Palestinian guerillas took place in what popularly became known as the "Black September" (p.240). King Hussein would wear the hatta while addressing tribe leaders and military, as well as during his visits to the Gulf and different Arab states. Additionally, Jordanian currency bills and postage stamps adopted King Hussein's picture wearing the Jordanian hatta.

Also after 1970, what Massad (2001) calls "battle of the accents" emerged. The Jordanian accent versus the Palestinian accent became a form of national indicator. Massad explained the difference between the two accents using the example of the letter qaf. Most urban Palestinians do not pronounce the qaf, so the word qamar -which means moon in Arabic- would be pronounced as amar. On the other hand, rural Palestinians either pronounce the qaf either kaf, gaf, or qaf as it is depending on their region (kamar, gamar, or qamar). Also, Palestinian Bedouins pronounce the qaf as gaf. After 1970, all Jordanians regardless of their background adopted the gaf instead of the qaf. The gaf was not just a national indicator but also sign of masculinity. Using gaf became tied to Jordanianess and manliness, while the common Palestinian "glottal stop" was perceived as feminine (p. 251). Indeed, singers of nationalistic songs of this study almost always pronounce the qaf as gaf.

On another note, the song 'special forces' (العمليات الخاصة) by the singer

Nahawand mentioned the dictum: God, homeland, king. Massad (2001) discussed how Glubb summarized his bedouinization principle into one basic hierarchal statement. The statement was found in military preface and indicated that soldiers have to fulfill their duties towards God, the king, and the nation. The principle was originally adopted and

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slightly altered from the British hierarchy, which guided "the definition of Jordanian nationalist agency to this very day" (p.150). The principle has been rearranged later on in compliance with nationalism to become: God, homeland, king. Glubb introduced that principle to Jordanian soldiers in order to transform Bedouin's loyalty from tribal to military to eventually national. Glubb was very concerned with Bedouins because they constituted the majority of the population of Transjordan and because they had been "the bitterest enemies of the government" (p. 150). Therefore, it was crucial for the government to try to attain tribal loyalty and allegiance for it to insure its rule and continuity. Jordanian tribal critics viewed tribalism as an obstruction to modern bureaucracy and believed it was unsuited to participate in a modern nation-state (Layne, 1994).

As Massad (2001) asserted, nationalism is ideology. The colonials used the ideology of Bedouinization as a colonial weapon. The British who were personified by Glubb realized the hegemonic power of Bedouinization. As Massad (2001) explained Glubb's policies were "part of a generalized British imperial policy of divide et impera" (p. 109). The British consciously attempted to differentiate what was Jordanian from what was Palestinian through dispersing ideologies that created a new national culture for Jordan different from Palestinian culture. Therefore, today's nationalistic songs still carry and transmit British colonial hegemonic ideology. Massad (2001) explained that the power of colonial ideology was in its ability to transform Jordanians' perception of the other against whom they identified themselves. While Jordanians first identified themselves against foreign colonials and perceived them as the other, colonials were able to replace themselves with Palestinian Jordanians against whom Jordanians started identifying themselves.

However, both Kings Hussein and Abdullah II called for national unity and equality for all Jordanians regardless of their origins.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of the portrayal of national discourse in Jordanian nationalistic songs and how culture and power structures could aid in molding national discourse among people. The study attempted to discover what ideas and sets of beliefs are portrayed and reinforced in Jordanian nationalistic songs. It examined how Jordanian nationalistic songs portray Jordanians and Jordan as a nation-state. Additionally, the study attempted to determine what arguments are used to validate governance and authority in the songs. Moreover, it attempted to find out the ways in which religiosity is portrayed and Islam is incorporated in the song. The study also tried to pinpoint redundant names these songs give the king. Lastly, the study attempted to figure out how Jordanian customs and culture are integrated in Jordanian nationalistic songs.

Through the lens of critical theory, this study analyzed a sample of 19 Jordanian nationalistic songs produced during the last 10 years. It could be argued that its main contribution lies in its understanding of Jordanian nationalistic discourse as demonstrated in the sample of nationalistic songs. Also, this study contributed in identifying apparent as well as latent ideologies dwelling between the lines of these songs.

As Adorno and Horkheimer would have expected redundancy was not difficult to achieve in this sample of nationalistic songs. The songs this study analyzed appeared to follow the same structure, incorporate the same ideas, and recreate the same discourse. In other words the songs tended to reiterate the same things but in a different order or format. Standardization was present and clear. It seemed as if these songs followed a manual on how to write a nationalistic song, meticulously sticking to every detail on every page. Writers of these songs create the illusion of creativity and originality in their work either through mixing and matching from different pages of the manual or by merely shifting the order of things. Listening to the sample was like listening to the same two or three songs over and over again, not in terms of melody, tune, or musicality, but in terms of lyrical content and discourse. This could be blamed on the commercial nature of the songs as Adorno (2002) discussed to promote what he called easy listening.

This study found out that Jordanian nationalistic songs pushed for certain dominant ideologies. For example, they painted a picture of what Jordanians should perceive as the perfect citizen. A typical Jordanian is a kind, proud, chivalrous, generous, and hospitable person who adores Jordan and the king and would gladly sacrifice his or her life for the better good of the country and the king. Also, the songs stressed on Jordanians'

loyalty to the king; they obey and protect him. Moreover, the songs portrayed Jordanians as satisfied citizen who are not tempted by gold and materialistic riches. Nationalistic songs talked about Jordan and how flourishing it is. They discussed how it grows and develops rapidly through the king's efforts.

Arguments that surfaced in Jordanian songs in validation of governance and authority were based in the king's ancestry and legacy. As El-Sharif (2014) argued, the Hashemites have always prided themselves in the fact that their lineage goes back to Prophet Muhammad's tribe Banu Hashem. They ground their rule in the historical legacy of Islamic faith and that differentiates them from other Arab ruling families.

Also, the study found out that Jordanian nationalistic songs regularly portrayed religiosity and incorporated Islam. The study found out that religion in general and Islam in particular are major influencers in the songs. The songs employed Islamic religious language and words frequently used were: Allah, rab, mashallah, wallah. What is more is that the songs called for sacrifice and prayer; as many songs seemed to be addressing God, as a form of prayer asking Jordanians to pray for the longevity and well-being of the king and Jordan.

Jordanian nationalistic songs gave specific names to the king. The study found out that the most repeated were 'our master' (سيدنا), 'father of Hussein' (أبو حسين), Abdullah, nashmi, and sheikh. Other less used names were: 'Hashemite or son of Hashem' (أو هاشمي (ابن هاشم), and 'falcon' (صقر).

Nationalistic songs integrated Jordanian customs and culture as the study revealed. Firstly, all singers sang in Jordanian colloquial Arabic rather than classical Arabic maybe due to the fact that colloquial Arabic is closer to the Jordanian listener. Secondly, the songs adopted various Jordanian cultural concepts, traditions, and items such as the concept of deera and the tradition of the zaghroota. Items the songs made reference to were coffee and cardamom, the Jordanian national dress represented in the shmagh or hatta, kohl, plants and flowers found in Jordan, as well as Jordan's landscape and names of Jordanian cities.

Looking at the findings of this study through the scope of critical theory it is inevitable to conclude that Jordanian nationalist songs are charged with ideologies. Whether the ideology was nationalism, religion, Jordanian culture, or colonialism it is clear that those ideologies have not been placed there arbitrarily. The elite or the dominant class who control the media and the production of these nationalistic songs use them as hegemonic tools to control the masses and serve their purposes and control what the media has to say about them. Production of these ideologically charged songs have helped reinforce the system the dominant class created for themselves that has been indefinitely rewarding them materialistic riches, status, and authority.

Given the qualitative nature of this study and the purposive sampling it adopted, it is true that these findings could not be generalized to the bigger body of Jordanian nationalistic song neither is it the purpose of this study to do so.

This study faced a few limitations; a major one was the scarcity of background information surrounding the songs. Also, the language barrier was a main

limitation. Transcription of the song lyrics was a rather tedious process as some songs were difficult to understand because the singing was unclear. Also, there were no ready comprehensive lists of Jordanian nationalistic songs to easily build a sample for this study. Moreover, this study did not incorporate underground nationalistic songs and rather focused on popular songs, which could be viewed as a limitation to this study.

A. Recommendation

This study demonstrated that Jordanian nationalistic songs are ideologically charged and are used as hegemonic tools for the advantage of the dominant class. However, it is not always the dominant class that is producing the songs. Liowitz (2000) said the dominated class 'voluntarily' reproduces the system, because they have internalized the dominant ideologies and they reproduce them now themselves. Given the influential nature of the songs on the masses, there should be more efforts to produce more socially constructive songs embracing different ideologies. Such ideologies could be of compassion, acceptance, and tolerance for example. These songs could even target social problems such as influx of immigrants, violence, and honor killings. It is important to produce songs that do not sugarcoat reality but rather address the real situation and propose real-life solutions.

Also, more academic research should be done on Jordanian nationalistic songs. Such research should entail more in depth interviews with song producers to understand their exact motives behind producing the songs. Also, more research should be done investigating who exactly funds these nationalistic songs to be able to gain a better understanding of their intentions behind the funding.

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