No: 2

2018 Vol.: 7

### USE OF ELECTION MUSIC FOR PROPAGANDA AND THE SONG "DOMBIRA" SAMPLE IN THE LOCAL ELECTIONS 2014

#### Assoc Prof. Dr. Cavit YAVUZ

Ordu University, Faculty of Fine Arts yavuzcavit@hotmail.com

#### Selçuk KÜPÇÜK

Ordu University, Faculty of Fine Arts, Graduate Student selcuk\_kupcuk@hotmail.com

#### Abstract

Music has existed as an intrument that affects not only emotional world of individuals but also psycho-social conditions of societies throughout the history. In terms of propaganda activities in order to mobilize crowds, to have societies believe in and direct to definite ideas in every period of history together with various administrative means, music has also been used effectively. We have observed that political parties all around the world benefit music in their election work very effectively. We have witnessed that election songs have had such a quality that they can change choices in the eye of target crowds, especially lately. In our study we will also try to discuss how political parties benefit election songs and ballads as propoganda activities in their election work, in particular how effectively Justice and Development Party use the song "Dombira", a Middle East melody, in local elections 2014, and we will also discuss the results. The study is a qualitative study, and literature review on subject matter has been done and many sources have been benefitted.

Keywords: Propaganda, Election Music, Local Elections 2014, The Song 'Dombira'

### 1. Introduction

The effect of music on crowds naturally brings the necessity of speaking the concepts "crowd, power, politics, propaganda" together. As it is mentioned in "Retoric", which is Aristo's a significant work on influence and persuasion strategies on people in Antic Greek, it is possible for us to see our ruling elites and thinkers have been attaching importance on this subject matter since that period of history. Consequently, it is possible to find numerous sources both in religous and secular texts aiming at canalizing and influencing people by pursueing different targets. In this respect, from Conficius's "Notes on Big Data and Music", Pitagor's mathematical approach on music, to Islamic Thinker Ghazali's analysis about the influencing power of music on human soul in his "Ihya'u Ulum'id Din", we encounter different approaches in religous and temporal texts which have come until today.

It is a recent case, especially in modern times, that the systematic use with several instruments in a way that includes music in a wide range from culture to ideaology of "propaganda",

which is decribed as "impact that is done with verbal, written or other means to spread any idea or perception and to multiply their fans" (1996:613) in the dictionary of the Turkish Language Association. The use of music for propaganda in elections, which is an organic part of democratic system, has also followed parallel developing steps with modernity in the same way.

In this sense in our country, we see that the texts which we can find the analyses related to influencing crowds during political elections and using music for propaganda at the same time start to be in the literature mostly in coordination with sociological point of view. The Publications, like Fırat Kutluk's "Music and Politics" which is one of the pioneer studies in this field, Akın Ok's "68s Screams" inwhich he describes the relation of music with the 1968 youth movement, and Martin Stokes's "Arabesk Effect in Turkey" which becomes also a masterpiece in this field and he obtains the subject of mutual relation of arabesk music on Turkish society and from that point inwhich he makes social analyses, Metin Solmaz's book "Pop Music in Turkey" which starts discussion on the concepts like "Revolutionary Music" and "Rightist Music" that is thought as a local field in Turkish Pop Music. Robin Denselov's book "When music ends", which is added as a translated publication to our language and inwhich political pop history is told, Orhan Kahyaoğlu's "Grup Yorum-Wriggle out", which tells about the historical process of Grup Yorum, a leftist ideological music band, and Yılmaz Aysan's major study "Being on Posters", inwhich posters, newspapers, magazines are also brought together with visual materials of their music (records, casettes, CD covers and album posters), are remarkable as basic referance sources in this sense of "Propaganda-music relations". In addition, the special issue "First Music Existed" of West-East Magazine (August, September, October 2012, issue number 62), the special issue "Music As A Weapon" of Partisyon Magazine (July, August, September 2014, issue number 2), the special issue "Music Special Edition" of Social Science Magazine (March 1999, issue 9) are important on account of including the articles that contribute to the subject as means of periodicals.

The study is a qualitative study, and literature review on subject matter has been done and many sources have been benefitted. The aim of this study is to show that the political parties have used the election music effectively during the election activities to direct the target groups, especially during the local elections 2014 by using the song "Dombra", and is to discuss its effect. In the first part of the study, it was stressed that a lot of references were made from Nazi Germany to socialist ideology in "The History of Propaganda-based Usage of The Music in Modern Times", and that took the original form from since 1960s, and was focused on a historical line that stretching to "pop-folk" which affected all music activities in the World. In the part titled "The effect of music on human and crowds psychology", it was

focused on the evaluation of music, human, society relations from primitive time to modern time. In our country, where the election process in accordance with the developed western societies has reached the World standarts since 1950s, the usage of song "Dombra" as a propaganda during the Local Elections 2014 was analyzed after the part named "The elections and music relations from one party period to multi-parties period", which gave information on using music as a propaganda during elections.

#### 2. The History Of Music Used For Propaganda In Modern Times

In the historical development the effort to expand the church and the Christian faith occupies an important place. It is known that the initial studies, that give inspiration to modern professionel propaganda works, were done by the "Congregatio de Propaganda Fide" / "Belief Spreading Congragation" that founded in1622 by catholic church (Doğan, 2013:35). In the 20th century, obviously, we can see the first experience of effective organised propaganda studies in Hitler's Germany. After National socialists came to power on 30th January 1933, Using the music, the Nazi regime was very successful in infusing the wanted music culture to public, in building the locality over Nazi principles and - especially during war - in camouflaging the vital difficulties (Kutluk, 1997:20).

At he beginning of the 20th century, music was totally downgraded to an instrument for propaganda studies by another ideological state, Russia. We can even see a notable benefit divided from the state budget for mainly conservatories, operas, orchestras and for the musical instrument producing units. The given importance to music was so high that, in 1946, inspite of the physical problems after the ruins of Nazi invasion, the needs took priority such as foundation and education of 39 The symphony orchestra and choral and chamber music groups in the plans of Soviet State. Ofcourse, we need to add that through music which was instrumentalized by the Soviet State, people were encoded pedagogically.

Within the boundaries of the United States, the relationship between the music and propaganda is shaped slightly different from Soviet and Nazi experience. This is more civil music action which, especially, rooted in American folk music but technically and thematically advencing more modern forms rapidly. The most recognizable names of the trend that we can take back to the 1930s and 40s were Bob Dylan and Joan Baez. This music type which mostly walking through a discourse against the official policy of the American government, defending blacks rights and anti-war and making songs about the human values of the consumer society commodifies people and ideologically leaning against the leftist tradition reached a large audience and formed an important spiritual base for the rock music came after it.

#### 3. Effect Of Music On Man And Mass Psychology

The issues regarding how the type of relation mankind should set with "music" ontolgy and this ontologic existence supposed to be have been the subjects of religious and historical cronology from sacred texts to basic sources that define Ancient Greek, China and Islamic thinking. The reason of this can undoubtedly be explained that the divine dimention of the meaning assigned in music is kept continually. For example, "The Greek believed in the presence of a particular God who gave people music art as a present and kept it. The name of the protector of this music was 'Müz'. The word Music originates from this origin" (Uludağ, 1992:23). It is said in the booklet "Notes on Big Data and Music" including the advice and views of Confucius -an ancient Chinese thinker born in 551 BC- related to the effects of music on people, societies and even state rules, as it follows "Music is a harmony between the heaven and the earth and it gives joy to sacred people and it is someting that recovers people's hearths and because of its changing the deep impact on people ancient kings performed them as a lesson" (Büyük Bilgi ve Müzik Hakkında Notlar, 1963:33). Apart from being no direct expression about music in the Qur'an, it is known that Islamic thinkers have made comments on various works in relation to the sociological reality of this art form which accompanies human history. As a matter of fact, music whose effect on human spirit was experienced was used as a means of treatment, and we mustn't forget that here formed a kind of discipline in this subject disseminated with intitutionalisation within Islamic land for hundreds of years. By the help of the information transfered to new generations about how magams take people under influence, it is a well known fact that institutionalized musictreatment process worked in Islamic land. According to this, for instance, Çoban, the music therapist, defines that Isfahan magam gives people an ability to move and self confidence, uşşak maqam arouse the feeling of smile, saba maqam gives courage and power, hüseyni magam arouses the feelings of peace and happiness (2005:54). Besides "mehter music" characterized as the first military music did such an impact, maqam forms used, the instruments preferred and the music occured from the elements of performed lyrics have a psychological effect which reduces the resistance of the belligerent components, it is known that it also gave the feeling of courage to Ottoman soldiers. Consequently, if we head for historical workings in the context of music and propaganda relation, it is possible for us to saythat the first corpus we face started from "mehter music".

As agreed, till the different periods of time theoretical analyses, from heterogenous religous, cultural societies different from one another, have been made on the influence power of music on the mood of people, and reached a rich experience summation moving from these

analyses. Also in modern times, from that ancient summation, we observe that a more discipliner field occurs by utilizing the influencing performance of music for both individuals and the masses. Especially the description of social crowd which we called "mass" and together with the formation of this crowd the roles it takes in the flow of modern times, the tasks it assumes in the regime changes of states, mobilizing power of the ideological thoughts they represents power for people, or consuming forms aimed at meta particularly, the analysis of collective psychological situation that the sum of these people produces by coming together catches the attention of many people from advertisers to politics and institutions naturally. It is possible to claim that especially modern time is a "mass time".

New people association came out together with formation of new cities after industrial revolution by breaking people away from agricultural fields that they continued their traditional lifestyles and mostly traditional congregational consciousness they had. This new people association, apart from earlier religious, sectarian partnership or ancestry, people blocks that define themselves on domestic relations, had a quality which shaped with new social agreements. And the basic dynamic that determines this quality are cities as locations of industrial revolution. These people, who broke away from their traditional locations wild, country and never met totally that much with each other at any period of history and had to live together, were forming a new togetherness consisting of various ancetry, sect, languages different from ech other. Anderson calls this national unity reaching the final total of this togetherness "imaginary congregation". It is imagined, because even the members of the smallest nation will not know the other members, will not meet them, will not hear anything about most of them but yet the imagination of the total will go on living in the minds of each one" (2007:20).

Some ideological instruments which were for formation of new people associations that accompany industrial revolution and also suitable for building this togetherness, were discussed. Like the mass speaking several ethnic language agreed on consent or forced by state constraint start to speak a common language, for instance. It is also possible to say that this new total identity shaped with a new history fiction, a new literature, has a 'new invented' characteristic as well. Hobsbawm explains this inventing issue as follows: It is to be thought a practice set which is directed by openly or veiledly accepted rules and perform a ritual or symbolic characteristic, and tries to instilling definite values and behaviourol forms on the basis of repetitions in an implying way a natural continuity with past (2006 : 2). As you see, we can state that music, in modern times, becomes intrument as one of the ideological instruments which serve, in parallel with reinventing act, the new people mass we already toldto give common mood. This bears a series of pratics which is shaped beginning from

'national anthems' that propagandize, the new nation reconstructed, in a modern congragation shape imagined, coming together around a common identity in the cities being their new locations. We also let people remember that the process mentioned, and involving music brings and puts us towards an organized and professionally shaped propaganda history that we can not see in any time in history.

At the beginning of propaganda instruments that political parties, a kind of modern organizing forms, use in order to transfer their own ideas and targets to the masses, to half-open canals that they can have attention and communicate, to get people they reach to be their "voter", comes "music".

## 4. Elections In Turkey From One-Party Period To Multi-Party Period And Music Relations

It is possible to take the history of music for propaganda in Turkey back to second constitutional era (1908). "The Parliament Anthem" performed with gramophone at the opening ceremony of The Ottoman Parliament is a symbolic show form that the ruling government legalizes its position (Alkan, 2003:11). That "Music Revolution" came at the beginning of cultural revolutionary movements realized together with the foundation of the Republic can be under debate as indicator of the desire to realize also the transformation on musical memory of elitist paradigma, sociology at the effort of founding a new society. The revolution, which reached top by the prohibition of performing of Ottoman/Turkish music(Ayaş, 2014:131), was implying a period that the state was taking a mounting role on music with all its instruments in a domineering way from above. This, in one sense, was again the sign that the act of making propaganda via music also lied under state hegemony.

Consequently, after the Ottoman state we encounter the use of music for propaganda instrument in Turkey for the first time in the period of İsmet İnönü "The National Chef" time before passing multi-party democratic system in 1939 elections (Alkan, 2011:101). As is predictable, we can not state that the use of music fort his purpose by the ruling government, as it was in developed countries, was professionally untill passing to multi-party period as a result of peerlessness with the confort of being the one-party for a long time in Turkey and not needing new, modern propaganda methods. Since 1950s, but particularly 1965s (Alkan, 2011:102), it is possible to see the increase of professional use of music above records in elections by different political parties for propaganda. By means of the method discovered, that songs decorated with praising, promoting, decribing leader or party and thoughts, discourses, voice reach till the cities, provinces, villages where leader cannot go can be

qualified as a historical revolution. The importance of the use of music for propaganda was especially felt as soon as multi-party period was started, and in fact leaders became to prefer meeting actually musicians, artists and even minstrels.

We need to say that Turkey Workers Party (TWP) representing the legal party period of socialist thoughts and many more political movements representing socialistic thoughts tradition have an important experience about using music as a propaganda form as well. This tradition was definitely carrying influences from also the Soviet Union experience which is one of the main arteries Turkish leftists nurtured. "Yarının Şarkısı" (1965), which is an Erdem Buri's composition of Tülay German who is respected as one of the pioneers of performing balad form with western instruments and arranging form in Turkey, was the first of election musics that TWP used for propaganda in those years (Aysan, 2013: 435).

Election songs can be thought in two ways: The first one is a unique composition and writing lyrics that praises leader of party or actually party itself and its ideology. The second one is a form that a song or balad that is popular on those days or was popular in past, melody of which is liked and accepted by the masses is by changing lyrics and arranging for leader, party and ideology. For example, like the use of the song "Sev Kardeşim", which one of the popular singers of 1970s Şenay sang, by CHP by changing lyrics. In 1973 elections Justice Party also joined the parties that made musical records for the first time to improve its propaganda and with the songs "A.P. Marşı" and "Demirel", which Yılmaz Türkoğlu sang, answered DP's propaganda by an anti-propaganda. It was seen that the political action that became one of the longest lasting political party with transformation of Republican Peasant Nation Party (RPNP) to Nationalist Action Party (NAP) in 1969 Adana congress released melodic records to spread its ideology in society by propaganda from the beginning both in elections and in normal times.

Even though Turkey of 1980s left the violence atmosphere of 1970s by 12th September Coup, we can say that music-politics relation was temporarily frozen as a result of military governments and the increase of the control machanizm the state set on public by military regime. However, after that temporary period Turkish political life met a new party. The leader of political concensus called Homeland Party (HP), Turgut Özal, not only fundemantaly changed the current relation form between state and society but also tried to repeal many official procedures becoming tabu with his extraordinary applications. First of all state and arabesk relation came. Özal, who openly said he was listening to this kind of music which banned at state associations for years, therefor, used "Seni Sevmeyen Ölsün", the most popular arabesk song of 1987-88, for 1988 election campaign music (Stokes, 2009:163).

When coming to 90s,the years Turkish Pop Music blasted came across. We see that the sense popular of society shaped over this music kind then. The preference of Tansu Çiller, the important woman leader of the period and leader of True Way Party (TWP) ,also became Turkish Pop Music whose social like widened fast. The pop music song "Bu Kız Beni Görmeli", whose lyrics were changed as "Kararlısın Çillerim", is an important example both to Show the changing music impresion and changing music-propoganda -election relations (Önürmen, Temel, 2014: 53).

# 5. The Use Of The Song "Dombira" For Policital Propaganda Purpose In Local Election 2014

Justice and Development Party (JAD Party), which appeared as an important political actor in 2000s and won all the elections they joined, with its performance of using music for propaganda purpose and transfering this to its voters successfuly and connect emotional bond with its voters, can be classified in the line of Özal's Homeland Party and Menderes' Democratic Party. This, ss a situation shaped in consequence of both producing a speech that is more inclusive aimed at the demands of tha mass described as right hand fan and accruing since Democratic Party, and having a strategy to speak to whole country by leaving the narrow Islamic political practice reduced in ideological object, is a political position worth analysing. Therefore, it is possible to claim that JAD Party left narrow Islamic environment and relied on the avarage political and cultural sensitivity of society. From this point of view, we can state that JAD Party had to make transition to more popular kinds of music relying on the avarage political and cultural pleasure of society by leaving "anthems" which its former political structure, Prosperity Party (PP), line prefered for elections and as an extension of all other ideological parties common militarist structure, and that JAD Party used that strategy very well.

Regarding to the song "Dombira", Justice and Development Party's election song used for propaganda purpose in Local Elections on 30th March 2014, we can consider the case as follows: Firstly, the song "Dombira" is not a work produced in Turkey and it is a composition of a Kazakh artist, Arslan Sultanbekov. We see that the song which enters in circulation in social media in Turkey at first is mostly remembered and shared together with "nationalist" discourse. The work, which was reinterpreted by adapting lyrics to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime minister of that time, by Uğur Işılak, an artist hqaving organic relation with Justice and Development Party, became a current issue at the beginning on account of the fact that it was used unauthorizedly. In the related news about the subject, it was stated that the work was

composed in 1997 by Arslanbek, was registered in MESAM (Turkish Musical Works Owners Professional Association) in Turkey, and the artist didn't give permission for that kind of political propaganda use of the song (for instance: www.t24.com, www.internethaber.com etc.)

Before the song "Dombira" became an election song, it appeared as a work which instantly became popular with the battle scenes taken from a film on Cengiz Khan, and Turkish Nationalism speech in Turkey. This period is also important in that it included a time that Nationalist Action Party (NAP), as a political action representing Turkish nationalism, not only had regression in votes but also experienced leader problem in it. Consequently, in the mass being voters of current political action and close to Turkish nationalism idea, we see that social network sites were beginning to take place as an opposition field in a period that success was not shown in the election results and leader was not effective enough. "Dombira" exactly appeared as a preferred work in such a political situation. The vision arousing as a metaphore of the instrument "Dombira" giving its name to the song reminds heroic tales in Middle East steps which are frequently emphasized in the nationalist ideology speechs. And the voice of instrument accompanying this reminder and Turkishness almost became identical.

The artist Uğur Işılak, singing the work "Dombıra", along with coming in the first place in the names of those making Justice and Development party's election songs, also opened out a special place for himself as a musician taking part in the various organisations of the party. The artist gave his own composition named "Haydi Anadolu" to Justice and Development party together with Republican People's Party (RPP) in 2002, and the song was used by RPP in that election (www.haberdar.com). In General Elections 2007 using Özhan Eren's songs named "Yeniden" and "Her Şey Bu Millet İçin" as election songs, Justice and Development Party appeared in 2011 elections in front of its voters that time with the song "Haydi Bir Daha".

During the private meeting that realised in Ankara Arena and that Justice and Development party introduced its election declaration and major candidates in Local Elections 2014, "Dombira", being in the songs to be used in 30th March process, followed a popularized progress by having a meaning more than being only an election material. Undoubtedly, discussions on varios reasons of this can be done. Firstly we can claim that the party wrapped itself in a nationalist discourse up in a level that it had never used in previous election processes before, and that the clip of the existing song refering Middle East Turkish history found in social network sites in advance opened a door space to a common emotional

map. Secondly, the discussions in media on account of the fact that the song "Dombira" used unauthorized and the owner of the work gave an explanation that he didn't give permission fort he use of his song in such a way for political organisations (www.zete.com). Besides, it was understood that "Dombira" had been registered as an Arslanbek Sultanbekov song in MESAM (Turkish Musical Works Owners Professional Association) with no:0789429 (www.t24.com). The existing discussions, in addition to JAD Party's other articles in its agenda, can also be evaluated as a uniq propaganda period for the party to become a current issue in media continuously about that argument which had a value of news for a long time.

Uğur Işılak both brought the song closer to Turkish listeners' sense of fancy by rearranging, and converted it to a exactly a useful propaganda material for elections by adapting lyrics to the then prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. However, Erol Olçak, the Chief of Arter Advertising Agency, who also ran advertising studies on Turkey's conjuncture for Justice and Development Party, made a statement to a web site that they planned a very different election campaign and handed it in to Prime Minister before 17-25 December operations, and after the operation they headed for quite different strategy, and his sentences in the text of news explaining "Dombira" was the product of that changing election strategy, are remarkable: "After the treats those days, political conjuncture, directly aiming at Dear Erdoğan and his family, illegal dirty plot, we created a completely different campaign. The mathametics of our campaign was like this: Our hero was Erdoğan. A campaign that will mobilize and motivate Dear Erdoğan will mativate the masses already. We prepared 'Dombira' with a friend of mine' (www.haber7.com).

It is possible to say that the discussions on the work "Dombira" in media grew in two propaganda forms. The first one was in a way of making his legal 'open propaganda' over the identity of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the then Prime Minister of Justice and Develpoment Party. The second propaganda form was 'black propaganda' produced by anti-JAD Party formations. The rhetoric was that the work was stolen and it was realized by Uğur Işılak the artist, who had close relationship with JAD Party, so there was an "immoral, unethical" behaviour attributed to JAD Party. It can be considered that the voters of JAD Party were tried to be affected with this black propaganda form. The then deputy of MHP (NAP) in parliament Sinan Oğan's this statement was notable in the context of the topic: "Donot say the word 'playing' (homophone of stealing in Turkish) to JAD party members. They misunderstood playing election music and stole Dombira as well" (www.hurriyet.com). Kaya Kuzucu, one of the artist takes part in NAP concerts, also stated in an explanation featured in media that Arslanbek Sultanbekov visited party leader Devlet Bahçeli in 2011 and sang the

composition there in the presence of him for the first time. According to this news text which expressed that after the unauthorized use of the song like that, the artist would start legal process by his lawyers in Turkey, in every part of Turkey the work "Dombira" had been sung in concert activities organized by NAP by Kaya Kuzucu since 2011 (www. gazetevatan.com).

It is also possible to say that all these experienced process actually in itself was a kind of propaganda as well. It can be said that political formations which gave image in continuous motion in front of voters almost every evening in TV channels and newspaper headlines on web pages, newspaper corners, tried to affect voters with counteraction over the debate who the song belonged to. That the political formation which used the song for propaganda material in local election, and opponent political structure which claimed that the work was stolen had the subject been in the news made contribution to disseminate the effect of the song and to have the expected result. As a method used for such kind of election music, the situation keeping the original melody of songs and changing lyrics showed itself in the song 'Dombira' as well. As it was understood from the new lyrics written on melody, it can be claimed that Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, prime minister of that time, was joe public, -as a permanent rhetoric- carrying the voice of those parts of the society insulted continuously against political formations taking legal position of official ideology on, providing his political power not from government agencies or deep formations but from actual public will like ideal democratic systems, therefore, he himself represented the most reliable hope for the future, by underlining the thesis that despite the treats and intimidations he kept his position for nation again on behalf of nation, as it were, the rhetoric coming from Democratic Party until today was renewed. Moreover, from time to time when one looks at the posters and speech of JAD Party, it is observed that it tries to lean itself on this political line. The song "Dombira", which was a deep musical reflection of propaganda oriented towards that this line was drawn with Adnan Menderes, Turgut Özal and finally Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, created a positive effect on voters as expected, JAD Party continued being number 1 party with 44,16 % vote rate, won 18 metropolitan municipalities, 30 cities and 561 municipalities of country. In the same elections its political dissidents CHP(RPP) with a vote rate of 26,6 % could win 6 metropolitans, 8 cities and 158 municipalities of country, and MHP(NAP) with a vote rate of 17,6 % could win 3 metropolitans, 5 cities and 106 municipalities of country (www.haberturk.com).

#### 6. Conclusion

One of the most important instruments used by political parties to influence voters in elections in many parts of the world is music. Political parties use old songs, either for themselves or in new compositions, to their own parties and use them in campaigns during the campaigns, such as television, radio, advertisements and social media platforms, as well as at rallies.

The use of music as a means of effective and systematic propaganda is a modern times practice. The history in our country for music-elections and propaganda relations which we face with much more from the century of traditional governing forms like kingdom or emperorship to nation states and accordingly with passing multi-party system formed, being parallel with this in 1950s, with Democratic Party's coming into our political life. That JAD Party used the song "Dombira", a Mddle East melody, by having lyrics rewritten for propaganda purpose in local elections 2014 produced an interesting historical experiences with regard to carrying different discussions together with to agenda. In the developing process with the opponent political organisations making propaganda that the song was stolen and used unauthorized, that the song's composer came to Turkey, that he met the artist who sang the song as JAD Party's election music and then that they came to an agreement without any necessity for legal process finished the existing discussions. It can be claimed that the adapted lyrics of the song "Dombira", which brought out an important historical practice on the use of music for election propaganda, when taking Turkey sociology into consideration, repeats continual discussion for years the rhetoric that elites crush and insult public. Additionally, that the song available to be considered in the context of rising 'nationalist discourse' in Turkey lately, stands in a meaningful place in its own strategy can be discussed as well. Nevertheless, in conclusion it can be stated that with using the election song named "Dombira", JAD Party had a great success in local elections 2014 and the election song became significantly effective in this success.

#### References

Anderson, B. (2007). Hayali Cemaat-Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Alkan, M. Ö. (2003). "Tarihin Sesli Tanıkları: Plaklar", Toplumsal Tarih Dergisi, Sayı:117

Alkan, M. Ö. (2011). "Seçim Kazandıran Şarkılar", Atlas Tarih Dergisi, Sayı: 7

Aristoteles, (1995). Retorik, (Çeviren: Mehmet H. Doğan), İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Ayaş, G. (2014). Musıki İnkılâbının Sosyolojisi, İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi Yayınları.

Aysan, Y. (2013). Afise Cıkmak-1963/1980-Solun Görsel Serüveni, İstanbul: İletisim Yayınları.

Çoban, A. (2005). Müzikterapi-Ruh Sağlığı ve Müzikle Tedavi, İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları.

Doğan, E.(2013). Siyasal Seçimlerde Kullanılan Görsellerde Anlamın Yaratılması : 2011 Genel Seçimlerinde AKP ve CHP Kampanyaları (Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi), İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.

Finkelstein, S. (1996). Müzik Neyi Anlatır, İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları.

Hobsbawm, E. (2006). Geleneğin İcadı, İstanbul: Agora Kitaplığı.

Kutluk, F. (1997). Müzik ve Politika, Ankara: Doruk Yayınları.

- Stokes, M. (2009). Türkiye'de Arabesk Olayı, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları,
- Önürmen, O.&Temel, F. (2014). "Popülerleşen Siyaset, Siyasallaşan Müzik : 30 Mart 2014 Yerel Seçim Şarkıları Üzerine Bir Çalışma", İletişim ve Diplomasi Dergisi, 30 Mart 2014 Seçimleri Özel Sayısı, Mayıs 2014.
- Uludağ, S. (1992). İslam Açısından Musıki ve Sema, Bursa, Uludağ Yayınları.
- http://t24.com.tr/haber/akpnin-secim-sarkisi-dombra-izinsiz-mi-kullanildi,251681 (Erişim Tarihi : 19.07.2016, 23:30)
- https://zete.com/dombra-tartismasi-surerken-sarkinin-mesama-kayitli-oldugu-ortaya-cikti/ (Erişim Tarihi : 18.07.2016, 20:30)
- <u>http://www.haber7.com/siyaset/haber/1352289-erol-olcak-dombranin-hikayesini-ilk-kez-anlatti</u> (Erişim Tarihi : 18.07.2016, 22:45)
- http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dombra-ak-parti-ve-mhpyi-birbirine-dusurdu-25850880 (Erişim Tarihi : 10.07.2016, 14:05)
- http://www.gazetevatan.com/mhp-ve-ak-parti-nin--dombra--kavgasi-611752-gundem/ (Erişim Tarihi 10.07.2016, 21:15)
- http://www.haber7.com/muzik/haber/1140885-dombra-tepkisi-hakkimi-helal-etmiyorum (Erişim Tarihi 11.07.2016, 20:15)
- http://www.haberturk.com/secim/secim2014 (Erişim Tarihi: 09.07.2016, 23.05)