

Political Advertising and Its Music On Television and Electronic Media In Turkey

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ABSTRACT

Television, electronic media and their political advertising have always had an important role in the election campaign for several decades. However, political advertising on television and electronic media during the election campaign are so boring. Music is one of the materials which diminishes negative attitude against political ads. Music brings emotional power, friendliness, wholesome, impressiveness and attractiveness to political advertising. This effect occurs both on global and Turkish political ads. Political music and musical politics have always had an important role since Antiquity, Central and West Asian Cultures, and Islamic civilization until democratic Turkish election and its' political ads. In this research, six parties and their 31 spots were included. In conclusion first, one of AK Party's ad and its' music was founded very professional and persuasive. Second, other ads of AK Party, CHP and MHP ads and their music are turned out to be less professional and persuasive. Third, other parties and their music are founded as non-professional and non-persuasive.

Keywords: Election campaign, political advertising, music, television, electronic media, political party

Türkiye'de Televizyon ve Elektronik Medyada Siyasal Reklam ve Müzikleri

ÖZ

Televizyon ve elektronik medya ve onların genetik reklamları, seçim kampanyalarında on yıllardan beri önemli rol oynamaktadır. Fakat televizyon ve elektronik medyadaki politik reklamlar çok sıkıcıdır. Müzik siyasal reklamlara negatif tutumları azaltan materyallerden biridir. Müzik, siyasal reklama duygusal güç, etki, çekicilik ve bütünleyicilik taşır. Bu etkiler hem global hem de Türk siyasal reklamlarında geçerlidir. Siyasal müzik ve müzikli siyaset, Antik dönemden, Orta ve Batı Asya kültürlerinden ve İslam medeniyetinden demokratik Türkiye seçimlerine ve onun siyasal reklamlarına kadar çok önemli yer tutar. Bu çalışmada 6 partinin 31 reklamı incelenmektedir. Araştırmanın bulgularında ilk olarak AK Parti'nin bir reklamı ve o reklamın müziği çok profesyonel ve ikna edici olması; ikinci olarak AK Parti'nin diğer reklamları, CHP ve MHP'nin reklamları daha az profesyonel ve ikna edici olması ve son olarak diğer partilerin reklamları ve reklamların müzikleri ise profesyonel ve ikna edici olmadığı sonuçlarına ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Seçim kampanyası, siyasi reklam, müzik, televizyon, elektronik medya, siyasi parti

In the history of electioneering, a plethora of methods and media have been employed to influence the reactions and behaviors of voters with respect to candidates and parties. Yet the methods and media chosen tend to converge during any given time period, in a way that largely transcends the difference in countries and geography. While differences in political regimes and cultures invariably introduce dissimilarities, the latter tend to be minimized and overridden by similarities over time. Subdivisions of this evolution can be analyzed over certain centuries or decades.

In the period between the inauguration of the republic and 1945, the green light had been given twice —under supervision— to the inception of a second party beside The Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, henceforth CHP). Yet in both cases, the sustenance of a multi-party political system was later considered unviable and abandoned. Over the course of the San Francisco Conference on April 25 1945, Turkey pledged itself to a transition to the multi-party system. Following the conference, preparations were initiated promptly, and completed in time for the 1946 elections. Yet during the election process, Democratic Party (DP) -or parties other than CHP - were not allowed to conduct a full fledged campaign, barring them from scheduling radio speeches; the sine qua non back then of election success. ** Despite the secretive counting of votes, overseen solely by state officers, the 1946 elections are considered by some to be landmark in Turkey's transition to a democratic election system. An alternative school of thought takes the 1950 election, instead, to be the first democratic one. Over the series of elections between 1946 (or 1950) and 2011, candidates and parties employed multifarious methods and media to influence the voting public. During initial years, speeches made in person, and those broadcast on the state radio channel Türkiye Radyoları, were the dominant mode of election propaganda. In those years, Türkiye Radyoları used to hold a monopoly over radio broadcasting. The advent of television extended the broadcast of political propaganda to speeches by party representatives, set to be broadcast by Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu (TRT- Turkish Radio and Television Cooperation), alongside news and comment produced by the latter. Party representatives' speeches were studio shoots. With the interlocutor's face limited to passport-photo dimensions, little was distinguishable beyond lip movements and the tone of the voice. The *raison d'être* and operating principle of TRT was the promulgation of Kemalist principles and form of government, and the influence of its origins and loyalties were perceivable in the way political news were presented. In 1987 Star channel started broadcasting before requisite permissions were granted. A

primary reason for the haste was the urgent prospect of broadcasting political ads before the election. Indeed, following its inception, a torrent of political ads were broadcast on Star TV, the vast majority of which were commissioned by ANAP (Motherland Party - Anavatan Partisi). Thus begun the TV-broadcast history of campaign advertising in Turkey. In the period between 1987 and 2001 general elections, a variety of campaign ads with heterogeneous content have been broadcast in Turkey along the lines of organizational and legislative changes. Accordingly, miscellaneous scientific studies focused on those ads. Nonetheless, none of these studies focused on the music of the ads in their analyses. In fact, there is a global scarcity of studies focusing on the use of music for campaign ads. Furthermore, among the limited sample, none were observed to analyze the content of campaign ads incorporating music for voter persuasion. Accordingly, granting an increased risk of error, an authentic contribution to the corresponding scientific literature is sought with this study.

In this study, titled *Political Advertising And Its Music In Television And Electronic Media During 2011 Parliamentary Election Campaign In Turkey, the historical context of democratic elections in Turkey in their current form is revisited, followed by an examination of the general characteristics of campaigns in this time frame, in terms of the use of music in particular. Having thus established the general context, the focus is narrowed down to the use of music in televised campaign ads over the course of 2011 general elections, our primary period of interest. The intended medium for ads in question is considered to be television. Modern mass-audience channels (radio, television internet) are maximize the distribution of promotional messages to potential voters (Kaid & Bacha 2006). While said ads have also been utilized over electronic media, the latter do not the focus of this study, as the use of electronic media acted as a secondary, additional channel for the propagation and repetition of the ads.

To establish the sample of the study, 31 campaign ads broadcast on TV during the election campaign preceding the 2011 general elections have been chosen. These ads have all been commissioned by corresponding party headquarters chiefly for national TV broadcast, with some being televised secondarily on regional channels on different time slots. Fifteen of those ads were commissioned by AK Parti (short for Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi [Justice and Development Party]), seven by CHP, five by MHP (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi [Nationalist Movement Party]), two by SP (Saadet Partisi [Felicity Party]), one by DSP (Demokratik Sol Parti [Democratic Left Party]); and one by MMP (Milliyetçi

Muhafazakar Parti [Nationalist and Conservative Party]). Overall content of these ads, especially as it pertains to their musical structure, falls within the scope of this study; yet their broadcast schedule and frequency is left out of evaluation.

For the purposes of the study, content analyses methods theorized by Holsti are employed. Accordingly, a broad outline of the role and use of music in communicating with the electorate during general elections of 1946 onwards (to encompass elections considered democratic) is provided, followed by an analysis of the content of televised campaign ads for the 2011 general election, with special regard to their musical structure. Four trained coders; two of them holding graduate degrees in communication and the other two in musicology coded ads in question. Interceder reliability was computed using Holsti's formula (Holsti, 1969) and (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989) obtaining an average reliability of +.92. The same methodology I have been employed three times in (Can, 1999, 2006 and 2011).

TELEVISION AND POLITICAL ADVERTISING

While a variety of methods and media can be observed in the history of campaign advertising, the goal stays the same: Influencing the decision of the electorate, persuading them in the intended direction, and/or getting them to vote. To that end, media and methods have been chosen and employed in line with the conditions of the era, the political system, and the party or the candidate. Some of these media and methods have evolved over time under the influence of the times and the love, while some have stayed the same. A great majority of the constituency relies solely on mass media for information on the election, the candidates and the political strategies (Can, 2000). This was as much the case in 1999 as in 2011.

With contemporary times, audio-visual media have attained even further presence and attracted further interest. The interest thus allotted is far from unwarranted, as television has been topping charts of daily active use for decades. In the same fashion, messages delivered interpersonally should be structured differently than those relayed over television and via the internet (Perloff 2003). As such, in democratic societies, which value the electorate's access to information and persuasion, television is ever in the spotlight, employing an array of production and advertising formats. Television ads are a critical component of any modern election campaign strategy. There is accordingly a vast body of work in political communication focused on the nature and impact of political ads (Daignault, Soroka & Giasson 2013). While

it is speculated that computers are likely to surpass electronic media in the next decade, the debate remains to be settled by dedicated scientific research.

“An Inquiry into Turkish Familial Structures,” a survey conducted by the Ministry of Family and Social Policy prior to the 2011 elections, yielded information relevant to the study at hand. Based on the survey of twelve thousand families —23379 individuals—, the ratio of active TV spectatorship turned out to be 91.9. Equally significant for our purposes is the average daily time devoted to television: circa one hour by 18.6%, three hours by 55.9%, six hours by 22.1% and over seven hours by 3.4%.

A contemporaneous survey conducted by RTÜK (Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu - Radio and Television Supreme Council) investigates the ratio of TV ad spectatorship. The findings indicate that 25.2% of TV spectators watch intervening ads partially, while 10% watch them in their entirety. Synthesizing the findings of the two surveys, we can conclude that a considerable proportion of the populace is receptive to the messages presented by TV ads. The recurrent scheduling characterizing TV ads, too, works in favor of this conclusion.

On the global scale, Turkey, with a daily average of four and a half hours of TV spectatorship, is surpassed only by the USA’s five hour a day. Therefore, in the transfer of political messages to the electorate, aimed at influencing the latter’s political opinions and voting behavior, the fundamentality of televised campaign ads stands beyond doubt.

THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN TURKISH CULTURE

Two historical observations are fundamental to an understanding of the use of music in Turkish election ads. The first of those concerns the cultural roots of the residents of Anatolia. It is known that Turkish tribes had used music, and had a culture thereof, prior to migrating to Anatolia from the Middle East. Historical records demonstrating music practice among the Turks roots back to 4000 B.C and beyond. Crucial historical documents of the period like the Books of Dede Korkut, the Orkhon inscriptions, and the Compendium of the languages of the Turks (Divan-ı Lügat-it Türk) by Mahmud al-Kashgari comprise crucial information related to the use of music in corresponding historical periods. Secondly, there is significant historical evidence indicating the practice of music by the Turkish peoples prior to the migration to Anatolia, in the period between 10000-3000 B.C. (Elbaş 2011). Collectively, such historical information evinces the presence

of music in the cultural roots of the current population of Turkey. In subsequent historical periods, the social significance of music, and its presence in all reins of life can be witnessed unequivocally. Works of Al-Farabi and Avicenna, and the compositions of Dede Efendi are the most notable cultural products in this regard. In late Ottoman Empire, performance of Armenian religious music in Istanbul (Kerovpyan 2014), next to performances of Greek music, the activities of music associations (Erol 2014); and bouts of musical practice common in the mansions of prosperous, musically-inclined Turkish families (Poulos 2014) manifest the overall popularity of music through the period. In spite of the partial censure against domestic music during the early years of the Republic, there had been no shortage of popular interest. Similarly, in recent years, the populace and the music are inextricable. Music accompanies days of blues and celebration alike; providing motivation and relaxation interchangeably.

In ancient Turkish culture, the use of music for political propaganda was a common practice, discernible in drum performances at the entrance of the khan's tent, signifying his power and dominance, or 'Mehter' military marching bands. Known as "Tabilhane-i Hakani" during the reign of Anatolian Seljuks, mehter *held important functions at times of both war and peace (Elbaş 2011). Most significantly, as a means of political communication during war, enormous drums mounted on camels, *kös*, were audible in a five kilometer radius. Founded initially by Osman I, mehter corps, armed with loud cymbals and kös, would intimidate the opposing army ahead of the battle.

Sama ceremonies in the Mevlevi orders, and Turkish music in general, interacted with a multiplicity of cultures over the course of the Ottoman reign, most influentially with: Anatolian civilizations throughout and after the Antiquity, Central and West Asian cultures, and the musical traditions characteristic of the Islamic civilization (Elbaş 2011). A distinctively Turkish tradition that goes way back in history; the efficacy of Mehter had been recognized by various European states, resulting in the concomitant inauguration of military bands. By the same token, works inspired by mehter were composed by the likes of Glock, Mozart and Beethoven (Elbaş 2011).

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND MUSIC

Election, as a general concept, is traceable as a long-established tradition in the history of Turkish civilizations. Yet the Turkish populace acquainted itself with election campaigns in their current form on the occasion of 1946 elections. Prior to this landmark, the role of music had never been the promotion of one

candidate over and against adversaries. Its function lay, rather, in playing up political dominance and authority; hammering it home in the minds of friends and foes alike, thus intimidating the enemy while encouraging supporters and instilling pride. With 1946 elections, the populace was introduced to competing parties and candidates. The latter introduced novel communication methods and ceremonies alongside traditional electioneering pledges aspiring to the electorate's attention support and —eventually vote—. Music turned out to be a fundamental element of electioneering efforts. As noted earlier, 1946 and 1950 are landmark elections in the history of Turkish politics. Campaigns preceding them saw the emergence of the utilization of music, chiefly to attract listeners to campaign rallies, and pep the attracted up prior to the main speech. The prominent use of *davul* in modern Turkey, traceable to its political use among Turkic tribes of Central Asia prior to the west-bound migration., often involves *zurna* accompaniment. Moreover, musical instruments popular in certain regions, like the regional variant of *kemençe* prevalent in The Black Sea region, often take the local center stage during increasingly-localized campaign efforts. For all that, the role, function and significance of live music as such, played on *davul*, *zurna*, *kemençe* has steadily decreased in more recent campaigns. The use of music in campaigns in the 1980s and 1990s takes two forms. One of these is achieved by relyricing one of the ubiquitous songs of the day, leaving out some of the original tune and/or lyrics, and replacing with lyrics promoting the party. The other method involves inviting famous artists or bands for performances before the meetings, to attract people to the meeting location. Going to the meeting space in large part for the concert, the participants have a good time, and by association, begin to see the party or its leader in a more favorable light.

Throughout the campaign period in advance of the 2011 General Election, however, the use of music, the composition and lyrics of which are not derivative or adapted, was commonly practiced. This is, in a sense, a more direct use of music in the pursuit of influencing the electorate's voting behavior. The music was composed to match the moving visuals on TV and the electronic media.

MUSIC AND ITS EFFECTS ON POLITICAL ADVERTISING

Advertisements ideally consist of short, pithy, persuasive messages intended to steer people toward an intended action, or acquire a certain habit. As such, they work, generally, toward making people buy goods and services in various spheres of life. Political advertisements, in particular, aim to instigate positive emotions toward political parties in question, and consequentially votes. Both

commercial and political advertisements go to extremes to make the greatest impact possible on their target audience. These efforts to reach the the maximum are related to their expected function to not be boring, overcome the barriers posed on recipients by the latter's selective perception, focus the attention, express bonhomie, and so on. Advertisements not motivated or shaped by such a concern end up boring, as stated explicitly in: *Political Advertising: Why It is so Boring* (Scamme&Langer 2006). A fundamental way of saving advertising of any kind from dullness involves the use of music. Music in the ad functions on a multitude of levels. This involves a course beginning with the producers processing the music in line with their aims (as a work of art), and extends to the final steps of the endeavor to prime the recipient for an emotional response. Messages conveyed by music commonly and emphatically embraced by the target audience, that causes positive psychological response in the latter, are likely to succeed in the first step, that of entering the target audience's field of perception (Aydın 2009).

It is true that some advertisements owe their success entirely to their music. People sharing a social group tend to remark on certain remembered ads with expressions like "I loved its music.", or "The music was quite impressive." (Aydın 2009).

Good music can contribute to the effectiveness of an advertisement merely by making it more attractive. A good ad engages the attention of an audience, and the most straightforward way of achieving this is to fashion an appeal which is entertaining (Huron 1989). It follows that: Music served to engage listeners' attention and render the advertisement less of an unwanted intrusion. Music need not necessarily manifest any special affinity with a particular product or service in order to play on effective and useful function (Huron1989).

The aim common to all advertisements is; getting the attention of the listener, spectator or the reader first, and leading them consequentially to action. Emotions are particularly influential grounds for initiating action (Beebe&Beebe 1994). This is all the more the case for political ads, which are, categorically, less attractive than their commercial counterparts. Music can boost ads' attractiveness by way of emotions. "The music brought emotional power. Many who heard the ads said the productions were effective at making the candidate seem 'Wholesome' and 'Friendly'" (Hubberl&Grawford 2008).

Both global and Turkish political discourse relies on emotive expressions (Can, 2007). The addition of sound to the visual intensifies the emotions

(Akdoğan 1995). Indeed, “The effective management of emotional dynamics can lead to the development of supportive and creative relationships, and to a vigorous and enabling democratic ethos. The argument is not for a rush into ‘personality politics,’ but for the enrichment of politics with communication practices that carry emotional narratives” (Richards 2004).

In order for the electorate to be receptive to the messages of the political ads to begin with, these messages need to take into account the selective perception process. A way of keeping the selective perception in such a receptive state is engaging the emotions. For this, a genial image and music can be an appropriate choice, as Warm images and music reinforce the campaign ad’s message of a safe, improving community (Brader, 2006). Emotionally evocative advertisement does not directly sway voters (Brader, 2005). It is easier to procure the vote of an emotionally stimulated voter compared to an emotionally unstimulated one. Advertisements can use images and music to manipulate emotions and, in doing so, influence voter behavior (Brader, 2005). The limited research on the subject clearly demonstrates the positive effect of emotion on political communication. Richards’ study is illustrative of that body of research. Richards contends “in European political communications research, we can also find examples of studies which register in various ways the emotional nature of contemporary politics and argue for a need to recognize this in communication practices” (Richards 2004). This study concerns itself in particular with the view that every aspect of our lives have been under siege from television and electronic media, a situation that, in turn, influences our political sentiments and ideologies (Can, 2007). The persuasive potential of a political ad, *ceteris paribus*, varies considerably with the inclusion or exclusion of music in the soundtrack. As expected, ads with music hold an advantage in this regard. Advertisements persuade on multiple levels, and they work as persuasive entities because of music (Killmeir&Christiansen 2011). While the effects of music on sentiments and behavior vary, a general observation can be made. The effects of music on emotional response and behavior has had mixed results (Morris&Boone 1998). Accordingly, we can make deductions on the influence of music on the electorate’s emotional reactions and behavior. Taking a step further, “music [can be maintained] to be an effective element in campaign advertisements (Brader, 2006). The music in a political ad can also cue certain emotions, individuals exposed to political ads featuring images and music designed to cue feelings of fear and anxiety relied less on prior preference and instead.

THE CONTENT OF ADS

From among the group of ads broadcast on television and electronic media during the campaign, 31 were chosen. 15 of those were commissioned by AK Parti, seven by CHP, five by MHP, two by SP, one by DSP, and one by MMP.

21 of the ads are in color, one in black and white, and nine a combination of the two. Of 15 AK Parti ads, only 2 are a combination of color and B&W. Invariably, In ads combining color and B&W —both AK Parti's and those of other parties—, sections incorporating positive messages are in color, while those incorporating negative ones are in B&W.

One of the CHP ads is entirely in B&W, and one entirely in color. Out of five MHP ads, three are in color, and two combine color and B&W. SP's both ads, and the only MMP ad, are both in color.

18 of the ads juxtapose moving images with at least one single image, eight are entirely made up of moving images, and five are composed by a still image, or a number of still images. Of the latter five, one promotes AK Parti, one CHP, two MHP, and one MMP. Out of those comprising only moving images, four belong to CHP, two to MHP, and another two to SP.

Out of the chosen set, 22 feature soundtracks merging speech, music, and other (non-music, non-speech) sounds.

Six feature music and speech, one is music-only, one is speech-only, and one is comprised of sounds in the non-music, non-speech category. Ads with soundtracks spanning three categories are all produced for AK Parti. Two each in AK Parti and CHP ads are speech-only.

The public is foregrounded in 14 of the ads, and the party leader in eight. One ad puts the public and the party officers together at the forefront. Out of ads featuring the public exclusively, 10 were commissioned by AK Parti, two by MHP, and the remaining two by SP. Within the subset of ads co-featuring party officers and the public, speakers comprise members of the populace in 13 ads, the party leader in seven, party officers in three, and partizans of varying ranks in four. Ads in which all speaking is done by the public consist of nine commercials by AK Parti, two by MHP, and two by SP. Ads featuring both party members and laymen as speakers include one ad by AK Parti, and three by CHP.

In the subgroup of 29 ads including speech, 15 present the speeches in their natural form, whereas the other 14 have recourse to editing. The former are distributed among parties as such: nine by AK Parti, two by CHP, two by MHP, and one by SP. The latter group with edited speeches is composed of five by AK Parti, five by CHP, and one by MMP.

As far as the visual characteristics of the ads are concerned, 14 of the ads are shot on location, and presented unedited, while 17 make use of montage. The former subset includes nine ads by AK Parti, two by CHP, two by MHP, and one by SP. The latter, edited subset includes six by AK Parti, six by CHP, three by MHP, and one each by DSP and SP.

Every ad in the sample features a distinctive combination of sounds. Specifically, 16 ads use unprocessed, naturally recorded sounds. Remaining 15 are processed in line with the intended format. Nine among those are AK Parti ads. Out of 15 AK Parti ads, nine incorporate unprocessed soundtracks and six edited ones, compared to CHP's four edited and three unprocessed soundtracks. As for the other parties' soundtracks, MHP exhibits two unprocessed and three edited, whereas 2 SP ads both employ unprocessed sounds, contrasting with the edited-soundtracks of both the DSP ad and the MMP ad.

Proceeding from the physical constitution of the ads to the content of their messages, it is customary for the ruling party party to dwell on past deeds, and for the challengers to foreground what lays ahead in the future. Nonetheless, two of AK Parti's ads focus on plans for the future, and CHP and SP each have an ad playing up their past accomplishments. Apart from these, opposition ads highlight future projects and pledges with remarkable steadiness.

Governing AK Parti substantiated its claims with some evidence in all but two of the party ads. By contrast, only two ads among those of the opposition parties—one by CHP and one by SP— demonstrate substantiation of any sort. The majority of ads comprising the sample appeal to reason, with the exception of only five ads: one each by AK Parti, CHP, DSP, SP and MMP.

Among ads featuring appeals to reason, two common patterns can be discerned. In the first kind, both logical grounds, and the inference is demonstrated, whereas in the other pattern, the inference is left to the recipient (electorate). Out of 14 AK Parti ads that demonstrate an appeal to reason, 13 demonstrate the former pattern of explicit inference, and one demonstrates the implicit inference. In the corresponding subset of opposition ads, a single one by CHP instantiate the first pattern, and the rest follows the second one.

Almost all ads in question employ a basic, accessible discourse. Only one ad demonstrates a moderate level of simplicity and pithiness. The ruling party and the opposition parties unite most evidently in the simplicity and accessibility of their advertisements. Yet another commonality is noticeable in the preference of direct narration, which is adopted by 29 ads out of 31, with only two ads, one by AK Parti and one by CHP, employing indirect narration.

Lyrics and visuals are, for the most part, complementary. Three MHP ads and one SP ad, comprising speech and visuals independent of each other present an exception to that. Most ads are neutral vis-à-vis other parties, with the exception of five CHP ads manifesting a negative assault on AK Parti. Twelve ads are centered on past accomplishments, all of them AK Parti commissions. Thirteen ads foreground pledges, and three combine recounting of accomplishments with pledges for the future. Only two ads have speech-only soundtracks. Six have music without any dialogue or speech, while 21 soundtracks feature both speech and music. As such, of 27 ads out of the total 31 that feature music; all but two feature only background music. For 17 ads, original music was composed in accordance with the original lyrics. For 10, backing tracks of widely popular songs were used without the vocals. For another one, a well-known song has been re-lyricized with party themes. Except for two featuring a popular Western sound, the songs follow the Turkish folk genre conventions.

The ads are on average on the shorter side of the spectrum. While four are in the 1 to 3 minute range, the rest are all below 1 minute. In terms of the duration of the music in proportion to that of the entire ad, 16 ads manifest a 1/1 ratio, i.e. the music lasts throughout the entire ad. Four ads use a 1/2 ratio, two 1/3; and three 1/4. The music volume is below that of the rest soundtrack in 11 ads, and above in the rest.

The music is utilized to influence the recipient's selective perception in one ad, in order to mobilize sentiments in nine, and with more than one purpose in the remaining ads. Seven address negative sentiments —three by MHP and four by CHP—, and the rest positive ones.

MUSICAL STRUCTURE

In musical structure section, we are going to shift the emphasis toward musical elements, in particular the compositional and lyrical structure, at the expense of other aspects of the ads. Music, after all, embodies a message channel inside the larger context of communicative practices. The structural aspects of the use of this channel throughout 2011 elections are analyzed primarily from a musicological perspective.

Out of 31 ads under scrutiny, 30 feature musical transitions. Most captivating among these was “Aynı Yoldan Geçmişiz Biz (We have trodden the same path)” used by AK Parti. This song demonstrates parallels with local folk genres stemming from various Anatolian localities, and with the formal elements

of those genres. The ad demonstrates many details ensuring the successful transference of its message to the target audience, employing an unusually well-thought-out, genial channel in the process. The target audience is kept as broad as possible, without any bias toward a particular locality or culture. With the ad, AK Parti conveys its inclusive stance toward the breadth of Anatolian inhabitants; via the lyrics, music, and the culture informing the latter.

While the introduction evokes the Mahur mode, the Rast mode ultimately informs the song. The use of these modes, instantly familiar to an Anatolian listener, demonstrates that the target audience analysis with regard to the intended Anatolian population was conducted accurately. Mahur is an accessible and easily identifiable, accommodating mode. The composer appears to have conceived of the composition as a work of folk music, unimpeded by the constraints informing classical composition practice and authorship these days. Thus, the work is heard as an anonymous folk song rather than a contemporary composition. Judging by the end product, it is also obvious that the composer has researched and grasped the auditory rhythmical perceptual characteristics of the Anatolian target audience. The work can be classified as an instance of the “türkü” form, as such harmonious with the musical and auditory affinities of the Turkish population. The array of AK Parti ads formed by *Bolu Dağı* (Bolu Mountain), *Türk Lirası’na İtibar* (Reverence for the Turkish Lira), *Hava Ulaşımı* (Air Transport), *Kiracının Ev Sahibi Olması* (Tenant’s Becoming Homeowner), *Sosyal Destek – Çini Kursu* (Social Support —Ceramics Course), *Hava Yolları – Memleketime Uçakla Gidiyorum* (Airline — Visiting my Hometown by Plane), *Karadeniz Sahil Yolu* (Karadeniz Coastal Highway), *Okuyan Çoban* (Shepherd Attending School) and *Yüksek Hızlı Tren* (Express Train) each have different scripts and themes, yet a common background music that differs from the music of “*Aynı Yoldan Geçmişiz Biz*” in auditory, structural and functional aspects.

The auditory message of “*Aynı Yoldan Geçmişiz Biz*” is communicated through lyrics all along, with no other additional script being voiced, or voiceover employed for the ad’s duration. Structurally and functionally, the transmission of the message is sought exclusively via the sympathetic channel provided by the audio. Thus, the ad inhabits a music genre with foresight, consequential to a cultural and demographic analysis of its target audience. By contrast, in all the other AK Parti ads aforementioned by name, the audio accompanies and supplements the relatively unassertive message buried under the voice of an off-screen reader. The identical background music employed repeatedly in these ads, in spite of differing scripts and themes, is structurally and functionally dissimilar to the auditory component of “*Aynı Yoldan Geçmişiz Biz*”.

The audio in question comprises two parts, and these parts have their emotional counterparts in the script synchronously read by the voiceover. The first part encompasses the introduction, preliminary explanations, and an exposition of the subject/problem; the second part relates solutions found to the problem/subject at hand. The first part's music has a static sound owing to the minor tonality and the slow tempo. This musical approach seems to be preferred in order to keep the audience as comfortable as possible in the process of reception, with their attention and perceptive processes undisturbed. In the introductory parts of the ads, elements of local culture have been employed, as well, in order to establish a more agreeable channel of communication with the audience. E.g., the folk music piece used in the introductory part of the "Bolu Dağı" ad, in the *uzun hava* (long melody) improvisational idiom, the use of *kemençe* in the introductory part of the "Karadeniz Sahil Yolu" piece, etc. In the second parts of these ads, where the ad focuses on the content pertaining to the solutions to the diagnosed problems, the music becomes more dominant (with the volume increasing). Clarinet is in the background in the music, played in a lively, uplifting idiom. The chill, lighthearted idiom in the music parallels the solutions provided by the script simultaneously, seeking to evoke a similar mindset in the target audience. In other words, the target audience is encouraged to be comfortable and contented. This is augmented by the rhythm getting faster in the second part. The accelerating polka rhythm in 2/4 time signature, as well, is used to evoke a mellow mood in the listener.

The music used in the ad "Sağlıkta Dönüşümü Başlattık (We initiated the transformation in health services)" is grandiose and imposing, in line with the text. The mighty, imposing structure referred to in the text is paralleled in the music. For its harmoniousness with the subject, a soundtrack produced technologically, and sounding technological as well, is chosen.

In the first ad of CHP, an ironically similar counterpart to the audio used in AK Parti's "Aynı Yoldan Geçmişiz Biz" is employed. The message for this ad is conveyed entirely through the lyrics, without the aid of voiceover, or other text being recited. It's a work focusing on similitude. The second ad of CHP features an audio that is low-tempo, in minor tones, and gloomy and blue until the end of the first minute. The message is conveyed through the voiceover, and it, too, is gloomy for the first minute. Synchronously with CHP's solution proposition in the text, the music features an emotional uplifting, and a glorious finale. The third CHP ad is auditory, low-tempo, dominated by a minor tone, and gloomy again. Again, synchronous with the textual proposition for a solution, the music undergoes an emotional rise, and concludes in a positive finale. The fourth CHP

ad, as well, is auditory, low-tempo, minor-ridden and gloomy. In this case, the gloomy sentiment is augmented by an appropriate use of the instrument qanun. The message is conveyed through the text of the voiceover, and in line with the description of the solution proposed in the text, we witness an emotional rise and positive finale. The fifth CHP ad goes for a target audience of young voters. A rock music sound is employed to augment the sympathetic channel sought to be established with the target audience. The message is conveyed through the voiceover, and the audio is buried under the text, so to speak. The sixth CHP mirrors the fourth one. In their seventh ad, the message is conveyed through the voiceover again, and the audio is buried under the text, secondary and supporting. It is, yet again, low-tempo, minor and gloomy.

All MHP ads are based on the use of the same audio, with the message being conveyed through the voiceover text. The audio consists of a basic chord progression, march-like, underlying the text, and supporting it.

The first SP ad features music that is foregrounded by the text and the speeches, not dominant, merely supporting the transmission of the message to the masses. It lacks a melodic, tonally analyzable structure. Toward the end of the message, paralleling the solution propositions conveyed through the text and the speeches, its volume increases. A modern, contemporary image is sought through the rock sound employed. The second SP ad lacks a musical structure, excepting audio effects are employed in between speeches, and at the end of the end.

In the DSP ad, the message is conveyed through the text of the speech, and the audio, foregrounded by the text, is in minor tones, and consists of a progression of chords.

MMP's ad conveys the message through the text of the speech. As was the case with the MHP ad, the audio consists of a basic chord progression, buried under the text, and merely supporting it in a march-like idiom.

CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

As 1946, 1950, 1983, 1995, 2002 elections are significant in the history of Turkey as regards democracy, so are those in 1950, 1987 and 2011 in terms of the elocutionary persuasion tactics used. What makes 2011 general elections particularly significant in terms of the persuasion strategies employed is the widespread use of music in TV campaign ads. Among ads commissioned by the parties, the persistently

prominent use of music is unmistakable. This study, “Political Advertising And It’s Music In Television And Electronic Media During 2011 Parliamentary Election Campaign In Turkey”, focuses on 31 campaign ads —15 by AK Parti, seven by CHP, five by MHP, two by SP, and one each by DSP and MMP— commissioned by the party headquarters for broadcast on TV and the electronic media.

Statistics indicate that TV spectatorship is practiced as commonly as 91.9% among the Turkish populace, with 10% of those watching the ads in their entirety, and 25.2% partially. Judging by the influence of TV ads in general on the Turkish populace, we can conclude that this is by extension the case for the Turkish electorate in terms of voting behavior as well. Catchy music used in the ads contributes to the campaign ads’ influence. The use of music in Turkish culture can be traced back to 4000 B.C. In early Middle-Eastern, Seljuki, and Ottoman cultures, music held a central role in individual and social spheres, to the extent that mehter, a Turkish tradition, influenced Glock, Mozart and Beethoven.

It’s natural for a typical campaign ad to be deemed boring by the average spectator. One way to counter the likely boredom is to imbue the ad with elements that would speak to the emotions, and reverberate with something that the recipient feels. Music is a fundamental element that would holds the potential to precipitate that. A campaign ad with authentic music and grounded in realities, whose party leanings is located in the leader-candidate-voter triangle, is liable to make an impression. Making an impression is the first step to a creating a positive influence.

A reliability as high as 92% can be witnessed among coders. This collective conviction supports speaks in favor of the accuracy of the conclusions reached in this study. 15 of the 31 ads in question belong to AK Parti, amounting to almost half of the ads. Among the ads in focus, AK Parti’s “Aynı Yoldan Geçmişiz Biz” has been a crowd favorite. The ad was deemed ‘immaculate’, both in terms of its general content, and in its use of music. AK Parti emphasized its tendency to embrace the Anatolian population in its entirety, on the level of this ad’s lyrics, visuals and music. This 3-minute ad was responded to with a counterpart by CHP. Coders interpreted the latter as an ironic reproduction.

CHP and MHP’s ads were found lacking in serious research and preplanning, whereas those by parties other than the major three were considered to be subpar, and haphazard. AK Parti’s ads were seen as the outcome of more serious planning and elaboration, with a view to affecting the full breadth of electorate, and their voting behavior. The music of AK Parti ads reflect the influence of local

folk music genres from various regions, and replicate the formal characteristics of said genres. Musical modes immediately familiar to the Anatolian population were used. In other words, the ad embraces and reflects the general musical and emotional values of the Turkish populace.

In the first CHP ad, the message is conveyed through lyrics. The ad is a feeble copy of AK Parti's "Aynı Yoldan Geçmişiz Biz". Following ads of the party all feature a first minute dominated by low-tempo and gloomy music, followed by a gradual brightening in mood, synchronous with the announcement of CHP's solution proposition. The fifth among those flaunts a rock sound in an effort to reach to the younger voters.

Soundtracks of all MHP ads feature a spoken track in the foreground. The audio in the background is composed of a basic chord progression. The audio, march-like in character, is marginalized by the spoken text, and limited to a supportive role. The Audio of ads promoting SP, DSP and MMP are rather simplistic and slapdash in musical structure, and were considered, accordingly, not worthy of detailed analysis.

Campaign ads for the 2011 General Election reflect buoyancy and hopefulness, to the extent that the populace can witness themselves, their collective emotions, joys and blues reflected in the content and music of the ads. The predominant emotion in the CHP ads, as occasioned by the content and the music is despondency; in MHP ads it's fury.

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