AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

MUSIC CONSUMPTION AND DISTRIBUTION DURING
THE LEBANESE CIVIL WAR

by
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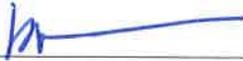
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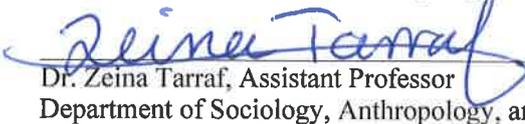
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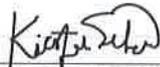
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ABSTRACT
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Title: Music Consumption and Distribution during the Lebanese Civil War

The aim of this thesis is to provide insight onto the personal experiences that Lebanese civilians had with music during the 1975 Civil War. The research focuses on how individual Lebanese people have used music to cope with the tragedies that consumed them during the war. The experiences of the war generation have generally been impersonal and more focused on quantitative data. This study gives a new voice to civilians who have been reciting the same war story repeatedly. My project looks at the ways in which music and its distribution have personally affected those that have consumed it.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Lebanese Civil War had a considerable impact on the generation that grew up during its upsurge. The damage caused by the war left visible traces all over the country. The war is ever present in the collective consciousness of Lebanese people. However, there is the lack of research into the ways in which Lebanese people have coped with this tragedy. During a time of unrest and uncertainty, the Lebanese population needed something to turn towards, some comfort amid the chaos. This project aims to understand how one specific medium was used to cope with war: prerecorded music. Music is a fundamental aspect of the human experience, across borders and cultures. It transports people in and out of worlds; it incites some emotions and soothes others. Nevertheless, sound mediums like music on vinyl records and cassette tapes are understudied and even underestimated by scholars, even though music has been just as—if not more—prominent as visual media across history. In times of war and destruction, sound media are often the easiest to access. With that in mind, it only makes sense to take a deeper look at the war generation's distribution and consumption of prerecorded music.

My personal investments in this topic come after the rise of the October 17th Revolution in Lebanon. During this time, reminders of the Civil War were all around us. Moreover, the 2019 Revolution unraveled the abundance of pain related to the Civil War still haunting the Lebanese population. The first week of the October 17th revolution, sound was an important means of self-expression. Cars with large speakers

roamed the streets of Beirut and other cities blasting music about how Lebanon will rise again. Patriotic chants filled the silence before, during, and after the protests. The sounds of people beating their pots and pans echoed through the nights.

With those powerful revolutionary sounds in mind, I was curious to revisit the Civil War with a focus on the individual experience of Lebanese people in relation to the consumption and distribution of music. Although music is an important part of Lebanese culture, there is little historical data surrounding its consumption and circulation. Most stories about the Civil War dismiss the existence of audio-visual mediums, especially sound. Thus, my project fills significant gaps by studying how music was distributed and consumed during a time of tremendous social, political, and cultural upheaval.

An anecdote from my music teacher sets a clearer picture of what my project tackles. During my preliminary research, I asked him to describe his experience with music during the Civil War. The first thing he said was that he barely had any electricity to listen to the radio. Thus, most of the music that he listened to came directly from his own guitar. One distinct memory he had was being in a candlelit bunker underground composing one of his pieces to the sound of explosions around him. I was fortunate enough to learn and play this piece myself. But every time I did, I would remember his experience with it. Music was a life-force during the war that allowed many of my interlocutors to escape into an alternate reality.

Considering the lack of academic research surrounding the real-life listening practices of Lebanese people during the war, it is essential to look at the in-depth interviews that were conducted about the subject. The study included around 13 people that were around the ages of 8 to 25 during the Lebanese Civil War. The main questions

that were asked in this study rotated around the tools used to listen to music such as cassettes, LPs, CDs, VHS and the technologies surrounding them such as the Walkman, and the radio. The participants were also asked about which genres they preferred and what their favorite songs were. They were also asked if any of these songs reminded them of a specific memory that they could recount. Those interviews had a clear emphasis on memories and their relationship to music. The purpose of this study is to empathize with the experiences of Lebanese people during the war. It gives a voice to audio technologies and their real-life impact on humans.

Music played a big role in a lot of my participants' lives. Vivianne Eddé explains it this way: "Music plays a big part in anyone's life. It is present during someone's worst moments and helps make peace with life. It helps get over sickness, accidents, and death. This is how we all feel towards music." and she is right. Music crosses cultural boundaries and is a tool used by many to get through day-to-day life. Its effects on the human psyche are vast and most of the time beyond anyone's understanding. Music makes people feel different types of emotions whether they be happy, sad or even comforting. Different frequencies have been proven to affect humans in their own way. This study aims to understand the effects of music on the human psyche when it's in its most fight or flight. It aims to understand how individuals were processing the hardships occurring around them and the importance of music during such dire times.

It was through specific technologies that most of my participants were able to cope through music. The Walkman and the radio were two of the most commonly used sound technologies. My music teacher's story brings forth the element of personalization that grounds this research project. Each individual participant had their

own experience with music in relation to the war. Some were blasting it during shelling and other were so close to death that the idea of listening to music was out of reach. These diverse experiences allow me to better understand how music was decoded in times of war.

There are many reasons to study the listening practices of people during the Civil War. Art in all forms contains therapeutic elements that allow humans to cope with what is happening around them. Whether it be war, a traumatic event, or even a celebration, music accompanies humans on whatever journey that they are on. It is a companion and a support system, whether consciously or not. It is always in the background. Music opens a new world of experiences as shown by my participants, and it also enhances mood and emotion. The Lebanese Civil War, which began in 1975 and lasted until the early 1990s, heavily traumatized every Lebanese person who lived through it. With that in mind, it felt necessary to try to understand one of the several coping mechanisms that were used to bear with decades of incessant war.

To analyze the role of music during the Civil War requires that we study the ways in which it circulated. Distribution is an integral part of this study because it aids in understanding the influx of music into Lebanon. It also gives us a look at the socio-cultural mapping of music consumption. Moreover, a comprehension of music circulation gives clearer insight into how distribution creates transnational audiences. During the war, there was an absence of basic necessities such as electricity. These raise the question of how Lebanese people accessed music and what means they used to consume it. I will be focusing on cassettes, vinyl records, and the radio.

With that in mind, piracy goes hand in hand with the lack of accessibility to music. Another essential topic that will be further tackled in this thesis. Piracy can be

defined as a third-party tool in which media objects are distributed and consumed. It is the illegal consumption of cultural goods from sources that are outside their original source of distribution. For instance, the consumption of pirated music is basically the consumption of a copy of this music, not the actual original content. The reason why piracy and distribution will be studied alongside each other is because piracy can be categorized as a distribution method.

Distribution is never incidental or unobstructed. In other words, we don't have complete agency over what we consume. There are structural forces, gatekeepers, and other factors that inhibit and allow for the circulation of media, including music. Understanding those dimensions sheds light on how power operated during the war. Distribution is essential to better understand the ways in which people consume different genres of music. By studying distribution, this thesis will have a better understanding of the ways in which Lebanon people were ingesting music during the war and how they had access to it during times of upmost chaos and upheaval. Seeing as to how music always transcended religion and sectarianism, it only made sense to study its role during a highly divisive time. The Civil War was one of the hardest events to talk about in terms of Lebanese history, and the incorporation of music is integral to the personalization of its experience.

The consumption of music is an integral part in remembering memories. It not only is a fundamental part of them, but it triggers the memories behind them. I have always been intrigued by what Lebanese people would listen to alongside the sound of gunfire and bombs—the soundtrack of the war, or if they would listen to anything at all. But that is only possible when looking at the history of music in Lebanon, its distribution and how people made sense of what they were consuming. In this thesis, I

argue that transformations to technologies of listening and distribution in the mid-twentieth century cleared space for the use of music as a coping mechanism during the Lebanese Civil War.

A. Literature Review

A project on the consumption and distribution of music during the 1975 Lebanese Civil opens a body of scholarship that crisscrosses distribution studies, technology studies, and ethnomusicology. There are certain patterns that emerge from this scholarship.

First, most scholars agree that sonic media are rarely analyzed. Second, the spatial distribution of music starts in the United States and spreads across countries. The pattern that emerges is the understanding of the ways in which music reaches people, and spreads across oceans through different networks of technology. Third, the different networks of technology include networks of piracy that have allowed Third World countries such as Lebanon to have access to media objects that they wouldn't have otherwise been exposed. The pattern that arises from these scholarships is one that looks at the informal economies created by these pirated flows.

As a review of the literature shows, music in the region has been rarely studied in relation to the potential therapeutic effects it has on individual listeners. From its inception, music has had a great impact on the people who have consumed it. Although there are some studies on its psychological effects, most are focused on consumer behavior rather than individual experiences (O'Hara and Brown, 2006). Moreover, academics such as Frishkopf (2010), mention how music is rarely ever studied outside of music studies mainly due to the fact that it is seen as a mere entertainment form of

media which then automatically makes it "fly under the radar of critical discourse; perhaps because (and perhaps for similar reasons) within academia, sonic culture (like film soundtracks) is (wrongly) perceived as secondary to the more explicitly semiotic realm of text and image," it seems like academics are focused on the media objects that can be seen rather than heard. The social importance of music, especially in societies where music is tied to its culture need to be analyzed.

I overcome this gap by arguing for a reconceptualization of the study of music in Lebanon. I emphasize the socio-geographical forces that shaped the consumption of music, how it was distributed, and the role of piracy in its spread. Furthermore, a focus on specific musical technologies allows us to expand how we think about the role of music as part of history. When reframing the ways in which music is being studied and pointing out emergent themes and gaps within the scholarship being analyzed, it is possible to look at music consumption and distribution in a whole new light.

Such a reframing requires that I also engage a significant body of scholarship that focuses on the role of piracy as a means of accessibility to areas such as the Middle East and Africa. There is a wide range of methodological frameworks in which Larkin (2004), Haynes (2007), Lobato (2015), and Mattelart (2009) studied the way informal economies aided in the distribution of certain media products. Most of these authors focused on two major African countries, Nigeria and Ghana. By studying their economies, and infrastructures, Larkin (2004) and Haynes (2007) were able to understand the spread of media objects in these informal economies. The major debate in these scholarly articles focuses on the humanization of piracy and an understanding of its role as an instrument of trade. Instead of seeing this formal economy as something

to fear and avoid, it is being studied as an outlet that helps the distribution of media in places that don't have access to original and formal economies.

In addition, Larkin (2004) and Haynes (2004) discuss how the spread of informal economies created a trade of reproduction and distribution. By looking at the poor infrastructure which enables the spread of informal media, the authors have a better understanding of why piracy is so abundant in areas such as the Middle East and Africa. With that in mind, this debate is integral to the understanding of music distribution during the Lebanese Civil War.

Dismantling the word "piracy" is an integral part of this study. Lobato (2015) refers to it as an informal economy, which is what is going to be used throughout this thesis. Furthermore, a focus on the technological elements that are spread within these informal economies has a big effect on the circulation of music during a time of social and political unrest. Moreover, Lobato and Thomas (2014) form a link between formal and informal economies since one can't exist without the other. It is important to understand the ways in which both formal and informal economies act in accordance with the media industries in which they exist in.

These topics have been central to my own work because they allow for a new methodological approach in understanding the distribution of music during the 20th century. Even if they don't focus on Lebanon specifically, the arguments mentioned previously might help explain the flow of music in and out of the Middle East. The approaches used in the scholarly readings shed light on new and important factors in the consumption music during the Lebanese Civil War. The humanization of piracy allows for a better understanding of the ways in which it moves across countries. By looking at it as an informal economy, one can see the ways in which it ingests and digests music in

the form of different technologies available for consumption. Most prevalent are cassettes during the Civil War. This deeper understanding of what piracy is, allows for an in depth investigate its presence in people's lives.

My attention to questions of piracy and my position as a media studies scholar necessitates that I also consider scholarship that has analyzed the development of sound-reproduction technologies. An important aspect of this study is a focus on the ephemerality of audio that was present before the creation of audio recording technologies. According to Sterne (2003), with the creation of the phonograph and the radio, sound was no longer defined by its ephemeral capacity. The spreadability of the human voice wasn't restricted to in-person conversations but became a tool that was spread across vast distances. Understanding the rise of sound technologies can also illuminate the significance of sound to the human experience. Sterne (2003) successfully examines the conditions behind the rise of sound reproduction and how they crystallized larger cultural events in the future, "once telephones, phonographs, and radios populated our world, sound had lost a little of its ephemeral character. The voice became a little more unmoored from the body, and people's ears could take them into the past or across vast distances," (Sterne, 2003)

The commodification and mass production of sound and hearing has shifted how humans interact with one another and with technology. The introduction of the telephone and radio, for example, altered how humans socialize, partake in leisure, and conduct business. According to Sterne (2003), "radio was the most important electronic invention of the twentieth century" (p. 6). The invention of the radio transformed habits and blurred boundaries of not only private and public life but also commercial and political life. This deeply entrenched the effects that the radio had on the human

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experience. This debate is studied in detail in Douglas' (2004) *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagining,* in which she dives deep into the role of the radio in introducing new gender and racial roles in society. It also discusses the ways in which humans have adapted to the technology.

When looking at changes within the commercial aspect of life, O'Hara and Brown (2006) offer a compelling analysis. With the rise of the radio, commercial spaces such as retail stores started using the radio to affect the sales of their products. According to the authors of this scholarly article, music plays an immense role in the construction of social actions. In other words, music can make us either happy or sad, it can either relax us or energize us. An important argument to look at is the way in which music and audio technologies shape the practices of music consumption and how the latter affects these new technologies. With the rise of the radio, corporations started using music to influence their customers' consumption decisions. This then leads us to the idea of how powerful music is and how much influence it has over humans. My study revisits this argument, as it focuses on the ways in which music was used to cope and escape from the realities of the Lebanese Civil War.

Lastly, it is necessary to look at the American spreadability of music. Florida (2010) and Jones (2002) analyze the distribution and spread of music during the 20th century. On one hand, Jones (2002) uses a historical lens as he studies the movement of music. His look at network technologies offers a powerful argument about distribution. Similarly, Jones (2002) establishes a link between geographic location and the socio-historical moments behind it. His methodological elements focus on secondary sources that provide details about the earlier distribution days of music. This historical data

allows for a better understanding of the development and rise of music in different parts of the world.

Moreover, Jones (2002) also manages to look at networks of informal distribution. He studies informal distribution regarding its formal counterparts, the recording industry and its monopolization of access. Florida (2010) on the other hand, looks at the economic geography of musicians as well at the recording industry in the US from the 70s until the start of the 21st century. By studying the circulation of musicians, Florida (2010) sheds light on the dynamics between music, creative industries, and the locations that they move to and from.

In conclusion, the scholarship tackles several different topics that aid in understanding the ways in which music was distributed and consumed during times of war. Authors such as Sterne (2003) and Frishkopf (2010) allow for a deeper understanding of the audible past along with its presence and consumptions habits in the Arab World respectively. Not only that but other scholars such as Jones (2002) and Florida (2010) tackles the earliest days of music distribution. Moreover, the rest of the scholarship tries to normalize the idea of piracy through new terminology and a look into its everyday uses. The rise of an informal economy allows us to better understand the role of piracy in everyday life, especially in places where access to certain media products is difficult. Piracy comes in as a replacement for the lack of accessibility and acts as a major contributor to spreading culture, especially western through music and movies.

Despite the successes mentioned above, the scholarship contains many gaps of which I will be filling. For instance, the academic articles discussed are generally too vague and don't target individual people. These studies also take a more quantitative

rather than qualitative approach. Instead of looking at numbers, my study aims to understand the personal experiences of Lebanese people and their relations to music. This approach will help understand the emotional experiences of each individual person as they navigated through the war with music.

B. Methodology

The information that I want to collect is specific to personal experiences. In other words, I want to see and understand the relationship between Lebanese people and the music that they were consuming during the Civil War.

Collecting information about specific personal experiences requires a methodology that acknowledges people's ability to narrate their own histories. Thus, this thesis is largely based on semi-structured interviews. I picked interviews with semi-directive questions because I wanted to understand the personal experiences that Lebanese people had with music during the war. I felt like surveys were too impersonal and broad to be able to answer the how and why within my research question. Moreover, it felt necessary to use semi-directive questions instead of open-ended questions, because I wanted to keep the focus on music to whatever extent possible.

I conducted 14 oral history interviews with people who lived through the war. I talked to 9 women and 5 men who were based in Lebanon when the war was occurring. Oral history allows me to obtain data that is very personalized. In fact, it allows me to have a deeper understanding of each personalized experience. Moving from one interview to another, participants recounting their oral histories grants me the opportunity to construct a narrative around the role and effect of music during the war. Each individualized experience will give the study a more personalized outlook, and a

more intellectual yet emotionally driven point of view. With that in mind, I treaded softly, and patiently while conducting these interviews because the memories being discussed stem from a very difficult and triggering timeframe. Nevertheless, a lot of my participants tried to look at the bright side of these recollections and had mentioned to me that these were some of the best times that they had lived through.

Consequently, my interlocuters are currently still located in Lebanon. The ages of my participants during the war ranged from childhood to adolescence, to adulthood. The aim here is quality over quantity. My goal is to personalize the data being collected as much as I can. I recruited participants for this study primarily through personal connections. For instance, I interviewed parents, music teachers, and parents of friends. This will have some limitations because it will be targeting a specific class of people who lived in Beirut, instead of a range of places in Lebanon. Their backgrounds will be relatively the same and I will not have as much access to different economic or social classes. The background mentioned above is of middle class, upper middle class, and upper-class people who had more access to media objects and Westernized music. They mainly lived in Beirut and went to private schools/universities. It is important to note that not everyone had easy access to music or clubbing and concerts. Those experiences were very limited to the participants that could afford them. In other words, those who could afford to attend private schools/universities were also able to access nightclubs during the war. But that also depended on how strict the participants' parents were, as it differed from one person to the other. Moreover, those who lived in the city had also easier access to better music equipment and more Westernized content due to their geographical location.

My project demands this specific methodology because it looks at the individual relationships that Lebanese people had with music during the war. Instead of just focusing on the collection of qualitative data in relation to music distribution and consumption, my project looks at the ways in which music and its distribution have personally affected those that have consumed it. My methodology will allow me to answer the how and why questions brought forth by this research topic. The why is an important question to be answered and it is only understood through a personalized interview with individual people. The why basically tackles the reason why these individuals were resorting to music during the war. It also wonders why they resorted to a specific artist, technology, and mode of listening. The how can be easily answered with an in-depth textual analysis, since the qualitative numbers are already gathered within the texts studied. The how basically asks these individuals the ways in which they were consuming their music. Mainly, what technologies they used?

Overall, since oral histories allow for a personalized and in depth understanding of the role of music in my participants lives during the war, I argue that transformation technologies of listening and distribution in the mid-twentieth century cleared space for the use of music as a coping mechanism during the Civil War.

C. Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into three chapters. Chapters two and three contain a lot of information crucial to understanding the war but not necessarily and explicitly about the war. Studying the Civil War in Lebanon requires studying the history that came before it as the structure below demonstrates, chapters two and three, provide a lot of

information that's crucial to understanding the analysis of the Civil War that takes place in the fourth chapter.

The second chapter thoroughly discusses the history of music in Lebanon. An in-depth discussion about the arrival of Western hymns and the creation of music school allows for an understanding of the development of the consumption and distribution of music during the war. The chapter also looks at musical genres such as Tarab, and the technological tools that allowed for the consumption of music in Lebanon before and during the war. Moreover, this chapter discusses the ways in which Lebanese people listened to music during the war. Lastly, the second chapter will also be looking at the concert and clubbing scene that was present in the country during the civil war and how the Lebanese youth was resorting to it. This chapter argues, that to understand people's music consumption habits during the Civil War, we need to appreciate the longer history of music in Lebanon.

The third chapter, on the other hand, goes deeper into the distribution and the technologies that surround the consumption of music. A deeper look at how people interact with sound technologies is essential because it helps us understand the way sound went from being an ephemeral entity to a concrete space that humans have access to. I then move on to talk about the different sound technologies such as cassettes, and headphones. Moreover, the chapter looks at the general distribution of music in the United States and how it reached Lebanese audiences, which in turn automatically involves the role of piracy. Piracy is an essential topic to discuss especially in relation to the Middle East because of the lack of accessibility that is present within these countries. I look to remove the negative connotations around the word piracy since is interpreted very cynically. This chapter argues that to understand how people used and

made sense of music during the Civil War, we need to examine music distribution and listening practices at that time.

Lastly, the final chapter tackles the ways in which people were consuming music during the war. This chapter looks at the in-depth interviews that were conducted with the participants that experienced the Lebanese Civil war. By looking at the role of music during the war, we get a better understanding of the different ways in which each individual person used music as a coping mechanism. I offer a comparison between the different listening practices of Lebanese people during the war. This was mainly possible by incorporating the technologies that were used such as the radio, and the Walkman. Stories from fourteen different people allowed me to better understand the importance of music during times of upheaval. Music played such an integral part in each of these individuals' lives, and the common experience between of all my participants was how much music had saved them and allowed them to escape the atrocities of the outside world. This chapter argues that despite individual differences and preferences, music played an important role in how people coped with the atrocities of the war.

Although the listening practices mentioned above are specific to Lebanon, it is interesting that these practices developed everywhere else at the same time. Places such as the United States have similar practices. Media history has both a local and global history that is relatively similar yet, they both matter.

Overall, these three chapters allow me to build a full picture of the history of music, the ways it was distributed and consumed during one of the most traumatizing 30 years of Lebanese history. By analyzing the different listening practices and the

history of music in Lebanon, I offer a new insight into the consumption and distribution

of music during times of turmoil.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF MUSIC IN LEBANON

When looking at the history of music in Beirut, one might stumble upon a deep selection of music. Beirut's musical culture features a complex conglomeration of eastern and western practices, repertoires, and aesthetic outlooks (Racy, 1986). Listening to music is both an individual and a shared experience. In other words, one could relate to having a personal connection with music as well as having a shared experience with a group of people. Music plays such an important role in everyday life and this chapter tackles exactly that but with a scope on its presence in Lebanon, specifically during the war. With a brief introduction about the history of music in Beirut, followed by an understanding of how people made sense of music during times of instability this chapter takes a better look at music consumption during the Lebanese Civil War.

Beirut's musical background isn't just limited to a single culture, it instead encompasses a repertoire of music and cultures. Not only does it feature Eastern practices, but it also incorporates Western practices and aesthetics, "It presents a panorama of liturgies and styles that belong to various religious sects and ethnic groups," (Racy, 1986). Beirut is also affected by its neighboring countries when it comes to music, urban centers such as Cairo have had significant effects on the influx of music within Lebanon. Other areas such as Syria have allowed for genres of music such as Tarab to make their way into Lebanon. Tarab is one of the most important genres present in the Arab world, and an in depth understanding of what it is, is crucial.

A. What is Tarab?

In the Arab World, emotionality constitutes a big part of music (Shannon 2003). According to Shannon (2003), tarab is a means of self-presentation "through which valued emotional states are given linguistic, paralinguistic, and kinesthetic expression," meaning that tarab was an instrument that allowed for self-expression and communication. It was through Tarab that a lot of musicians and listeners expressed their emotional selves. Before diving deeper into this genre, a general definition of the word is required.

Tarab is defined as a style of music in which emotional states are aroused and used. It can indicate both sadness and joy and elicit emotions such as ecstasy and enchantment. Although tarab refers to the genre of music that is tackled in this chapter, the word can also represent a general term in Arab aesthetics that describes a feeling of bliss in regard to an art object, "Historically, it was a term associated primarily with the recitation of poetry and the Qur'an," (Shannon, 2003).

Moreover, when listening to tarab, the music is supposed to elicit specific responses from its audience, which usually makes them want to move, shout, gesture and even sigh. It is generally based on repetition, every time the song repeats itself there is an increase in the emotion that is felt. In fact, musicians use a repertoire of stock phrases, "and other melodic and rhythmic techniques to elicit tarab responses in audiences," (Shannon, 2003) this tikrar evokes a sense of suspended time for both the musicians and the listener.

Although Tarab is referred to as a style of music, it is also an emotion or state of being. When the audience interacts with the performer and the song, it produces the

emotional state which is called Tarab. Arabic music is a highly sociable genre of music which requires audience participation. It also relies heavily on vocals, which is why most tarab music focuses on the mutrib (vocalist) to be able to induce the feeling of tarab to its audience. Listening to tarab is also considered to be as important as creating it because listening is both a performative and creative act.

The reason why Tarab is brought up in this chapter is to understand the different ways in which Arab listeners and specifically Lebanese people were using music as a coping mechanism and to deal with emotionality, "tarab-style music offers an escape from reality and like a drug lulls listeners and performers into passive states," (Shannon 2003). Tarab is an example of how music helps achieve escapism during times of instability and uncertainty. Subsequently, understanding the history of music in Lebanon aids us in understanding the influx of different genres within the country during the Lebanese Civil War.

B. The History of Music

Lebanon has welcomed many styles of music, from Bedouin music to urban, and even dabké music. These have all had an influence on the consumption of music in the country. Most importantly, the influence of Western music is an important aspect of this study, which is why it is necessary to understand its arrival into the country.

1. The Very Beginnings

The Westernization of music in Lebanon stemmed from the creation of the Lebanese Republic in 1926, when both Europeans and Americans started managing the

educational system in the country (Burkhalter 2013). Evidently, when French became the official and leading language within the country.

The first École de Musique was founded in 1910 by Wadih Sabra, but it wasn't until 1927 that music was divided into both occidental and oriental departments with an orchestra assigned to each department. The division between Eastern and Western music was the basis of many misunderstandings about Arab music in the future.

The Christian church had a huge influence on music and musical education in Lebanon. The arrival of missionaries in Beirut in 1873 helped the spread of Western music theory and notation through hymns. (Burkhalter 2013). Furthermore, Protestant Arabic hymnals were largely based on western hymns, "One such hymnal, from 1873, taught Western music theory and notation," (Racy, 1986). The Church wasn't the only institutions that heavily affected the role of music within the country.

Therefore, missionaries and the Christian church had a huge influence on the development and spread of music in Lebanon. It was through them that Western music theory was being proliferated in Lebanon.

2. *The Creation of Lebanese Music*

The construction of Lebanese music came with the help of the radio. The radio was able to connect different musicians, composers, lyrics together under a single roof. Most notable were the Rahbani Brother who ended up creating a Lebanese sound that changed the trajectory of music in the country forever.

In 1937, the French mandate founded Radio Lebanon which was then taken over by the Lebanese government in 1946. The radio played a big role in the diffusion and spread of music in the country. Radio stations had a huge impact on the distribution of

music during the war. Radio Lebanon was an important tool in the creation of Lebanese music. Halim al Rumi, who was the director of the music department at the time, offered contracts to musicians and composers. This allowed for the discovery of different musical talents that were scattered throughout the country, "Mansour and Assy Rahbani, Zaki Nassif, Tawfik al Basha, and Abdel Ghani Shaaban were among the upcoming artists. They felt inspired by composers such as Bartok, Kodaly, Glinka, Smetana, and Sibelius," (Burkhalter 2013), in turn, they became the Lebanese group of five. Their influence heavily affected the future of Lebanese music.

Al Sharif was one of the pioneers of Lebanese music, "Sabri al Sharif was at the core of a big renaissance in music in Lebanon," according to Burkhalter (2013) he was the one who brought a diverse group of artists, musicians, composers and gave them the opportunity to create, discuss and produce their work amongst each other. Also, if it werent for al-Sharq al-adna, artists such as Fairuz would never have been discovered. It is important to note that this station wasn't Lebanese, and it covered most of the Middle East. However, it wasn't until 1953 that Fairuz and the Rahbani brothers signed a contract with al-Sharq al-adna. That contract allowed them to experiment with their music and opened a channel of creativity. According to Mansour Rahbani, Lebanon's mountains, thorny bushes and wild nature was represented in their music. Although Lebanese music was inspired by Egyptian literal, the difference in culture allowed for Lebanon to create its own poetry and music. Mainly the lack of a conservative society allowed for Lebanese composers to experiment with a vast array of different musical and poetic genres.

Thus. when Lebanon fought for its independence, it allowed for Lebanese singers and musicians to gain national notoriety by becoming famous across the Arab

World. Their success was largely due to being employed by the Lebanese Radio Station. This highly affected the consumption and creation of music in Lebanon. Lebanese music was created by bringing together the most renowned composers, musicians, and lyricists.

3. *What Inspired the Lebanese Sound?*

The creation of a Lebanese sound by the Rahbani brothers came from a history entrenched in music from different parts of the world. It was through learning, and trial and error that they came up with the famous sound that we all know today.

Looking back, the Rahbani brothers were taught in Christian schools. Their first music teacher taught them music theory, and instruments such as the piano, and the organ. For nine years after that, the brothers were introduced to both Western and Eastern music. Originally their music was inspired by trends that were found in Cairo. However, it was their exposure to the group of five mentioned previously that their music started to change. One of the most important innovations that came from the Rahbani brothers was the change that they introduced to Arabic music. The brothers had a distinct sound that was recognized by most if not all Arabs. This sound consisted of nuances in the way they were producing their music, for instance, they were using the Lebanese dialect instead of the Egyptian one. Their songs were also distinguished by their brevity and the instruments that they were constantly using. Instruments such as the flute, piano, violins, percussion and sometimes the accordion were the most notable sounds that were picked up by their listeners.

From that came what we call the Lebanese sound, which is technically defined as "the short, improvised passages outside a strict metrical form," (Burkhalter 2013)

their other most noticeable characteristic was that the Rahbani brothers did not work with a harmonic system, they were able to create a new modern, and developed sound that was loved and appreciated by many if not most Lebanese people. Musically the Ziad Rahbani was heavily influenced by European classical music, Lebanese folk music, Spanish music, and many other genres such as jazz and funk.

In brief, the Rahbani's vast knowledge of music styles from all over the world allowed them to develop their own style. This style included using the Lebanese dialect, the wide range of instruments that they were incorporating, and the non-harmonic system in their songs.

4. *The Role of the brothers during the War*

Although it is important to look at the origins of important composers such as the Rahbani brothers, it is also extremely essential to understand the roles that they played during the Lebanese Civil War.

It is a well-known fact that when the Civil War started, everything stopped, and all foreign musicians had left the country. The Rahbani brothers and Fairuz were struggling to find musicians to join their orchestra. The biggest issue was rehearsal, especially that it required musicians from East and West Beirut to cross the Green line and meet. But things went downhill during the war as Fairuz stopped performing completely and Assy Rahbani died in 1986. Fairuz was the symbol of the war, mainly becuase she had spent its entirety in Lebanon. Her songs were also anthems that were heard by many across the country, "Fairuz and her music nourished the dream of a peaceful coexistence of a heterogenous society, held together through a very typical Lebanese identity that was strong enough to highlight the collective and common over

the interests of the individual groups," (Burkhalter 2013) that statement alone shows how strong music is. The fact that it was able to rise above the sectarian divisions that were created during the war speaks volumes.

Her last and most powerful song Li Beirut was based on the second movement from Joaquin Rodrigo. That song still stands strong in today's Lebanon. Its emotional effects are still felt, and her voice still resonates throughout the country.

Fairuz' son Ziad Rahbani was the most influential composer during the Lebanese Civil War. He not only worked with leftist groups, but he also worked with rock bands in West Beirut. One of his biggest accomplishments was that he had replaced dominant Western classical music with popular music such as jazz and funk. In a way, Ziad Rahbani started an artistic war against his family mainly since he wasn't afraid to push the envelope and try new things outside of tradition. He wasn't only composing music he was also creating plays that were loved by many Lebanese people.

In conclusion, the Rahbani brothers as well as Ziad Rahbani played a major role in the Civil War. Despite the war creating restrictions on their performances, the brothers as well as Fairuz' son found a way to push the envelope and create new and inspiring content for Lebanese people to enjoy.

C. Radio Stations in Lebanon

When looking at the role of the radio during the Lebanese Civil War, several stations were behind the proliferation of Western music in the country. This section will dive deeper into the rock genre and its effects on Lebanese audiences.

Radio Mount Lebanon used to receive hundreds of CDs every week. People working in these stations oversaw picking and choosing the tracks that they deemed

worthy of broadcasting and sending through the airwaves for the general population to listen to.

According to Cynthia Zaven, a radio employee at the time, she was in charge of introducing her listeners to new releases from the rock field.

Cynthia Zaven also had a band that used to rehearse and perform in shelters. For most of these rehearsals, there were bombings and shootings going on outside but playing music in the shelter gave her a sense of relief despite the constant breaking news on the radio, the lack of electricity and fuel (Burkhalter 2013). To the band, music was their own language that they used to communicate their anger about the situation that they were living in. Needless to say, music was a tool that many used to communicate with those who chose to listen.

Radio stations in Lebanon such as Radio Mount Lebanon were proliferating Western music through carefully handpicked rock music. This rock music was inspiring a generation of musicians who used to play in bands. These bands were able to create a safe space of their own to express their frustrations and anger surrounding the turmoil happening outside of their houses.

D. Lebanese Music Before the War

Music wasn't always distributed through the radio and television. Before the Lebanese Civil War broke out, there were several events that allowed singers and musicians to perform their music, and for everyone else to enjoy their art.

The existence of musical theater allowed for Lebanese musicians to have a wider national reach. Furthermore, these artists gained exposure from musical festivals such as the well-known Baalbek festival which attracted many tourists. This high influx

of people from all over the world allowed for Lebanon to have a very diverse music register as the years went on. The large presence of foreigners in Lebanon had a huge effect on locals and what music was being played in the country.

A very important incident that Racy (1986) had witnessed in '64 mentions how three street performers were arrested after performing with a tabl. The main reason for their arrest according to the police officer was to maintain a clean and respectable image for foreigners. This event largely contributes to the understanding of how music circulation and consumption in Lebanon was highly affected by the West. It also shows us the deeply rooted Orientalist practices that are ingrained within Lebanese society.

From the 1960s onwards, music was mainly created for a revolutionary purpose. Songs such as "Ya Falastiniye" by Shaykh Imam were spread across the Arab world using cassette tapes. Cassettes played a big role in the distribution and consumption of music. It was the cheapest musical technology that allowed its consumers to become cultural producers as well as users of the product.

Hence, music festivals and musical theatre were amongst the most popular ways in which musicians and artists were introducing their art to Lebanese audiences. The music that was created before the war was very diverse.

E. The Genres and Technological Tools used to Consume and Distribute Music in Lebanon

Since there is not much research about what music the youth was consuming during the war, this section takes a deeper look at both academic articles and one on one interviews with participants belonging to the war generation. After in depth interviewing, I was able to get a better understanding of how life was during the Lebanese Civil War, and what people used to resort to when seeking a safe space to

exist in. Amongst the many interviews that were conducted, the most popular genres that were being listened to during the war were rock, psychedelic rock, pop and even classical music.

According to Burkhalter (2013), the period ranging from the 60s to the 70s made Beirut the capital of rock music concerts. For a while, radio stations in Beirut played the latest records of bands such as The Rolling Stones, The Beatles and The Kinks. These bands had an immense influence on the Lebanese music culture and its listeners. Both Lebanese musicians and consumers were inspired by their music, and for a lot of them, it helped them cope. It is important to remember that music was also distributed through video clips that were broadcast on television. Nada Sabbah, one of my interviewees mentioned that "on Sunday, between 2pm and 3pm on TV, the channel would play 30 minutes to an hour worth of video clips that were trending back then. I used to stop my homework, turn on the television, and watch them," she then proceeded to mention French artists such as Vanessa Paradis and mentioned how she would look forward to watching their clips on Sunday, "it was a moment of joy,".

An important staple in the distribution and consumption of music in Lebanon was Chico Records store. Chico was a huge influence in spreading western pop records in Beirut. This record store is still open to this day and its influence is seen across many generations. Chico Records is in Hamra and was one of the main pillars to introduce a lot of the War generations youth to vinyls, and even rent videos at one point. Chico became a staple in every vinyl collector's life. Chico was accompanied by several other music shops who were providing a lot of music to the Lebanese youth. Whether they were selling original or pirated music, these music stores played a big part in terms of accessibility.

As I have shown, TV stations and record stores played a big role in the proliferation of Western music in Lebanon. It was through music videos that most of the Lebanese audiences were exposed to rock and pop music. Record and music stores also played also contributed to the spread of pop records across the city of Beirut.

F. The Clubbing and Concert Experiences in Lebanon during the Civil War

When it came to concerts and clubbing, the war wasn't one to stop Lebanese people from enjoying a night out. Despite shelling, and bombings, Lebanese music listeners always found a way around the war. In Local Music Scenes and Globalization: Transnational Platforms in Beirut, Burkhalter (2013) mentions the presence of different nightclubs and concert venues in Lebanon that were popular at the time of the Civil War.

Rock bands used to perform in both Sporting and Long Beach. Although not everyone had access to these clubs, they provided Lebanese people with a great deal of escapism during a time of intense divide and uncertainty. A radio DJ at the Midway Radio station shared his experience from the years 1984 and 1989. According to Fayad, the nightclubs were packed every single night despite shelling. Of the many artists that he played, the ones that were reiterated to me in my interviews were Police, Scorpions and Supertramp.

In West Beirut, the Rock scene was extremely prevalent in the 80s and it was mainly linked to international universities such as the American University of Beirut (AUB), and Université Saint Joseph (USJ). Many nightclubs and concert venues were located near AUB so it was easier for students to get involved in this specific music scene (Burkhalter 2013). However, Western bands weren't the only ones playing in

these venues. Lebanese rock bands were on the rise. One of the Lebanese bands that was performing during the war was The Force. They used to practice on a daily despite the bombings outside.

The main drummer of a Lebanese band called The Force, Emile Boustani claimed that they didn't care much for the shelling going on outside because they were practicing in a shelter two floors underground. While performing in concert venues, the members of the band were surprised with the fact that people showed up to their concerts despite the uncertainty and prominent danger going on outside. It's also important to note that The Force was heavily westernized especially since Boustani's mother was American, so he naturally listened to Westernized music. Concerts and nightclubs at the time opened up spaces of love and unity. All the division and hate that was scattered throughout the country disappeared when the Lebanese youth decided to party and/or attend concerts.

In East Beirut, just like the West, there were rock, metal and new wave bands who were performing in concert venues that were situated in Christian towns such as Jounieh and the north of Beirut. Moreover, there were also clubs situated in Faraya and other places such as Broumana and Ashrafieh. Bands such as The Force were able to play in both the East and the West. A major component of clubbing was the uncertainty of the country afterwards. According to Nada Sabbah, "there was shelling the week before we went, then it was calm the week after we went, then we'd go to concerts and clubs and dance until 3am. But the situation was so uncertain that sometimes war would either break out when we were at these events or even after," meaning that despite the instability on the street, Lebanese people kept a sense of resiliency and relied on music and dancing to escape.

Therefore, concert venues and nightclubs were very active during the war. Lebanese people weren't afraid of the war and made it a point to show up to underground rock concert, and events in places such Sporting and Long Beach. Friend-grouping, which is a listening practice define as listening to music in a group setting allows for a creation of yet another safe space. This space created through music allowed Lebanese listeners to create memories outside of the war. It was also able to unite people from all sects and religions. Within the walls of the club, or the concert was no ounce of divide. Music brought people together and allowed them to cope through sound.

G. Conclusion

With the arrival of the French and Christian missionaries within the country, the subsequent development of music in Lebanon was heavily affected by this Western influence. Moreover, Tarab was also an important aspect of music listening. It is an integral genre to study because it allows us to understand how music and emotions are interrelated. As the years went by, western genres such as rock music were heavily affecting the listening practices of Lebanese people. Consequently, when the war began, modes of listening weren't limited to the radio but were scattered throughout concerts and clubs. These allowed Lebanese people to cope with the war by relying on different modes of listening. Thus, Lebanon's colonial past heavily affected the distribution of music within the country throughout the years.

CHAPTER III

AUDIO TECHNOLOGIES AND THE DISTRIBUTION PRACTICES OF MUSIC

There is little research about music and its circulation during the Lebanese Civil War. Instrumental sounds were a prominent tool that was used by both Lebanese people and Lebanese sect groups for different purposes. It was also not as easily accessible as one would've imagined. This chapter looks at the ways music was distributed, consumed and how people had access to it in Lebanon. Gathering information around the ways that music was distributed in Lebanon wasn't easy. A reliance on both academic articles and interviews was necessary. This chapter also looks at the role of piracy and its relation to distribution and accessibility along with the importance of sound technologies in the consumption of music during the war.

A. The Very Beginnings of Audio Technologies

Before the reproduction of audio through technologies, sound was an ephemeral character that only existed temporarily. There were many sound technologies that were prominent before the war broke out in Lebanon, such as the telephone, phonographs, and the radio. However, the rise of cassette tapes was the most. Although this paragraph will be focusing on the importance of cassettes during the war, it is essential to look at the many different technologies that came before it.

One might say that the creation of sound technologies changed the way human beings hear (Sterne 2003), "in the modern age, sound and hearing were reconceptualized, objectified, imitated, transformed, reproduced, commodified, mass-produced, and industrialized,". In other words, the development of sound did not

happen overnight, but slowly. It also revolutionized the act of listening and created an entirely new space for humans to access.

For instance, when looking back at technologies such as the telephone, and the radio there is an aura of change around them. The way people interact with sound started changing when more technologies around it were being created. The radio was one of the most important inventions in relation to sound. It completely altered the way people were perceiving their public, private, commercial and political lives.

Thus, technologies stripped the ephemeral aspect that always existed around sound. With the rise of the phonograph and the radio, sound became entrenched in every part of the human experience.

B. The Creation of Listening Habits and Practices through Technologies

Since technologies are associated with habits, they are sometimes enabling them. Most listening and watching habits were created by technologies such as the radio and television. For instance, humans have created listening habits around both the radio and other sound technologies such as cassettes, and the Walkman.

Examples of the aforementioned habits could either be listening to music alone or in a group setting. A more in depth look at these habits will be discussed in the following chapter. Unfortunately, not everyone was fond of sound technologies when they first arose. In fact, a lot of people were either afraid of the technology or angry at it.

1. *The role of Cassettes*

The rise of audio cassette tapes in the Middle East, and in areas such as Egypt welcomed criticism about how it was ruining music and how it was causing the death of high culture and taste, "although multiple mass mediums played a part in generating passionate debates over the perceived "demise" of public taste and the alleged "end" of high culture in Egypt, audiotapes, arguably, inflamed these discussions to a greater degree," (Simon 2019).

Cassette tapes allowed the general public to use it for its own personal benefit. The technology's affordability allowed for more access by a bigger pool of people. According to Simon (2019), "audiocassettes empowered anyone to become an artist," which can also be seen during the Lebanese civil war.

A major component of music consumption and distribution during the war was the usage of cassettes rather than relying on the radio. The reason for that according to many of my interviewees was because the radio was a very depressing musical tool. It either streamed the news or played depressing music after or during shelling.

The rise of cassette tapes within the country allowed for the creation of new listening practices. One of my interlocuters, Hanan Yassine who was 17 years old when the war mentioned that cassette tapes weren't easily accessible back then, so it was also very difficult to maintain and build her collection. Unlike streaming nowadays, old musical technologies required maintenance, or they stopped working. Cassette tapes had to be kept away from the sun, water, and any damaging environment that might impact the tape within these tapes. It was not only a duty for the listener but also a huge responsibility. Also, the lack of accessibility meant that the war generation was not

always exactly sure of the quality of the pirated tape that they were buying. Some were clean, some were muffled.

Although cassette tapes were considered to be the end of high culture in certain areas of the world, they heavily affected listening culture. It created new listening habits such as private listening. Cassette tapes also allowed regular people to be artists themselves. Moreover, technologies such as cassette tapes required upkeep and maintenance habits to be instilled since they had to be kept away from the sun and water to avoid damage. Lastly, cassette tapes were the most accessible listening technology that allowed a bigger pool of people to interact with it.

2. *The Role of Mixtapes*

Private listening became even more prominent with the rise of cassette tapes. As mentioned previously, cassettes allowed people to be cultural producers themselves. With that in mind, the rise of mixtapes allowed individuals to personalize their own listening experience, not only with headphones but also with a handpicked playlist that they had created.

Almost everyone who grew up during the war relied on cassette tapes to listen to music. They were easily spreadable, convenient and small. Whether it was using a boom box, in the car or resorting to a Walkman, Lebanese people continuously fell back on cassettes during a time of major instability and upheaval.

Mixtapes were an essential part of the Civil War experience because they allowed for Lebanese people who have lost a sense of control to regain it through music. Music technologies weren't as accessible and entertaining as they are now. The radio was either broadcasting breaking news or playing sad Fairuz music, which really

pushed the youth away. Instead, they started relying on cassette tapes that they would either make themselves using a boom box/radio cassette player or go to music shops that would help them create mixtapes for a price.

Music shops specializing in creating mixtapes were a booming business during the war. Moreover, according to Simon (2019), the radio was an instrument of exclusivity that was "responsible for refining the taste of all listeners," whereas cassettes were spreading all types of music to all kinds of people. People couldn't gatekeep cassette tapes because of their accessibility to every social class. When studying the role of cassettes on society, Egypt was another area affected by its power. Audiocassettes were an essential part of social life in Egypt between the years 1970s and 1990s mainly because they challenged commercial and cultural dominance. The same can be said about cassettes and their effects on Lebanese people during the civil war.

During that time, the Lebanese youth was constantly challenging commercial music with their usage of cassette players. The fact of the matter is that music consumption wasn't easily accessible, especially during a time when there was no electricity, vinyls were expensive and leaving the house was hard due to fear of being kidnapped or shelled. Due to that, Lebanese people had to find an alternative which was pirated music on cassettes. It wasn't just regular people that were relying on cassettes to consume music, it was also sectarian groups who used this easily accessible technology for their own agenda.

C. Private Listening through Headphones

Collective listening has been a big part of sound reproduction. During its earliest days, collective listening was first developed in the medical industry with the stethoscope, "The instructional stethoscope was the first technology developed on this principle. It allowed several students to hear the same sounds at once: it attached a single chest piece to many listening tubes," (Sterne, 2003). This then developed into amplified listen which allowed a more public listening practice to be instilled. The notion of collective yet individualized listening was then being developed in technologies such as the radio, and phonographs. Hearing tubes were used with phonographs to create a more private listening practice, "phonograph parlors or arcades were a place where commuters (perhaps awaiting a train or a trolley) could stop in for a short time, drop a coin in the slot of a phonograph, and listen to a short tune or sketch. Limiting the sound to one listener at a time helped increase onlookers' curiosity and maximize sales," (Sterne, 2003). This allowed for an easier commodification of sound, and a focus on private acoustic space. Private listening practices then translated into headphones.

The cultural practice of listening to cassette tapes on headphones allowed for the creation of a new listening practice. According to Sterne (2003), "headphones isolate their users in a private world of sounds. They help create a private acoustic space by shutting out room noise and by keeping the radio sound out of the room," meaning that those listening to music using headphones create their own safe space away from others.

Before the creation of headphones, listening to the radio or music was a group experience that usually involved two or more people. By keeping people separate in their listening experience, it became easier for these listeners to pick up on detailed and

faint sounds in the audio that they were listening to. Headphones opened a new world of listening and allowed people to create their own spaces. With that in mind, it is a bit easier to understand the ways in which music helped individuals cope with the turmoil around them by creating safe spaces for them to exist in freely.

Thus, music listening has been both a collective and private experience. The commodification of sound reproduction allowed for a deeper focus on private listening. This in turn created technologies such as hearing tubes and the headphones. The headphones then allowed its users to create a world of their own where they were fully immersed in the auditory world that they were listening to.

D. Cassette Tapes for Religious and Political Purposes

Audio cassettes weren't just used for entertainment purposes. They were also used to spread Islamic sermons in areas such as Egypt and Iran. Even more so, cassettes were used for political purposes.

In the Muslim community around the world, listening to cassette sermons is a "common and valued activity for millions," (Hirschkind, 2012) that helped with the Islamic revival. These cassette sermons were able to create Islamic soundscapes in which a safe space was created for Muslims around the world, "listening, with its therapeutic and transformative capacities, acquires its modern disciplinary function," (Hirschkind, 2012). Cassette sermons then had a therapeutic element to them which is why so many Muslims were resorting to them.

Furthermore, cassette tapes weren't just restricted to religious sermons. They were also used for political purposes. According to Burkhalter (2013) in West Beirut, leftists and young communists were selling cassettes on the streets containing

propaganda music, "as a young communist, I used to sell cassettes on the streets in West Beirut. All young party members did so, for the sake of the cause. We sold tickets for concerts of our singers, too, and we were more or less obliged to attend," a lot of the music that was consumed and created during the war was politicized. Musicians from all sects were creating their own anthems. Ahmad Kaabour was an important leftist who wrote and performed anthems for the Palestinian revolution, the siege of West Beirut in 1982 and a call for a balanced Lebanon. He used to perform these songs during cease fires, when fighters would relax. An important fact about Kaabour is that he used to distribute his cassettes in nightclubs and in Tripoli. His passion for peace and unity and the accessibility of cassette tapes allowed him to take advantage of the technology and cope through it with the music that he was creating.

In brief, cassette tapes were used for both religious and political purposes. In places like Egypt and Iran, Islamic and revolutionary sermons were being spread under the radar. They constituted a big part of the Islamic listening experience as they created Islamic airwaves. Moreover, cassette tapes were also used for political purposes. In Lebanon, young communists and leftists were selling cassette tapes in West Beirut containing propaganda music.

E. The role of TV and Radio in Launching Careers

Since there wasn't much access to music during the Lebanese Civil War, it is essential to understand its influx in and out of the country. There were several media technologies that allowed for the consumption and distribution of music. The two main ones were television and the radio.

Television, and radio were able to launch a lot of singers' careers, "Fairuz, who was to become the most popular singer in Lebanon, got her start in the Lebanese

national radio station choir," (Frishkopf 2010). Considering the dangers of venturing outside of the house during the war, TV show appearances offered a great opportunity to those wanting to jumpstart their careers. *Studio el Fann*, for instance, was a successful program that was broadcast in the 1970s. It provided young Lebanese singers, "with the opportunity to become professionals after passing a series of difficult tests," (Frishkopf 2010). Famous artists such as Madija Al Roumi launched her career in 1974 through Studio el Fann. It was through the creation of show biz that TV shows such as Studio el Fann were able to create potential stars on basis wider than musical talent.

Therefore, it was through TV and radio that a lot of famous Lebanese artists got their starts. If it wasn't for programs such as Studio el Fann, singers such as Majida Al Roumi would've never gotten their start. Also, radio stations such as the Lebanese national radio station choice was able to help artist Fairuz with launching her career.

F. The Music Scene, and Distribution Routes in the United States

With the rise of globalization, the spread of music became easier. The innovation of new technologies allowed for easier access to different genres and types of music. The music scene was located in major metropolitan areas where record labels were being created. Overtime, those labels were able to create national and international chains of distribution.

During the early 19th century, the term "music scene" was originally used to describe crossroad music locations that were able to bring rural talent to larger audiences (Florida 2010). Entrepreneurs based in cities such as Memphis, New Orleans, Detroit and Chicago created studios such as Motown to commercialize "the fruits of

artistic agglomeration and cross pollination" (Florida, 2010) in these cities. In other words, these record labels were able to produce, and distribute music to a larger audience.

According to Florida and Jackson (2008), the location of the music industry is affected by both the concentration of music industry employment and the dispersal of musicians in smaller rural areas. From 1970 to 2000, both Los Angeles and New York City were the top location for musicians, "professional musicians appear to cluster around the recording industry as expected," (Florida, 2010). These chains of distribution allowed for the commercialization of music and helped understand why and how music spread in such a large country which then started setting up international chains of distribution. The creation of record labels during that time allowed for the vast spread of Western music all over the world, "The most critical monopoly held by the music industry was the means of distribution. In the USA particularly, where geography demands of the music industry a highly developed and very motile distribution infrastructure, control was with those who owned and operated the infrastructure of distribution," (Jones, 2002). Major labels realized the power and profitability behind distribution and began to build both national and international distribution operations.

Thus, throughout the years the music scene was generally focused in big metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles, New York, and Nashville. Most professional musicians were flocking to these cities because record labels were based there. As the years went by, record labels started realizing that they could gain a lot of profit if they themselves were distributing the content that they were creating, which resulted in the creation of national and international chains of distribution.

G. Defining Piracy

Piracy, which is referred to academics as an informal economy, is a highly debatable topic in which a lot of people have opinions about. According to Lobato and Thomas (2015), informal economies are defined as "the sum of economic activity occurring beyond the view of the state," which also includes unregistered employment, street trade and non-market production. The piracy of media items can be included in these informal categories. Although the informal economy is mainly linked to illegal activity, dangerous workplaces and exploitation, it plays a big part in the economy of Third World countries. The public discourse around it is mainly negative because of copyright laws and big corporations who monopolize the media objects that are being released to the public. However, to better understand informal economies, it is important to contextualize them.

Matelart (2009) for instance delves deep into the understanding of piracy by moving away from all approaches that criminalize it, and instead taking a look at the "social, economic, and political reasons for its rise," (2009). When looking at video piracy during the 80s, Mattelart (2009) discovered its transnational routes that extended from Panama to Asia. These routes were incredibly efficient.

Defining informal economies isn't enough, the word piracy needs to have a more in depth understanding. Networks of piracy are part of an informal sector that is mostly untaxed and unregulated. Unlike the drug trade, piracy is considered illegal largely due to its function of reproduction and sale. The US film industry's Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) defines piracy as "the unauthorized taking, copying or use of copyrighted materials without permission," (Larkin, 2004) this definition however changes depending on the industry. Meaning that it can be defined

more broadly as any type of revenue leakage that highlights how the industry has structural problems in general and usually blames piracy for its shortcomings. Mattelart (2009) makes a great point when he mentions that it is impossible to ignore that informal economies develop in response to failures to have access to these cultural good by international organizations.

In conclusion, piracy is defined as the distribution of replicated cultural goods. Piracy can also be referred to as an informal economy, which is the sum of economic activities happening under the law's radar.

H. Piracy as an Alternative Distribution System

Lobato (2008) mentions how piracy should be seen as an "alternative distribution system for media content, one of considerable complexity and potential," this case applies to the Middle East where access to media objects such as original music content was and is difficult to obtain.

Although US cultural products in their original forms existed in the Third World, piracy allowed for the US to have an increased global presence in these areas. Mattelart (2016), mentions how videocassette recorders or better known as VCRs were the main technological tool used for the pirated spread of cultural goods, "VCRs played an instrumental role in bringing them television programs or films from their countries of origin that were not provided by the domestic channels of the countries where they lived," in fact, most if not all pirated content that was carried out in the late 1980s consisted of American films or TV shows.

VHS tapes also played a big role in the spread of pirated music. In other words, a lot of the music consumption was not only based on audio technologies but also TV

shows and movies. This was reiterated by many of my interviewees especially Nada Sabbah who mentioned to me how most of the music she used to listen to came from musicals such as *Grease, Flashdance, FAME,* and *Footloose*. This then shows the impact and power of US cultural goods on countries that weren't directly exposed to their products, "piracy has indeed contributed, albeit illegally, to the expanded global reach of American films and series," (Mattelart, 2016). With that in mind, it is important to understand that piracy isn't an act of resistance again Western cultural goods but a way to adapt to its lack of availability in areas such as the Middle East.

Consequently, a large amount of video cassettes that were sold in southern and eastern countries were passing through underground network. Migrants have also played a major role in the dissemination and spread of pirated goods. Migrants working in the US, in Europe or in the Gulf states were among the first to introduce video recorders, when they returned on visits their home counties, helping to spread these to large sectors of society" (Mattelart, 2009). This same statement was reiterated by Zayan Kabalan, one of my interviewees who was 17 when the war started. He mentioned how he received most of his music from friends who came from abroad during the war, "Everything was pirated, they didn't sell cassettes in Lebanon. For example, the first cassette I saw come from abroad was The Beatles. Someone got it for me from London," According to Zayan Kabalan, they didn't even think of it as piracy. They considered it as just copying the song. It was a very natural process for them. He also mentioned the fact that buying original LPs was too expensive so copying the music on cassettes and spreading the music around was more accessible and cheaper.

I. The Rise of New Industries through Piracy

Piracy is just as old as cinema itself, "every new distributive technology has given rise to its own bogeyman" (Lobato 2008), which means that piracy has always been a threat to the industry and has always existed alongside new technologies. What's important to note here is that piracy has little effect on the financial loses of these big media industries. The importance of piracy in Third World countries directly relates to accessibility and its lack thereof in such areas.

Kativa Philip (Larkin 2008) reiterates this point "the war on piracy is also about the struggle for authority and power on the global stage,". Informal technologies are distributive networks that allow for the rise of new ideas, forms of knowledge and cultural productions, "pirate circuits disseminate all kinds of media, from Hollywood blockbusters to more localized forms of cultural production,". The lack of accessibility discussed was present in Lebanon during the Civil War. Buying original copies of music records was very expensive and incredibly hard to access due to checkpoints, curfews and instability. According to a lot of people I had interviewed, they had no choice but to pirate the music that they were listening to using cassettes. As discussed previously, cassettes allowed Lebanese people to use the technology as they wished by recording the songs that they wanted to and creating mixtapes out of them. Some had dozens of cassettes in their cars and made mixtapes for every occasion.

With that in mind, piracy allows for new industries to arise. For example, the mixtape industry emerged during and after the Civil War. Shops located in Bliss, Hamra and even Tripoli would offer services to create mixtapes for people who weren't familiar with the technology. This industry allowed for a whole new market of people

that couldn't previously access western music and movies. That is not to say that piracy is not hurtful to small local artists that don't get the right revenue for their art.

Thus, piracy has always existed alongside art. It is only with the rise of big industry monopolization that piracy was categorized as an entity to fear. It is important to understand that piracy stems from lack of accessibility and rather reinforces Western influence in Third World countries through music, movies, and TV shows.

J. The Pirated Aesthetic

Multi-million-dollar corporations have been spreading the idea that piracy is evil and has no purpose. To their benefit, however, pirated goods had terrible quality, and according to Larkin (2004), "piracy imposes particular conditions on the recording, transmission, and retrieval of data,"

The constant copying ruins and erodes the data which translates into lower quality footage. The root of this lower quality footage comes from bad infrastructure, Larkin (2004) mentions how the infrastructure used for the reproduction of these media objects is marked by faulty operation, cheapness and the need to constantly repair it. In Nigeria just like in Lebanon, electricity blackouts are very common and are one of the reasons why pirated goods create some sort of semiotic distortion. Informal economies are mainly decentralized, meaning that there isn't an exact number of sales that can be found anywhere, and they aren't technically supervised by any higher power.

A lot of pirated goods especially piracy from the war had distorted sounds and blurred images. Although informal economies have improved their quality drastically with streaming in the 21st century, it wasn't even close to that before the internet. This eroded quality created a specific pirated aesthetic that many people would recognize

immediately. With the rise of globalization, piracy allowed a much faster rate of accessing movies and music.

Most distribution routes came from the Persian Gulf. During the Civil War, piracy came from diaspora who could afford to travel outside of the country, buy the original records and bring them back home. By doing so, Lebanese people in the country were able to copy the original record on cassettes and then share it with their friend group. This form of distribution allows for an easier access and proliferation of Western music in Lebanon. Sometimes, these pirated goods are copied illegally from their country of origin and sent to these Third World countries. This created a secondary economy that wasn't really recognized by the government, "piracy is part of a so-called shadow (second, marginal, informal, black) economy existing in varying degrees beyond the law," (Larkin 2004).

Therefore, pirated goods have a distinct eroded aesthetic. This is mainly due to the bad infrastructure located in the country in which the media object is being replicated in. For the most part, it is migrants who bring in the original media object to be replicated in the Third World country. Distribution routes coming from the Persian Gulf have also facilitated the influx of media objects into countries such as Lebanon.

Conclusion

The consumption and distribution of music during the Civil War depended on three main sources: the radio, record labels, and pirated goods. This chapter looks at the technologies used to consume music during a time when access to music was difficult. Resorting to cassettes was one of the main ways that Lebanese people were consuming their music. Cassettes were the cheaper and easier alternative for music. Although the sound quality on these cassettes wasn't nearly as good as vinyls, the latter was way too expensive to acquire. Cassettes also allowed for a new and pirated way to listen to

music with the creation of mixtapes that relied heavily on recording music from either vinyls or the radio. This method although shunned by many, was the most accessible way for Lebanese people to listen to music during a time of major upheaval.

The most important point about piracy is its contextualization. In other words, a better understanding of its existence in certain spaces. Resorting to piracy feels like a last alternative in post-colonial societies that are most often than not neglected by these First World countries. With that in mind, an alternative chain of distribution although informal is necessary and in fact still allows for western influence in these areas. With the help of migrants and distribution routes, pirated goods were able to travel to different countries all over the world. Those pirated goods had an eroded aesthetic to them which can be recognized easily. This quality is caused by the bad infrastructure, electricity cuts, and old technologies was the main reason why pirated media objects had an eroded quality to them.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSUMPTION PRACTICES
OF LEBANESE PEOPLE DURING THE WAR

Every person processes trauma differently. There are many a way in which humans deal with the uncertainty and the chaos around them. Some people cope with sports, others with art. Some resort to food, and others resort to substances such as drugs or alcohol. This chapter looks at the ways in which the Lebanese people coped through the tragedies of war through the consumption of music. While music will be the focus of this chapter, I also consider events tied to music such as clubbing and dancing. Indeed, the original idea impetus for this project was to understand how music replaced the sound of shelling. But after speaking to several people who lived through the war, my focus shifted slightly. A deeper comprehension of the times that music was listened to helps better empathize with their listening experience. I instead sought to understand music as a therapeutic force that aided individuals during and after terrifyingly dangerous and disturbing moments. In order to understand music's role in the experiences of individual people during the war, I bring theoretical works by Stuart Hall, and Eve Ensler to bear on the experiences of my interlocutors. This allows me not only to describe individual listening practices but also to account for the role that music played in people's experiences and memories of the war. This chapter also looks at the spaces in which people listening, whether it was in their rooms, in their cars or in venues.

In *The Apology*, Eve Ensler (2019) prefaces her book by writing, "I am done waiting. My father is long dead. He will never say the words to me. He will not make the apology. So, it must be imagined. For it is in our imagination that we can dream

across boundaries, deepen the narrative, and design alternative outcomes." (Ensler, 2019). This statement perfectly showcases the ways in which forms of art allow individuals to process their trauma. Ensler's book is a letter she wrote to herself in the voice of her abusive father apologizing to her. Since she never got a real-life apology from him, it was through art that she had to find it. It was also through art that she was able to create a safe space for her to express herself freely. Artforms such as music, painting, movies, and so on create counter-spaces and communities of people that can discuss topics otherwise hidden and dismissed. This example appears in Simons (2019) and Hirschkind's (2012) articles about banned cassette sermons in Egypt. These tapes were able to create spaces for the Muslim community to listen to them freely, "these tapes are not part of a program of radical mobilization but, instead, part of a complex ethical and political project whose scope and importance cannot be contained within the neat figure of the militant or terrorist," (Hirschkind, 2012). This chapter extends Ensler's idea by studying how Lebanese people turned to art to cope with trauma. However, people's relationship to music was not separate from their methods of listening. Therefore, this chapter enumerates a number of different listening practices as a way to theorize people's feelings towards the music they consumed.

A. The Role of Music during the War

When the Lebanese Civil War started, bombs, shelling grenades, jets, screaming, and sirens often marked the soundscape in Beirut and beyond. It would only make sense to resort to music to drown out these deadly sounds that Lebanese people were constantly subjected to. However, that wasn't necessarily the case for everyone involved. Jean Said Makdisi, the sister of Edward Said (1990) had mentioned in Local

Scenes and Globalization (2013) how she used to listen to Mozart on the radio between news flashes, "the ear was constantly affronted not only with explosions, bullets, screaming jets and sirens, but also with the sound of glass shattering (or, later, the so-familiar sound of glass being swept up), of the anarchic traffic negotiating ever narrower streets and smaller neighborhoods," That is exactly the type of escapist listening method that this paper seeks to address. Different people resort to different genres of music to drown out the sound of the war.

B. The Different Listening Practices

Escapism through music comes in many different forms and genres. One might resort to private listening using headphones or they might even go to nightclubs with friends to shut out the war. This paragraph discusses the ways in which life went on during war through clubbing and private listening. It also mentions how some, if not all of my participants were trying their best to disconnect their musical experience with the negative connotation of the war.

Makdisi wasn't the only one who resorted to classical music. Two of my interviewees, Maha and Jamil Houssami were very fond of operas during the war. They used to play cassettes, vinyls, and CDs. The first time they bought a CD player was in 1986, accompanied by their first CD purchase, which was an opera CD. This was a couple of years into their marriage.

Before the CD player was sold to the public in Lebanon, people relied on videocassettes. They would rent these tapes and watch both classical and opera music. For this couple, intensifying their knowledge of classical music and opera was their way of dealing with the war. There are different knowledges that audiences eagerly seek and

are willing to learn from these listening practices. For instance, knowledge about new genres create a new world for these listeners. Also, these music listening practices allow exposure to a new world of music that they might never be exposed to otherwise. Classical music for instance allows the audience to dive into a world filled with history and emotions. Since audiences usually eagerly seek escapism through these media objects. Fully immersing themselves into specific genres of music opens up a new realm of escapism that allows for a more enjoyable listening experience. It allowed them to access a world outside of the ugliness occurring around them.

Furthermore, another essential listening practice that will be discussed later is the clubbing experience. Before they met, Jamil Hussami was a nightclub goer. As he explained to me, "In spite of the war, we used to go very often to nightclubs." For both of Jamil and Maha Hussami, the clubbing experience helped. Most music played in clubs was in fact American music, including artists such as Gloria Gaynor and the BeeGees. This was their most direct exposure to western music.

1. *Music Creating a Sense of Normalcy*

Maha Hussami reiterated a thought that was also mentioned by my other interlocutors. She was keen on informing me that despite my assumptions that the war was a very difficult time to be alive, they had a relatively normal life, despite of the instability around them.

Regardless, living in Lebanon during the war was always restricted to ups and downs. When things were calm, they had good times. Maha mentioned how watching operas with her husband would both make her feel good and up-to-date with the cultural goods that were surfacing in the world during that era. During the 80s, several Opera

album compilations were being released to the mainstream. Despite the tracks being relatively old, those re-releases were introducing a new generation of listeners to that specific genre. That is the main reason why Maha and Jamil Hussami felt like they were up to date, because they were joining an entire community of Opera listeners on a new journey during the 80s. To them, music wasn't tied to any memories of war. Instead, it was tied to their own individual experience. This mentality allowed them to create memories outside of the ugliness around them. Consuming music to them was purely for entertainment. While listening to music, they both "enjoyed the moment, you don't think more than that… you forgot about the war for a little bit," so even though the couple didn't use music to muffle the sounds of bombings as they were happening, it was still used as a coping mechanism. For Maha Hussami, Jamil Hussami and several other participants, the radio was an integral part of their lives.

In conclusion, Maha and Jamil Hussami, made it a point to disconnect the negative events of the war with their personal experiences, especially in relation to music. They mentioned the several ways that they used to resort to music, notably going clubbing, watching operas, and listening to classical music were their defining listening practices during the Lebanese Civil War.

2. *AM and FM Listening*

Despite the radio being a depressing force during the war, it was central to a lot of people's lives. The radio was the main source of information about events during the war. It gave people news about developments that were happening on around them. Not only that but the reason why it was a very depressing force in many of my participants' lives was because between each of those news broadcasts, the radio was broadcasting

sad Arabic music. This in turn made most of my participants associate Arabic music to negative news about the war. One of my participants called Zouha Elian who was 10 when the war started mentioned the effects of Fairuz' voice on her, "what reminds me most of the war is Fairuz' singing voice. I didn't like Arabic music, and when they played her songs on the radio it would immediately depress me," this then shows this direct association between Arabic music and negative memories about the war.

However, this wasn't always the case since FM stations such as Radio 1 that were created during the 80s was streaming Westernized and uplifting music. According to Nada Sabbah, "the radio was very important," and she wasn't the only one who iterates that point. Maurice Asso also mentions the centrality of FM Radio in his life, "radio was a big thing. We even had our own FM station. We used to broadcast music in our own block". Just like Nada Sabbah, Maurice Asso used to listen to stations such as Mix FM, Hit FM, and Radio 1. Apparently, there were more stations when the war had just begun versus mid-way into it. According to Maha and Jamil Hussami, the radio was always with them when they drove throughout the country. They used to listen to whatever was available, mainly Nostalgie, which, just like today, played oldies. Meaning songs from the 50s and 60s. Nostalgie mainly played French music, which exposed many Lebanese people to a wide variety of Western music. Many of my interlocutors explained to me that they didn't listen to Arabic music and instead preferred French, Italian, and English-language music to pass the time.

In conclusion, my participants were mainly divided between people who enjoyed listening to music during the war and others who avoided it due to its mainly negative nature. Both sides used to resort to the radio however as a technological tool to consume music through.

3. *Radio and Headphones*

Unlike vinyl records and cassette tapes, the radio was a widely accessible technology. But it still had its own limitations. According to one of my interlocutors, Zayan Kabalan, who was a teenager in Beirut when the war started, stations such as Radio Pax played music until 11pm. He explained, "At night, you couldn't listen to anything but what you had at home." Accessing the radio was further complicated by the fact that it required electricity—which was often cut—and thus, although the radio was a publicly available resource. This listening constraint contributes to the creation of a listening structure. Because of the lack of electricity, private listening was still at the forefront of the experience.

Headphones are central to the experience of private listening. When one uses headphones, they create a space of private listening," radio listening before 1924 was a very personal experience; the listener put on headphones and entered another world, the world of sound," (Douglas, 1999). Douglas reiterates my point exactly in creating private listening practices using headphones. She also mentions how different modes of listening can generate a sense of belonging that every Lebanese person was yearning for during the war.

In the 1980s, radio stations such as Radio 1 and Light FM began their broadcasts. Radio 1 had its first broadcast in 1983 and Light FM had its first broadcast in 1989. Kareen Basha, who was merely 5 years old in Beirut when the war started, also emphasized the impact of headphones during that time. According to her, there was an increase in Lebanese people that used their headphones when listening to the radio. Headphones were able to create another space for escapism" we had the Walkman that was attached to headphones. There were so many headphones. It was trending back

then. Just like now and how people wear headphones and walk on the streets except that they weren't wireless, and you had to connect them to the radio," when one wears headphones, they become isolated from their surroundings and instead connect to an entirely new world, the world of music.

The proliferation of headphones during the war allowed for the creation of a new listening practice. "Those who really wanted to be encased in music could also buy stereo headphones. Now listeners could feel music revibrating from all sides, and the controls for treble and bass, monaural and stereo, balance, loudness, and so forth gave them much more ability to customize the sounds they heard," (Douglas, 1999). This fully emersed experience mentioned by Douglas allows the listener to enter a new world full of new wonders and experiences. Feeling music from all sides and being immersed in it allows for listeners to enter the world of sound, "when sound is our only source of information, our imaginations milk it for all its worth, creating detailed tableaux that images, of course, preempt,) (Douglas,1999). This imagination allows for connection, and adventure through sound that many Lebanese people resorted to during the war. Escapism is but a mere factor in the reasons why Lebanese people were resorting to music, "Music can make us feel happy or sad, relaxed or energetic, it can highlight special occasions or evoke valuable memories. Music is a rich part of our environment - providing cues for structuring activity and creating appropriate atmospheres and ambience," (O'Hara, 2006) music was first and foremost a relaxant, and a mood lifter. Even when listening to sad music, these soundwaves and lyrics help humans better cope with their emotions. This can be linked to Tarab, which is a style of music that evokes different emotional states. According to Shannon (2003) it connects people, and creates a sense of authenticity, "tarab rhetorically confirms individual claims to cultural

authenticity and emotional transparency and operates as a frame for the enactment of conceptions of the self," this then creates a space where people who listen to Tarab publicly are seeking their own communities.

In conclusion, the radio is a very powerful force that created several listening practices around it. A historical perspective into the rise of headphones helps us understand the most prominent form of listening, private listening. Some Lebanese people either resorted to headphone listening through their private Walkmans or through the radio while others avoided the radio at all costs since it reminded them of the negativity of them war.

4. Blasting Music

Headphones and the radio were able to create different listening practices that allowed Lebanese listeners to consume music in new spaces. However, there are many different listening practices that arise from these technologies that aren't necessarily limited to private listening. In this paragraph, I will be discussing a listening practice which can be categorized as public listening.

One of the main listening practices mentioned by my participants was blasting music. Blasting music is defined as unpleasantly loud music that muffles anything that's outside of the realm of the music being played. One of my participants, Kareen Basha used to live in a household that played music loudly. She explained, "Music at home was very normal and loud. Maybe because we didn't want to listen to what was happening outside," her husband even reiterated the same point, Maurice Asso said that "loud music can reduce the tension of the noise around you,"

This tactic was used by her and many others. Muffling the sounds of war that were coming from outside was one strategy that some Lebanese families used to instill normalcy in their lives. They wanted to erase the terrifying sounds of war, and it was only possible through this specific listening practice.

5. *Friend-Grouping*

Another listening practice that is essential to look at is friend-grouping which is listening to music with other people. It is basically playing music with a group of people. If the listening experience is shared, it can be considered as friend-grouping.

Maurice's way of coping differs from many of my other interlocutors since he himself was a musician, "Instead of fighting the war like the rest of the men, we used to go and play music for hours and hours a day. It was almost a daily ritual." Maurice used to play covers but there were also two songwriters in the group, including him. Indeed, this pastime saved them from physically being in the war. As Maurice Asso recalled, "Music was a good hideout, it removes the poison from the blood." Such a statement encapsulates a sentiment that I heard from many of my interlocutors about the role of music among the generation who grew up during the war. The war created many musicians, as Burkhalter (2013) studies the many musicians that were born during the Lebanese Civil War who were making music in 2000s Lebanon, "for a long time I had problems determining a research sample: first, I wanted to work, with musicians across generations; later with women musicians only: and, finally, I decided on musicians born during the beginnings of the Lebanese Civil War," (Burkhalter, 2013).

Ruba Ismail was another participant who enjoyed Arabic music. She mainly listened to Oum Khoultoum and Fairuz mostly because of her father. These artists were

mainly listened to in the car. But after the 1982 Israeli invasion her music tastes changed into more revolutionary music, songs by Khaled El Haber, and those about the south. After the 1982 invasion, she used to go to Coral Beach and Summerland to party. That was when she was exposed to more Westernized music. Music to her was more of a group activity. She'd go to a bar like place called Smugglers In where she would sit with her friend and have nonalcoholic music. The goal of this outing was to chill out and listen to music. Ruba Ismail emphasized this as a group activity. When it came to the radio, it took until the middle of the war around 1983-1984 for new FM stations such as Radio 1 to pop up into the mainstream, and it was when that happened that her relationship with the radio grew. Music helped her, and so did dancing, "it was good therapy for us, of course. For me, the outings that revolved around music were the only ones that made me sane, something that helped me get out of the nastiness of the bombings, and people being kidnapped," going out dancing created a safe space for her and her friends to freely exist in during the war. Ruba Ismail and the people she trusted tried to make the most out of the war, and it wouldn't have been possible without the influence of music. Ruba Ismail's experience helps us understand how her method of listening wasn't restricted to private listening. It was also accompanied by dancing, which is important to look at. When thinking about music listening, one imagines the listener to be sitting down.

In conclusion, although many of my interlocuters were relying on mass produced music, some were created their own. It makes sense why so many people not only resorted to listening to music but also creating it. With so many emotions being brought up during the war, those who resorted to the creation of music found it therapeutic. Moreover, others like Ruba Ismail resorted to group listening in settings

such as the club or concerts where the type of music didn't really matter in comparison to the type of listening practice.

6. Tarab

A musician and music teacher called Wafic Itani didn't have access to consumer technologies such as the Walkman and cassettes. His way of coping was relying on his musical talent instead. Like Maurice Asso, Wafic Itani wrote music to process the war. Itani's wartime experience of music was shaped by his time in the shelter. He didn't have the opportunity to go to clubs and attend many concerts during the war mainly because he had to take of his family

When he'd go down to the shelter during bombings, he would compose music to distract himself from the sound of shelling. The vibrations of his guitar strings and the repetition of his compositions would allow him to create a suspension in time that opened up a world of relaxation. He explained, "When you only have the guitar in your hand, writing music was my only source of relaxation." Composing was Wafic Itani's solace during dire times. He told me, "The guitar was my only best friend." This alone speaks volumes as to what he experienced during the war. The vibrations of his guitar strings were not only creating music but also a space where he could freely express himself, his sadness, worry, and fear.

It was an incredibly difficult time to be alive according to him. As he explained, "We didn't have the opportunity to listen to radio except when it was on batteries. The radio wouldn't play in the shelter, so I'd have to go up to the house and listen to updates about what was going on outside." As a result, his listening experience limited his access to pre-recorded music. Instead, he had to depend on the music that he was

creating. When he was able to listen to music, he enjoyed a wide range of genres—from Latin to Arabic.

Wafic Itani created a safe space for himself through his own compositions. Due to the fact that he spent most of the war in a shelter with no electricity, Wafic Itani found a way to cope using his own musical knowledge. The vibrations of his guitar strings gave him solace and kept him company in times of major upheaval.

7. *Tarab and Friend-Grouping*

One of my interlocuters had a very distinct listening experience that included a variety of listening practices; tarab listening as well as friend-grouping. Hanan Yassine was very infatuated with music as it followed her everywhere she went. Hanan Yassine was one of the participants I spoke with who preferred Arabic music. She used to listen to Fairuz, Wadih El Safi, Oum Khoultoum, and Abdel Halim Hafiz. According to her, the war was a very stressful time, and Oum Khoultoum was a very relaxing artist for her. She explained, "We used to listen to bombings and shelling. These were difficult times, but we had to create some entertainment, anything to have fun with." Such a statement shows how, for many of this generation, music was intimately tied to the experience of war. Also, during times when the war generation didn't have access to vast forms of entertainment, music was a source of solace and fun. Music was able to make people dance, create fantasy worlds in their heads, and live vicariously through the artists and their music videos.

Music used to relieve Hanan Yassine from the stressors of the war. She recalled a story when one of her professors couldn't make it to class, so she and her friends decided to gather up all her classmates and sing together. She recalled, "We spent an

hour singing, and it passed by so fast." In such recollections, music was a source of comfort for all of them and it helped pass the time. For the most part, Hanan Yassine practiced group listening; whether it was her friend singing or her studying with her friends, music was always around them. Tarab was the go-to genre for her studying sessions since Tarab would last around an hour, Hanan Yassine wouldn't have to get up and change the cassette every single time, "Tarab is a condition, one of repetition, like someone feeling [the beads of] a rosary: the same movements, over and over. It is a condition of forgetfulness [nisyanj, suspended time [zaman mu'allaq], whereas true musical expression [ta'bir] requires the imagination [khayydlj," (Shannon, 2003). This melodic repetition creates the illusion of suspended time, which is what Hanan Yassine was looking for while studying. Although Hanan Yassine used to listen to Arabic music for the most part, she'd also listen to Western music outside of studying because according to her "Western music is distracting," and it was only listened to when she felt like being careless. Some of the artists that she used to resort to were ABBA and the BeeGees.

Hanan Yassine described several different listening practices, which were mostly decided by the situation that she was in. The music that was being played in the car and in parties was different than the one played while studying for instance. Hanan Yassine recalls how they used to wait for the "soft" westernized music to be played during house parties so they could dance with whomever they had a crush on at the time. Music is then a tool for self-expression, when humans don't have the words to express themselves it is usually easier to resort to music "Music has a big effect on people. First, it relaxes them. It also affects their emotions, and it also sends messages to someone. Music is something very important. I don't think our lives would've

continued without music," she then went on to explain how music feeds her energetically. It helps her be patient, focus better and think more wisely. An experience that she and many others agree on.

Hanan Yassine was an avid collector of music cassettes. She built her music collection from the ground up when she was younger. Music remains a big part of her life. One of the saddest stories she had told me was when an Israeli soldier randomly stopped her and took away all her cassette tapes. In that moment, she felt like a part of her was stolen away. She explained, "I was so hurt. If he stole money or anything else from the car it wouldn't have hurt as much. Mainly because I put a lot of my energy into collecting these tapes." In this instance, she felt robbed and like he broke her heart.

Similarly, Hanan Yassine used to go to a music place who used to create mixtapes for her. She also used to copy her friends' cassette tapes onto hers using a radio cassette player. A radio cassette player is defined as a machine that is used to listen to cassette tapes, and copy and paste their content onto other cassette tapes. The technological impact of cassettes on music listeners was huge. It allowed everyone from all ages and cultures to rely on it as a method of listening to their favorite music, "The audio revolution of the 1960s and 70s meant that fidelity listening could now really happen in the car. The more compact in-dash cassette decks gradually replaced eight-track systems in the 1970s, their success propelled by Ray Dolby's application of his revolutionary studio recording system to retail cassette players," (Douglas, 1999). This point is also reiterated by Andrew Simon, "Audiotapes, in fact, were vital to the material and social life of all voices from the 1970s to the 1990s, and beyond. At times challenging the commercial and cultural dominance of state-sanctioned icons, tapes also solidified the stardom of the very same artists," (Simon, 2019).

However, the biggest impact music had on Hanan Yassine was through a dangerously terrifying story she had shared with me. It was midway through the war when she was going back home in her car. It was raining heavily outside. On her drive back, she encountered a lady holding a child in the rain. She decided to drop off the pair to safety and continue her trajectory home. When going back, she decided to take a shortcut that was unfortunately overflowing with water. This made her car turn off. This was all occurring at 2 in the morning and the water was reaching her window. She was then subsequently stuck in her car for the rest of the night. To get rid of her fear, Hanan Yassine started singing and she luckily had a radio cassette with her in the car that functioned on batteries. That portable radiocassette saved her life that night. She used it to muffle out the sound of shelling outside and to make her fear go away. When I asked her what she was listening to, she mentioned Fairuz, whose soft voice kept her company throughout the night. She was an artist that meant a lot to Hanan. As she told me, "If it weren't for music, I would've lost my mind." The therapeutic role of music in this situation can be well observed. Without the presence of music, Hanan Yassine would've spent the entire night spiraling about the water overflowing around her. The war a really difficult time to be alive, and she mentioned how she wouldn't have been able to survive without the company of music.

In conclusion, Hanan Yassine had a variety of listening practices during the war. Her experience combined both tarab, and friend-group. In other words, when studying she would resort to Tarab because of its length and ability to create a space of relaxation. She also used to listen to music with her friends to cover up any war sounds from the outside. Her personal experience with music technologies such as the cassette accompanied her through different adventures during the war.

8. *Lyricizing*

To some relying on instrument was a coping mechanism to others writing down the lyrics of their favorite songs was another way to deal with the uncertainty of the war. Before the rise of the internet, music listeners did not have access to song lyrics unless the artist provided them as an insert in the album.

Joumana Kahwaji's most vivid memory surrounding cassette tapes was writing lyrics down after countless listens. She described this common practice by explaining, "We used to play the cassettes, higher the volume of the song, and write down its lyrics." This listening practice allowed music listeners to get closer to the song they were listening to. It was almost as if they were drowning themselves in the song trying to understand its lyrics.

This form of escapism and coping helped erase the reality that they were living in. This was one of many activities that Lebanese people used to turn to during the war, and it constructed a new world of listening where music listeners were deeply connecting with not only the music but the lyrics too.

9. *Mixtapes, and Friend-Grouping*

Another notable listening practice that spreads out throughout all my interlocuters is listening to mixtapes. Mixtapes weren't normal cassettes that included an artists' entire album. Mixtapes were audiocassettes with carefully handpicked music. Hania Hussami and Zouha Elian were two of my participants who shared a similar experience when it comes to this specific listening practice.

Although four years apart, they were both affected by music in similar ways. According to Zouha Elian, her most prized possession was her Walkman. She wouldn't go anywhere without it. Mainly because music was such a big part of her life, Zouha Elian also created mixtapes on her own when she finally was old enough to buy a double cassettes player that allowed her to record the songs that she wanted from one tape to another. Mixtapes curated a very personal listening experience according to her.

Zouha Elian had also mentioned how many famous artists such as Village People, Dalida, and Joe Dassin had concerts in Lebanon. Although the country was "on and off"—as described it—she always tried her best to attend these concerts because they brought her a lot of happiness. It is essential to remember that memories of the war appear very differently in relation to listening practices, "Listening to music often triggers memories of events and experiences that have emotional significance," (O'Hara, 2006). It was also during these concerts that she had access to cassette tapes. Her most remarkable memory from a concert during the war was a Village People concert during the 80s that she had begged to attend with her mother. Unfortunately, her mother worked long hours and was extremely exhausted by the time they arrived to the concert. She was very fond of music and even went to LP signings of the albums that she used to look forward to.

Zouha Elian also mentioned how even during the war, these artists kept showing up to the country, it was mostly the more affordable artists. *La Maison du Disque* was a place she used to attend to get the autographs of the artists that she used to love. She recalls going to the hotels of the stars that used to come to Lebanon during the 1970s. Artists such as Dalida and Julio Iglesias were some of the examples that she gave. They used to run after them and ask for pictures and autographs.

Zouha Elian had several listening practices, she loved listening to music. Whether it was while studying, or skiing, her Walkman was always with her. She then proceeds to describe her old headphones and how often she used to use them. It was a common practice for her to resort to music most of the time. It kept her company. Just like the other participants mentioned in this study, she was very influenced by movie soundtracks such as Rocky and Grease. According to her, "these were our escapist methods," which then further emphasizes the role that music played in every individual's life. She also recalls her deep attachment to her radio cassette and how she used to deafen her parents with. Zouha Elian on the other hand was the only participant who used to listen to music during shelling, but her dad used to ask her to turn it down because he wanted to listen to live news updates and the bombings outside. Zouha used to get frustrated because she was just trying to escape with the music that she loved and was instead forced to listen to Arabic music such as Fairuz that was broadcast on the radio.

Zouha Elians experiences allow us to look at the ways in which different forms of music consumptions helped with escapism, and coping. In her case, she has very fond memories of going to concerts during the war. When looking back at her relationship with music during those years, the main memories that pop up are ones of her attending concerts. Also, the idolization of artists is a point brought up by her that only one of my other participants brings up. Idolizing musical artists allows for people to escape through them, through their art, and persona. This listening practice is a coping mechanism that many use to escape the realities of their own lives. Zouha Elian is a prime example of that, and her example perfectly encapsulates my idea.

Hania Hussami on the other hand has a different yet relatively similar experience with music. She was first introduced to classical French music by her sister and then switched to contemporary Western and American music as she got older. Hania Hussami was very fond of music growing up and used to resort to it whenever she wanted to escape reality, "I used to live in my own world when it came to music," she then mentions how she wasn't only restricted to a personal listening experience but instead exchanged music with her friends, "we would write down the titles of the songs from the radio and go to a DJ to add them to a mixtape," although some of her music was pirated, she used to buy the original albums of bands such as ABBA, BeeGees and Guns N' Roses. Hania Hussami created her own world through the music that she used to listen to, "I would stay in my room and listen to music". Just like everyone else in this study, Hania Hussami was too scared to listen to music whenever shelling would occur. However, it was a coping mechanism right after where she'd end up sitting in her room and escape. Music used to make her feel happy, relieved. It was a therapeutic element that made the shelling and bombings outside less scary.

In brief, Zouha Elian and Hania Hussami shared very similar experiences in terms of their listening practices. They both resorted to creating mixtapes and listening to music with other people. Those listening practices allowed both of my interlocutors to create a safe space around music.

C. The Role of the Radio

1. *Radio as a Political Tool*

The radio was at the forefront of the Lebanese civil war experience. Parents and children alike used to listen to it day and night. Although the radio was an important auditory tool during the war, the constant disruptions of broadcasts by the enemy made it a dreadful listening experience. There isn't an exact explanation as to how the radio waves were manipulated but according to Raed Yassin, "people were not at all able to enjoy listening to these radio broadcasts at the time. There were loads of cuts between the songs. Sometimes the radio was manipulated, and you suddenly heard the enemy speaking through your radio," (Burkhalter, 2013). During the War, main militias had their own radio stations on the air. *Voice of Lebanon* for instance sent out a Maronite version of the daily news to its Christian listeners. These Phalangist stations were playing pop music that was exported from Paris. This music exposed a lot of its listeners to Westernized music. These stations weren't only limited to music from Paris, they were also distributing propaganda. For instance, "every day, "Gemayel's daily disc" – a ten-minute lecture on the integrity of Lebanon by Sheikh Pierre, the father of the Phalange – would be transmitted," (Burkhalter, 2013). This Phalangist station then deliberately established certain boundaries with the audio tracks that it was releasing to the public. With that in mind, not all music crosses boundaries. Some might even be limiting. The propaganda mentioned above also includes songs that were created by the Lebanese Forces to instill more brainwashing in their audiences, "one of the most famous Lebanese Forces' songs is called "Achrafieh il-bidayeh" (Achrafieh Is the Beginning) […] The lyrics worship the bravery of the Lebanese Forces" (Burkhalter, 2013). Be that as it may, listeners were still in control of what they were listening to.

2. *The Agency of Lebanese Listeners*

Agency plays a big role in understanding how listeners chose to decode the music that they were listening to. According to Stuart Hall (1973), the production and the reception of a media message are not identical but they can be related "reality exists outside language, but it is constantly mediated by and through language: and what we can know and say has to be produced in and through discourse," (Hall, 1973). This means that listeners denotate the music that they are listening to through their own discourse.

The audience is not a passive consumer, they instead decode media messages completely differently than intended by the cultural producers. When it comes to the French music being broadcast with the intention of being propaganda, the listeners might've decoded it as purely for entertainment purposes, "decoding within the negotiated version contains a mixture of adaptive and oppositional elements; it acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations (abstract), while, at a more restricted, situational (situated) level," (Hall, 1973). This literally means that the listener either accepts the original message sent by the cultural producer or opposes it. Either way, there is agency in being a cultural consumer. However, different people had different experiences with the radio.

3. *Radio Listening: Positive/Negative Association*

As mentioned previously, each individual participant had their own personal relationship with the radio directly caused by what their listening practices were. Negative or positive association comes from the role of their radio in each participants life. If the radio was an instrument used to receive news, it had a negative association.

Whereas participants who were used to it as both a means of news receiving and music listening, it had a positive association. Moreover, I argue that age plays a big part in this association as younger participants weren't interested in news and mainly associated their parents with the radio.

When asked about the radio, Kareen Basha who was merely 5 when the war started, mentioned how the radio caused her to relate specific genres of music to either positive or negative experiences. For instance, she used to listen to French and English music when things were more peaceful in the country. She told me, "Music was joyful for us because we could go out to the balcony when things were peaceful outside." However other genres such as Arabic music and more specifically artists such as Fairuz were related to a more negative experience. She continued, "The rest of the days when there was shelling and bombings we used to listen to Fairuz or the music that was played between breaking news. We remember the bad days of the war." As Kareen Basha's recollection shows, the regular broadcast of Arabic music between breaking news, created a link between the music and sadness and depression. As a result, many of my interlocutors were compelled to listen to Western music, which felt more removed from the realities of war. Kareen Basha's husband, Maurice Asso, on the other hand, had a different listening experience growing up during the war. He was exposed to Arabic music such as Fairuz, the plays of Ziad al Rahbani. The reason for that is because they were being broadcast on AM radio channels during the Lebanese Civil War. Old folklore was one of the main genres that he used to listen to growing up. For the most part his listening experience was limited to being home during bombardments. That changed later on when he started listening to music with his friends, "The first part of my life was listening to Fairuz, the plays of Ziad Rahbani at

home because we weren't going to shelters when bombardments were happening. These were the things that were being broadcast on the AM radio. [..] Later on though, from one session of bombardment to the other, I used to meet up with friends and we used to listen to tapes. FM radio was being popularized, and we used to listen to artists such as A-Ha, George Michael, and Depeche Mode," This leads me to believe that they resorted to music that wasn't from their country because it reminded them too much of home.

In conclusion, Western music was able to create a world in which my listeners could resort to whenever the war was getting too hard to process and deal with. FM radio was then able to create new spaces of listening where my interlocuters felt safe. However, this doesn't apply to the entirety of my listeners since ones like Maurice Asso, found solace in music.

D. The Importance of Music

"Music is a companion. If treated well would accompany you along many journeys for a very long time," Maurice Asso, who was only 6 years old in Beirut when the war started, mentions as he recalls his relationship to music. He then goes on to mention the role of the genre of music to its listener, "The choice of music is not a reference of taste, or identity. It is what you hear at the time that reflects your feelings whether momentarily or over longer spreads of time," this perfectly encapsulates my earlier point. Especially the idea that those who were living through the war would resort to different genres of music from different parts of the world merely to cope with the uncertainty and war around them. There's no explanation that allows us to understand why Western music was able to create a world of its own. But according to

what Maurice mentioned earlier, it reflected the feelings of its Lebanese listeners who wanted to experience the simple joys of life instead of worrying about its fragility.

Thus, music is an art form that allowed music listeners to create a safe space that they could resort to when things were getting too intense during the war. Susan Douglas (1999) reiterates this point in her book when she mentions how "music transported us out of the house, out of our dull neighborhoods, and off to someplace where life seemed more intense, more heartfelt and less fettered," (Douglas, 1999), this transportation aided Lebanese listeners in better coping with the atrocities that were occurring outside of their homes.

E. The Absence of Music

It was common to refrain from listening to music when the shelling started. Instead of bringing the music with her to the shelter, Joumana Kahwaji stuck to boardgames such as Monopoly. This strategy is consistent with others I heard during my interviews, as many of my interlocutors would not immediately resort to music to drown out the sounds of war. This finding is incredibly important, especially since it contradicts my own expectations about how music was used purely for escapism.

Maha and Jamil Hussami shared a similar experience. Maha Hussami passionately iterated the idea that "When there's an active war around you, you don't listen to music. You hide, and you sit there waiting to see what's going to happen. When you hear bullets over your head, you're definitely not listening to music," Whether it was because they were scared of attracting attention to themselves or because the fear and intense emotionality rendered them unable to listen to anything, music was there to console them afterwards.

Maurice Asso offered a rich explanation of this experience: "When you're so close to death, you don't want to listen to anything except the footsteps of death coming closer." According to him, "When death is really close you don't even want to listen to your heartbeat during that time." So even for aficionados like Maurice, music was even in the equation when bombings were happening. This makes a lot of sense when empathizing with those who lived through the sounds of war.

When I originally began this research, I expected to hear many stories of people who used music to drown out the sounds of war. What I discovered, though, was the opposite. Such stories were few and far between. Instead, my interlocutors were much more likely to tell me about their experiences listening to music after the violent attacks had ended. This makes sense. When in fight or flight mode, people were focused on survival and needed distractions that would keep their senses—especially listening—alert.

However, music was sometimes a useful tool to drown the sounds of distant attacks. For example, Maurice Asso told me that sometimes he blasted music to temper the sounds of jets and shelling in the distance, far from where he resided. He explained, "Music, sometimes even loud music, would just reduce the stress from listening. Especially if you're listening to rock. There's a lot of beats in the music so it reduces the tension that you're living. Until it gets closer, then you turn it off. Without even thinking, you turn off the music, and you just listen to the shelling outside." This brief description perfectly encapsulates the ways in which music was sometimes an aid during times of crisis for those living through the Lebanese Civil War—not only sheltering the sounds of war but also as a way to release the frustration and anger of the

period. Hanan Yassine was also another interlocuter who when studying with her friends, they would use music to cover up the sound of shelling and bombing.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Lebanon is a country with an immense register when it comes to music. Genres ranging from Western to Arabic fill the streets of Beirut. This chapter discusses the ways in which music was consumed during the Civil War. It takes a deeper look at the listening practices that the war generation used to resort to. It also provides the reader with an empathic approach when it comes to looking at the personal experiences of individual Lebanese people during the war. Each participant discusses the role that music played in their lives and the role of audio technologies in their day-to-day lives during the war. This chapter gives us a better look at the therapeutic effects of music and how the was generation used to resort to audio technologies to cope with the horrendous situations that they had found themselves in. Different personal experiences ranging from in car listening, to concerts, to clubs, and personal listening were among the most prominent listening practices found during the war. Although every participant interviewed had their personal experience with music, they all agreed on the fact that without it, they wouldn't have been able to get through the war.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

By analyzing the history of music in Lebanon, its distribution routes, the technologies of audio consumption and the listening practices of individual Lebanese people, this thesis has shown how music aided Lebanese people in coping through sound during times of upheaval. I have argued that music was a major therapeutic element throughout the Civil War. I have demonstrated that specific technological tools aided in the creation of listening practices. Resorting to sound was one of the many ways Lebanese people were able to create a new world of their own, and a safe space that they could escape to whenever the turmoil was overbearing.

Resorting to semi-structured interviews helped me understand each individual experience properly. My methodology helped me acknowledge that not every Lebanese person resorted to music during bombings and shelling. Instead, my semi-structured interviews allowed me to explore different ways in which Lebanese listeners were listening to music. This project challenged conventional ideas surrounding media consumption, and more specifically music consumption during the Lebanese Civil War. In doing so, this thesis revises the ways in which Lebanese people created their own realities through sound.

The scholarship used in this thesis contains several gaps that this thesis has filled. For instance, I have resorted to using more qualitative rather than quantitative data. My findings were more personalized, and my semi-structured interviews resorted to a more empathetic approach. This approach allowed me to get a deeper understanding of the reasons why Lebanese people were resorting to music. My semi-structure interviews also allowed to me to understand that each individual person had a

different experience when it came to music listening. Generalizing, in this case, was not going to work. This personalization helped with understanding that each person had their separate listening practices and their individual experiences with music. What applied to one person did not necessarily apply to the rest.

This thesis focused on a group of participants who were from the same specific socio-economic class, and the project might look very different if it were written about different groups in Lebanon. People from outside of Beirut, people who were from lower socio-economic classes might've had a completely different listening experience. My conclusions are drawn from this group of people.

The first chapter thoroughly discusses the history of music in Lebanon. A look into the arrival of Western hymns and the creation of music schools in Lebanon helps us understand how Lebanese music had a very Westernized influence. The chapter also looks at musical genres such as Tarab. Tarab allows us to better understand how music can be bring up a lot of different emotions in the listener. Understanding the rise of the Lebanese sound is very beneficial since it gives us insight into the Rahbani brothers, along with the combination of several different talented composers and musicians. It was through the radio that the Lebanese sound was able to flourish. Deeper insight into the Rahbani brothers helps us understand the early influences in their childhoods that created their famous Lebanese sound. The Rahbani brothers, Fairuz, and Ziad Rahbani had a big role during the Lebanese Civil War. Their art, and music helped Lebanon get over the atrocities of the war. Moreover, this chapter discussed the role of the radio in the dissemination of rock music and how local bands were thriving in that environment. A quick look into the listening practices of Lebanese people before the war helps us understand the heavy Western influence that arises during the war. It was also through

radio stations, record stores and TV stations that Western music was proliferated. Lastly, the first chapter tackles the concert and clubbing scene that was present in the country during the civil war and how the Lebanese youth was resorting to it. There were several rock bands that were performing in underground bunkers, university halls, and venues. Moreover, the clubbing experience in places such as Sporting or Long Beach, opened a space of unity and comfort. This chapter argued, that to understand people's music consumption habits during the Civil War, we need to appreciate the longer history of music in Lebanon.

The second chapter goes deeper into the distribution and the technologies that surround the consumption of music. An understanding of the history of audio technologies allows us to understand how music was both, a collectivist yet private experience. Also, as the ephemerality of sound disappeared, its commodification increases. The radio one of the most influential sound technologies to ever be created.

Cassettes also played a big role in the consumption and distribution of music in Lebanon. Audio cassette tapes also aided in the developments of distinct listening practices, private and public. Due to their high accessibility to the general mass, cassettes were allowing music listeners to become cultural producers. The rise of mixtapes in the 1980s helps us understand the role that music listeners played in creating their own realities through music. A carefully curated playlist creates a world in which Lebanese music listeners had control over the world that they sought to escape to. Furthermore, cassette tapes were used for both religious and political purposes.

Headphones were also a major component that was discussed in this chapter. Mainly because they defined private listening practices. However, it was essential to study the beginning of collective yet individualized listening. A quick look into the role

of the stethoscope, and phonograph parlors gives us an understanding of where private listening came from.

TV and the radio also played a major role in launching the careers of famous singers Fairuz and Majida Al Roumi. Without the presence of the Lebanese national radio station choir and *Studio el Fann*, show biz in Lebanon might've never existed.

Moreover, the chapter looks at the general distribution routes of music in the United States. The locations of record labels are directly corelated to the dispersal of musicians. Musicians tend to cluster around record labels which were mostly located in Nashville, New York and Los Angeles. In addition, international chains of distribution were set up by record labels themselves as soon as they realized how profitable it is to disseminate the music themselves.

Finally, piracy is an essential topic to discuss especially in relation to the Middle East because of the lack of accessibility that is present within Third World countries. Through extensive scholarships that tackles the subject of piracy, academics look to remove the negative connotations around the word. Piracy is an alternative distribution system for areas that can't access the original media objects. It is through migration of diaspora and the routes of distribution that pirated goods can reach their destinations. This chapter argued that to understand how people used and made sense of music during the Civil War, we need to examine music distribution and listening practices at that time.

Lastly, the final chapter tackles the different listening practices of Lebanese people during the war. This chapter looks at the in depth semi-structured interviews that were conducted with the participants that experienced the Lebanese Civil War. The different listening practices ranged from, friend-grouping, to lyricizing, to Tarab, and

even music blasting. Each of these listening practices offers a very individualized experience. This was mainly possible by incorporating the technologies that were used such as the radio, and the Walkman. Stories from fourteen different people helped me better understand the importance of music during the war and how not one experience was like the other. Each interlocuter went through their own individualized encounter with music. Music played such an integral part in each of these individuals' lives. Although their experiences differed, all my participants shared to me how much music had helped them. It also allowed for the creation of more positive memories during the war. This chapter argues that despite individual differences and preferences, music played an important role in how people coped with the atrocities of the war.

During times of major upheaval, different people resort to different coping mechanism. This thesis reminds the reader that music has always existed alongside humans and will exist in the future. It was through music that Lebanese people were able to battle the war. Fully immersing themselves in sound allowed them to cope, and create safe spaces where they were able to exist in. This research clearly illustrates how music was used as a therapeutic element, but it also raises the question of when it was appropriate to listen to music. Thus, further research is required to determine the relationship between the listening practices of individual Lebanese people and their correlation to the war.

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