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The Soundtrack of the Extreme: Nasheeds and Right-Wing Extremist Music as a “Gateway Drug” into the Radical Scene?¹

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Abstract

Music plays an important role in both the right-wing extremist and the Salafi jihadist scenes as a unifying and radicalizing factor. It is used to share propaganda and highlight specific ideologies. Music is disseminated by various means, e.g. via social media, and used strategically to attract potential new members. The aims of right-wing extremist music and the Salafi jihadist nasheeds are, among other things, to inspire the youth, reach out to a worldwide audience of potential sympathizers, and disseminate their absolutist worldview. To achieve these goals, seemingly objective depictions of negative everyday experiences, of oppression, and the need for resistance are utilized. The songs are usually associated with violent content, and in conjunction with videos, they illustrate the perceived need to defend oneself. In this article, we will take a closer look at the content of four selected extremist songs. Our analysis of the content is based on a triangulation of sequential text analysis methods and identifies the differences and comparable elements of the ideologies in a final step. In addition to the content, the research aims to examine the possible effects of extremist groups' music.

Keywords extremism; radicalization; radical music; propaganda; comparison studies

1. INTRODUCTION

In the research of the radicalization of adolescents and young adults, it is inevitable to deal with extremist music, its lyrics, the messages transmitted, and its effect on teenagers and young adults. It is not primarily important what kind of extremism is

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studied, as the protagonists of many extremist groups use music as a propaganda tool. Music seems omnipresent in our everyday life and accompanies young people throughout the day (Büchner 2018:17). The Internet and social media make it easier for extremists than ever before to distribute musical content. Yet, regardless of the existence and the growing importance of social media channels like Facebook, YouTube, WhatsApp or Telegram, compact discs (CDs) are still a means of dissemination. While mosques are used as a hub to spread radical content within the Salafi jihadist scene, the same is true for schoolyards and the right-wing scene. At least in Germany, there is the phenomenon of so-called “Schulhof CDs” (literally: schoolyard CDs), which contain right-wing music and have been given to young people in some areas of the country free. In both cases, music combines the “emotional impact with text-mediated communication of ideological content” (Mathias 2015:82). Literal citations have been translated into English by the authors and form a popular and successful propaganda tool. Therefore, music serves as a gateway to create a first connection or reinforce an existing one and fertilize the ground for a deepening ideological worldview. The term “gateway drug” therefore describes the “functional relationship between medium, ideology and social structure (groups) in a concise manner” (Mathias 2015:83).

Music has various functions and serves as a mechanism for distributing propaganda and, in a subsequent effort, to radicalize younger people. Music brings joy, supports the escape from everyday life, reflects moods and feelings, comforts, and makes the moment unforgettable (Dornbusch and Raabe 2002:10). Music can awaken emotions, and if it does, political messages can be easily transported and have a stronger impact. It provides orientation, shapes and consolidates one’s own identity, and thus assumes a social function in society (Büchner 2018:17). Therefore, it does not matter if you focus on neo-Nazis or jihadists. Each extremist scene has its music: it spreads ideology by guitar chords or may create community via concerts, particularly for the right-wing scene. In the end, it strengthens the group identity. It is the soundtrack of the radicals – vocals to their ideology and hatred.

First, we discuss the functional level of music from a criminological–sociological perspective (part 2). Simultaneously, the theoretical analysis of the transformation processes of identity, the significance of group affiliation, and the influence of music on radicalization processes are carried out. Part 3 explains the method used and describes the underlying database of this study. In parts 4 and 5, two selected songs from the Salafi jihadist and the extreme right scenes are analyzed, and the importance of music for the Salafi jihadist scene (part 4) and the right-wing extremist scene (part 5) is explained. The concluding discussion highlights the insights gained from the analyses of the four songs and, in terms of the narratives they use, compares them regarding their significance for the respective scene and possible radicalization process.

2. THE FUNCTIONAL LEVEL OF MUSIC: IDENTITY, GROUP AFFILIATION AND RADICALIZATION

Reflecting on the media’s development over the last few decades, one concludes that music is indispensable for everyday life. Streaming platforms such as YouTube, Spotify, Apple Music, Deezer and Soundcloud offer individuals the opportunity

to carry via their smartphones any music – their musical interest – in their pockets at any time. Music becomes a mass media offering, and the associated use of music is already passed on to children in primary socialization. They accept it openly and integrate it into their lives seemingly without further complications (Baacke, Sander, and Vollbrecht 1990:155). However, what effect and function music has on individuals, especially if they are still in their development, has not yet been fully explored, especially if the music is extremist and militant as nasheeds and right-wing extremist music are. Above all, there are no established empirical results on jihadist nasheeds' function and effect (Said 2016:140). This is why a combination of general theories of (music) sociology and (music) psychology on the emergence of collective identities is used to gain insights into the function and effect of extremist music (Said 2016:140). In addition, results from the field of right-wing extremist music are used to explain the function of this specific genre and derive from them “analogous conclusions for the topic of militant Nasheeds” (Said 2016:140).

One must first consider the term “function” in its sociological meaning if one focuses on music's function from a criminological perspective. The sociologist Elisabeth Haselauer already described in 1980 that in the context of music, it is important to break away from the purely sociological term of function (Haselauer 1980:199). Since the relationship between cause and effect cannot be reproduced, secondly, the concept of function in sociology is based on a reciprocity between performance and subject (Haselauer 1980:199). However, this reciprocal relationship would require music to be able to act independently. Haselauer attributes music to a “serving” or “accompanying” character through which music can also be used in combination with its texts (Haselauer 1980:199, 200). In other words, with the help of Bruno Latour's terms, it can be understood that music and its lyrics are “sometimes [...] an object, sometimes [...] a social bond and sometimes [...] a discourse” (Latour 2018:120).

Although Latour does not write about music, his remarks can be transferred to (extremist) music. According to Bruno Latour, quasi-objects are defined as entities of man and technology (Latour 2018:186). With music being the technology in this example, then it can be concluded that in the interplay of music and the individual, influencing each other and interacting with each other, something new can emerge, which Latour conceives as an action program (Latour 2018:192, 193). Music as an object is something else when viewed alone, rather than in combination with a human being. Only when it is played by an individual, the action program, which arises through and with it, changes. Latour illustrates this with the example of a weapon: the weapon as an object in itself represents something different than in the hand of a human being. The action program, created by object and subject together, is more than both alone. Humans (the subjects) have other possibilities of action when armed than without armament (Latour 2018:194, 195). This example fits surprisingly well with music's function, the action program, i.e. music and the individual's symbiosis. Haselauer makes this clear: “The function of music is [...] simply: what should it do, what does it do, what do people use it for, how is it helpful, to whom or which side?” (Haselauer 1980:200).

Haselauer defines music's primary function as having the property of dispelling humans' primeval fears (Haselauer 1980:201–3). This aspect will not be discussed in detail in this article. In this study, the emphasis is placed on the secondary functions,

which may include “manipulating people, [...] impose ‘values’ [...] [and ...] pave ideologies” (Haselauer 1980:202). These aspects of secondary functions play a significant role, especially in extremist music, especially in music’s social role (Kleiner 2014:170–2).

Identity and Group Affiliation

With its ascribed social function, music within extremist groups helps individuals and the whole group convey propagandistic content and propagate and reinforce specific ideologized worldviews. While the Salafi jihadist movement increasingly employs nasheeds “at the macro level to create a counter-public and counterculture” (Said 2016:141), the spectrum of right-wing music is more differentiated and content-driven. Here the right-wing music is targeted not only at the macro level. Within both extremist ideologies, political and cultural issues are linked together to create collective identities. The development of collective identities involves an identity transformation of the individual, which neglects and subordinates its own identity for group identity. Therefore, the individual categorizes others into groups and gives a meaning to those categories. As a last step, the individual relates to one category and identifies himself as a group member. This process usually takes place through the dissemination of highly emotionally charged extremist content, which is intended to evoke both sympathy and solidarity among consumers, so that in the end, a collective solidarity of the group is created (Eckert 2005:124–6). The Salafi jihadist and the extreme right-wing worldviews have a fundamental commonality: They are extremes – endpoints of a radicalization of social identity based on inequality ideologies.

The essential aspects that can lead to such a transformation of identity and thus to a collective solidarity are: (1) meaningful offers for a seemingly conclusive worldview provided by ideologies; (2) based on the concept of inequality; and finally (3) their relationship to violence.

- (1) According to the functional concept of ideology, ideologies represent “[...] systems of shared beliefs, ideas, and symbols that help make sense of the world around us” (Alvarez 2008:216). Thus, ideologies for individuals contain meaningful content to explain and interpret the social world around them. Ideologies reduce the complexity of the social world. However, they do not arise in isolation but result from an interaction of society’s social processes as a whole.
- (2) The concept of inequality (Zick et al. 2016:37–81) is based on an absolutist worldview according to which one’s group is seen as superior to others. This superiority is attempted to be legitimized based on, for example, “religious”, “culturalist” or “racist” constructions. Both ideologies examined in this article offer a clear assessment of individuals and groups using a simplifying black and white logic. As already mentioned, an elementary inequality is attributed to in- and outgroups to present the ingroup as a superior collective in being and acting, while outgroups are constructed and categorized as inferior. Furthermore, inequality ideologies foster the emergence of a positive identity, even when one’s own living conditions are rather unfavorable

(Staub 2001:159). In this respect, they can be interpreted as a “vehicle of social creativity” (Harrendorf, Mischler, and Müller 2019:284), which provides individuals with a seemingly improved social identity. The more an individual takes on such an ideology, neglecting his identity in favor of an extremist social identity, the more likely we can speak of an advanced radicalization.

- (3) According to Daniel Koehler, there is a link between ideologies of inequality and violence (Koehler 2014:116–18). While a high level of radicalization does not necessarily imply the use of physical violence, there is a connection between violence and ideologies which deny individuals or groups individual liberties or equal rights based on their group affiliation. Within a system based on human rights and pluralism, such freedom results in an incompatibility, making illegal/violent measures necessary to implement the ideologies (Koehler 2014:125). Since ideologies of inequality, whether Salafi jihadist or extreme right, cannot be legally enforced, there is an increased possibility that radicalized individuals and groups ultimately resort to violent and terrorist means.

(Imagined) communities are consolidated primarily by their demarcation, for example “by making the respective affiliation essential” (Eckert 2005:126), for example, through constructs such as “true Germanism” or the “brothers and sisters in the life of true Islam”. On the other hand, conflict lines also serve to draw boundaries, particularly through the perceived “life-threatening” conflict situation with other individuals and communities (Eckert 2005:126). Thus it can be concluded that collective identities that diverge from others are not primarily the cause of conflicts, but that only through conflicts within a society do collective identities emerge, which may then lead to radicalization (Eckert 2002:23). Hence, it can be assumed that the collective sympathy for and solidarity with an ideology of inequality serve as a catalyst for extremist radicalization.

Conflicts in society serve as a breeding ground for the most diverse interpretations. Every individual has “a more or less elaborate understanding of the world” (Liebert 2019:3) and only when it transitions into an absolutist world view, with the assumption that one “understands the truth about the world” (Liebert 2019:3), and one’s point of view is the only possible one, we have a total ideology (Liebert 2019:3).

What role does music play in the context of extremist worldviews’ radicalization processes, especially when it comes to developing a collective identity and, thus, group affiliation? Georg Brunner describes that music in subcultures serves to express the association with a group and, accordingly, to position one’s own identity in contrast to the outgroups (Brunner 2007:12, 2011:109). He comments:

By becoming a member in cultures of their choosing, the adolescent familiarizes himself with the chosen symbolic world, shapes it and constructs his identity by (temporarily) adopting a specific lifestyle. One speaks of Bricolage. In this way, young people signal their belonging to the chosen culture, but at the same time also differentiate themselves from other youth cultures, cultures of the adult generation or (musical) taste cultures of the opposite sex. (Brunner 2011:109)

Brunner describes how individuals identify themselves with the help of a symbolic world, not only with a specific ideology and the associated group, but also by wearing scene-typical clothing or listening to ideologized music. His description not only fits for right-wing extremism, but “this description also applies to the jihadist milieu, which is also composed to a large extent of [...] [individuals] who are often against their parents or society and their institutions” (Said 2016:144). Both extremist group ideologies form group cohesion and a demarcation to the outside through the creation and differentiation of one’s own culture (Said 2016:140–4).

This aspect can be clarified for the jihadist scene by individual passages from the propaganda book *44 Ways to Support Jihad* by Anwar al-Awlaki. Among other things, he describes the function of nasheeds and how it is useful for the creation of a jihadi culture:

In the time of Rasulullah (saaws), he had poets who would use their poetry to inspire the Muslims and demoralize the disbelievers. Today Nasheeds can play that role. A good Nasheed can spread so far it can reach an audience that you could not reach through a lecture or a book. Nasheeds are especially inspiring to the youth, who are the foundation of jihad in every age and time. Nasheeds are an important element in creating a “Jihad Culture”. Nasheeds are abundant in Arabic but scarce in English. Talented poets and people need to take on this responsibility. The Nasheeds can cover topics such as: martyrdom, jihad is our only solution, support of the mujahideen, of the current leaders of jihad, the situation of the ummah, the responsibility of the youth, the victory of Islam and defending the religion. The Nasheeds should focus on justice rather than peace and strength rather than weakness. The Nasheeds should be strong and uplifting and not apologetic and feminine. (al-Awlaki 2009:19)

Al-Awlaki wishes “to build a jihadist culture on a selected past or an existing tradition [...] to redefine and to shape it” (Said 2016:144). The goal is to create a global jihadist culture that appeals to individuals in different parts of the world and within different age groups. Within this short passage, various functions of music are addressed in the context of ideological narratives. In the first section, music takes over the earlier poems’ function to inspire Muslims and strengthen them in the broadest sense. Connected with this is the functional claim that music is useful for mobilization purposes by making individuals come together. Ideologized narratives are taken up to tell smaller and bigger stories about life according to their worldview.

Radicalization

Hardly anyone will argue that music has no impact on individuals. Thus, a particular style of music preferred by an individual may also be reflected by their clothing style. Someone who mainly listens to hip-hop would most likely choose his/her clothing style according to that scene and not based on the rock music genre. Thus, the influence of music on the micro-level can be demonstrated. Building on the previous theoretical considerations, the question can now be asked whether nasheeds and right-wing extremist music can have an influence on the

radicalization process, in other words: how extremist music works or is foreseen to work; which function is attributed to it; which ideological narrative(s) it uses and how it propagates extremist worldviews. Empirically measuring extremist music's actual effect is (as already mentioned) out of the scope of this article. To be able to make a meaningful analysis of the real effect of music, it must be possible to make a measurement which can be generalized beyond the "actual socio-historical horizon" (Bühl 2004:106), since the effect of the music "is always a time- and situation-specific" (Said 2016:145) component, which may not be disregarded.

Listening to music is always related to the individual's state of mind, external circumstances, the context in which the music is heard, the group constellations, and its activities. As a result, the "circumstances of the music experience [...] are [...] too complex to be produced and analyzed experimentally, for example, according to a stimulus-response scheme in laboratory experiments" (Said 2016:145). The intended effects that music should have on consumers, such as the effects that propagandists want to create with music and the purpose for which it is used or distributed, is described theoretically here and is deduced from data but cannot be confirmed empirically.

According to the first results of the project "Radicalisation within the digital age – risks, processes and strategies for prevention (RadigZ)" funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research in Germany and the current state of radicalization and terrorism research, it can be said that extremist protagonists and spokesmen discovered music early on as a means of spreading their worldview(s). Nasheeds as "anthems of militant Islamism" were already understood by the spokesmen "at the latest since the 1980s as a means to motivate especially young people to the sacrifice" (Said 2016:147). The tradition of transporting right-wing political content through music dates back to the beginning of the 19th century (Dornbusch and Raabe 2002:9). Especially in Nazi Germany, the National Socialist community was formed and consolidated through joint singing (Dornbusch and Raabe 2002:10).

Within both ideologies, music is used as an identity-creating factor through which propagandists disseminate views on political and social issues, accompanied by melodies and, if appropriate, in combination with images and videos. Within ideologized music, story elements are also sorted and placed in the seemingly correct context. Through the linkage of musical, textual and visual content, sympathies are evoked with the groups that produce the music and the individuals addressed within the textual and pictorial discourses.

For Salafi jihadism, it can be stated that nasheeds even "work out [...] for sympathizers who cannot or do not want to actively participate in the fighting on the sites of international Jihad, such as the Afghan border area or Iraq" (Said 2016:144). For those individuals who live mostly in the diaspora, the "Nasheeds take on the function of a cultural bridge" (Said 2016:144). On an emotional level, they connect individuals who live in different regions of the world.

On the other hand, for right-wing extremism, ideologized music has become a key element of this counterculture within Germany. Right-wing extremist music exists in almost all genres and manifestations; festivals are important for young people and adults since they can be among like-minded people. Concerts are not perceived as a political event but convey through the music a shared experience full of fun, joy and solidarity (Dornbusch and Raabe 2005:84).

In conclusion, it should be noted here that extremist music is considered as an effective means of radicalization by the protagonists. The practical use of music was recognized early in both groups.

Music is a modest way to attract and mobilize new followers and promote one's own cause and organization. Within the right-wing extremist scene, this functionality of music is reflected in the aspirations of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) "to consciously address and bind young people with the help of music" (Brunner 2011:112, 113). A singer from a popular right-wing band, Ian Stuart, described it in these words: "Music is the ideal means to get young people closer to National Socialism, much better than it can be done in political events, such that ideology can be transported." (Dornbusch and Raabe 2005:71) Ian Stuart was the singer of the band Skrewdriver and founder of the international right-wing network Blood & Honour (Dornbusch and Raabe 2005:71).

For both ideologies, the following hypothesis can be established: Right-wing music and "Nasheeds represent the 'accompanying music' to a radicalization that can be caused by ideology, group dynamics, perceived actual or supposed social and political injustices and personal destiny" (Said 2016:155). However, it should be added that extremist music, detached from all these factors, cannot lead to radicalization. For a beginning and progressive radicalization, on which extremist music can have a reinforcing influence, a certain disposition must be a breeding ground.

3. DATA AND METHODS

The analysis includes two selected songs from the Salafi jihadist scene and from the right-wing extremist spectrum. The songs' selection is based on evidence gathered by German prosecutors and the Chief Federal Prosecutor at the German Federal Court of Justice and on information gained from interviews with active and former right-wing extremists and Salafi jihadists.

The pre-selection of songs is based on a quantitative assessment of Salafi jihadist and right-wing extremist music based on more than 120 court files and 23 self-conducted interviews. The analyzed songs were selected for their contextual significance and importance for the individual from the resulting dataset. This was done to ensure that the researched material consists of songs that are actually popular and relevant in the particular scene and thus provide a special insight into the settings. Although the chosen method involves a certain amount of arbitrariness, it claims to have the advantage of gaining a very broad and up-to-date understanding.

The analysis of the content will be based on a triangulation of methods (sequential text analysis). A closer look will be taken at the contents of selected songs on an interpretative level. Subsequently, the findings will be related to relevant narratives of both ideology systems. Stories can be understood as "[. . .] the form of perception and interpretation of the social world, schemes of the demand for experience and horizon of possible experiences as well as means of overcoming action problems" (Meuser and Sackmann 1992:16).

Within this study, the perspective of the consumers of music can only be considered on the side. The effect that music with extremist content has or can have on

the consuming individual should not be completely neglected, but it is not the goal of this work to describe the effect to the full extent, and such an analysis would require additional variables and information that are not available to us at this time. For this reason, the primary focus of this work is on the content of extremist music and thus its purpose in the ideological fabric and the related action programs. These can have a corresponding effect on the individual in the real world: identity formation, radicalization, recruitment and mobilization of individuals.

4. MUSIC AND SALAFI JIHADISM

As part of a cultural dimension that may have supporting and reinforcing character in the process of radicalization, the role of music has rarely been empirically analyzed (Eyerman and Jamison 1998:77, 78), especially for Salafi jihadism. Thus, the question arises to what extent ideological worldviews are disseminated through music and to what extent music can influence individuals in combination with the strict religious guidelines of Salafi jihadism. Regardless of the ideological orientation, it should be briefly pointed out that music predominantly functions as a cultural good within societies. Music is almost indispensable and can be an expression of social and political processes. For this article, it must be further pointed out that music is not just a cultural component, but that it is in particular art and in general an element of the “cognitive practice” of social groups. In the context of this article about extremist music, the cognitive practice is to be understood as truth-bearing and truth-generating (Eyerman and Jamison 1998:22). But music is referred to as a “cognitive practice” and as a ritual that affects the emergence of a collective identity through emotional and physical activity (Eyerman and Jamison 1998:35). Through his empirical studies about “terror networks”, Marc Sageman demonstrates that group constellations play a much greater role than ideological convictions (Sageman 2004:178). Following Sageman, it can therefore be assumed that the primary influence on a progressive radicalization is not ideology but group membership and the emergence of a solid and durable collective identity.

According to studies by the German Federal Criminal Investigation Office in 2010 about right-wing and left-wing extremism as well as Islamism, the same conclusion can be drawn: for the entry into the scene, “social and emotional aspects” (Luetzinger 2010:71) have a stronger effect than “the topics of religion and politics [...] [which play] a rather subordinate role” (Luetzinger 2010:71). From the state of research on extremist music, not specific to Salafi jihadism, it can be deduced that there is a certain degree of consensus today in science and the security agencies that social dynamics make the aspirations of extremist groups, especially for Salafi jihadism religion, far more attractive than ideology. Ideology should not be understood as the most important resource, but the union of individuals and the specific cultural framework that they provide. This perspective that focuses on group dynamics can be illustrated very succinctly with the words of Thomas Bauer:

You do not become a terrorist because there is an idea you have been soberly convinced of, but you become a terrorist out of passion. And this passion does not only produce attacks, but also poems and essays that give far more insight

into the soul landscape of people than normative religious texts, which can be interpreted by everyone differently. (Bauer 2011:125)

Suppose Bauer describes poems and essays as being the product of terrorists acting out of passion. In that case, music and especially nasheeds can be seen as a propagandistic expression that addresses individuals personally and culturally and may even fascinate them. The French political scientist Olivier Roy offers a theoretical framework that attempts to strike a balance between a Salafi jihadist culture and the globalized world. In doing so, he focuses on fundamentalists who seek to establish a “universal religious identity” (Roy 2006:43). According to Roy, it is necessary to create a collective religious identity due to a counterclaimed deterritorialization and a deculturation of Islam, “detached from a specific culture” (Roy 2006:43) that can function universally regardless of the nation and region of the world where an individual lives. Roy describes that: “[f]or many neo-fundamentalist [. . .] globalization is an opportunity and not a loss. It can also provide an antidote to cultural westernization, for cutting off Muslim cultures heavily influenced by non-Islamic customs, and traditions open up the opportunity to restore a Muslim community based solely on Islamic beliefs” (Roy 2006:48).

The newly emerging Islamist culture within its own countries and the diaspora can be understood as a Salafi jihadist subculture that assembles itself with the help of shared symbolic representations through aesthetic products such as writing, images and sound. This can be simplified if the term “culture” is used here in the sense of the Social Movement Theory. The Social Movement Theory can be applied to Salafi jihadist movements, as illustrated by Ivesa Luebben (2002, 2005) with her studies about the Muslim Brotherhood, as well as by Quintan Wiktorowicz (2004) and Joas Wagemakers (2008). On the one hand, social movements can be a part of formal culture, and on the other hand, they can also be based on an informal and network-like structure (Wiktorowicz 2004:10–12), as the Salafi jihadists are.

Social movements are based on three core elements that interact and affect each other:

- (1) they are characterized by transitory dynamics which result from the fact that these social movements must always be considered as the result of certain historical circumstances that may change or even disappear altogether (Eyerman and Jamison 1998:21);
- (2) they are the product of socio-political events whose roots are mostly historically conditioned or lie far in the past (Eyerman and Jamison 1998:21);
- (3) they are fundamentally characterized by the fact that they combine cultural aspects with political ones, thereby providing a political and historical framework for cultural expression on the one hand and use culture as a basis for political struggle on the other hand (Eyerman and Jamison 1998:7).

Within social movements, culture serves as a means of collective identity creation, as a link among members, and as a point of contact between society’s cognitive frame and the particular subcultural movement (Eyerman and Jamison 1998:11, 14 and 17–20; Said 2016:37). The frame is to be understood as a scheme of interpretation of reality, which cannot be equated with ideology. Rather, doctrine in this

context is understood as a complex system of ideas to explain the world. The frame has the function of bringing the complex ideology to a less abstract level and building on an unfamiliar audience's experience through ideologically charged narratives adapted to the specific situation and content. The frame has three basic elements: diagnosing the problem, presenting a solution, and calling for action (Benford and Snow 2000:615–18).

Within the Salafi jihadist discourse, the wars waged in the Muslim countries and the related war on terror – proclaimed after September 11, 2001 – are understood as a “war on Islam” (Said 2016:37–9; Wagemakers 2008:2). Wiktorowicz clarified the importance of culture in the process of framing:

Frames represent interpretative schemata that offer language and cognitive tools for making sense of experiences and events in the “world out there” [...]. Although extant ideas or ideologies may underlay aggressive actions, they are arranged and socially processed through grammatical constructs and interpretative lenses that create intersubjective meaning and facilitate movement goals. The term “framing” is used to describe this process of meaning construction. [...] One of the most critical dimensions of the framing process for movement mobilization is frame resonance. [...] Where a movement frame draws upon indigenous cultural symbols, language, and identities, it is more likely to reverberate with constituents, thus enhancing mobilization. (Wiktorowicz 2004:16)

In other words, this means that “culture serves as a transmission belt for the ideology” (Said 2016:38).

Concerning Salafi jihadist nasheeds in German, the following questions arise: which cultural aspects are addressed within these songs; which narratives are used to transport the jihadist absolutist worldview to a young audience? Particular attention needs to be given to the fact that many young people within the Salafi jihadist movement have converted to Islam, although they grew up in a society shaped by Western culture. They may not have been in contact with Islam as a religion and have been socialized according to Christian and humanistic values and norms.

Before answering these questions combined with empirical analysis of two relevant nasheeds, it is first important to clarify what nasheeds exactly are about.

What Nasheeds are About

Nasheeds are vocal pieces composed of vocal melodies and lyrics. For this article, they can be understood as “a kind of agitprop of the jihadist movement” (Said 2016:15). However, not all nasheeds can be classified as jihadist because nasheeds “[...] are by no means synonymous with Islamist or even militant-Islamist content. There are, for example, Nasheeds about religious occasions such as [...] Ramadan or even national anthems, [...] [as well as] popular-religious Nasheeds [...] who are unpolitical and [...] address themselves to a broad audience.” (Said 2016:15) When we are talking about nasheeds within this article, it is not about one of the many variants – religious or even popular-religious –, but about violence-oriented music within the Salafi jihadist scene. Despite the prohibition of music within this

scene, these songs are characterized by instrumental rhythms that arise through vocal chants and are mainly sung by men (Said 2016). Those types of nasheeds usually contain another component, namely “the dimension of staging (for example, live singing) and its visual implementation, [...] in the form of videos” (Said 2016:19; compare with Rhein 2011:19). The focus in jihadist nasheeds is not on the music itself, nor about the melody and the rhythm, but on the lyrics, possibly in combination with a visual underlining. With the help of qualitative text analysis, it can be determined whether a nasheed can be classified as jihadist or not. If it promotes dominating social, religious and political issues with well-known jihadist narratives, “such as the corresponding legitimated fight against repressed regimes and the pursuit of martyrdom” (Said 2016:17), it is more reasonable to assume that it is a Salafi jihadist nasheed.

Said explains that “[J]ihadist Nasheeds can be described as [...] militant-Islamist textual messages” (Said 2016:29), and today they can be regarded as one of the most important cultural expressions of the jihad scene. Thematically, jihadist nasheeds talk about the fight against the enemies and for a life after the true Islam; grief and praise; the social situation and recognition of a martyr; a message to the mother; the relationship and support of members who live in captivity and their interpretation of political circumstances, especially referring to the emanating injustices of the Western world (Said 2016:29).

This study focuses on two nasheeds from the Salafi jihadist milieu, which have been mentioned most often in court files on Salafi jihadist terrorists. The court files are about cases of members of terrorist organizations convicted for their membership and the preparation of a severe violent offense against the German Federal State or other criminal offenses related to terrorism. In this article, the individual court files and the related crimes are not discussed in more detail, as these are not relevant for the analysis. They merely serve as a basis for and attribution of relevance to the nasheeds that will be analyzed. Typical for the nasheeds examined here and for other nasheeds circulating within the highly radical scene is the producers’ changed media appearance. “The actors of propaganda are not just spiritual authorities, but the stars of their own scene, teenagers and young adults, who place their own development and their way into the armed jihad as a way out of a life crisis and meaning in the center of propaganda.” (Abou Taam et al. 2016:17) In doing so, these young propagandists act as more authentic identifiers, for youth and young adults, than the most radical preachers themselves (Abou Taam et al. 2016:17). Another appealing factor for young adults may be the presentation of the propaganda: “The videos are overall much shorter and characterized by short-cut image sequences, have a stylish presentation similar to popular music channels and thus tie in with the media consumption habits of young people.” (Abou Taam et al. 2016:17) Based on the fact that the propaganda has adapted more and more to young adults’ environment and the associated media use, the active spreading on social media channels is not to be forgotten. It seems that the main actors of the Salafi jihadist scene have analyzed their target group in detail to adapt their specific content and distribution channels, especially to media platforms of the youth culture such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp and Telegram. As a result, they give much more attention to their youthful target group’s concerns than the classic Salafi jihadist tracks or videos of one-hour sermons (Abou Taam et al. 2016:18).

“Mutter Bleibe Standhaft” – “Mother Remain Firm”

The first nasheed, presented and analyzed in this study, was created as early as October 2010 and distributed through social media channels. “Mother Remain Firm” is a nasheed sung by Abu Ibraheem al-Almani (Yassin Chouka), who makes his suffering mother the core issue while her sons have moved to jihad. He speaks to his mother, but also to all other mothers whose sons have joined the jihad. Yassin Chouka, whose self-chosen fight name is Abu Ibraheem al-Almani, traveled with his brother to Pakistan to join the “Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan” (IBU) and participate in jihad. With his nasheed and a related sermon, which has the same content except for a few aspects, he tries to fascinate German Muslims for the jihad to participate in it actively. In doing so, he declares jihad as an unfulfilled duty, which he responds to, especially in the face of Western belligerence in Arab-dominated countries, which he, like many other jihadists, understands as a war against Islam and Muslims. The song was released as a propaganda video by the IBU Media Center, the “Studio Jund Allah”, which means “Soldiers of Allah”. Before going into more detail on the qualitative text analysis, it is important to offer a final piece of insight in advance: avant-garde thinking of jihadist groups covers the song like a sheet or frames it like a picture frame. This avant-garde thought found here represents a multitude of nasheeds in which the same element can be found.

Each verse of the song ends with the line, “Mother remain firm your son is in jihad”. This includes two aspects of the Salafi jihadist scene. Thus, the woman’s or mother’s role within society and family life is addressed in the first place. In a marriage, she is especially involved in the task of raising children. Here the children must be educated in the faith. It is the mother’s responsibility to pay attention to it. The mother’s reputation grows, the more the children believe in Allah, the more they follow life and action rules. From this follows: The more they adapt to the role of women in a religious society, the more their children will do justice to “true Islam”. Here, the narrative of the “true” Islam describes the all-embracing concept of life propagated by the Salafi jihadist scene, which regulates every aspect of an individual’s life. It relies on a literal understanding of religious sources, referring to the lifetime of Muhammad, as well as to the first generation afterward, ignoring the historical component, “the distance between writing and the present day” (Schneiders 2014:12).

For Salafists and jihadists, the idealized idea of an intellectual and religious climax among Muhammad and the first generations of Muslims is central. From this idealized view, Salafi jihadists strive for the restoration of this authenticity in faith and action. The representatives of Salafi jihadism – the “true” Islam – “combine a certain radicalism both in terms of their beliefs and in their demarcation to people with different views” (Schneiders 2014:14) and other beliefs. This is reflected above all in the strong emphasis on monotheism (Thauid), from which the strict opposition to polytheism (Shirk) follows inevitably. In their interpretation (staging), Salafi jihadists “place the text of the Qur’an in the absolute center and demand that the non-Muslim and Muslim world return to the text of the Qur’an” (Marx 2015:64), thus to recover the unity of God. The first verse discussed here reads:

*Mother remain firm; I am in jihad;
Do not grieve for me and know He woke me up;*

*The Umma is blinded, but I was honored;
Mother remain firm; your son is in jihad.*

In this first verse, the sub-aspect of “true” Islam is taken up. This narrative is to be understood as over-arching, because also in other narrations repeatedly aspects can be found, which in summary represent an arrangement of the social and political situation of the society (Umma) and thus underpin their understanding of the world. Thus, the young Chouka describes that his and all other mothers should not be sad – not to mourn their sons – because Allah woke them up and showed them the right way. Allah is defined as a transcendental being to which a role of the “absolute commander, to whom unconditional obedience must be given” (Conference of the Ministers of the Interior n.d.:8). Moreover, Allah is considered the “unity of omnipotence and omniscience”, while individuals are attributed “impotence and ignorance” (tauhid.net n.d.). Following this thought, Allah’s role and attributes can be described as follows: Allah acts through the individual, meaning the individual does not act in the name of Allah, but Allah acts through the individual when the individual focuses purely on Allah. Accordingly, Allah is given trans-humanistic attributes. Chouka, as a son and member of the Umma, has been enlightened by Allah and shown the right way. The mother should not be sad about that but should be aware that he is considered a chosen one, while a large part of the community – Umma – is still sleeping. The Umma addresses another ideological narrative, the religious community of all Muslims. The use of the term “Umma” is not always the same as it is in the Islamist connotation. Rather, it is a large community whose structure does not refer to individuals’ ethnicity but to a religious one. As a result, every individual can become a member of this community, but the key requirement is the conversion to Islam. There is a possibility that “a ‘native German’ may convert to Islam and become a full member of the Muslim community, whereas, in right-wing extremist ideology, a German of Turkish origin will always be seen as and called a ‘Turk’” (Dantschke 2009:442). As a result of this definition, the Muslim community can be described as trans-ethnic, aiming at pan-Islamism. Salafi jihadist groups use this concept of community (Umma) by not classifying the individual based on a “race” in right or wrong, or good or bad. The “pan-Islamist movements propagate a homogenizing community identity, the ‘community of Muslims’ beyond national, cultural or social categories” (Dantschke 2009:442). Purely based on the Umma’s internal interpretation within the Salafist–jihadist ideology, a distinction can also be made between an offline and an online Umma. The “never-ending Internet activity [of the jihadists] creates the perception of a virtual community (Umma), which mainly exists on the Internet and is breathed life into it by existing groups” (Lohlker 2016:16). Therefore, it is possible to be part of the virtual community first and then to develop from the virtual community member to a full member in the offline world with the help of the “action-guiding patterns of the frame of reference” (Lohlker 2016:16). However, this does not mean that the community should be separated offline and online and considered two distinct phenomena. Rather, it can be assumed that they strengthen each other. Thus, it is possible to define a particular group as a Salafi community (Schiedel 2017:290). Creating an identity in this context is the “true” Islam. Belonging to the global Umma as

“the [...] community of the faithful, [...] is thus a feature of self-location and identity” (Aydin 2013:110) of Muslims of all religious characteristics.

The community described by Chouka – as a “blind Umma” – refers to the liberal forms of society within the Western world that would seduce and blind its own members and thus lead them away from the right path. In principle, it can be said that the Salafi jihadist interpretation of Islam stands in bold contrast to the modern and liberal Western world, in which individual freedom, especially in terms of sexuality, but also in terms of diverse lifestyles, stands in absolute opposition to the tradition and religious lifestyle of the “true” Islam.

The content of the second verse refers mainly to the military conflicts within the Arab-influenced countries:

*The screams grew louder, and the wounds increased;
The unfulfilled duty left me no peace;
I have to leave today; tomorrow it would be too late;
Mother remain firm; your son is in jihad.*

Within the Salafi jihadist scene, international conflicts are repeatedly referred to. As there are international conflicts such as Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq and Palestine, they are present every day. The second verse speaks emotionally about the civilian population’s suffering in those international conflicts connected with the appeal to wake up and act.

However, the conflicts are viewed and arranged from a very specific perspective, always under the premise of their own ideologized worldview. External conflicts are propagated in an anti-imperialist contextualization and have a “direct radicalizing effect on Muslims in the diaspora” (Wiedl 2014:7). Guido Steinberg (2012) describes in the context of external conflicts that “the history of jihadist propaganda naturally reflects the history of the conflicts involving jihadists” (Steinberg 2012:20). In doing so, social media gains importance, especially in “Muslim countries, in which Islamist uprisings against Western (or Christian) invaders exist” (Steinberg 2012:21). In this depiction, the West is constructed as an enemy. This results from the perception of oppression. The group-specific rhetoric uses this oppression by the West as legitimization to be able to “to have an obligation to lead a jihad in the name of justice and Islam” (Wiedl 2014:9). This is one of the central messages in the propaganda “that Islam has been forced into a defensive position by its enemies – America, Israel, ‘the West’ and non-Muslims in general –” (Wiedl 2014:9) and now it is time to break out. This understanding is closely linked to the widespread interpretations of Muslims, who see international intervention, such as in Afghanistan, Syria or even Iraq, as a form of “oppression [and] as an attack on Islam” (Wiedl 2014:9).

Jihad is seen as one of the religious duties of devout Muslims, with violent jihad being propagated specifically for the Salafi jihadist scene, in other words, armed with violence – even against civilians. This response to external conflicts can also be described with the help of the narrative of the religious contextualization of external conflicts, which concerns on the one hand the religious classification of events and, on the other hand, the religious justification of one’s actions, i.e. reactions. The armed struggle in response to the “invaders” is framed as a “religious duty” within the Salafi jihadist scene (Wiedl 2014:5). With the help of extreme religious

contextualization, the “participation and support of this struggle as an individual religious duty (*farḍ*’yan) [propagates], as well as [the] identification with the ‘global Umma’ is the motivation for mostly young Muslims to participate in this fight” (Wiedl 2014:7). Every believer must support the jihad as much as possible. Not all of them can use weapons, but there are many ways to support (the) jihad. Not all Muslims classify this form of contextualization as a religious duty, but within the Salafi jihadist scene, this contextualization is used in the “scheme of the struggle between truth and untruth”; classifying the armed struggle as “a legitimate resistance to the allegedly systematic suppression of Islam and Muslims”, propagated as “a struggle between Muslims and the devil” (Dantschke et al. 2011:69–71). Based on this interpretation and classification, armed jihad becomes a religious duty, a defence of Islam and Muslim countries.

The propagated necessary resistance is thus a door opener for armed jihad. And that is exactly the content of this second verse, sung by Chouka. He had to leave today, because tomorrow would be too late. Too late to resist, to liberate the Muslim countries, first from their “native regimes and parties” under a “Western capitalist hegemony” (Holz and Kiefer 2010:112), and secondly, to liberate Islam from suppression by the West (Wiedl 2014:9). Klaus Holz and Michael Kiefer make it clear that “the Islamists [. . .] understand themselves accordingly as a revolutionary movement, which wants to divert the Arab national states from their ungodly, west-corrupt path” (Holz and Kiefer 2010:112).

Building on the second verse, Chouka clarifies in the third verse of the song that he set out, fully trusting in Allah:

*In trusting my Lord, I embarked on my path;
Fī sabili Llāh no matter where you go;
No matter how far the desert and no matter how high the mountain;
Mother remain firm; your son is in jihad.*

He walks on the path of Allah or for the cause of Allah (Fī sabili Llāh), no matter where this would lead him. Compared with the other two verses, this one is little influenced by ideology but mainly describes that no way, no place in this world would be too far to walk it in trust with Allah. There is no other way in life, but only the way of Allah, which is prepared for him and all others.

The fourth verse, however, again refers to external conflicts and questions whether the mother does not see what happens:

*Mother, can’t you see what’s happening in Filistin [Palestine]?
Mother, can’t you hear the bombs in Iraq?
Our sisters and brothers are caught; we are questioned about it;
Mother remain firm; your son is in jihad.*

Chouka questions whether his mother does not see what is happening in Palestine (Filistin); whether she does not hear the bombs falling in Iraq and endanger the Umma. It is generally assumed that the contents of the Salafi jihadist propaganda change depending on “the acute conflicts that the jihadist movement is involved in worldwide or that it considers important” (Steinberg 2012:20).

Palestine plays a special role in this. There is a particularly great interest “in the ‘liberation’ of Palestine, although there is no significant jihadist group operating there” (Steinberg 2012:21). The liberation of Palestine is seen as an overriding goal because the Salafi jihadists have the impression that “the rulers in the Arab countries have given up [...] on Palestine and ultimately acknowledged Israel’s existence” (Said 2015:152). “According to the jihadist view, the road to Palestine leads through Syria” (Said 2015:152). The Jordanian “jihadist ideologue” Abu Qatada al-Filastini clarifies in an interview:

If Palestine had not existed, we would not have a jihad today in Afghanistan or Iraq. This is because the foundation of American activities in our countries is supporting the Jewish state and other concerns such as oil and political influence. The events in Palestine have always been and will continue to be an important factor in the agitation and reawakening of the Muslim community throughout the world. (al-Filastini quoted in Said 2015:152)

Therefore, it is not surprising that Chouka first addresses Palestine and then refers to the falling bombs in Iraq, which from today’s perspective can be understood synonymously with the falling bombs in Syria. In addition to the narratives of Palestine’s liberation, the external conflicts and the associated narrative of the West’s injustices can be found within this verse, a reference to the handling of “brothers and sisters in captivity”. Caring for and praying for brothers and sisters who are in jail are very important. This refers to the community and gives the Salafi jihadist group members the feeling that they are never left alone – neither by Allah nor by their siblings. In addition, the imprisonment of members is always declared unlawful and understood as further proof that Islam is being fought. Within the German Salafi jihadist scene, Muslims can also be seen in the narrative as new/present-day Jews. With the help of this ideological narrative, they try to connect the everyday experience of victimization, which they experience primarily in the diaspora, with the ideologically charged global victim role in which they see themselves. In doing so, they make a comparison that places them in the position of the Jews at the time of the Holocaust and places Western societies in the role of Nazi Germany. Subsequently, they assume a role similar to the Jews in the Second World War, relative in scale, but not in terms of repressive and derogatory measures.

The fifth verse says:

*Mother, while your tears are dripping, blood flows down the Shisham;
The Jews and the Christians are here in Khorassan;
One insults the Prophet, and one steps on the Koran;
Mother remain firm; your son is in jihad.*

Thus, Chouka clarifies the violent actions of jihad, and from their perspective, they should be regarded as acts of resistance and thus as legitimate. While the mother is crying for the absence of her son, the blood flows in the Shishahm. It can be assumed that Shisham refers to a specific forest region in Pakistan close to the border to Afghanistan, where blood flows simultaneously with the tears of the mother. The faithless – Christians and Jews – are now in Khorassan, a major

historical region in Central Asia, bordering the Caspian Sea to the west and the Hindu Kush to the east. According to current border demarcations, it includes parts of Iran, large areas of Afghanistan and smaller parts of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Dealing with unbelievers is central to the Salafi jihadist ideology, so all people are called “unbelievers” who do not follow their interpretations of Islam. While it is important to awaken Muslims who do not follow the “true” Islam and win them over to the right interpretation, this is not the case with Jews and Christians. In Salafi jihadism, Jews, Christians and non-Salafist Muslims become enemies of the ingroup. They are titled Unbelievers, which is used in any interaction “mostly in the Arabic-language variant kuffar” (Farschid 2014:181). Kuffar thus becomes a catchword with a highly stigmatizing effect (Farschid 2014:181) and brings with it some instructions for the ingroup. Salafi jihadist Muslims should therefore “maintain no contact with non-Muslims and non-Salafist Muslims [. . .]. They use the politicized concept of al-Wala ‘wa-l-bara’ [‘Loyalty and Renunciation’]. In particular, with the appeal to ‘release’, they propagate hatred against all non-Salafists” (Farschid 2014:182, 183). ‘Loyalty and Renunciation’ is a new Wahhabi and Salafi Islam doctrine that distinguishes between “true Muslims” and “infidels”. It calls on Muslims to maintain loyalty and friendship with other Muslims but to avoid unbelievers. Also, Muslims are urged to:

renounce non-Muslims and non-Salafist Muslims in particular, to associate exclusively with Salafists and to break all ties with ‘infidels’ or contacts outside the Salafist environment. ‘Unbelievers’ are not even to be greeted, let alone befriended. Anyone who maintains friendships with non-Muslims and helps them is regarded as a religious apostate (murtadd). (Farschid 2014:183)

Unbelievers are accused of dishonorable behavior concerning the Koran and Mohammad the Prophet. Again, from the Salafi jihadist view, this dishonorable behavior has to be prevented. Liberal and pluralistic societies promote such behavior, leading to conflicts for the Muslims living in the diaspora. This is transformed into a call to the Muslims to defend themselves, to defend Allah, and Mohammad on earth.

In verse six, Chouka builds on the preceding verses and focuses on all possible effects of jihad.

*Mother, when I fall on the battlefield, I do not think I'm dead;
Rather, I am alive in a better place;
Flying in a green bird, I am being looked after by my Lord;
Mother remain firm; your son is in jihad.*

Chouka first addresses the belief in the afterlife by singing, “Mother, if I fall on the battlefield, then do not think I’m dead.” The meaning of the afterlife within Salafi jihadism is generated by the idea that earth actions determine the afterlife. Various studies show that the “connection between perceived injustice of the West to the Islamic world and radical attitudes [. . .]” (Wiedl 2014:9) is insufficient

to “mobilize” [...] activists of radical Islamic groups to engage in risky activism” (Wiedl 2014:9). The oppression of Muslims is used within the scene to create an “individual benefit in the afterlife” within the framework of a “network of shared meanings” (Wiedl 2014:9). Within the scene, there is an “alignment of individual interests, values and attitudes with those of [...] [the jihadist movement,] as well as a shifting of individual self-interests [...] from this world and material and political interests to spiritual interests, the afterlife and salvation” (Wiedl 2014:9). Life in the afterlife is understood as the true-life worth working for in this world. In summary, one can say that actions in this world are decisive for life in the afterlife and the judgment on the Last Day. Everything that happens in the “here and now” is in a larger context and is always arranged and interpreted with a view to life after death. Building on this classification, the martyr cult can be described, which resonates in this verse and all others that sing about the jihad. The narrative martyr cult essentially describes the “hero, martyr and terrorist in one” (Sofsky 2015:65). If the martyr is conceived in the true sense of a person who “lets himself be killed, escapes any submission, refuses even under torture to recant his convictions or to betray the bravery of his companions” (Sofsky 2015:66), Salafi jihadists use this description for suicide bombers as well as for anyone who joins jihad out of conviction. The suicide bomber consists of three components:

With the hero he shares the rage of destruction and contempt for death; with the martyr the passion of faith and the blind trust in God, with the terrorist the treachery and the rebellion against their powerlessness. [...] In his person, cold courage pairs with ruthless cruelty, bottomless hatred with selflessness. (Sofsky 2015:67)

In the Salafi jihadist debate, martyrs are repeatedly celebrated as heroes, “who then, if they suffer death in the ‘war of God’, can expect post-mortem reward in the afterlife in exuberant abundance” (Tueck 2015:99).

The believer who has moved to jihad after his deed will benefit from the hero’s description in the form of the martyr who sacrificed himself for his fellowship and Allah. The following two lines point to this aspect: “Rather, I am alive in a better place; Flying in a green bird, I am being looked after by my Lord.” The better place is the life in the afterlife in which they are cared for by Allah. The second part listed here refers to a tradition (Hadith) that states, “[t]he soul of a believer becomes a bird who eats from the trees of paradise until Allah sends him back to his body when He resurrects him” (Kathir n.d.). The souls are to be distinguished because those of the martyrs “are in green birds, so they are like stars compared to the other believing souls” (Kathir n.d.).

The sixth and closing verse is again an almost identical version of the first verse, with the request that the mother should not mourn for him since Allah called him.

*Mother remain firm; I am in jihad;
The Umma is blinded, but I was honored;
Mother, stay firm; your son is in jihad;
Do not grieve for me and know He woke me up.*

"An euch Feinde Allahs" – "To you Enemies of Allah"

The second nasheed to be presented here is from Denis Cuspert alias Abou Maleeq, a German rapper from Berlin, known by the stage name Deso Dogg. The nasheed "To you Enemies of Allah" is assigned to him because of the singer's voice, even if he is not seen in the propaganda video. While the first nasheed "Mother Remain Firm" is still very differentiated, in the individual ideologized narratives that are taken up, this nasheed is above all a glorification of the acts of the so-called Islamic State (IS). Cuspert's video represents a motivated jihadist person who tries to motivate the Western jihadists to commit attacks in their home countries. This opens up a second possibility for jihad, not necessarily to move to other countries to join jihadi groups, but to practice terrorist attacks in their own countries or in the countries in which they live.

The video is divided into two parts, which will be analyzed as such here. In the presentation of the results, not every verse is discussed separately, as was the previous song. The second song text gives a further insight into the differences between the songs and the ideologized narratives taken up. With the help of the narratives, the Salafi jihadist worldview is constructed and spread. For this reason, it is worth looking at a second song here, even if not all verses can be presented individually due to the size of the article. This song's contents clarify some narratives from the first song for those readers who may not yet be familiar with the ideology.

In the first section of the nasheed, the IS's various war crimes are taken up and are glorified. While we refer in this article only to the textual elements, it should be noted that the verses and their contents were highlighted with different, matching visual material. Even if this aspect is not studied analytically, it cannot be concealed that the text's content has a reinforcing effect through the shown images.

Chorus:

*To you enemies of Allah, where are your troops?
We can hardly wait for you, destroy them Allah;
Let us triumph over them, honor us;
Take our blood, Fī sabili Llāh! [For the cause of Allah];
This is a message; many more will follow, now we are only getting warm;
The words are written, the ink is dried;
The verdict is pronounced until the Last Day.
Your end is approaching, disabled soldiers;
Return to your homeland, close to despair;
Eyes are lost, bodies without legs;
We want your blood; it tastes so wonderful.*

Chorus

*The fire is kindled; we will burn you;
Slain and suffocate, al-walā wal barā [Loyalty and Renunciation];
We come to kill, eliminate Kuffar [Unbelievers];
Bombs fall on us, that reinforces our faith;
Black masked men, Aqīda [Doctrine of faith] sharp as a knife;
Heads are rolling, slaughtered for Allah;
Faces are mutilated, blood-splattered walls;*

Winnings, howl, terror is here!

Chorus

In the first four verses of the song, Cuspert refers to the IS jihadist fighters' superiority. He refers to the ideologized narrative of the self-image of superiority. With such images, the ingroup men are presented as great and strong fighters, and their actions portray the women as morally superior (Günther et al. 2016:15). Muslims are heroized in the Salafi jihadist worldview and highlighted as better individuals. On the one hand, this aims at the ingroup and should clarify how good a person is when he acts according to God's commandments.

On the other hand, this heroization also clearly targets the outgroup, which is described as less valuable, weaker, and more. The presentation should "represent strength and invincibility, and deter the opponent by committed atrocities" (Günther et al. 2016:16). This is what is actively promoted in the first four verses; not only the demonstration of power and strength finds room, but especially in combination with the presentation of extreme cruelty.

In the second section of the nasheed, the focus is shifted. By a more elaborate video production, the appearance is given that this part has been produced within Europe. Shown are people in alleged preparations of attacks, with firearms and plastic containers and wires, which clearly refer to bombs' construction. In the accompanying text, Cuspert calls on young jihadists to commit a terrorist attack within European countries.

*In France, deeds followed; the German sleepers wait;
The brothers operate, terrorizing the Kuffar [Unbelievers];
The war has just begun; we have smelled blood;
The black flags come with the Bay'ah to Sham [Entourage to the leader of Syria].
Revenge for the Prophet and our sisters;
For our noble brothers, and all shahada [profession of faith];
Truck full of explosives, goodbye;
Mother, don't be sad; your son is racing to Allah.*

Chorus

*Allah has called you; there is no way out;
Tank full of gasoline, so brother step on it;
Your neighbor is a kafir [unbeliever], insulting the Prophet;
Take a big knife, give him his halal [lawful];
Brother, do not be sad, but really, I had to go;
Even if you are in Europe, do your jihad;
Allah will reward you, put an end to the filthy ones;
al-Jannah [Paradise] is open; do it with Ikhlās [Dedication].*

Chorus

*We only have one life, and Allah has given it;
Time is up, so brother;
The earth is shaking, let acts speak;
Khilafa [Caliphate] what a blessing, a gift from Allah.*

In the second section of the song, there is an explicit reference to already made attacks, and at the same time, further calls are made for new ones. It sounds almost

sarcastic when it says: “Allah has called you [. . .] Tank full of gasoline, so brother step on it, your neighbor is a kafir (Unbeliever), insulting the envoy, take a big knife, give him his halal.” Halal refers to what is permissible under Islamic law and is meant to imply what he has earned. Allah has called to this place, all the brothers and all those defending their lives, who defend the “true” Islam and hold on to it without hesitation. This addresses the narrative of the martyr cult, which was already explained in the previous section. When executing these acts to which Allah has called, they must do it with *Ikhlaas*, so with sincerity and kindness to come to the afterlife. In doing so, *Ikhlaas* is not referring to the victims, whom they should treat with sincerity and kindness, but in relation to the perpetrators’ faith and religion to understand their relationship with Allah.

Conclusion

The two analyzed nasheeds show how violent the Salafi jihadist battle anthems’ narrative stories are and how they are staged and disseminated. It is worth pointing out that the significance of the nasheed “Mother Remain Firm” can be proved not only by the absolute frequency within the criminal record files but also by the contextual references within the second nasheed, which says: “Mother don’t be sad; your son is racing to Allah.”

The narratives discussed in the analysis, which can all be found in both nasheeds, illustrate the extremist worldview and the associated regulation of social and political events. As central narratives, next to the role and function of Allah, are the narratives of the community (*Umma*), oppression, injustices of the West, martyr cult, self-defense as legitimization of violence, self-image of superiority, life in the *Jannah* (Paradise), dealing with enemies or unbelievers and external conflicts. These can be mentioned in different contexts, but their significance for the Salafi jihadist ideology remains the same. Extremist music not only acts as a “gateway drug” into the radical scene, but it is also able to mobilize individuals and animate them to action. It functions as a catalyst of ideological behavior and may lead young people to enter the scene or get deeper into it. Finally, it should be mentioned that in 2011 a young terrorist listened to the first nasheed on his way to the airport, where he attacked American soldiers a few minutes before they were supposed to transfer to Afghanistan. This represents just one example of the stimulating effect that young people gain from extremist music and the importance they award to it.

5. MUSIC AND RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

Ian Stuart Donaldson is considered the founder of right-wing rock music (Langebach and Raabe 2016:378). Initially, the music was a cultural and political expression of extreme right-wing skinheads, but in the 1990s, a change in orientation occurred (Langebach and Raabe 2016:380). Now the audience is rather young, nationally minded and politically dissatisfied. It appeals to individuals from an extreme right-wing youth culture, which is open to those who understand themselves as nationally minded (Langebach and Raabe 2016:381; Naumann 2009:40).

“Right-wing rock music” is identity-creating and extends over many genres such as “Rock Against Communism” of the neo-Nazi skinheads, ballads, Hatecore,

National Socialist Hard Core, National Socialist Black Metal, Dark Wave, and National Rap (Langebach and Raabe 2016:383). Therefore, right-wing rock music is understood as a mix of different music styles that are not focused on rock music alone but unites many styles by a right-wing political message. Different styles of music appeal to a wide audience, widely disseminating the content(s). Young people identify with certain youth cultures and distance themselves from others when attracted to certain voices, melodies and musical styles (Büchner 2018:17). Here music works as a messenger and expresses “racist prejudice, social-chauvinist arrogance and nationalistic fantasies of great nationalism” (Dornbusch and Raabe 2002:9). Despite or even because of the diverse musical styles, right-wing rock music overlays the different ideological nuances and creates a common corps spirit within the fan community (Steimel 2008:12) as well as a sense of conspiracy (Brüning 2019:145). Together they attend concerts, celebrate parties or participate in marches (Brüning 2019:145; Langebach and Raabe 2016:414). Music is also used specifically to attract young people to right-wing extremist websites via links or event advertising (Pfeiffer 2016:270). As a component of videos, download or background music, music has an auditory effect and a visual one via band logos and song quotes (Pfeiffer 2016:270). It acts as a “glue rod that opens the way to the virtual contents and manifestations of today’s right-wing extremism” (Wörner-Schappert 2013:119). Right-wing rock music and right-wing computer games are aimed at young people as an age-conform format (including those who are inexperienced with the right-wing culture) and serve as alternative self-advertising for the respective homepage (Steimel 2008:198). Steimel (2008:201) even says that “youthful or subcultural right-wing extremism in the World Wide Web is unthinkable without right-wing rock music”. Simultaneously, however, the Internet has also become the most important medium of the patriotic music scene since music on the Internet is always available and can hardly be controlled from outside (compare with Pfeiffer 2016:277).

Germanic mythology is a common theme that is repeatedly used in band names (e.g. Wotanskrieger – freely translated as Wotan’s worriers, Odin’s Erben – freely translated as Odin’s heirs), music label names (e.g. Endzeit-Klänge – freely translated as End Time Sounds), and song lyrics (e.g. in “Odin’s Land”, “Vikings”) (Schuppener 2016:321, 325). It is narrowly interpreted and misused as an extreme right-wing form of expression (Schuppener 2016:331). Thereby, the Germanic tribes’ descent is perceived and characteristics and virtues such as loyalty, fearlessness, honor, courage, and readiness for sacrifice are idealized to distinguish oneself from the contemporary culture also in a moral way (Schuppener 2016:332). The propagated hereditary view also includes their own heritage from Germanic gods (Schuppener 2016:331). Beyond a mere foundation of identity, qualities attributed to the gods – e.g. power and violence – are thus transferred to themselves, and at the same time, their own identity is glorified (Schuppener 2016:331).

A characteristic for right-wing rock music is an exorbitant glorification of violence as well as a mostly aggressive musical structure (Steimel 2008:474). Matenia Sirseldoudi and Sybille Reinke de Buitrago (2016:106) even ascribe to right-wing extremist music the clearest and most explicit mobilization of the scene to violence – more so than public speeches or written publications. Music videos’ emotional effects unfold a particularly motivating or community-building role and often appear as an instruction for violence against previously defined opponents

(Sirseldoudi and Reinke de Buitrago 2016:106, 107). Group dynamics can also lead to unfolding violent actions when listening or attending concerts (Sirseldoudi and Reinke de Buitrago 2016:107).

The linkage with the past through the song texts and band names extends to Germanic mythology and the Third Reich. The Nazi regime (already) exploited music to create a sense of community and used emotions to mediate their ideology (Büchner 2018:18). In the same way, right-wing rock music links emotions to the neo-Nazi worldview (Büchner 2018:18). Even today, political parties like the NPD use music specifically to recruit youth, as the following quote from former NPD party chairman Udo Voigt demonstrates:

Music transports opinion, music transports culture, and for us this is an important link to youth. Because through music we address the youth, and once we have opened their hearts through music, we can teach them our ideas at school. (quoted from Steimel 2008:160)

Accordingly, the CD “50 Jahre Widerstand für Deutschland” (freely translated as “50 Years of Resistance for Germany”) can be purchased through the “Materialdienst” (which is the online shop) of the NPD. This CD celebrates the 50th anniversary of the Young Nationalists, the official youth organization of the NPD, and their “fight for people and homeland” (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands 2020). It was a successful symbiosis for the NPD to have Jens Pühse from the right-wing rock label “Pühse’s Liste” as a party member and managing director of the party’s own “Deutsche Stimme-Verlag” (freely translated as German Voice Publishing House) (Steimel 2008:161). The modernization of the publishing house opened up previously untapped potential for the NPD to advertise itself. The Deutsche Stimme-Verlag organized so-called “press parties”, where NPD supporters and right-wing youth came together under the protection of freedom of assembly – the latter especially because they followed the right-wing concert program (Steimel 2008:161, 162). Among the publisher’s own productions, into which the right-wing rock label has meanwhile been absorbed, are the albums of the group “Sturmwehr” (Steimel 2008:161). “Sturmwehr” and “Landser” are “superstars” in the German right-wing rock music scene and beyond. We therefore examine two of their songs closely in this article.

Landser was founded in 1991/1992 in Berlin by members of the right-wing organization Vandalen – Ariogermanische Kampfbereitschaft (freely translated as: Vandals – Ario-Germanic Combativeness) (Naumann 2009:67). Shortly after they were founded, Michael Regener joined the band as a guitarist and songwriter. He turned their lyrics clearly nationalistic. In 2000 German law enforcement agencies became aware of Landser due to the contents of their songs. Subsequently, for the first time in German jurisdiction history, in 2003, a band was convicted and banned according to section 129 of the German Criminal Code (CC) for forming a criminal organization (Büchner 2018:23). Leader and songwriter Michael Regener was convicted for the dissemination of propaganda material of unconstitutional organizations (section 86 CC), incitement to hatred (section 130 CC), public incitement to crime (section 111 CC) and forming a criminal organization (section 129 CC) (Büchner 2018:23). He was sentenced to three years and four months’ imprisonment (Naumann 2009:67). The conviction meant the end of the band Landser,

and a rift developed between the band members (Naumann 2009:67). Nevertheless, Landser is one of the best-known right-wing rock (music) bands in Germany, still having a big fan base and broad support. Due to their extreme lyrics, a kind of “underground habitus”, and the fascination of the forbidden, Landser became a myth (Dornbusch and Raabe 2005:75).

Landser – “Sturmführer“

The central theme in “Sturmführer” is the pride of the grandfather, the family history, and the Nazi history of Germany. In Nazi Germany, the SS Sturmführer was the lowest officer rank of the Schutzstaffel (SS), comparable with the current lieutenant rank. In “Sturmführer”, the narrator says that he has discovered a box with his grandfather’s old SS uniform in the attic. He proudly tells the audience that the SS has taken care of order and spread fear among its enemies. The narrator concludes that the grandson, i.e. himself, will eventually become a Sturmführer in the SS, too.

The song’s structure is that the chorus always follows the three verses, where after the third one, the chorus is modified before it is reiterated in its original form. The text’s progression starts in the past and leads through the present to an outlook into the near future.

First verse:

*I recently discovered a box in the attic;
Which my grandfather hid there in 1945;
Inside were all the wonderful things from the good old days;
And on top of it lay grandpa’s uniform ready for use.*

The first verse contains a glorification of the Nazi era by singing about the “good old days” and the “wonderful things” of that time. The uniform is laying “on top” of all those things and is “ready for use”, suggesting the constant readiness to dress up and fight. Furthermore, the uniform’s special significance is emphasized by its location “on top” of everything. The grandfather’s close connection can already be seen by using the term of endearment “grandpa”.

On a higher level, the first verse presents the narrative trivialization of the Nazi era. The Nazi era’s trivialization is a classic theme of right-wing extremism (Decker and Brähler 2006:41). Among other things, the fundamentally anti-democratic constitution of Nazi Germany is denied in favor of “good points” (Decker and Brähler 2006:41). Simultaneously, Germans who fought for the Hitler regime are being glorified (Häusler 2016:160). Both of these aspects of the trivialization of the Nazi era can be identified in the first verse. The time of Nazi Germany is presented as the “good old time” with all its “wonderful things”. Thus, the listener is confronted only with a positive association of the Nazi period. The grandfather is glorified throughout the song, his deeds are praised, and pride about his SS membership is expressed.

Chorus:

*Grandpa was a Sturmführer in the SS;
Grandpa was a Sturmführer in the SS;
Grandpa was a Sturmführer in the SS;
Sturmführer, Sturmführer in the SS.*

Also, the chorus contains the term “grandpa”, once again indicating the closeness to him. The emphasis in repeating the grandfather’s rank three times in a row expresses the narrator’s pride about the grandpa, the family history and in a broader sense also the pride about the Nazi history of Germany. Especially the rank as an officer in the SS, as someone taking responsibility and not “a random soldier”, seems to be significant. This is also emphasized because the chorus’s last line is the only line in the entire song that is always sung by a choir.

Second verse:

*Grandpa was once in an armored division;
They have been cleansed in the Russerei [derogatory name for Russia];
No political commissar was able to escape;
Because there was no mercy for Bolsheviks.*

In the second verse, a glorifying picture of the SS is drawn. The grandfather was in an armored division to whom reference is made again, which enforced the “right order” in Russia. Therefore “they” in line two is not related to the armored division but to the people who lived in Russia. Due to the National Socialist worldview, the people in Russia needed to be “cleansed”, whereby the negative connotation is emphasized by a derogatory modification of the country name. Furthermore, “to clean something” was a trivial paraphrase during the Nazi era for the imprisonment of criminals, Jews and so-called “asocials” like previous convicts, pimps, homeless people, beggars, gypsies, and others. The same trivial paraphrase is used in this song to describe how to deal with the Russian population, with the same implications being evoked. Especially in the political sphere, the SS men have ensured order – according to their worldview, without making any mistake. It is emphasized that no political commissar of the Russians could escape from the men of the SS. This highlights the superiority, infallibility and perfection that the narrator ascribes to the SS men. The Russian population’s devaluation as “Bolsheviks” chosen in the last line also serves as a justification for the suggested expulsion or murder of the population by the SS. According to the interpretation of the ingroup, the deeds of the SS are “not wrong” in this case. The enemies, here the Bolsheviks, are indirectly blamed for the attack. The argumentation is strongly reminiscent of one of the “Techniques of Neutralization” described by Gresham M. Sykes and David Matza in 1957, the denial of the victim (Sykes and Matza 1957). The deeds of the men of the SS are seen as legitimate retaliation or punishment by the narrator.

The second verse is filled with different narratives. Thus the self-image of superiority, militarism, historical revisionism, a concept of the enemy, the trivialization of the Nazi era and glorification can be identified.

In the narrative self-image of superiority, one’s community is seen as morally and culturally more valuable than others and externally threatened (Sirseldoudi and Reinke de Buitrago 2016:9). Persons from an extreme right-wing background propagate the racial superiority of their community (Pfeiffer 2017:44). Outgroups are constructed as inferior and labeled with derogatory names (Doosje et al. 2012:255, 256). This includes a justification for the own group to act as a defender of the own larger entity (Doosje et al. 2012:256; Sirseldoudi and Reinke de Buitrago 2016:9). The expression of perfection and infallibility of the men of the SS in the

second verse in combination with the devaluation of and the contempt for the Russian population shows a clear picture of the self-image of superiority of the former SS men and about the overall meaning of the song as being about the “new SS men”.

Militarism is a way of thinking, according to which military values, ideas and structures are supposed to mold the state and the society (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2014). Characteristic of military views are the belief in strict hierarchies and principles such as command and obedience, the law of the jungle and the conviction that wars or violent conflict resolutions are necessary (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2014). Between 1933 and 1945, the National Socialists pushed the militarization of society to the extreme (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2014). Due to the leader principle, command and obedience entered all areas of society (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2014). The national community became a fighting community (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2014). Militarism is an integral part of right-wing ideologies (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2014). It is expressed by the assumption of military values, the approval of strict hierarchies and the tendency to worship heroes (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2014). In the second verse, the support for a violent solution (including the reference to obedience) is strongly implied as well as the tendency to worship heroes.

The narrative historical revisionism means that past events are taken out of context, downplayed or even denied (Salzborn 2011:21). Historical revisionists knowingly use misinformation or partial information to create a historical legitimation of their political position (Salzborn 2011:21). The central theme of right-wing historical revisionism is to play down or deny the historical picture of Nazism and its crimes based on research and facts (Benz 2016:211) and to transfigure the role of the Wehrmacht during the Second World War (Mathias 2015:67). The second verse is a typical paraphrase of the crimes committed by the SS. It is written that “they have been cleansed”, were not “able to escape”, and do not deserve “mercy”. There is no further historical context that explains the need for these actions. Instead, a glorifying picture of the deeds of the SS is presented.

The concept of the enemy can be identified in the second verse. Extremist ideologies such as right-wing extremism are based essentially on the concept of people’s inequality and convey concrete “friend–enemy” schemes. The attitude of “if you are not one of us, you are against us” serves as an orientation for the followers of such ideologies. The “concept of the enemy” plays an important role in clearly defining the lines between good and evil and forming an object of projection (Flad 2002:112). A strong disregard for enemies can be observed, evaluated with generalizing judgments (Sirseldoudi and Reinke de Buitrago 2016:9). The opponents are considered morally inferior, seen to show a morally condemnable lifestyle and are violent by themselves (Sirseldoudi and Reinke de Buitrago 2016:9). In the second verse, the enemies need to be “cleansed”, according to the narrator. They are called “Bolsheviks”, a term used in propaganda and almost synonymous with “Russians” during the Nazi era. “Bolsheviks” are referred to as enemies who deserve no mercy. The whole verse is a composition of a friend (members of the SS) versus enemy (Bolsheviks) scheme. According to the song, the SS men provided the “right order”, which the Russians allegedly needed.

Like in the first verse, both aspects of the trivialization of the Nazi era are implemented in the second verse as well. The anti-democratic constitution of Nazi Germany is denied in favor of “good points”. The men of the SS cleaned what needed to be cleansed. To call it that way is a direct belittlement of the deeds of the SS. Overall, the second verse describes the SS’s approach with a positive fundamental tone that simultaneously transports positive characteristics and the worship of the men of the SS who fought for Hitler and the “fatherland”.

Furthermore, the narrative heroization can be identified in the second verse. One of the most important pillars of the National-Socialist ideology has always been heroic legends (Hoffmann, Röpke, and Speit 2005:164, 165). Heroes are real role models; they can create identity and satisfy masculinity and power (Flad 2002:106). For the emergence of these heroic myths, only the “fitting” facts are used (Hoffmann et al. 2005:165). There is hardly room for the truth in it, and details that contradict the desired image are simply reinterpreted (Hoffmann et al. 2005:165, 166). Especially the men of the SS and the Wehrmacht are highly idealized in the right-wing scene and celebrated as heroes (Flad 2002:108, 109; Pfeiffer 2017:45). The grandfather as part of the SS armored division is idealized in the second verse, while characteristics such as perfection, strength and power are attributed to him. Only the SS’s apparent successes are highlighted, while the Wehrmacht defeat in Russia is ignored. Especially concerning the entire song, the grandfather’s stylization as a hero and his worship are clearly visible.

Third verse:

*That’s why I’m happy every day;
That I see my grandfather’s old uniform;
Then I see the skull on the cap flashing;
And I know that soon all the pigs will run away again.*

The first line of the third verse expresses the joy felt when the narrator looks at the uniform. At the same time, pride in the grandfather and his actions is apparent again. In line three, an important part of the uniform, the cap’s skull, is emphasized. With this, strong Nazi symbolism is taken up with a direct link to the past. “SS Death’s Head Divisions” was the collective name of those parts of the SS, which had been tasked with guarding the concentration camps (Weise 2014:393). Since 1942 one unit was well known under the official designation “3rd SS armored division ‘Death’s Head’”. After its reorganization, it was one of the “elite forces” of the German army until the end of the Second World War (Sydnor 1977 (2002):257). It was a strongly Nazi-inspired front division of the SS, characterized by strong fanaticism, self-sacrifice, contempt for cowardliness and glorification of death on the battleground (Sydnor 1977 (2002):257, 258). The first German war crime of the new transformed SS went back to members of the SS Death’s Head Divisions (Sydnor 1977 (2002):257).

Nevertheless, in the following years, these divisions were characterized by a particularly reckless warfare and were actively involved in several war crimes (Sydnor 1977 (2002):262, 263; Weise 2014:396). The original division existed until the end of the German–Soviet War, during which it was almost destroyed (Sydnor 1977 (2002):208–10). Nonetheless, the so-called “skulls” played a significant role in

the SS's heroic saga (Weise 2014:405). For their fighting during the Battle of Demjansk from January to March 1942, the commander and eleven other men of the Death's Head Divisions were awarded with the German Knight's Cross (Weise 2014:189). No other division of the Waffen-SS was awarded as many medals in such a short period as the Death's Head Divisions (Weise 2014:189). However, also men of the regular SS wore caps with a skull on it. Therefore, it is not clear if the grandfather in the song was a "regular" SS man or a member of the SS Death's Head Units.

The latter could be assumed due to the explanation that the grandfather was a member of an armored division. Regardless, the skull is a symbol of death and can be associated with annihilation and fear. The skull is still "flashing" and does not give the impression of being old and rusty, but is still up to date. The readiness to dress up and fight at any time – also expressed in the first verse – is reiterated here. In addition, the use of the word "flashing" can be interpreted as an allusion on the one hand to the style of writing of the SS as a double flash as well as on the other hand to the "Blitzkrieg" by the Wehrmacht against Poland which started on September 1, 1939. At the same time, line four refers to a near future ("soon") and thus it builds a bridge from the past (grandfather's old uniform and his history) to the present (true joy at the sight of the uniform) and continues to the future (soon the enemies will flee from the new SS men again). The future's intentional connection to the past is also made clear by the reference "again". The future should be just as glorious as the past has been described before ("good old days", wonderful things", superior power and perfection). At the same time, this connection can be understood as a promise that history repeats itself in its "positive aspects", that the prospective men of the SS, who are mentioned in the subsequent chorus, are as strong, perfect and scary as their ancestors once were. With the designation as "pigs", there is also a very clear and strong degradation and dehumanization of the former and the SS's promised future enemies. A devaluation can also be seen in the term "to run away". The "pigs" are not brave and do not stand firmly opposed to the men of the SS but they are coward men quickly "running away". The implied negative qualities of the enemies also serve as a simple justification of the degradation.

On a higher level, the following narratives are realized: the concept of the enemy, dehumanization and fantasies of violence.

The enemy's concept is expressed by using the term "pigs" to describe the potential future enemies. On one side stand the grandfather and the other members of the SS. On the other side are just "pigs" running away from them. The prospective enemies are strongly devalued and generally designated as animals, as "pigs". A clear "friend-enemy" scheme is transported, which shows the ascribed unequal quality of both sides.

The narrative concept of the enemy is clearly related to the narrative dehumanization in this song. Dehumanizing statements include derogatory, degrading and bestial characteristics and the principle of "Untermenschen" ("subhumans"), which are assigned to groups of people to separate them from the ingroup (Alvarez 1997:146). This process is designed to create social distance and facilitate discriminatory behavior. Human dignity deprivation denies the groups concerned a treatment according to moral and normative principles (Alvarez 1997:146; Alvarez 2008:225). By dehumanizing the enemies, the own role models and the own person

are exaggerated (Flad 2002:112). To call people pigs is, of course, a clear devaluation. They are not put on the level of humans but on the level of animals. Therefore, this term implies the denial of humanity or human dignity and additionally, it carries the derogatory qualities of the animal in question. The derogatory meanings with which individual animal types are described are culturally determined. In Germany, the domestic pig is considered an unclean animal. This association conveys a picture of the unclean, the impure and gives the outgroup of “pigs” a negative connotation.

Another narrative contained in the third verse is fantasies of violence. Often, threats of violence or violent fantasies can be identified, accompanied by dehumanizing descriptions and devaluations of individuals assigned to the outgroup. For the tension between ingroup and outgroup shown in such songs, violence is the only option to resolve the conflict (Büchner 2018:44). The meaning of the skull combined with the downgrading as “pigs”, which “will run away soon” implies a violent scenario that ties in with the SS’s violent acts in the past. Furthermore, the desire is illustrated to turn such scenarios into reality again shortly.

Modified chorus:

*Because the grandson will be a Sturmführer in the SS;
The grandson will be a Sturmführer in the SS;
The grandson will be a Sturmführer in the SS;
Sturmführer, Sturmführer in the SS.*

This modified version of the chorus completes the promise of the future and, at the same time, postulates that the SS has not passed away but is continuing to live. What the grandfather started once is now being continued by the grandson. A change of perspective is happening in these lines. Up to this point, the song is presented from the first-person perspective, but then it is generalized. This can be understood as a general appeal to grandchildren to complete their grandfathers’ work and join the new SS. Again, the emphasis is on the military rank, which is advertised as desirable.

The altered chorus contains authoritarianism, authoritarian personality narratives, militarism, call for action, and arguments of martyrdom’s narrative cult.

Authoritarianism, understood as an attitude pattern, characterizes an authoritarian personality with the willingness to accept others’ rules, aggression, and an emphasis on conventions (Decker 2018:36). The authoritarian personality needs the group to identify with a common ideal embodied in authority (Decker 2018:36). That is why there is a yearning for a leader who defines the outgroup perceived as weak and deviant (Decker 2018:37). An authoritarian regime is characterized by limited political freedom, limited political equality and limited political and legal control of the government (Lauth 2010:104, 105). Within an autocracy, a single person or a small group exercises power (Lauth 2010:104, 105). In right-wing extremism, the “strong” state should ensure a common ideal formation and maintenance (Pfahl-Traugher 2006:218). The goal is to establish an authoritarian racial state with simultaneous subordination of individuals (Pfahl-Traugher 2006:218). The song tells the listener that “the grandson will be a Sturmführer in the SS”, a member of a military group which – in a historical context – served Adolf Hitler for political repression and as an instrument of power. Members of the group

unconditionally accept the leader's rules and form a unit with which they identify themselves completely. This identification with the SS becomes clear throughout the whole song due to the SS's glorification that leads to the conclusion of becoming a member of the new SS oneself.

At the same time, this conclusion is part of the narrative of militarism. It expresses the willingness to fit into a strict hierarchical military organization and to execute orders. In light of the previous verse, the conviction that military solutions to potential enemies are needed can be identified.

The narrative call for action means that the ingroup is addressed directly and is called for action, to join forces, rebel, and put up resistance. For example, it may be about raising a voice against maladministration, joining forces to form a group or casting its vote for a petition. In many cases, it is emphasized how important a group's presence is, and thus the song creates a collective spirit and a collective identity (Grumke 2017:28, 29). If this call is linked to the "heroism" of the SS and the Wehrmacht (see narrative heroization), the soldiers are not only seen as the heroes of the past but also a commitment to the present is made (Flad 2002:109). The change of perspectives in this modified chorus – from a first-person perspective to a third-person perspective – includes an appeal to "all grandchildren" to join the new SS as well.

Both versions of the chorus contain arguments of the narrative cult of martyrdom. In right-wing extremism, victims from the ingroup, who died for the joint ideal, are awarded a martyr's status like a medal (Sturm and Klare 2017:197). The remembrance of martyrs contributes to strengthening the characteristic self-staging practices as "political soldiers". This scene builds up a tradition by establishing a link between the historical actors of the SS and other military units of the Nazi era and today's activists (Sturm and Klare 2017:197). This song contains a strong link between the past and the future. First, on the content level, which reports on the "good old days" and the glorified deeds of the SS men and at the same time gives the prospect of an equally glorious future. Second, this link is formed by utilizing different tenses in the song. The links form the promise that those who join the new SS will be just as heroic as their ancestors were.

The song is finally completed with the chorus in its original form and rounded off by it at the same time. Again, the grandfather's homage, military rank and actions, and the pride in the family and fatherland are emphasized.

Sturmwehr – "Bis hier her"

Sturmwehr is a German right-wing music band founded in 1993/1994 by Jens Brucherseifer and Rony Krämer (Apabiz e.V. 2002:433). The band is one of the oldest, most productive, best-known, and most successful bands in Germany's right-wing rock music scene. Since 1995 the band has released more than 40 CDs (Belltower News 2018). Some of the albums are indexed (Belltower News 2018). Their distribution to children and adolescents is prohibited. Some of their publications are subject to an absolute ban on distribution and may not be distributed among adults. In the past Sturmwehr has appeared repeatedly in the context of concerts of the "Blood & Honor" network (Belltower News 2018). Further, they collaborate on music projects with other right-wing music bands like "Smart Violence",

“Division Germania”, “Stahlgewitter”, “Oidoxie”, and “Sturm 18” (Belltower News 2018). Besides, the band has a link to German politics.

The rock ballad “Bis hier her” (“Up to here”) is a review of the narrator’s life, the future and the loyalty of his companions. It is a mix of the topics of friendship, companionship and values.

The song consists of three verses, each verse being shorter than the previous one. The same chorus complements each verse.

First verse:

*The ravages of time have taken their toll on me,
but an end is still out of my line-of-sight.
I am still bursting with strength and energy,
yet do not fall into lethargy.
On to new deeds, I am ready to go.
Keep going straight; nobody stops me,
always full power and no idleness.
I often offend in your ideal world,
I don't care if you do not like it.
I seize the day, seize the opportunity.*

The first verse describes the unstoppable nature of time, which keeps moving forward. Nevertheless, the narrator is sure that the end is not in sight yet. The term “Im Visier haben” (to have something in the line-of-sight) has a military background. In this context, the narrator uses it to explain that he is still full of power and energy and has not yet given up the fight against time. Rather he puts up resistance, longs for action and does not fall into lethargy. The use of the word “bursting” emphasizes the unrestricted power and energy of the narrator. By declaring that he does not fall into lethargy, he at the same time emphasizes that he is alive, that he is not sedated but keeps going on.

No matter what happens next. This is followed by a call for the future not to stand still but to continue. Furthermore, words are not enough, but they must be put into action. By telling everyone that he is “ready to go”, the narrator implies that everything is prepared. The chosen way is just going straight. One should not turn or go off the track but always have the goal in mind. Nobody can stop him from going his own way. “Full power and no idleness” are reminiscent of a machine that never gets tired and never shows weaknesses. The text emphasizes one’s strength, which nobody can handle. The following line refers to an outgroup living in its “ideal world”, blind to the problems and tasks that have to be overcome. The irony behind these words of an “ideal world” linguistically reveals this worldview’s underlying devaluation. The narrator does not share this outgroup’s views and does not care if they do not accept him because he is on his straight path. He sees things clearly, even if he is confronted with resistance. However, he is stronger and uses the opportunities. The last line bridges the gap to the first line. Time passes, but he uses every hour and every opportunity to act. Time is, therefore, not wasted but used wisely.

On a figurative level, the first verse contains the narrative call for action and, in an implicit form, the narratives of the cult of martyrdom and the concept of the enemy. With “on to new deeds”, the narrator calls his audience to take action.

In the overall context of the verse and thus concerning the narrator's life, this call also includes the appeal of resistance to "do-gooders" and their "ideal world". In the interplay with the chorus, a collective spirit can be identified in those lines.

The narrator presents himself as a strong, uncompromising and unstoppable person who stands up for his ideology and beliefs, no matter what. He draws a picture of a soldier ready to act. Also, martyrs are characterized by these qualities. The enemy's concept describes the "do-gooders" who look at their ideal world through rose-tinted glasses. From these, the narrator distinguishes himself sharply. He describes a view of the world he rejects and at the same time degrades. Consequently, the followers of that kind of view do not belong to the ingroup but a generalized outgroup.

Chorus:

*So far, it has been a long way,
with you by my side a true privilege,
we belong together, go through thick and thin,
it will always be like that.
Friends for eternity are never alone.*

The narrator points out that "it has been a long way" to this point in life. Maybe it was exhausting and difficult, but he always reached his goals. Endurance is considered a virtue; giving up is not an option. He emphasized that he was never alone and that it was a great honor to walk this path together with his comrades. Simultaneously, the chorus implies that they are many, that no one has to be alone, and that they form a special community. Side by side, they go their way and overcome all difficulties together. At this point, the linguistic perspective also changes from the first-person singular to a first-person plural. This change emphasizes the unity, the community and the solidarity within the group. All problems can be solved together because, even in difficult times, the group members stand together – there is no betrayal but only trust, reliability, and friendship. A friendship that never ends. It is a promise that if you are part of the group, you will never be alone. You will have friends; even death cannot separate. At the same time, it is an appeal to be part of the group and adhere to it. The emphasis is on a strong collective spirit that will last forever.

The chorus contains the narrative community. In this sense, notions of "the people" and "the national community" build a relevant identity-forming element of right-wing extremist groups (Häusler 2016:143). The constructed national community describes a better society in the sense of a social utopia and a basis for the justified and practical exclusion of dissidents (Böthel 2016:99). The described community of friends is strongly glorified. It can be understood as an example of a better, a perfect society. This kind of community can form an eternal community with all its positive aspects.

Second verse:

*Often it seems that time stands still
when we see the pictures of that time in front of us again.
Images faded and dusty
but we have always believed in our friendship.
Even if the years pass us too.*

In the second verse, the narrator looks back and brings back the memories of the past. However, his statement remains the same: even as the days go by, our friendship outlasts time. The images may be “faded and dusty”, but the friendship is not. The friendship is still alive due to the loyalty of all members of the group. Time cannot change anything if friendship is just strong enough. It highlights a mutual loyalty that underscores the promise of friendship, community and solidarity.

The second verse reinforces the narrative community from the chorus and vice versa, emphasizing its significance.

Third verse:

*And if one dies, a part of me dies too,
And if I die, I am very deep inside of you.*

The last verse is the shortest but contains an important message to the ingroup. It promises cohesion beyond death. The promise that everyone lives on in others emphasizes abandoning one’s individuality and merging into the group. Together they form a whole. Everyone is part of the other. The abandoning of the own individuality is then rewarded with immortality. Because one part always lives on in another person, the fear of death and the fear of being forgotten are taken away. It is a promise of eternity for all who are part of the ingroup.

This strong statement gives the narrative community in the last verse a special meaning. The promise of eternity is like a utopia of a better society and will always be part of it. The collective spirit is thus established deep inside every member of the group.

Conclusion

The two analyzed songs show the connection to different narratives of right-wing extremist ideology. These are presented to the audience in a digestible manner, thus providing easy access to far-right thinking. At the same time, right-wing extremist music provides easy access for the slightly politicized right-wing youth (Dornbusch and Raabe 2005:85). Nonetheless, the protagonists with their lyrics do not meet the right-wing scene’s ideas alone, but also reflect xenophobic attitudes in society (Dornbusch and Raabe 2002:11). The narratives identified in the analyzed songs, such as the enemy’s concept, the self-image of superiority or glorification, are suitable for linking existing prejudices and fears in the population and heroism’s dream. Besides, values such as friendship, community and loyalty are emphasized. Especially young people yearn for them in their phase of self-discovery. Right-wing music offers subtle solutions by reducing complexity to a simple black-and-white scheme. However, it is not just a culture of protest or just protest songs, but “trend-setting identity offers” (Dornbusch and Raabe 2002:11). The repeated and daily consumption of right-wing extremist music leads to a strong internalization of the presented contents (Büchner 2018:19). Music can connect with or evoke emotions, thereby reaching people on a level far from dispassionate logic. After a performance of the right-wing band Oidoxie in 2002, a demonstrator clarified this perspective by mentioning:

When they started to sing: Heroes for Germany, I had tears in my eyes; I had to sob unrestrained because at that moment I realized that these are the new heroes for Germany, this is the new generation of fighters. These are the real and authentic heirs of the men who were on the fronts for five and a half, almost six years during the war. (Dornbusch and Raabe 2005:69, 70)

The quote could also have been made after the performance of “Sturmführer” by Landser, referring to the same narratives. Similar narratives are used by various right-wing bands, demonstrating the widespread use of these in right-wing extremist music. As shown, the songs’ topics are not compatible with the radical scene alone and reflect parts of society as a whole. Therefore, the songs can serve as a gateway into a radicalized worldview and may create a first or even stronger connection to the radical scene.

Music not only acts as a “gateway drug” into the radical scene but is also able to mobilize the scene and animate its members to action. Bands like Landser repeatedly constitute not only the music of ongoing radicalization but can also set up the “background music to murder and manslaughter” (Weiss 2002:62). In 2000 four neo-Nazi skins killed a 60-year-old because they wanted to “clap a social misfit” after listening to right-wing music (Weiss 2002:63). Especially in combination with alcohol, right-wing music can unfold its deadly effects. On August 22, 1999, two Vietnamese were almost kicked to death by neo-Nazis singing the chorus “Fiji, Fiji, good journey” of the song “Xenophobia” from Landser (Weiss 2002:63). In 2000 an attack on a refugee camp could only be prevented by residents’ intervention (Weiss 2002:63). Again, neo-Nazis had been drunk and heard a well-known song of the band Landser (Weiss 2002:64). On their way to the refugee accommodation, they sang the chorus “asylum home is burning” (Weiss 2002:64). On June 12, 2000, dark-skinned Adriano Alberto was kicked to death after three neo-Nazis had listened to the “Africa song” from Landser (Weiss 2002:64). “Actions not words” – this was the murderous principle of the “National Socialist Underground” (NSU), a right-wing terrorist network that has been responsible for numerous murders, attempted murders, bombings and robberies in Germany (Büchner 2020). The principle “actions instead of words” appeared in the NSU connoisseur video at the end of 2011 (Büchner 2020). In a first version of a confessional video, which was produced as early as 2001, the NSU used two songs by the right-wing rock band “Noie Werte” as musical accompaniment (Büchner 2020). With the assassination of Enver Şimşeks on September 9, 2000, in Nuremberg, the right-wing terrorist network put the band’s words into action (Büchner 2020). Michaela Glaser and Tabea Schlimbach (2009:54–7) also quote from the interviews they conducted a scene in which an interviewee had a violent confrontation with two punk youths directly after hearing the song “Punks” by the right-wing extremist band “Nordfront”. On June 2, 2019, the neo-Nazi Stephan Ernst, who may have spent years in the vicinity of the recently banned organization “Combat 18”, shot the Kassel District President Walter Lübcke on the terrace of his home (Büchner 2020). The right-wing rock band “Erschießungskommando” provided a kind of script for the crime (Büchner 2020). The musicians glorify the murderer and mock the victim (Büchner 2020). These are just a few examples of the stimulating and deadly effect of the hate-soaked songs of Landser, Nordfront or

Erschießungskommando in particular but also right-wing extremist music in general. They dramatically illustrate the dangerous effects that music can have on people.

6. DISCUSSION

In this study, we have investigated the contents of four songs from the Salafi jihadist and the right-wing extremist scenes and the messages transported. The influence of music on radicalization processes was carried out on a theoretical level. In the subsequent analysis, various narratives are identified to demonstrate:

Music is part of the natural repertoire of young protagonists from the Salafi jihadist and right-wing extremist scenes. It is an instrument to express their comrades' political self-image (Dornbusch and Raabe 2005:85), respectively, their brothers and sisters in faith. These songs “dictate the rules of life” (Dornbusch and Raabe 2005:86) extensively while reducing complexity to a simple black and white scheme.

To demonstrate and clarify the importance of extremists' music in radicalization processes, we have analyzed the content of two Salafi jihadist and two right-wing extremist songs. The qualitative study focused on the specific narratives which are propagated by the song texts.

These narratives provide information about how social situations, political issues and social interests are interpreted and arranged within each ideological worldview. In doing so, they keep clarifying the conflict line between the ingroup and the outgroup, disregard it linguistically and melodically, and offer meaningful ingroup content. Therefore, right-wing extremist music as well as Salafi jihadist nasheeds are one of the “most successful multipliers of [...] [extremist ideologies]” (Büchner 2018:16). It can be seen as a weapon that can become the instrument of racist or religious motivated murder (Büchner 2018:16), as mentioned in the conclusions of parts four and five.

Whether it is right-wing extremist or Salafi jihadist, the same or similar narratives are employed within extremist music. A specific worldview is propagated, in which the individual counts less than the community and the ingroup is most important. Justifications are propagated through extremist music; violent acts are normalized and propagated as common daily occurrences. Simultaneously, within both ideological music scenes, violence is glorified, in the past or present, in which one's violent action is legitimized and presented as justified.

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TRANSLATED ABSTRACTS

Abstracto

Dentro de la escena yihadista de extrema derecha y salafista, la música juega un papel importante como factor unificador y radicalizador. Se utiliza para compartir propaganda y resaltar ideologías específicas. La música se difunde por diversos medios, por ejemplo a través de las redes sociales, y se utiliza estratégicamente para atraer nuevos miembros potenciales. Los objetivos de la música de extrema derecha, así como del yihadista salafista *nasheeds*, son, entre otros, inspirar a la juventud, llegar a una audiencia mundial de simpatizantes potenciales, así como difundir su propia cosmovisión absolutista. Para lograr estos objetivos, utilizan descripciones aparentemente objetivas de experiencias cotidianas negativas y de opresión, y la necesidad de resistencia. Las canciones suelen estar asociadas a contenido violento y, junto con los videos, ilustran la necesidad percibida de defenderse. En este artículo, analizaremos más de cerca el contenido de cuatro canciones extremistas seleccionadas. Nuestro análisis del contenido se basa en una triangulación de métodos, denominada análisis secuencial de texto. Identifica en un paso final las diferencias y elementos comparables de las ideologías de extrema derecha y salafista. Además del contenido, el análisis tiene como objetivo examinar los posibles efectos de la música de grupos extremistas.

Palabras clave extremismo; radicalización; música radical; propaganda; estudios comparativos

Abstrait

Au sein de l'extrême droite comme de la scène jihadiste salafiste, la musique joue un rôle important en tant que facteur d'unification et de radicalisation. Il est utilisé pour partager de la propagande et mettre en évidence des idéologies spécifiques. La musique est diffusée par divers moyens, par exemple via les médias sociaux, et utilisée de manière stratégique pour attirer de nouveaux membres potentiels. Les objectifs de la musique d'extrême droite, ainsi que du jihadiste salafiste *nasheeds*, sont, entre autres, d'inspirer les jeunes, d'atteindre un public mondial de sympathisants potentiels, ainsi que de diffuser leur propre vision du monde absolutiste. Pour atteindre ces objectifs, ils utilisent des représentations apparemment objectives d'expériences quotidiennes négatives, d'oppression et du besoin de résistance. Les chansons sont généralement associées à des contenus violents et en conjonction avec des vidéos, elles illustrent le besoin perçu de se défendre. Dans cet article, nous examinerons de plus près le contenu de quatre chansons extrémistes sélectionnées. Notre analyse du contenu est basée sur une triangulation de méthodes - appelée analyse séquentielle de texte - qui identifie dans une dernière étape les différences et les éléments comparables des idéologies. En plus du contenu, l'analyse vise à examiner les effets possibles de la musique de groupes extrémistes.

Mots clés extrémisme; radicalisation; musique radicale; propagande; études comparatives

ملخص

داخل المشهد اليميني المتطرف والمشهد السلفي الجهادي ، تلعب الموسيقى دورا هاما كعامل موحد ومتطرف. فهي تستخدم لمشاركة الدعوية وتسليط الضوء على أيديولوجيات محددة. تنشر الموسيقى عبر وسائل مختلفة، كوسائل التواصل الاجتماعي على سبيل المثال، وتستخدم استراتيجيا لجذب أعضاء جدد محتملين. من جملة أهداف الموسيقى اليمينية المتطرفة، والأناشيد السلفية الجهادية، إلهام الشباب، والوصول إلى جمهور عالمي من المتعاطفين المحتملين، فضلا عن نشر نظرتهم للعالمية المطلقة. ولتحقيق هذه الأهداف، يتم استخدام صور موضوعية ظاهريا لتجارب يومية سلبية والقمع والحاجة إلى الحقوق. ترتبط الأغاني عادة بمحتوى عنيف؛ وبالاقتران مع مقاطع الفيديو، فهي توضح الحاجة الملحة للدفاع عن النفس.

سوف نلقي في هذا المقال نظرة فاحصة على محتوى أربعة أغان متطرفة مختارة. يعتمد تحليلنا للمحتوى على طرق مثلثة، تعرف بتحليل النص المتسلسل؛ ويحدد في خطوة أخيرة الاختلافات والعناصر المماثلة بين أيديولوجيات اليميني المتطرف والسلفي. بالإضافة إلى المحتوى ، يهدف التحليل إلى دراسة الأثار المحتملة لموسيقى الجماعات المتطرفة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التطرف ، الموسيقى الراديكالية ، الدعوية ، الدراسة المقارنة

抽象

在右翼极端主义者以及萨拉菲圣战分子的场景中,音乐起着统一和激进因素的重要作用。它用于共享宣传和突出特定的意识形态。音乐通过各种方式传播,例如通过社交媒体传播,并被战略性地用来吸引潜在的新成员。右翼极端主义音乐以及萨拉菲圣战分子纳希德 (Salafi Nahaededs)的目标,除其他外,目的是启发青年,接触潜在同情者的全世界观众,并传播他们自己的绝对主

为了实现这些目标,他们利用看似客观的消极日常经历,压迫和抵抗需求来描绘。这些歌曲通常与暴力内容相关联,并与视频相关联,它们说明了捍卫自己的感知需求。

在本文中,我们将仔细研究四首精选的极端主义歌曲的内容。我们对内容的分析基于方法的三角测量 (称为顺序文本分析),该方法在最后一步确定了意识形态的差异和可比元素。除了内容之外,该分析还旨在检验极端主义团体音乐的可能影响。

关键词: 极端主义 ; 激进主义 ; 激进音乐 ; 宣传 ; 比较研究

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