SONGS OF DIVISION: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE 2011 ELECTION CAMPAIGN SONGS OF CHP & AKP
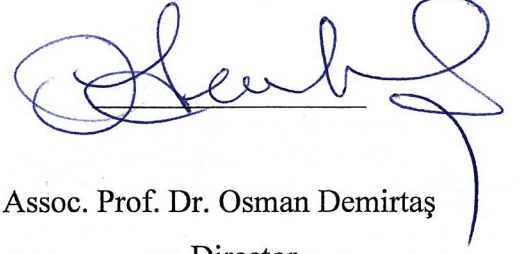
YİĞİT EYGİ

MAY 2016

İZMİR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

SONGS OF DIVISION: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE

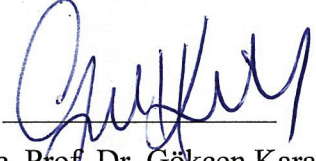2011 ELECTION CAMPAIGN SONGS OF CHP & AKP

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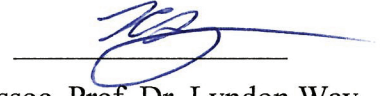Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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Özet

Ayrışma Şarkıları: AKP ve CHP'nin 2011 Seçim Şarkıları Üzerine Bir Eleştirel
Söylem Analizi

Eygi, Yiğit

Medya İletişim Çalışmaları

Tez Yoneticisi: Doç. Dr. Lyndon Way

Mayıs 2016

Müzik ve politikanın ilişkisi, hem seçim kampanyaları içerisinde hemde politik
partilerin kurumsal kimlikleri açısından oldukça önemli bir noktaya gelmiştir. Bu
çalışma 2011 seçimleri öncesinde, Türkiye'nin iki ana partisinin seçmenleri etk-
ilemek için hazırladıkları video kliplerini incelemektedir. 2011 genel seçimleri
Türk siyasi tarihi için oldukça önemlidir. AKP seçim sonrasında anayasa değişik-
liğine gidip siyasi gücünü arttırmak isterken, ana muhalefet partisi CHP yeni bir
lider ile seçim yarışında hükümete gelme isteğinde idi. İki partinin de resmi seçim
şarkıları ve klipleri, multimodal eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemleri kullanılarak
incelendi. Bu iki partinin müzik klipleri üzerine yapılan detaylı inceleme, iki par-
tinin ideal Türkiye portresini ortaya koyarken, yansıtılan ayrışma neticesinde
dışlanan kesimlerin Türkiye'ye ve bu ülkede yaşayanlara zarar verdiğini görmek-
tedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler, Multimodal Söylem Analizi (MMSA), Türk Politikası, 2011 Seçim-
leri, Müzik ve Anlam

ABSTRACT

Songs of Division: A Critical Discourse analysis of the 2011 election campaign
songs of CHP & AKP

EYGİ, Yiğit

Media and Communication Studies

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May 2011

The relationship between music and politics is a very important issue in election campaigns and in the institutional identities of political parties. This thesis examines how music video clips produced for Turkey's two main political parties for their 2011 election campaigns represent Turkey in ways which attracted voters. The 2011 federal election was important in the political history of Turkey, the governing AKP wanting to change the constitution to solidify its grip on power and the main opposition, CHP wanting to prove itself as a strong candidate to govern the country with a new leader. The official video music clips from each party are analysed using multimodal critical discourse analysis. Here, lyrics, musical sounds and images are analysed. This close reading of the music video clips reveal how though both parties reflect different visions of what Turkey should be like, they do this to the detriment of the nation by excluding and dividing Turkey and those living here.

Dedicated to everything that 1993 brought me

Thanks to

Lyndon Way for uncountable reasons

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

Chapter I: Introduction

In today's world the relationship between sound, music and space shows itself in many different fields with endless combinations. For example, most of the world's famous clothes chains use the semiotic resource of music to suggest atmosphere, style and concepts in their stores, famous jean brands use electronic lounge music and toy shops use kid song-inspired jingle loops. Music is becoming a part of the interior design and brands' appearances (Graakjær, 2012:394). Since music is very important and carries economic value for the brands and their advertising strategies in this era of human history, music also carries value for political campaigns and for political party's recognition. Van Leeuwen (2012:319) states:

> 'Music is, and always has been, in every human society, an integral part of social, political, and economic life. It can create emotive allegiance to powerful nation-states, religions and other social institutions, and it can express the values these institutions stand for and rally people behind them. "Without music no State could survive", the music master in Moliére's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* said…'

Music plays an important role in our social practices (van Leeuwen 1999; Machin 2010). Some researchers consider music an important semiotic resource which articulates discourses (van Leeuwen 1999, Tagg 2001, Machin 2010; Way 2015). Machin and Richardson (2007) believe that since a critical analysis of a linguistic text is possible with its semiotic choices in language which point to discourses, a systematic analysis of music is also possible. Through a social semiotic approach, where the communicators achieve specific goals by using semiotic resources,

researchers try to find out how music and sound can carry potential meanings by considering musical sound qualities such as pitch ranges, choice of notes, instrumentation, articulation, arrangements and rhythm (Machin, Richardson, 2012, 329-330).

1.1 Selected Data

Through a discourse analysis perspective, this thesis focuses on how musical sounds, images and lyrics are used in election campaign videos in Turkey's 2011 election by the two main political parties: AKP/Justice and Development Party and CHP/ Republican People's Party. In election campaigns, leaders' speeches, newspaper stories and advertisements are commonly used by political parties. However, a campaign song is also a very common way of articulating a party's ideas during an election campaign. This thesis focuses on music videos that were used by AKP and CHP in Turkey's 2011 elections. This election was selected as the focus of my research because 2011 was an important election for both parties. AKP was trying to win enough seats in the parliament to change the constitution without a referendum. AKP's video is actually still being played. After Turkey's latest general election (1 November 2015) the same video was played on pro-government mainstream television to celebrate the election success. Alternatively, the 2011 election was important for CHP. It had been in the opposition for a number of years and Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu had recently been selected as the head of CHP. Kılıçdaroğlu ran on a campaign which highlighted a new leader and was opposed to

AKP's constitutional change. The music video clips can be seen to show how each party sees Turkey, that is, the videos express each party's discourses as to what Turkey should be like.

1.2 Objective of the Thesis

The political history of the AKP and CHP can be tracked back to the Ottoman Empire's period of regression. AKP and CHP reflect the two mainstream understandings of the reasons, which will be detailed in the following chapters. AKP is known as the centre right party in Turkey, where the CHP acts is the centre left, especially after Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu was elected as the party leader. AKP emphasises a neo-liberal economic agenda. CHP represents itself as against this agenda and targets cooperation with large groups in society who are suffering from the policies of the government. How these discourses are articulated in the campaign songs is the main objective of this thesis.

1.3 Methodology Utilised for Analysis of Video Clips

In the analysis of both governing and opposition parties' campaign videos, this thesis identifies the discourses articulated in musical sounds, visuals and lyrics. Musical sounds are analysed utilising van Leeuwen's (1999) approach to discourse analysis and Machin's (2010) approach to popular music discourse analysis. Van Leeuwen's approach is helpful to categorise choices made in musical sounds to understand their socio-semiotic potential meanings. Each quality of sound is considered in terms of discourses and how they are articulated in their specific places in the music video. Van Leeuwen (2012, 322-326) categorises qualities of sound in terms of social interaction, musical time, metronomic and non-metronomic time, major/minor, voice quality and timber, and musical perspective. Lyrics are analysed considering lexical and grammatical choices made while visual analysis is based on Machin's (2010) work. Here, he considers song structure, participants in lyrics, actions and agency in his analysis of lyrics and visuals. Moreover, Machin's (2007) work on visual analysis is also used, especially his ideas on the representation of social actors.

In this analysis, the differences between political views can be seen. The stance of this thesis is the political parties are representing Turkey not in ways which are inclusive and good for the country, but in ways which benefit the parties. These images of Turkey which are created are not the representation of the truth or what is good for Turkey, but representations which divide Turks and promote ideas and interests of each party.

1.4 Chapters

Chapter two, is the historical background of this thesis. A brief historical background of AKP and the CHP opposition is given. On the one hand this chapter stresses how bureaucrats and religious leaders are separated in terms of government policies in the Imperial period of Turkey and how it is reflected in the Modern State of Turkey. On the other hand, this chapter also shows how the founding father of Turkey adopted secular institutions in the new Turkish Republic and the problems this has created.

Chapter three is the methodology part of the thesis. This chapter describes how and why the sample was selected. It also goes into great detail describing how the collected material is analysed in the analysis chapters. Also a definition of discourse and multimodal analysis is given.

In chapter four, I perform my analysis of one of the music videos. The AKP's campaign music clip is the topic of this chapter. This focuses on how the political discourses of the AKP is articulated in the song's lyrics, visuals and how the meaning potentials in the music are represented in musical qualities such as the song's arrangement and vocals. In chapter five, a similar analysis is performed, this time on CHP's campaign music video clip.

Chapter six is the conclusion of the thesis. In this chapter, CHP's and AKP's political discourses are criticised considering the results of chapter four and five and the historical and social context of the music video clips. What is stressed here is the question of whether or not these music video clips are for a better society or for the benefit of the political parties and power.

Chapter II: Historical Background

AKP and CHP can be seen as two opposite political parties that criticise each other in many ways. One way that separates the two political parties is the idea of secularism. Secularism is underlined in Mardin's (2004, 35) book "Religion and Politics in Turkey". It is a concept that occurred in 19th century French constitutional practices, which underlines that the state should not rely on any religious sect and class. Secularism defines the relation between the state and religion and the concept's importance in terms of Turkish political parties policies can be seen. Islam is defined as a social religion, where the social acts and state policies are defined in its perspective. This approach of Islam created a conflict in the Secular State of Turkey, where the founding father of Turkey and his followers ran the state as a secular one. In contrast, Islam demands running the state through the perspective of Islam. The modern Turkish State finds its roots in secularism, in conflict with its Imperial past.

Mardin underlines that the Ottoman Empire's regime was both "Islamic" and "bureaucratic" at the same time. In terms of being the leader of the Islamic world, the regime was Islamic. On the other hand, in terms of officer's policies for protecting the state, it was bureaucratic. The line was drawn from the survival of the state. They were not against any movement that would not threaten the state, where those secular officers were working efficiently, having an empirical point of view and being pragmatic. The secular Ottoman bureaucracy had problems with the Ulema (the man in charge of religious affairs whose duties included ensuring Ottoman laws were in line with Islam). This was highlighted when the state started

to regress. The bureaucrats claimed the main reason why the Empire was regressing was the retrogression in the state mechanism. In contrast, the religious side explained the regression due to the weaknesses in the Empire's faith. This separation in point of views and conflict continued, and did not end until the end of the Empire. When the Empire ended and Turkey was established as a state, the secular movement's reflection can be seen in the 'laikism' (secularism) policy. In the 1930s, CHP was the single legal body of the new regime and also a place where policies were punctiliously prepared. In 1931, laikism was accepted as a standing rule of CHP, which was added to the constitution in 1937 (Mardin, 2004, 35-64). The link between the Imperial downfall and establishing the Modern State in terms of governing style can be seen better with underlining the founding father of the state and his ideological origins.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who is the founding father of Turkey, was connected with the second generation of the Young Turks, where most of the movement's supporters' characteristics were shaped by a German philosophy named *Vulgarmaterialismus* (a vulgarised version of materialism mixed with scientism and social Darwinism). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was educated at a secular institution, which made him more open to any critic to religion. Later on his ideas were mostly influenced from the Young Turks movement in the Ottoman Empire. The İctihat (Ijtihad) journal and Büchner's *Kraft und Stiff* are examples of intellectual materials that effected his thoughts (Hanioğlu, 2012, 41).

During the reform movement, western culture was to replace religion and its culture. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk equated western culture with being civilised. As he said, "The most truthful tariqa is the tariqa of civilisation". In order to achieve this, several revolutions occurred in society. These included changing the alphabet from Arabic to Latin, promoting western style painting which was supported by the

government, polyphonic western music was supported and performing eastern music was banned (Mardin, 2004: 74). His aim was to break the power of sects in society. However Islam in society created a side in individuals that helps them survive while they were facing the problems of existence in an ontologic way. The Kemalist revolutions did not help people in that way, which ended with rise of Islam in the society (Mardin, 2004: 77). In the 40's and 50's, this repression resulted in the resurrection of Islam which occurred by the lead of the Sheikhs propagandas, questioning the Republic's secular reforms. The conflict's root cause was the modernisation project of Turkey which left no place for local culture, aside from a folkloric basis. Furthermore adjectives like Islamic or Turkish seemed to modernisers as subtilising the quality of modernity (Keyder, 1997: 37).

Through this perspective, CHP was established as the 'People's Party/Halk Fıkrası' on 9 September 1923. On 10 November 1924, it changed name to the 'Republic People's Party/Cumhuriyet Halk Fıkrası' then in 1935 it changed its name to the 'Republic People's Party/Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi.' CHP was established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and it is the continuation of Association for Defence of the National Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia, which was established during the independence war (Aykol, 2009, P:183). The political party's ideology was defined as six arrows, which are Nationalism, Revolutionism, Populism, Secularism, Republicanism and Statism. The Party's Leaders are (in order of leading the party) Kemal Atatürk, İsmet İnönü, Bülent Ecevit. In 1980 the military coup occurred, parliament closed and all political parties were banned. Until 1992 CHP stayed as a banned political party and in the same year with the law change the party established again in 9 September 1992. CHP re-opened with the same name and flag. The party declared that they are the continuous of the closed CHP and follow the six arrows ideology (Aykol, 2009). In the same day, Deniz Baykal was elected

as the leader of the party. In 1995, SHP/Social Democratic People's Party and CHP took the decision to unite under the CHP. With this unity, Hikmet Çetin was elected as the party leader. In the same year, Deniz Baykal again was elected as the party leader, until he lost the general elections and left his chair to Altan Öymen. In 2001 Deniz Baykal was elected as the party leader again until 10 May 2010, where his name was involved to a non-political scandal and left his space to Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu.

The first political party carrying Islamic references was founded on 28 January 1970 by Necmettin Erbakan. This party was named MNP/Milli Nizam Partisi/National Regulation Party. The party was supported by sect organisations and Erbakan and some party founders were members of them (Özbudun, Hale, 2010, 30). After the military coup in 1971, the party closed because of anti-secular actions. A year after, on 11 October 1972, MSP/Milli Selamet Partisi/National Salvation Party was established and Süleyman Arif Emre was elected as the first leader for a very short time and left his space to Erbakan. In 1981, with other political parties, MSP also closed and its administrative staff were arrested due to claims of anti-secular acts. All were acquitted. Though they were released by the court, the national security council/MGK banned Erbakan and his party's leading team from politics for ten years. During that time, RP/Refah Partisi/Welfare Party was established and led by Ahmet Tekdal. The MGK did not let the political party join elections (Özbudun, Hale, 2010, 32). In 1987, political restrictions were cancelled and Erbakan turned back to the political arena. Until 1997, for ten year they raised their vote potentials and became partners in government. In the same year, the military intervened in the government on 28 February. Erbakan and his team were banned from politics for another five years and the RP was closed. Swiftly, a new party, the Virtue Party/Fazilet Partisi was established and led by a

friend of Erbakan, Recai Kutan. In the general congress, the party gave its first signals of a disintegration and Abdullah Gül was nominated to become the leader of the party. In the following year, 2001, FP was closed by the constitutional court because of the party's support for hijab wearing university students to enter classes. That same year, the AKP/Justice and Development Party/Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi was established and won the 2002 elections with 34.3% of the votes under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

The 2011 elections were important for AKP from many perspectives. One of them is AKP wanted to change the constitution. In their third term, Erdoğan wanted to check society for a semi-presidential or a presidential change in the political system in order to replace the parliamentary system (Esen, Ciddi, 2011). After the election a parliament commission was established to draft the new constitution. But the commission ended with CHP's withdrawal because of the presidential or semi-presidential system discussions (Esen, Ciddi, 2011).

After winning the 2002 elections, AKP and Erdoğan's performance with the economy and democracy was widely acclaimed, while the secular side of society was having concerns about a secret agenda of an Islamist regime change (Başkan, Güney, 2012, 167). In the 2007 elections, AKP left with more supporters and gained more votes. In Turkish history of elections, no other party had raised thas many votes, except the Democrat Party in the 1950s. The unique thing about AKP's success is opposite to the Democrat Party. AKP raised vote shares when they were in office (Esen, Ciddi, 2011). After this election, the party became less sensitive about the paranoias of the secularists in society (Başkan, Güney, 2012, 167). Before the 2011 elections, the campaign of AKP was built on the stability and prosperity reached during the past nine year of governance of the AKP. Also in order to deal

with the CHP's campaign, grand construction projects were announced. Moreover, in order to gain the majority of seats in the parliament to change the constitution, nationalistic discourses were underlined to gain votes of the MHP/Nationalistic Movement Party/Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi. In this way, MHP was targeted to be pushed out of the parliament by not getting ten percentage of the votes, which is the minimum percentage of the popular vote in order to have a seat as a political party in the Turkish Parliament (Başkan, Güney, 2012, 167-168).

In 2010, CHP faced a leadership crisis with its leader, Deniz Baykal having to resign due to a sex scandal. Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu was elected as the new leader and this change affected the party's campaign in the 2011 election. Unlike Baykal, who was not doing campagin stops but doing television speeches and appearances, Kılıçdaroğlu preferred campaign stops and visited every province at least once and gave importance to the places where Kurdish voters are the majority (Esen, Ciddi, 2011). Kılıçdaroğlu also replaced Baykal's Politburo in the Central Executive Board with younger, energetic people and raised the number of female members (Başkan, Güney, 2012, 168). Kılıçdaroğlu moved the party's image to a reformist way to compete with AKP and its policies. To achieve this, the new CHP administration moved from its old secular position to a more populist left-central position and aimed to cooperate with disadvantaged groups who were having trouble with AKP's neoliberal policies (Esen, Ciddi, Academia, 2011). AKP as the ruling party, was able to offer state resources for political support. CHP as a counter argument preferred to focus on social policies, so appealed to the disadvantaged through schemes such as cheap gasoline for farmers and appealing to sub-contracted labourers (Esen, Ciddi, 2011). The Kurdish problem also had a very important place in the party's campagin and differently from pre-Kılıçdaroğlu CHP, they mentioned solving the Kurdish problem with autonomy, which was also in the AKP's party program.

Chapter III: Methodology

3.1 Sample

In this research, two of the major political party's election campaign songs are examined. AKP is the ruling party and CHP is the main opposition party. These were chosen, first because they are the two major parties in 2011 elections in terms of votes. They were also chosen as they represent two different approaches to Turkish governance and Turkish modernity (see previous chapter). In this research I will examine how their political discourses are represented in their election campaign videos for the 2011 elections. AKP's video is the party's official promotional video used in the 2011 election campaign and afterwards. CHP's video is also the video of the official campaign song of the 2011 elections. The video was not published in the official website of the CHP, but used in other social media accounts of the political party.

3.2 Language, Culture and Music

Before starting to analyse the AKP's and CHP's promotional video clips, it is important to underline how a multimodal approach to music identifies the discourses in a music video. Machin (2010) underlines that, 'When we speak we draw on what has been said before. This existing repertoire is what we can think of as culture. Music can be thought of in the same way in that it draws on what has been heard before'. This way, in language, we speak through culture, also meaning occurs through culture. Music can also be meaningful through culture, where music also plays a very important role in societies' identities. This similarity can be seen as the core point of how the multimodal approach to textual analysis can be applied to music. Through culture, semiotic systems have an importance in Multimodality. About semiotic analysis, van Leeuwen (1999:8) underlines that "It is important to *contextualise* semiotic systems, to put them in their historical and social setting". Also critical readers of popular music (van leeuwen 1999; Goodwin 1993) underline the importance of context. From this perspective, a short but useful history of AKP and CHP has been given to aid readers' understanding of the meaning potential ,and the music video clips.

3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), is a multi-disciplinary approach to discourse studies, which observes language as a way of social practice (Fairclough, 1995). CDA takes into account the context of language, it being pivotal in understanding the meaning potential in texts (Wodak 2001). Van Dijk (1993:253)

adds that CDA is an approach to language, which attempts to underline the affirmative, complicated relationships between text, talk, social cognizance, power and culture, in terms of social power and dominance. In order to underline more specifically how CDA as a multimodal tool is being used to examine discourses, a definition of discourse is needed. From Foucault's (1977, 1980) perspective, individual signs can connote complex ideas in reference to the nature of the world, where we think of those complex ideas as discourses. As mentioned above, CDA observes language as a social practice, through Foucault's perspective this social practice occurs in individual signs, which are discourses. Moreover, Shuker (1998:99) adds that, 'discursive practices are real or material, as well as being embodied in language, and function as a form of ideology'. Shuker, defines social practices, or individual signs as discursive practices and defines it as a form of ideology.

The notions of critical, ideology and power are major points of interest to the approach of CDA. According to Wodak (2001:9), the term critical is to be known as keeping a distance to the datum, embedding it in the social, taking a political stance saliently and having the focus on self-reflection as a researching academic. This defines the perspective of the main focus of CDA when observing data. By having a critical angle to social practices, ideology and power are important subjects that are discussed in the field. Ideology, as Marx defines, 'is a theoretical doctrine and activity which erroneously regards ideas as autonomous and efficacious and which fails to grasp the real conditions and characteristics of social-history of life'. However Marx's concept of ideology has an important position in the historical development of it, in modern societies, where the media industries have a central role. A different perspective is identified by Habermas, who shares the ideas of Adorno and Horkheimer in terms of the critical analysis of the culture

industry . Ideology viewed by Habermas is, 'a kind of social cement which circulates in the social world via the products of the media industries, and incorporates individuals into the social order, thereby reproducing the status quo'. Habermas' point of view about the concept can be seen through the function of ideology in modern societies. The function of ideology within CDA is defined by Wodak (2001:10) as; a significant point of view for setting up and preserving unequal power relations. Critical language analysis places importance on how language carries ideology in diversity of social structures. CDA's main concern can be identify as, with language, individuals reflect power relations and ideologies. CDA is a tool used to deconstruct language to identify those relations through a critical perspective.

3.4 Multimodality

This approach is important in order to understand the multimodal nature of music video clips. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) make a definition of how we communicate as, 'the way we communicate is seldom by one single *mode* of communication, by language; it is done simultaneously through a number of modes - *multimodality,* by combinations of the visual, sound, language, etc.' Moreover, Machin (2010) adds that, traditional semiotic approaches underline singular signs which connote or symbolise, while the multimodal approach deals with the choices of signs preferable for communicators, where meanings are dependent on the combination of modes, like voice, lyrics and musical sounds. In this way, meaning

depends on other factors (modes), where multimodality occurs. Kress and van Leeuwen(2001:54) defines a mode as 'a socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning. *Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtracks* are examples of modes used in representation and communication'. In terms of video clip analysis one can talk about three modes. These are image, musical sounds and lyrics (Machin, 2010:9).

Lyrics are one mode analysed in this multimodal video clip analysis. As Machin (2010) mentions, 'lyrics are one way an artist tells us how to listen to them, how to put meaning into their music'. This socio-semiotic approach has been improved and applied to different cases by many scholars (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001, van Leeuwen, 1996, 1995; Machin 2007; Way , 2012, 2013, 2014;).

3.5 The Thesis's Approach to Analysing the Political Campaign Music Video

3.5.1 Lyrics

In the lyrics, the main focus is how 'social actors' are being represented. The first step of this thesis's lyrical analysis examines the activity schema of the words. This is where the basic structure of the actions of social actors in the lyrics are defined (Machin, 2010:78-83). This step is where the basic movements of the lyrics

are underlined such as, A loves B, B goes away, A feels depressed, which can be seen as a common example of a love song. Lyrics are then examined in detail to reveal what kinds of social actors are represented and how they are represented (van Leeuwen 1996 & 1995). Action and agency is another important topic that is analysed in the lyrical analysis, where it is revealed who is represented in an active way and who is represented as self-reflective (Machin, 2010:88).

The social actor analysis part of this thesis follows van Leeuwen's (1996, 1995) analysis of social actors and their actions. Here we examine the importance of how social actors are named and their actions are represented, these being important elements in articulating discourses. Van Leeuwen and Halliday stress the relation between meaning and grammar. According to this approach, grammar has to be taken as carrying meaning potential and is seen as more than a set of rules (van leeuwen 1996). He addresses two reasons in order to underline the necessity of this approach. Firstly, is the lack of bi-uniqueness of language. Since there is no regular suit in grammar in terms of sociological and linguistic categories, while a Critical Discourse Analysis approach is being used, the related examples can be overlooked. Theory and method can be formally regular but semantically messy; for example one grammatical form and many meanings, or semantically regular but formally messy, for example one notion can have a lot of realisations (van Leeuwen 1996). The second reason, underlines the assumption that meaning is related with culture and it is not possible for meaning to be related with just the semiotic. A given culture has its own specific ways of representing the social world, but also has its own ways of mapping the various semiotics.

3.5.2 Visuals

The theory of applying social actors analysis to visuals is based on the analysis of written text by a number of scholars (Machin 2007; van Leeuwen 2005, 1999; Kress & van Leeuwen 2001). Machin's (2007) approach to visual analysis consists of three layers of analysis. First of all, gaze of the social actor is important. One may ask is it an offer or demand image. On the one hand, an *offer image* can be seen as when the viewer is positioned as the observer in terms of interaction with the subject and what is represented inside. No contact is made with the viewer and no response is demanded (Machin, 2007:112). On the other hand, in *demand images*, the subject is positioned to symbolically interact with the viewer, by making eye contact. This way the subject is positioned to do something to the viewer.

Secondly, the angle of interaction is another meaningful criterium. How we interact with a subject depends on from what angle the observer interacts with the subject. Machin (2007:113) defines four different moves in terms of angle of interaction. First of all movements in a *horizontal angle*, creates different kinds of effects. While a direct shot from face (a portrait) creates an effect of involvement to threat (depends on the case), a shot from the side reduces involvement and gives the sense of detachment. Likewise, *vertical angle* changes create a different effect on the subject. While the shooting angle changes vertically, this effect is associated with power and superiority (Machin, 2007:114). When the subject is positioned in the higher shooting angle than the observer, the subject is in a superior position over the observer and in the opposite conditions when the observer interacts with the picture

through a higher angle, this gives the power to the observer and creates an effect that the observer is in a higher status than what is represented in the picture. Thirdly, d*istance* from the subject is another important factor that is underlined by David Machin. The distance can be defined as the size of the frame, width, close, medium and long shots. This concept creates the effect of intimacy (Machin, 2007:116).

The second layer that Machin mentions is the kinds of participants, where images represent what kind of people. In images people may be represented as *Individuals* or *groups*. Individualisation in an image can be observed by showing one person, where the degree can be changed depending on the distance (shots from close distance with more details can increase the effect and the opposite can reduce it). Group representations can collectivise or/and homogenise people through the same posture, clothes and actions (Machin, 2007:118). *Categorisation* is another important topic that has to be considered in terms of the representation of people visually. Visual categorisation occurs through biological or cultural means (Machin, 2007:119). A group of people can be categorised through their cultural or biological expressions in a crowd. Moreover, *non- representation* is another consideration for Machin. In this case, a part of the related group of people are not represented in the images, where they are connected to the setting of the image.

The third and the last layer that is defined by Machin, is *agency and action* in the images. Here, images are analysed in terms of who has agency, where who does what and action, where what gets done (Machin, 2007:123). These contribute to representations of power.

3.5.3 Music

Video clip analysis, generally ignores music sounds. Analysis has been more focused on and over-estimates the importance of lyrics and visuals, analysts using tools from film theory and not putting the music in the centre of importance (Way, 2015). Here, the musical sounds are analysed through a semiotic approach inspired by van Leeuwen (1999) and Tagg (1983, 1990). Van leeuwen defines six useful sound qualities when identifying meaning potential in musical sounds.

Sound and social distance, is the imaginary closeness of a sound by observing the volume and height of the sound, where soft sounds are connected with closeness and as the distance grows the volume rises, sound becomes louder and higher (van Leeuwen, 1999:24). This relation in modern mixing and recording area has become associated with the closeness to the microphone in terms of recording. This relationship between listener and singer becomes closer with a low sound and close to the microphone, however physically that person is away from the listener, and the opposite when the singer is loud (van Leeuwen, 1999: 25). *Time,* the main argument of musical timing to social semiotics is the way societies handle timing of social activities. This can also represent or present the way that society handles the timing in music. For example, the industrial age is associated with machine rhythms (van Leeuwen, 1999: 38-39). *Interacting Sounds,* deals with sequentiality and simultaneity and their relation with the representation of power (Way 2015). Moreover, social unison is a subtitle under interacting sounds. Social unison is underlined when all instruments are playing the same note at the same time during the song (van Leeuwen, 1999: 79). However in different contexts this

can carry different meaning potentials, belonging to a group and a positive feeling of joint experience can be seen as when the socio semiotic resources are valued positively. On the contrary, social unison can also carry the meaning of conformity, strict discipline and deprivation of individuality (van Leeuwen, 1999: 79). *Melody* is another important layer of analysis. This part consists of continuity, melodic patterns, pitch movement, pitch range, pitch level, the articulation of the melodic phrase, gesture and texture. There are an array of melodic characteristics to consider, all with different meaning potentials. For example, the meaning of pitch can be defined as 'how high or low a sound is' (Machin, 2010: 100). The movement of the pitch consists of *ascending* and descending movements, which can carry different meaning potentials. Cooke (in van Leeuwen 1999: 103) argues that a melody in an ascending movement is more 'active' and 'dynamic' than a melody in a descending movement. Pitch range is another important characteristic of melody. This is related with how those ascending and descending melody movements move through the melody. According to van Leeuwen (1999: 106), this quality relies on how the melody is increased and decreased or, what is being done while the melody is increasing and decreasing. The pitch level is the last characteristic considered here. The pitch level is related to vocal effort. When the pitch is higher the more effort is needed and as an outcome the key of the melody will be up and the opposite to the contrary. Van Leeuwen (1999: 107) states that "Pitch movement, pitch range, pitch level and melodic articulation are also frequently used for the *depiction* of the actions and qualities of people, places and things."

V*oice quality and timbre* have meaning potentials related with rough/ smooth, tense/lax, breathiness, soft and loud, high and low, vibrato/lain and nasality (Way 2015). M*odality* can be defined as degrees of truth in a representation. While analysing modality in sound, pitch range, duration variation, dynamic range,

perspective depth, degrees of fluctuation, degrees of friction, absorption rate and degree of directionality are taken in to account (van Leeuwen, 1999: 181).

Chapter IV: AKP Music Clip Analysis

AKP's "We are all Turkey/Biz hepimiz Türkiyeyiz " is a political campaign video, prepared for 2011's parliament elections in Turkey. It can be found on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a3l1xjlYxHw> AKP was the ruling party before the 2011 elections and this video was used as part of its re-electon bid. Reflecting AKP's dominant ideologies of the time, the video articulates discourses of religious and social conservatism. This analysis examines how these discourses are articulated in the song's visuals, lyrics and music. In the lyrics, metaphors are used in order to create a sense of a common past including suffering and good times. Conservative and religious discourses are also articulated in the lyrics to support the discourse of unity amongst its voters. In the visuals, socially excluded and discriminated people are represented positively alongside predominantly traditional Turkish musical instruments. These articulate discourses of unity and conservativism. Music is used to support the above mentioned discourses articulated in the visuals and lyrics. What follows is how this is done.

4.1 Lyrics

Discourses of unity, religious, and social conservatism are articulated in the lyrics, which can be seen in Appendix 1. The lyrical discourse schema of the song

can be read as "We have suffered but we are together, let's keep being together". It is clear in the discourse schema that the aim of the song is to bring people together. Unity is emphasised in our common struggle from the past and this unity should remain. This schema draws upon a dominant discourse in AKP's arsenal about the plight of religious people in Turkey's secular past. When Atatürk and governments after his came to power, they, with the backing of the military discriminated against religious people. This was felt to ensure the secular nature of the Republic, though those with religious affiliations felt differently. So, for example, women were not allowed to wear the headscarf at state universities and state run institutions. Since AKP has come to power, many of these laws have been changed to no longer discriminate against those who which to display their religious affiliations. This schema assumes that being together with AKP has resulted in the betterment of religious people (which does have a lot of truth to it in terms of some benefitting from patronage and favours) and to continue this form of empowerment means continuing with AKP.

One of the focuses of this analysis is how social actors are represented in the AKP's election campaign song. According to van Leeuwen (1996), grammatical and linguistic choices in representations of social actors and their actions are key factors in articulation discourses. Consider the following: 'we passed the same path, drank the same water, prayed together and we are one of God's creatures'. The pronouns, 'we' and 'our' are used, pronouns which make the song highly accessible to all (Machin, 2010: 87). These pronouns also suggest unity, along with being activated doing things together. Though there is a complete lack of context to these activations, metaphor works here suggesting a common past in "we passed the same path" and togetherness in the past by drinking the same water. One of the ways that bringing different people together is to mention common sufferings, which is

greater than happiness (Renan, 1882). As a political party, AKP positions itself as the side of "the people" who suffered under regimes before it. In the line, "Same path we passed, same water we drank" refers to the secular past, a past AKP represents as one where head scarved women and other religious people were not acceptable to Turkey's elite. AKP was able to create a wide coalition that includes several classes of society, however the common ground of this coalition is a sense of being socially excluded and discriminated by secular elite of the society (Özbudun & Hale, 2010: 78). In the sentence "Same path we passed" refers to a common history. It can also refer to a common goal including the hard times faced to reach that goal. This experiences can be re-read as referring to the practices made by secular elites of the past and presents AKP as the political party for those who were socially excluded, suffered and discriminated against.

In fact, unity is connoted through a whole host of strategies. One is overlexicalisation. Overlexicalisation is when a word appears more than is expected. In this song, we see the word "aynı" (same) four times in the first verse. Other word choices also connote unity as in "Our summer is one, our winter is one". Together these Word choices connote unity. There is also pronouns used and again overlexicalised. "we" and "our" are sung 11 times in the 15 line song and "us" in the protraction of "let us" three times.

Unity in religion is also suggested in this line by us praying together and being one of God's creatures, also seen in the line "Hearts are the same, Prayers are the same, Ballads are the same." Homogeneity is suggested in religion, us being those who recite the same prayers. Basically these lyrics leave no space for non-religious people in the song's unity. And it is not just religion, but Islam which AKP refers to. Again the discourse of religious intolerance in the past and empowerment now is

suggested in this line. During Erdoğan's 11 December 2005 Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said that:

> "*I repeat it again, 'religion is cement and it is our most important unitary element. It has been like that through the history. Also Ghazi Mustafa Kemal has his own statements about the subject.[1]*"

By likening religion, which is Islam, as 'cement' creates a metaphor of a social structure that is built with the cement of Islam in order to define the Turkish nation. This is how AKP has re-molded the idea of Turkey, around Islam, attracting Turks and Kurds alike. However in Turkey, not all the people follow Islam, and are excluded from AKP's idea of who "we" are.

Elsewhere, "we" are activated in "We passed, we drank, we are our summer, our winter, being the same instrument's string, let us sing it all together, gush and sing all together once again". Here "we" are activated again, connoting unity, emphasised by 'all together'. And "all together" we 'passed,' 'drank,' 'sing,' and 'gush'. The past again is connoted with the past tense and longevity of our past together is connoted with the naming of seasons which we "are" together. Again metaphor plays a role in us being "the same string of an instrument". Elsewhere, "We still have a lot in common, like Halays, Horons, prayers and we believe in the same God". Here again we see the discourse of unity, but also the idea of unity is not just in the past but here and now, emphasised by "still". In the chorus we hear 'let's once again, once again, once again/ haydi bidaha, bidaha bidaha'. Here, again circumstances are unclear, but unity is suggested, but now it is unity in the present and future using the "let's" verbal form, not the past. Here, the singer is trying to

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[1] http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/basbakan-erdogan-din-bir-cimentodur-ve-su-anda-en-onemli-birlestirici-unsur/5641#1

activate the voter one more time, to repeat the past action. What is the voter is activated for is not clearly defined in the song's lyrics. The lyrics are written for 2011 elections, however it is not containing any information about it. AKP was in the administration before the 2011 elections, where the party won the majority of votes in the previous election. Since the song is written for the election in 2011, the action that the singer is suggesting is telling the voter to vote for the party once again. In this sense, the lyrics encourage voters to further empower themselves by voting for AKP. In this way, the power of the voter is limited to the act of voting, whilst empowering AKP to govern the country, a far greater power indeed.

Metaphor plays a strong role in this song, representing 'common sufferings' and 'good times from the past', articulating a discourse of unity. Metaphor is 'a functional mechanism which affects the way we think, act and experience reality' (Flowerdew and Leong 2007:275). By representing the past using "we" activated together "passing the same path" and "drinking the same water, these metaphors draw upon a discourse of shared experiences and unity. Seasons are another metaphor used in the lyrics in "we are our summer, our winter". On the one hand, the season of summer is used to represent good times, where summer is an easy, relaxed, warm season. On the other hand, winter represents the opposite, hard times, where the winter can be the hardest season to deal with in a year. Using the pronoun "our" in this line, it is the shared experience that is emphasised, sharing in both good times and suffering. Both, "Path" and "winter" are not easy to deal with. A person has to deal with the difficulties when that person is on the road to reach some places, also, winter is a difficult season of the year with its cold, rain and snow. "We are the wind of the same mountain" has its meaning potential to "We past from the same path, drunk the water together, even it is winter or summer (even

it is hard or fun to do), we did those things together,"and referencing to a sense of togetherness in concept of unity discourse in the metaphors.

In order to emphasise the unity during the good times, more metaphors are used such as "Songs are the same, ballads are the same, we sing it together" where songs and ballads are generally sung in conditions of celebration, having fun or expressing feelings. Moreover, "Halays are the same Horons are the same, we are the same instrument's string" are also used for creating the same unity effect. Halay and Horon are traditional Anatolian folkloric dances, that being performed in Turkish territory. Horon is performed in Black Sea coastal region, Halay is performed throughout the country. These are performed at special celebrations such as weddings. They not only suggest good times, they both also draw on a traditional, folkloric past, suggesting Turkish conservative past. By referencing to folkloric dances, and ballads in its election champagin song's lyrics, AKP is again referencing commonality, this time the good times.

4.2 Visuals

The visuals also articulate a discourse of unity, unity which is restricted to socially and religiously conservative voters. This can be seen in the discourse schema which can be read as "we sing together, we dance together, we are happy together". This schema is articulated in the visuals with representations of people singing, dancing and being happy. As with the lyrics, the "we" in the visuals are

socially excluded people who have been the subject of discrimination in the past. While unity is suggested, it is unity which excludes. A closer look at the strategies used in the visuals makes these discourses more evident.

In the visuals, socially excluded and discriminated people are personalised (see figure 4.1). Van Leeuwen (1996) notes that individualised participants make it easier to humanise them and sympathise with them. Here they are not only individualised, but proximity to the camera suggests social closeness a long shot would not (Machin 2007). Here we feel close to AKP voters as they smile and sing. Some are dressed in folk costumes whilst others are dressed conservatively. Clothes associated with various folk traditions can be seen in the third, fourth and fifth rows down in figure 4.1. The man in the third row wears an Aegean traditional hat. The woman in the fourth row wears a pink head covering whilst the man in the bottom row wears a pink scarf, both types of accessories linked to the southeast of Turkey where many conservative voters live, including conservative Kurds, a significant segment of AKP's voter profile. Folk costumes not only identify visually various groups within Turkey who are the "we" in AKP's Turkey, they also draw upon a shared history back to the time of the Ottomans, connoting a historical legitimacy to AKP.

Figure 4.1 Representation of Dress Codes

Socially conservative clothes can be seen in all five rows within this montage. Here we see women wearing baggy clothes (row one), a headscarf (row two, three, four), and men sporting short hair, a shirt and sometimes a tie and/ or jacket. Equally telling is who is not represented. As van Leeuwen (1996) notes, exclusions are an important part of discourses. Here we do not see a man wearing casual clothes or sports clothes. Likewise there is an exclusion of women wearing short skirts or revealing outfits. In the context of AKP's social conservative position, these exclusions are revealing.

Moreover, people in the visuals are represented positively activated singing and/ or smiling. With AKP colours in the background and images of Erdoğan and logos of AKP, this happiness is associated with AKP as a kind of visual merger between the visual elements (Kress and Hodge, 1998).

Gaze also plays a role in a positive representation of AKP's people. Machin (2007:111) claims that participants in images who look directly into the camera are empowered, symbolically engaging the viewer and demanding a response. Machin (2007:111) also adds that "The kind of demand, or the mood address, will be determined by other factors. There may be a kind of smile that invites us in or allows us to share the joy of a moment." In image one, almost all individuals are shown smiling at the camera and looking into the camera. Furthermore, the angle of interaction where the angle of the camera is positioned at eye level connotes equality between viewer and participant (Machin, 2007:113-116). This visual combination suggests that AKP supporters are empowered, happy and are demanding you to come join the party as an equal. This articulates discourses which invites the viewer to join the people in the video and enjoy being associated with AKP. In the context of an election campaign, the unity connoted by viewer and

participant being equals is a unity of support and votes for AKP. This is emphasised in the end of the video, where the political party's logo and a portrait of Erdoğan are represented.

Posture also plays a role in connoting unity of conservative voters.. Machin (2007) suggests that, even slightly different poses by individuals in a visual can articulate a strong correlation between them. In this video, the postures of individuals suggest socio conservatism and religious discourses of the political party. In the lyrics, "We are one God's creatures" line, which comes after "hearts are the same, prayers are the same" in the visuals a woman poses, traditionally dressed, moving her right hand to her chest and softly stooping (Figure 4.2). This is a traditional Turkish move for salutation, also references to God by putting right hand to chest. By making the move in the visual, has its meaning potential to AKP's religious and socio-conservatism discourses together.

Figure 4.2 Posture

The unity discourse in AKP's video is articulated in a number of ways. One way is the movements of individuals. In unison, participants make the same acts, wear similar clothes and posture similarly, thus homogenising its supporters (Machin 2007). In figure 4.3, this can be seen in the people who are making the same move with their one hand. The represented people in the foreground of each image move their one hand from up to down in a transverse direction. The movement of the hand can be read as unity through movement. This hand movement is used whilst the

Figure 4.3 Hand Movements

lyrics say 'we are the roses of the same rose garden.' The unity in hand movements underline the unity discourse in the lyrics. In two of the images, men are in the background clapping along to women moving their hands in the foreground. This may be read as a celebration of becoming united. It may also be an act of encouragement by the men to the woman who share the same image, encouraging them to continue their acts of support for AKP.

Considering AKP's stance on women, it is hardly surprising men would be represented in such a role.

Social conservatism is connoted in the choice of musical instruments represented in the visuals. The instruments seen in the video are mostly traditional Turkish instruments, related to Turkey's past. Out and zither, the origins of the instruments are unknown but they were popular instruments in Ottoman society. Shrill pipe, Folkloric drum and bağlama (a Turkish folk stringed instrument) are traditional Turkish instruments, which are popular in the Anatolia region. The preference of traditional instruments of Anatolian region can be read as socio conservative discourse of the political party, where this can be re-read as a counter argument to modernist approach of Turkish elites' cultural perception. The project of establishing a Republic after the Ottoman Empire was about modernising society in terms of western civilisation. During that time period, Turkish traditional music was banned and the founding elites of the country left no space for Turkish culture except for a very little folkloric (Keyder, 1997:37). Showing those instruments in the visuals (Figure 4.4) can be read as referring to pre-Republic times of the Turkey, a time when Turkey looked East not West, something notable in AKP discourses.

Figure 4.4 Instruments

There are also two people who play a classic nylon string guitar, which is a western instrument. However, the choice of a nylon string classic guitar can be related with older times if one compares this to an electric guitar with connotations of rock, and possible subversion (Way 2012).

The final two shots of the clip make clear that it is AKP under the guidance of a strong confident Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who unites all these people. The last shot shows AKP's symbol of a lightbulb with AKP written below it. This is preceded by a close up of Erdoğan with the written text of "Together we are Turkey" (Figure 4.5). The written text again draws on an exclusive unity, "we" conservative people, defining what it is to be Turkish and excluding the 50 % or so who do not vote for and agree with AKP policies. In the image, Erdoğan looks up and to the left. Though this is not a demand image, connoting power, power is connoted via gaze. He looks up, almost as though in prayer. Facial expressions make clear he is proud of his "flock" who have been singing and dancing in honour of their commonality. He wears clothes also like his people and facial hair and haircut again make him seem like one of his people. The same colour background connotes similarity. As such, the image suggests unity with the dancing people, yet also he is different. He does not sing and dance and smile at the camera. Instead he looks on with approval, empowered by his lack of action, just his face and gaze. It is he and AKP which are responsible for unity in Turkey.

Figure 4.5 Last Frame

4.3 Music

AKP's socio conservative stance can be seen in different decisions that were made in the video's production. The musical arrangement carries elements from traditional Turkish music styles related with the Ottoman period of the Turkey's past. This looking back at a religious conservative past can be related with discourses of conservatism and unity. The following considers how such musical elements have the meaning potentials of such discourses.

Unity, as a discourse of AKP, is articulated in different ways in AKP's election campaign video. One way that, it is possible to identify a unity discourse is in the vocal arrangements. Social unison in music is related with playing the same

notes with all instruments, where it gives the meaning of doing the same things at the same time in two possible approaches (van Leeuwen, 1999:79). In one perspective it is possible to see the social unison as interdependence, congruence, collective experiences and sense of belonging to a community (van Leeuwen, 1999:79). The unity discourse can be identified in the vocal arrangement. The song's vocal arrangement starts with a solo of a female vocal. A sense of more and more people joining together is connoted by more people joining her all singing the same notes. By the end of the video, a large group of people are singing together in unison.

The unity discourse works multimodally. In the intro part while a female vocal is heard, one women is represented visually lip synching the song. The number of people that are shown in the visuals increase parallel to an increase in the number of vocals heard in the soundtrack. This way the visuals of the song and vocal arrangements underline the discourse of belonging to a community, something noted in detail in the lyrics analysis. Here "the people" sing as one voice, united in their support for AKP.

In the beginning of the song, after the melody is sung by one female vocal, the other vocalists join in repeating the same melody as the first singer. Here, the vocals sing the same notes at the same time without instruments. Van Leeuwen notes that playing the same notes at the same time can carry the meaning of compliance, solid disciplining and absence of individuality (van Leeuwen, 1999:79). This song's introduction has the meaning potential which underlines a lack of individuality and a solid discipline in the political party's approach to social unison. This can be observed in the speeches given both by party's members and

supporters. Discipline is a discourse articulated by the party and its supporters. For example:

> "If it is necessary I would even kotow to prime minister" (By Fatih Altaylı, 4th of June 2013)
>
> "According to us, our prime minister (Recep Tayyip Erdoğan) is the second prophet" (By Provincial chairman of AKP Aydın organisation İsmail Hakkı Eser, 3rd of February 2010)[2]

The first example is taken from the famous journalist Fatih Altaylı. In his statement, he underlines a way of worship in Islamic religion practices, called to kotow. In the Islamic practices the kotow is a practice to worship God. In Altaylı's statement, he declares that he can kotow to the prime minister in the right conditions. This way he underlines that, as a supporter of the political party, he obeys that system like a religion. By referencing religion he repeats the Islamic-religious discourse of AKP, where this can be re-read as, his individual opinions are far less important than the prime minister's, who was Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the time.

The second example again repeats the Altaylı's statement with different words. This time the person is the AKP's Aydın organisation's chairman, İsmail Hakkı Eser. He is also repeating the political party's Islamic-religious discourse and relates the leader of the party with the prophet. By referencing the prophet, he is mentioning the prime minister as a person who repeats God's words. This way the prime minister becomes a person whose words need to be followed. Eser, in his speech, as with Altaylı, puts the party leader's opinions beyond his own and advices

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[2] Speeches are taken from; http://t24.com.tr/haber/recep-tayyip-erdogan-neyimiz-olur/246670

the listener the same, by referring to the prophet. From this perspective, unity discourse of AKP is articulated through the Islamic-religious perspective.

In the arrangement, instrument choice also articulates discourses of socio conservatism and social unison. Socio conservative discourses are articulated with the instruments that were used, which are generally traditional Anatolian, and Ottoman. Tambour with strings, oud, folkloric drum, tambourine, reed flute, are used. The meaning of the song would be very different if a distorted electric guitar was used or samples and a techno beat. Also the instruments are playing the same notes at the same time, like the vocals, again connoting unity and socio conservative discourse by referencing an Ottoman past.

During the arrangement of the song, the introduction is sung by a woman, her sound is smooth, loud and open-throated. Smooth sound is valued and idealised in western societies (van Leeuwen, 1999:132). Smooth sounds can be related with sense of an ideal, connoting positivity about AKP. The loud female vocal can be read as a "call" to everybody, where it articulates a discourse of a call for unity to everyone in the country. Her voice is also loose and open throated, connoting confidence. According to van Leeuwen, these type of vocal choices can be related with a lack of tension (Van Leeuwen, 1999:130). Together, these choices connote success for AKP, vocal qualities connoting confidence, a lack of tension and positivity all surrounding positive messages of unity of support for AKP.

The vocals at the beginning are of high pitch, though, as seen in graph one, there is little movement in pitch. Van Leeuwen mentions that, slight movements in the melody at a high pitch gives the sense of "Tenderness"in a song. Some lyrics of the song are about common sufferings, such are "Same path we passed", "Our

winter is the same" and "Ballads are the same." The tenderness movements in the melody and the lyrics about common sufferings match, connoting sympathy for a common difficult past and thereby connoting a sympathetic ear and governance on the part of AKP.

The tune of the song is in B major. The starting note is F#, which is the fifth note on the scale. Machin (2010) underlines that first and the fifth notes are repeated in a melody to keep it connected with the accompaniment, which creates the sense of easiness in the music. Also, the second note is related with promise of something to follow, where seventh note is generally relevant with the sense of missing something or nostalgia (2010:107). The song's melody is presented below in figure 4.6, where each number represents a half note, the melody starting on the F #. It can be clearly identified, song starts with the fifth (which is also the sixth on
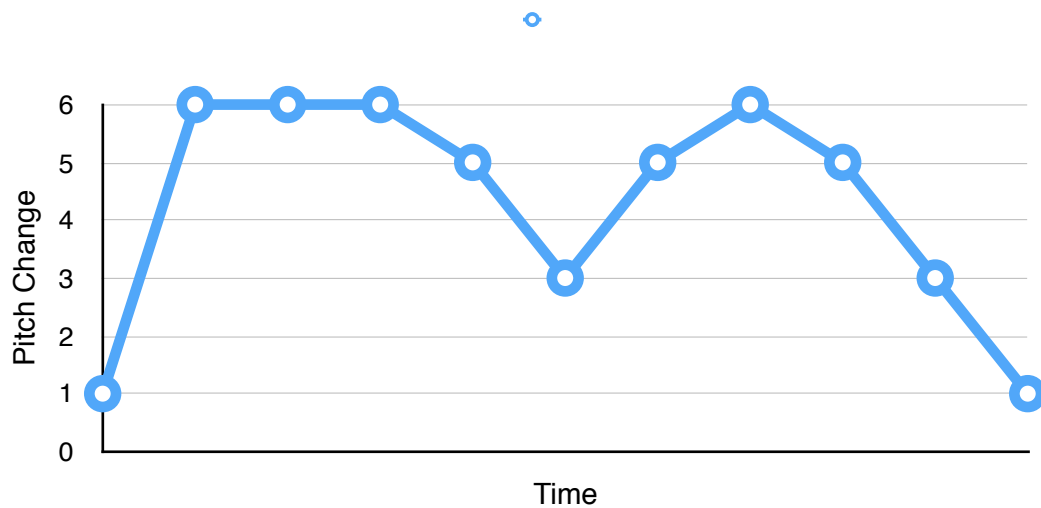

Figure 4.6 Introduction Melody Part A

our tone graph) of the scale than moves to 1st and makes small moves between the 6th and 7th and then finishes back on the fifth.

This melody repeats itself throughout the song. The first (B) and the fifth (F#) notes on the scale of the song are repeated in the beginning of the melody to give the listener the sense of easiness, since the main discourse is unity, being the same and easily coming together to support AKP.

In the second part of the intro, the melody of the song changes in a different way. Generally major chords are heard as positive while minor keys are used to connote melancholy (Way 2014). In B major the A note is sharp, however the A note turns to a natural if we adapt to a B minor scale. In the intro, after the first line, chords change from a B major to a D major. In this way the song keeps the structure of the song major but the melody becomes a minor by starting it with A, which is also a natural in the D major scale. The 'A'note gives the sense of a minor to the
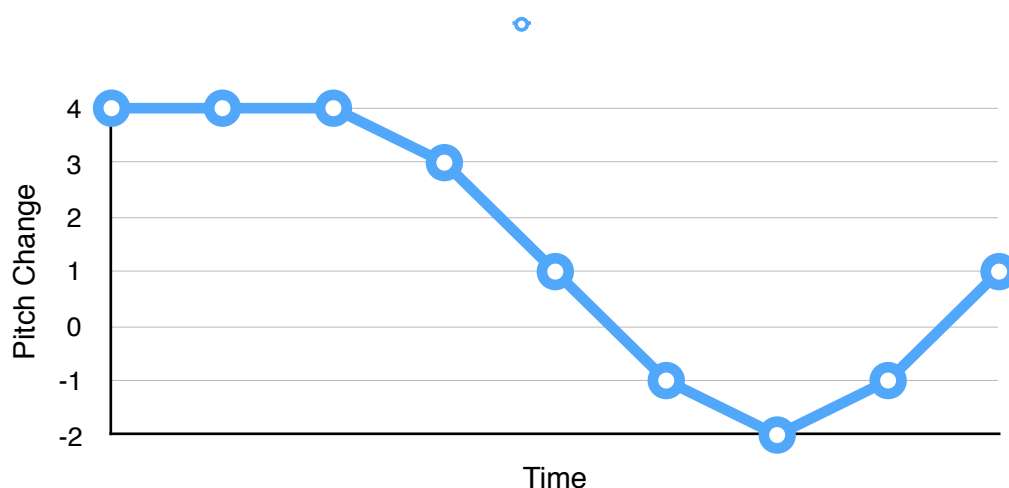

Figure 4.7 Introduction Melody Part B

melody, despite it remaining a major one. Furthermore, this start continues with a descending melody (See figure 4.7 where the A is numbered four). Descending melodies are related with low energy (Machin, 1999:101). The lyrics that accompany this melody are "Same water we drank" which suggests good times. This match has the meaning potential of relaxation after having hard times, because of the release of stress in the melody after the change from a major to a minor; moreover, by making it in a descending melody it has the meaning potential of relaxed feeling of a good time.
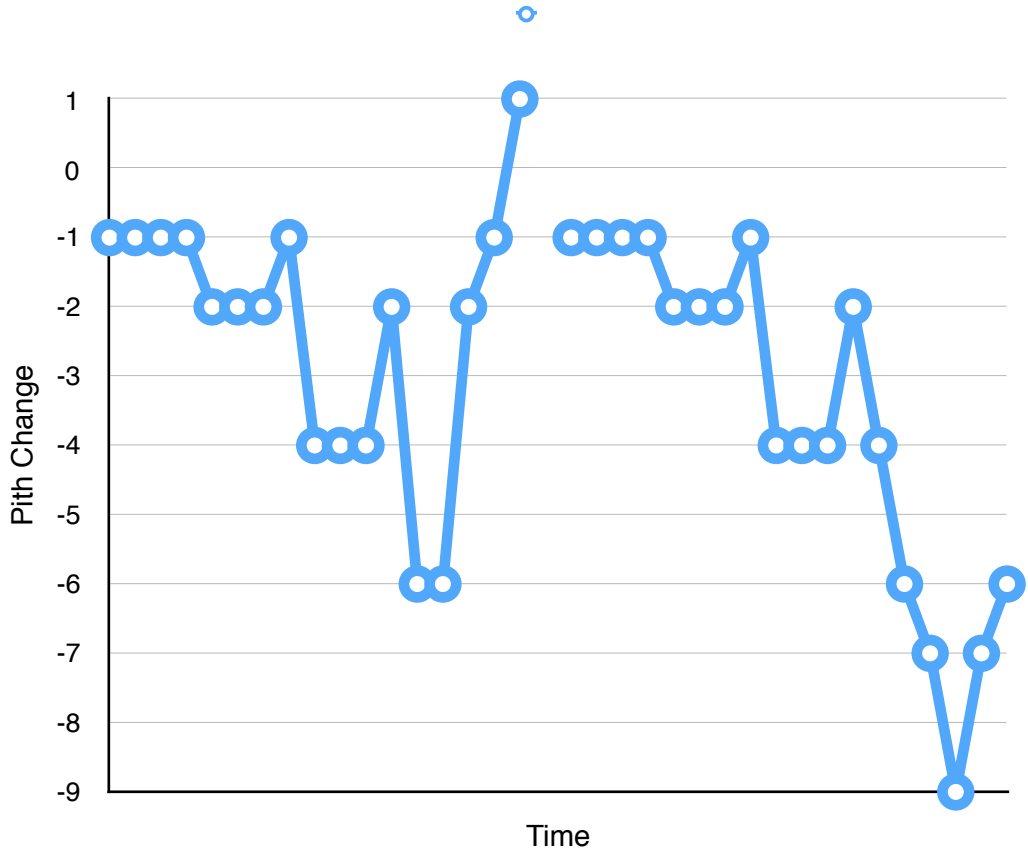

Figure 4.8 Bridge Part

According to Machin (2010), a second in a melody has the meaning potential to promise of something to follow. As can be seen in figure 4.8, there is an abundance of seconds, which accompany the lyrics "Same mountain,""Same God", "Our summer is the same", "Same rose garden"and in the chorus part "Again." The first three of them has the same melody, and C# are followed by D# (See the figure 4.8) which is the third note on the B major scale, third notes on a major scale are related with expression of happiness, as specially on an ascending melody (Machin, 1999), there for there is a sense of joy in the melody. The lyrics that matches with joyful ascendings articulate discourse of unity. This has its meaning potential to joy of having something to follow like a political party.
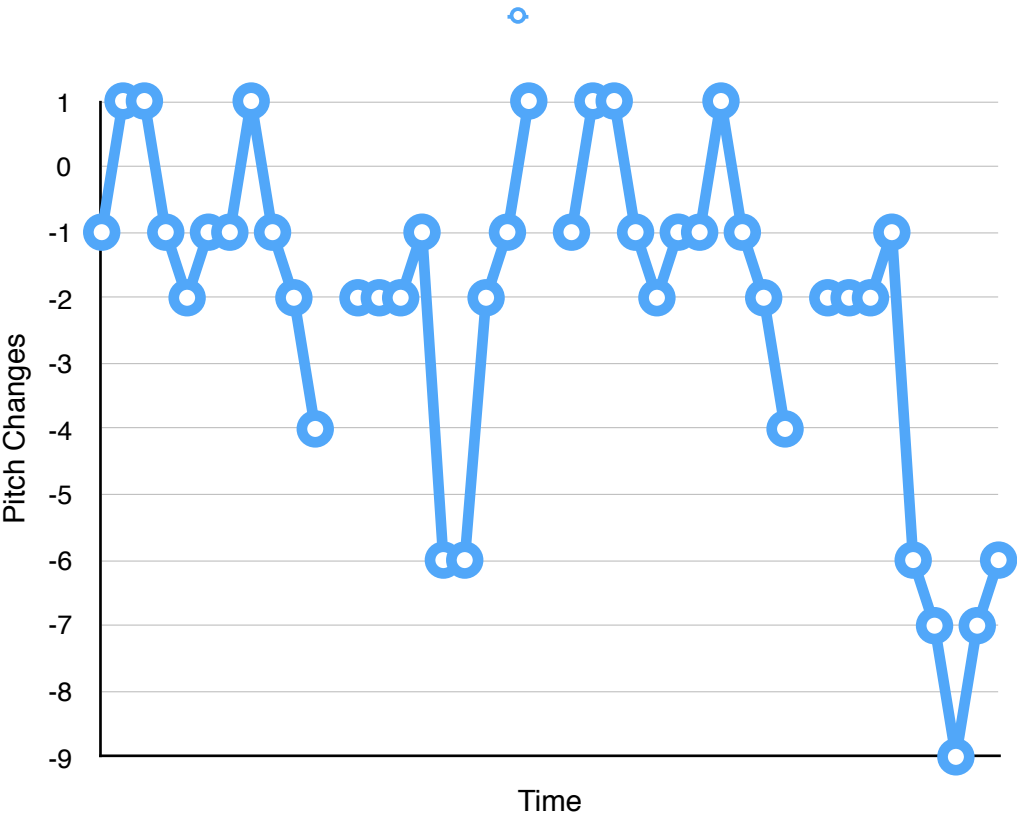
Figure 4.9 Chorus

In the chorus, D# is used iteratively in the chorus accompanying the lyrics "All together"and "Gush", where successively repeats the D# three times (See figure 4.9). After repeating D# the melody directly moves to fourth note on the B major scale, which is E natural. Moves from major third note to fourth creates the sense of building (Machin, 1999:109), where the melody gives a joyful start then creates a positive level for the words 'sing it together'. With the combination of the words melody has the meaning potential to joy of coming together over AKP.

Chapter V: CHP Music Clip Analysis

CHP or the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) was installed during the establishment period of the Turkish Republic on 9 September 1923. It has been the main opposition party since AKP swept to power in 2002. The party is a continuation of the Association for Defence of the National Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia. During the independence war, the representatives of this association were the parliamentary members with the Ottoman's closed Chamber of Deputies. The Association was an organisation of local leaders and army members who were against the occupation of Anatolia. They were in the majority in the parliament, however the Association was not a political party. After the war, with the necessity of a new political organisation, the Association established the Republican People's Party. (Akyol, 2009:183)

Kılıçdaroğlu is coming, is an election campaign song that was composed for the 2011 elections by the famous musician Onur Akın. It can be found on <https:// www.youtube.com/watch?v=nmudoItKA_g>. However it was originally composed for the previous local elections in 2009 and revised for the 2011 general elections. The two versions are slightly different from each other, the original tailored for the election campaign of Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu as the CHP's Istanbul mayoral candidate and the revised for Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu's 2011 bid for Prime Minister. So some lyrics which refer to Istanbul such as "Istanbul, you also nestle him too" have been changed to "My Turkey you also nestle him too". Pitch has also changed, with the new version being slightly higher. Here we look at the lyrics, visuals and musical sounds to determine what discourses are being articulated. We find that the lyrics

and visuals articulate discourses of society in danger, unity, anti-AKP and Kılıçdaroğlu saves. Musical sounds are used to emphasise these discourses in a stressful atmosphere.

5.1 Lyrics

The song's discourse schema may be read as "Turkey is in danger, Kılıçdaroğlu saves us so let's unite in support of him". A close examination of the representation of social actors reveals how these discourses are articulated.

Participants represented in the lyrics are Kılıçdaroğlu, Turkish society and AKP. In the lyrics Turkish society is named as 'Turkey,' 'our public,' 'millions,' 'public,' 'free citizen,' 'slavishly server,' and 'Anatolia'. Van Leeuwen (1996) notes there are different types of linguistic representations for participants such as Collectivised (Groups of people), Nominalised (Named participants), Objectivated (representation via single characteristic) and Aggregated (representation in quantities). We can see these in CHP's election campaign song. Collectivised type of representations for 'Turkish society' in the song are 'our public' and 'public'. These words suggest unity amongst Turks. This is also suggested aggregately as 'millions'. Moreover, Turkish society is nominalised as 'Turkey,' and 'Anatolia,' which gives the sense of a wide unity that involves the whole nation.

In contrast, the song's narrator makes a call out to voter and says, 'you are a free citizen or server to a slave.' CHP's discourse of wide unity becomes a discourse of 'us and them,' when the society is divided into two by representing it as 'free citizen or server to a slave'. In other words, the song is declaring a group of people as 'slaves' to AKP. Slave ("Kul" in Turkish) has two meanings. In the first definition a slave is a human according to God. The second is the same as the English word, one without freedom who is forced into labour. "Being a server to a slave" in Turkish has its meaning to being a slave to who is already a slave to God. In addition to that, CHP's anti-AKP discourse shows itself as the separation of 'us' and 'them' by reflecting AKP voters as 'slaves' or 'submitters,' while CHP voters are 'free citizens.' By using 'slave' in its first meaning, CHP's song is defining its *us and them*. According to this definition; 'free citizen' can be understood as CHP voters who are generally the secular part of society, and 'server to a slave' as AKP supporters. The word "kul", with its religious connotations reminds voters of AKP's religious inclinations, a turn off for secularists. The unity discourse of CHP becomes the unity of secularists, where the non-secular part of the society is not included.

In the song's bridge parts, which are the melodies between lyrics, Kılıçdaroğlu's political rants from public political rallies are used. These speeches are related to the lyrics. For example, before the lyrics 'you are a free citizen or server to a slave', Kılıçdaroğlu refers to the line 'Live solo and free like a tree and fraternal like a forest' by Nazım Hikmet's famous poem and says 'we are going to live solo and free like a tree, and fraternal like a forest.' Nazım Hikmet is a very well-known Turkish poet, who is also famous for his communist political thoughts. His political stance made him very popular in leftwing circles of society, who are generally secularists. Again this reference draws upon an 'us and them' discourse

where those who are going to live together are limited to secular voters, emphasised by 'you are a free citizen or server to a slave' in the following lyrics. This relationship limits the expected wide unity that the party could reach by referencing Nazım Hikmet's poetry.

CHP's song is designed to emphasise Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu as a responsible political figure as opposed to AKP's Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. In the song's chorus a word play on Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu's last name is used. In Turkish, Kılıçdaroğlu means "Son of the swordsman". The composer repeats the word "swordsman" in the chorus, emphasising his last name in 'swordsman Kılıçdaroğlu [son of the swordsman] is coming'   (in Turkish : 'Geliyor kılıçdar, Kılıçdaroğlu'). This repetition serves as a kind of overlexicalisation where a word appears more than one would expect and is used for emphasis (Kress 1989). Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu is also represented with low modality. The modality can be defined as, expressing the level of truth by grammatical preferences. The level of truth can be understood from the verbs that are used such as 'may,' 'will' or 'must' (Machin, 2007:47). In the line 'Kılıçdaroğlu is coming', the verb used is in present continuous pointing to certainty and a lack of any modals leaving no space for any doubt of his coming. Kılıçdaroğlu is coming and certainly will be there. Though there is no indication as to where he is going, in the context of the election campaign, one assumes it is to become the head of the government.

In the song, Kılıçdaroğlu is also represented as a knight, who will fight for his people and as a hero, who will illuminate the darkness. Consider: 'There will be light after darkness, son of the swordsman Kılıçdaroğlu is coming.' In the chorus Kılıçdaroğlu is activated with his action of coming, on the way to becoming the head of the government. The result of this action is defined in the previous line. The

'there will be light after darkness' defines the result of the action that he is taking, where Kılıçdaroğlu is activated. This represents Kılıçdaroğlu as powerful, a swordsman, a knight, a hero who is coming to bring light, a metaphor for goodness and takeaway darkness, a metaphor for evil, despair.

AKP and Erdoğan are excluded from the lyrics, a tactic used to de-emphasise and reduce sympathy (van Leeuwen 1996). Though there are no direct namings, AKP is inferred throughout the song. The first line of the song mentions that, "Swords are drawn, this is a duel". Here, the word "duel" is used as a metaphor for the elections. In the Oxford dictionary a *duel* is defined as; "A fight between two men, usually with swords or pistols, to settle a quarrel". In the first line of the lyrics, by mentioning to 'a fight between two men' who draw their swords reduces the degree of implying to 'a contest between two parties', like a duel of wits. The metaphor of duel here implies a fight between two parties, that is, CHP and AKP or Kılıçdaroğlu and Erdoğan. References to light and darkness make clear who is good and who is evil.

Voters are activated, connoting positivity through support of Kılıçdaroğlu in the lines, 'my Turkey, you also nestle him', 'our public will start to talk again', 'let's shed light to darkness together' and 'don't come to heel, make this your festival'. In the first excerpt, my Turkey "nestles" with Kılıçdaroğlu suggests closeness. And closeness is contrasted with Erdoğan in the other lines where freedom of expression is suggested in the simplification of we'll "start to talk again", presupposing at present we do not talk. In the third extract, the metaphor of light and dark is used, but this time it is "let's" or let us" shed light together as Kılıçdaroğlu is represented as doing elsewhere. And finally in the last excerpt again contrast is represented between voting for Erdoğan by "coming to heel" as opposed

to the positive representation of voting for Kılıçdaroğlu as "make this your festival". All these representations activate voters either negatively by giving support for Erdoğan in "don't come to heel" or positively by showing support for Kılıçdaroğlu as in "shedding light", "start to talk" and "nestle". These activations are without agency, that is, voters are represented as active, but not too powerful by affecting others (van Leeuwen 1996). This is left to Kılıçdaroğlu in shedding light. This can only happen if voters do not "come to heel", but "make your festival" by giving support to Kılıçdaroğlu.

The word 'darkness' represented here can be seen in the previous two lines of the lyrics, which are, 'waylayer make money on you not public/what was the reason of the price that paid ?' In those two lines by using the words, 'waylayer make money on you' and ' what was the reason of the price that paid' is referencing to corruption in the current government. This lyrics of the song is underlining that the current administration is not on the side of the public by representing them supporting other organisations such as the mafia, where they are called 'waylayer' in the song's lyrics.

5.2 Visuals

CHP's election campaign song's visuals consist of materials from meetings, protests, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu himself and CHP's logo. Quality of the visuals suggests authenticity, sourced from television channels and news agencies alongside animated logos. Social actors in the visuals are Kılıçdaroğlu, protesters and CHP supporters. The visuals are arranged to create a discourse schema similar to that of the lyrics which is "Society is in danger because of AKP policies. CHP and Kılıçdaroğlu are rescuers, let's unite around CHP". Visuals of gushing people in CHP meetings, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu giving speeches alongside people who are protesting and suffering articulate this discourse schema. A closer look at how social actors are represented makes this clear.

Figure 5.1 CHP Flag

Though not a social actor, visuals of CHP's logo play a key role in suggesting positivity towards the political party. Rich, saturated colours is one way to attract viewers' attention (Machin, 2007:49). The CHP video's opening scene consists of a logo animation of CHP. The original colours of the party are carmine and white. However, at the beginning of the video, colours are highly saturated compared to CHP's standard logo. This is illustrated in figure 5.1, where the left side of the image is the original logo and the right side is the logo that used in the video. This is done to draw attention to the logo and CHP. The symbols of arrows pointing upwards further articulate this discourse. The arrows eminate from part of a circle, similar to sunbeams from the sun, connoting warmth and positivity. Upward movement and the sun are both metaphorically positive. But it is the representation of social actors which I now wish to examine to reveal their roles in this video.

Figure 5.2 Society Represented

One of the major discourses of the visuals in this CHP video is one which is 'anti-AKP'. In order to articulate a wide sweeping anti-AKP discourse, protesters from different sectors in Turkey are represented (See figure 5.2). As can be seen here, there are three groups of people, the top left is a protest, the top right is a young man being taken by force by police and the bottom is a mixed group of people deeply upset at something. All three images lack any context and particulars. Even the faces of those in the images are collectivised, that is represented as groups or faces are obscured, doing the same things like crying and sitting and protesting (Machin, 2007:118). Here, the group not the individual is emphasised, whilst activations (protesting, being taken away by force and crying) suggest negativity. The accompanying words superimposed on the images read as "People who are oppressed are always the same in this social order" and "People who cry are always the same in this social order". Again, no particulars are given as to who the "people" are and circumstances surrounding crying and being oppressed.. However, lexical choices like "people" and "the same" suggest unity, whilst negativity of "oppressed" and "crying" is in the co-text of "in this social order", suggesting it is AKP's social order which is responsible for the unity of the people's misery.

But the unity suggested in the video is one which is quite selective, a unity of opposition. Representation of this opposition is not as powerful as it could be. All the "victims" of AKP in the visuals do not look at the camera, but look off camera being offered for inspection by the viewers (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). This is a less powerful representation than if they looked into the camera, connoting it is the "social order" which is powerful and oppressing the opposition (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996:124). The visuals are offered to viewer to empathise with the situation that "the people" are represented in. The gritty "realism" of the images suggest the viewer is being shown the real condition of the people of the society,

where a lot of people are not happy with the current administration. This would be very different if the images were staged using actors, make up and proper lighting. These images are used to reflect a lot of people in society are not happy with the AKP government.

In the first picture in the montage, in the foreground of a group of protestors is a person who is carrying a banner about the protest. Though activated "sitting" and "protesting," the choice of a sitting versus standing and yelling protester is significant. It contributes to the discourse of victimisation, the protesters not as powerful as ones who stand and yell and throw things. The idea of victimisation is further emphasised by his head being covered with a bandage and his mouth is closed with white strips as a shape of 'X'. Closed eyes and slumped position suggest hopelessness, daunted and not having control and power over his situation. These suggest he and the other protesters have no power to have a physical out come to the world. This articulates a discourse of anti-AKP who do control many aspects of our situation in Turkey.

According to Machin (2007:114) looking down on someone gives the observer the sense of power and to the observed one the sense of vulnerability. In all three images in montage two, the protesters are placed in a lower angle, where they are represented as vulnerable like a child. Though the angle of interaction suggests powerlessness, it also suggests the viewer has more symbolic power, the power to do something to help them. In this way, this is an offer to the observer, where s/he can help by voting out AKP by voting for CHP.

In the picture on the top right, a young man can be seen being forced to go somewhere. Though again no particulars are represented, the pose of the custodians

suggest they are the police and they are taking the man into custody, further suggested by how the custodian is holding the man, as is seen when police are arresting people. The policeman's face is excluded from the picture while the young man's, is unclear. This makes it difficult to sympathise with the policeman, though sympathy is created through the actions of the man being passivated by police force. The man and the action he is dealing with is salient by being in the foreground of the picture. He has no agency by not having any physical outcome to the real world. The policeman can be seen as a metonym for the "social order" mentioned in the superimposed writing, the "social order" overseen by AKP. This representation of the social actors suggests the social order needs changing and CHP is the change needed.

In the bottom picture, seven people are represented while they are protesting holding bread in their hands and crying. Three women are salient, being in the centre of the picture. The one in the centre seems to be speaking emotionally. The others seem to be listening. The emotive speaking and the crowdedness suggest they are unhappy about something. In the context of the CHP video, it suggests they are unhappy about something in Turkey under the governance of AKP. Protestors look exhausted, hopeless and powerless. Though activated protesting, again victimisation is suggested through facial expressions, hand gestures and poses. This again draws upon a discourse of victimisation at the hands of AKP. Though there is no direct agency represented in any of these three images which directly points to AKP, the written text and lyrics identify who is behind this negativity. With sparkling bright images of CHP slogans, Kılıçdaroğlu being represented positively, a discourse which suggests CHP is the answer to this misery is clear. In this image, the angle of interaction is different from the previous two. Here, the women protesters are at eye level, suggesting equality (Machin 2007:115), though there is no symbolic eye

contact between viewers and participant. This image is offered for information, as equals protesting over something which is highly emotive and they are powerless and hopeless. People are trying to solve their problems with the authorities, however the demand of the people are being ignored. The equality suggested in the image suggests it is also the viewer who may potentially also be a victim of AKP. Interestingly, the woman standing behind the woman who is speaking has direct eye contact with the observer. According to Machin (2007:111), this is a demand image where the participant asks something from the observer. The woman seems to be demanding sympathy and maybe even help in remedying this current situation. The help suggested is to vote for CHP in order to avoid situations of victimization such as represented in this image. Voting for CHP can save voters from finding themselves in this kind of situation.

Figure 5.3 Protestors

Another discourse seen in the visuals in figure 5.3 is CHP is represented as providing solutions to the people who are represented as victims of AKP. Slogans of 'Stop injustice,' 'stop hunger,' 'stop sorrows, tears,' 'stop unemployment,' 'stop moral exploitation,' 'stop immoral politics,' and 'stop lies, pillage, corruption' are used in the visuals. Here imperatives are used to underline these perceived problems in society. According to Way (2013:12), usage of imperatives suggest power, where in order to command, the speaker must have the authority to make someone do something. By mentioning problems in society with imperatives, CHP represents itself as the authority that can solve these problems. In order to have the authority to solve the problems, CHP needs to win the elections. This means to vote for CHP will give them the power to solve the problems. This way, a discourse of CHP and Kılıçdaroğlu are rescuers is articulated.

In the visuals, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu is represented as a heroic figure, one who has the power to solve the problems of society. The heroic stance of Kılıçdaroğlu is represented in different ways. Machin (2007:112) suggests that camera angle of looking up at an actor suggests power, high status and a camera angle which looks down suggests weakness. In the figure 5.4, the camera looks up to Kılıçdaroğlu suggesting power. His gaze looks above our heads and into the distance. Machin (2007:112) shows how this is done with war memorials as a way to suggest a heroic stance, where one has deep inner thoughts. Like one who looks up in the distance to the heavens for answers, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu's long distance look suggests he is looking at something standing in the higher position, with his confident and powerful stance. Perhaps he is looking to a greater power. From this point of view the image of Kılıçdaroğlu becomes a demand image, where the image demands the

Figure 5.4 Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu

observer to join Kılıçdaroğlu's vision of the future, that he has power to solve society's problems.

This high angle of interaction also suggests Kılıçdaroğlu is powerful represented giving a speech. Here the viewer is positioned like a person in the crowd who attends the political party's meeting.

Representation of religious voters in the video is another matter of importance. This layer of society is represented through women. Veiled and hijab wearing women are used because those are the major dress codes of the Muslim religion. Since the tradition of religion is not specifically defining a dress code for men, veiled and hijab wearing women are preferred to underline religiousness. Religious women are represented with different levels of agency and power. David Machin (2007:124) adapts Halliday's six action processes to identify the level of agency and power in a text to visuals. *Material* (act with a material outcome),

Behavioural (act without a material outcome)*, and *Existential* (representation by only appearance or existence) actions can be observed in CHP's representation of religious people in society.

Figure 5.5 Religious Women

In the top left figure 5.5, two hijab wearing women can be seen. Again, sadness is suggested by their facial expressions. With other women, they seem to be waiting, powerless again. In the top right hand image, a veiled woman is seen as she is scavenging in a rubbish bin. She is represented behaviourally, searching to survive perhaps. She is a poor, hopeless person who is looking through the rubbish,

perhaps living on the street. Her behaviour is also supported with text at the bottom which reads 'society is suffering, suffering, suffering.' The text and these two images suggest it is not only traditional CHP voters who are suffering, but those with religious affiliations who are a big support base for AKP. These too are also suffering, articulating an anti-AKP discourse.

In the bottom image, a hijab wearing woman and a crowd of veiled women greet Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu. They are represented as a part of CHP. They are shaking hands with Kılıçdaroğlu and holding CHP's flags. Unlike the above two images, this one is positive, the women activated "greeting" is a material process, associating positivity around Kılıçdaroğlu and CHP. Machin (2007:121) underlines the importance of who is not represented in the visuals. In these images and in the video, lower class covered women are represented whilst middle and upper class religiously dressing women are excluded. The choice of women used from the lower classes of the society whilst excluding the others supports the idea of victimhood and suffering unlike happy upper class people who have actually benefitted from AKP and their policies.

5.3 Music

Music is another mode that is used to articulate discourses. This section examines aspects of musical sounds in the video such as voice, instrumentation,

pitch and melody to reveal how discourses of modernity, CHP positivity and unity are articulated.

Voice is used to articulate a discourse of confidence and unity surrounding the CHP leadership. One way is through vocal type of the song. The song is composed by the famous Turkish composer Onur Akın, who is also the lead singer of the song. The sound of this solo male vocal singing the lyrics is one with an open throat and a relaxed voice. This makes his sound mellow and relaxed (van Leeuwen, 1999:131). In a song that was prepared for the elections, this can carry the meaning of confidence and trust in this case towards CHP.

In the chorus, the male vocal is joined by male backing vocals. They sing in unison, singing the same high pitched (compared to the rest of the song) notes. Singing the same notes carries the meaning potential of belonging to a group (van leeuwen 1999:79). Here, it is a group united around CHP. Moreover, van Leeuwen (1999:79) adds that, when the same notes are sung at the same time, this also can
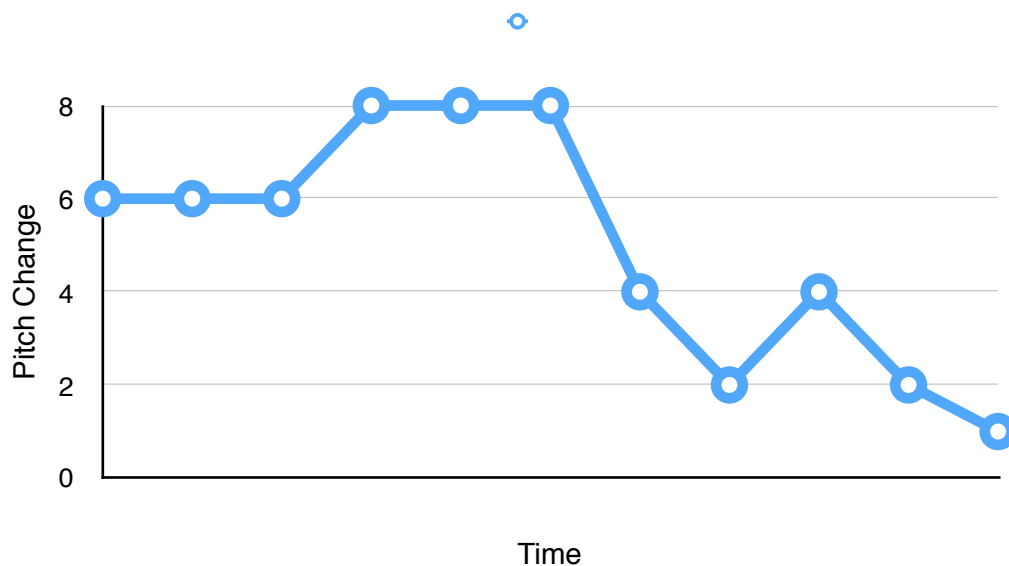

Figure 5.6 Chorus

carry the meaning of a positive sense of a joint experience. This is heard while the vocals sing 'swordsman Kılıçdaroğlu is coming', adding positive connotations to this line. At this same time, the melody moves from the first (an A) to its second note (B) (See the figure 5.6). According to Machin (2010), a second note is related with promise of something to follow. Here, vocal arrangement, melody and lyrics together have the meaning potential that positive things are to come if voters unite around CHP and Kılıçdaroğlu.

Unity is further articulated through melody elsewhere in the song. The song's melody in the verses consists of three parts. Each part corresponds to one line of the lyrics. The melody of the song creates a loop for each part of lyric and chorus. In this way, there are three different melodies for each line of the song and two slightly different melodies for the chorus. For the rest of the song these five melodies and solo parts repeat themselves. The loops for the lyrics can be seen in the figure 5.7. As can be seen, every loop peaks in the beginning of the third line.
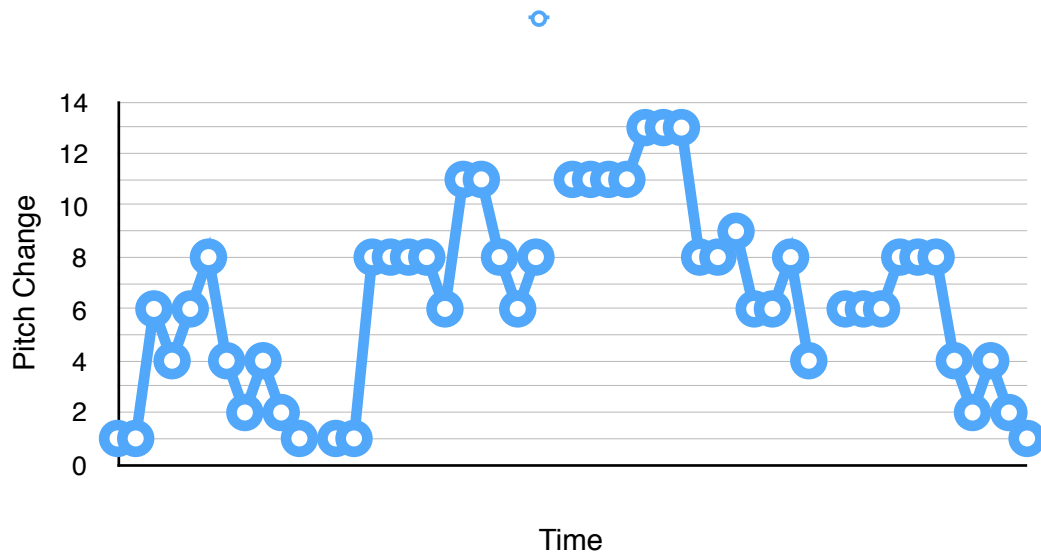

Figure 5.7 Loop Melody

At those points, the song's melody moves from D to a high B note, which is the highest note sung. Machin (2010:101) suggests higher pitches are related with outward expressions of emotions. It is at these points in the melody where lyrics and images articulate discourses of 'unity' and 'Kılıçdaroğlu and CHP as rescuers'. It is the role of the melody here to add positive emotions to such discourses. For example, in the first part of the song, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu is represented as a knight who will fight for the rights of society. While lyrics of 'the sun will rise after the darkness' are sung, the melody peaks. Here, the melody adds emotional strength to this line, a line which offers hope in the form of CHP election success to a "dark" situation.

Elsewhere, the same discourse can be identified. The same melody is used later in the song. When the melody goes from the D up to the B, lyrics are 'let's put a light into the darkness together'. Previous lines in the lyrics highlight government corruption represented in this line as "darkness". But again, it is the melody which emphasises emotional attachment by suggesting together (let us) rid the country of corruption which is assigned to AKP. This corruption can stop by voting for Kılıçdaroğlu and CHP. Here again, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu and CHP are rescuers, this time from corruption.

A unity discourse is also suggested through these melodic patterns. While vocals sing 'My Turkey you nestle him too' and 'you are Anatolia, grows in its ashes.' At 'him' and 'growth' the melody peaks, him being Kılıçdaroğlu. In the first instance, it is he who the nation "nestles", united around their admiration and comfort. In the second instance, it is "Anatolia", the traditional part of Turkey which is used as a unifying theme. And it is the growth from Anatolia to the whole of Turkey which is given emotional emphasis, the growth which unites Turks in the

modern day Turkey. This way, by defining its unity area as a whole nation, CHP's campaign song has the meaning potential of unity around CHP.

From another perspective, the chorus underlines confidence at winning the election. High pitched male vocals can carry the sense of domination (van Leeuwen, 1999:134). Louder sounds have the meaning potential of weight and power (Machin, 2012:340). As mentioned above, the lyrics in the chorus are 'swordsman Kılıçdaroğlu is coming.' These words presuppose 'Kılıçdaroğlu is going to win the election', that is he is coming to the rescue by coming to power. With the combination of lyrics and a high pitched male choir, this has the meaning potential that CHP will dominate the election. Another way that confidence is emphasised in CHP's media product is the number of notes used in the song. In the song there are only eight notes used. According to Machin (2010:109), a melody with a small number of notes can give the sense of confidence. Here, confidence is inferred yet again.
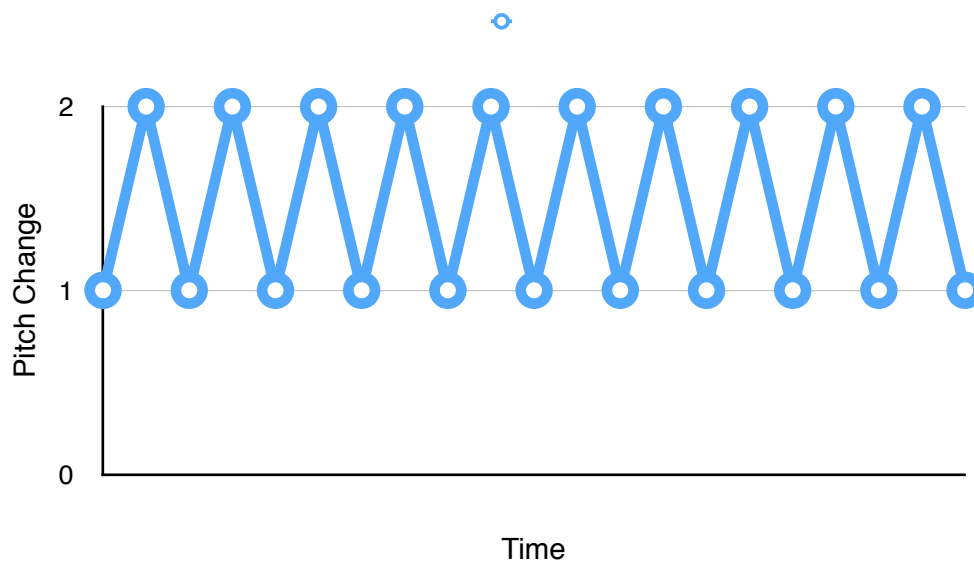

Figure 5.8 Introduction

Another discourse drawn upon in the choices of musical sounds, is society is in danger. This can be seen in the composer's reference to Steven Spielberg's famous movie Jaws. In its most basic form, the leitmotif of the movie consists of two notes continuously repeating itself from the main note and its minor second (for example, E, F[3]). In the leitmotif of the Spielberg's movie, this movement in the melody represents a coming of the shark named Jaws and a coming danger or something evil (Wingstedt, 2010, 7). In CHP's video, this movement is used. In the song it is possible to observe the same movement from E to F, which can be heard at the beginning of the introduction and during the bridge part of the song (see the figure 5.8). The coming danger in the song can be link to a discourse of society is in danger. The coming danger may be a poll defeat for CHP and/or the danger of an AKP win. The riff is a warning to the voters of a poll defeat for CHP which will be dangerous for society.

Together, musical sounds, lyrics and visuals articulate discourses against AKP. They also articulate discourses of unity and positivity surrounding Kılıçdaroğlu. However, these discourses are also exclusive. They do not suggest an all-inclusive Turkey, but one which follows CHP ideals and policies. Excluded are middle and upper-class religious Turks. In fact, representations of AKP voters and party officials are very negative. As such, the video articulates an exclusive vision of Turkey, one which polarises Turkey.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

In terms of their policies AKP and CHP might look very different. However, they both have in common a desire to gain power through votes. If we look at the main discourses that are used in the AKP's campaign song, we see unity over religion, social conservatism and a common past are the discourses which are emphasised.

In order to underline unity over a common past, AKP alludes to discourses of the past when social exclusion and discrimination were are part of some people's past in Turkish society. In order to do this, in the visuals of the song this layer of the society is personalised. These are women who are wearing the hijab, dressed traditionally, or at least conservatively. Moreover, the representation of men is not different, they are in traditional clothes or dressed in conservative clothing. The way this layer of society is personalised in the clip gives us hints about the religious and social conservatism discourses of the party. This way AKP's discourses in the video occur in many levels. As can be seen in this example, while a common past as a discourse is articulated, religious and socially conservative discourses are combined together. In addition to that, the song's lyrics are also addressing the same unity discourse by overlexicalisation of words such as "aynı" (same). For example, "aynı yoldan geçmişiz biz" (we passed the same path) in the first line, can be seen as referring to the common sufferings that a specific layer of society has been through. This metaphor becomes clearer in the same line by referring to "yazımız bir kışımız bir, bir Allah'ın kuluyuz biz" (our summer is the same, our winter is the same, we are one God's creatures). In this way, the song is drawing upon the policies of the

pre-AKP governments, where the hijab was banned in the universities and government institutions, and there were some limitations on the religious culture. Those policies are represented negatively in the lyrics such as 'winter' that was faced during the road metaphor. Also overlexicalisation of 'our' and 'we' underline this unity. In this way, AKP's music video clip's lyrics represents AKP policies aligned to the excluded and discriminated layers of Turkey's society in the past.

CHP's music video clip's visuals prefer a counter argument to this discourse of a unity over religion and conservatism. Since Islam as a religion doesn't offers a direct dress code for men, hijab wearing women are represented in the CHP's clip and they are represented as they are also suffering through AKP's neoliberal policies. The counter argument of CHP to the unity discourse of AKP occurs in a ground that society is suffering from AKP's policies and at every level of the society, including the religious level of the society. In order to underline that, hijab wearing women are represented negatively, where women are collecting stuff from the rubbish or waiting hopelessly. This argument fails when the middle class, upper middle class or rich religious people, who benefit from AKP's neoliberal policies are not represented. CHP doesn't have an argument to offer those levels of Turkish society, whose effect is wider in the different levels of the Turkish voters. Moreover, CHP's campaign song underlines the danger of AKP polices at different levels. One way that dangerous atmosphere is underlined is the guitar riff used in the opening and the bridge parts of the musical sounds. Every vocal line in the song has this riff. This riff is a very famous melody that can be recognised from Steven Spielberg's jaws movies. This riff consists of two notes in the closest pitch and repeats itself. In this way, a stressful atmosphere is created to alert the listener to danger which is getting closer. On the contrary, AKP's song is creating a joyful atmosphere, where it represents the fun of getting together and this joyfulness is supported in the lyrics

with the usage of the words 'gush', 'altogether'. From this approach, while CHP prefers to underline stress and danger, AKP prefers an easy going, joyful one in terms of their music video clip's general atmosphere.

This stressful atmosphere that was created in the CHP music video clip is related to governing party AKP. First of all this can be seen in the lyrics. For example, the lyrics tell us that 'You were feeding robbers not the public'. These lyrics imply the government is founding illegal organisations. These lyrics and the stressful atmosphere leaves itself to a rise in chorus parts melody. With the lyrics 'swordsman Kılıçdaroğlu is coming,' this melody has its meaning potential to Kılıçdaroğlu is a saviour from the negative representations in the song. Moreover in the visuals of the clip, religious women are represented as welcoming Kılıçdaroğlu, but lower class women are represented and again Kılıçdaroğlu is represented as a savour. The savour discourse is articulated in the lyrics, image and music. It can be seen as a typical opposition party's discourse. However this discourse of savour doesn't underline how those levels of society will be saved or will be in a better position under the CHP's government. To the contrary, AKP's campaign song includes elements that listeners can feel connected to. This connection is created with the well-chosen discourses that target selected voters who were the excluded and discriminated layer of the society and now benefit (or at least feel they belong) from AKP policies.

At this point I would like to extend this target voters' profile a little bit. This layer of the society is not directly underlined in the song, which is a good strategy. Socially excluded and discriminated layers occurred in Turkish society in many levels and many different times, which includes the modernity project of the Republic and military coups. These all created their own 'other' during the time.

AKP's movement is referencing those 'others' but stays in a position that the layer of the society can rethink their own suffering. AKP's song leaves the imagination to the listener so they can create their own way to communicate with the song. Through this perspective, AKP campaign song is a success. All the same, both campaign music video clips promote ideas of Turkey which represent Turkey in ways which benefit the parties. These clips are about expressions of ideology, articulating discourses which aid in each party's desire for power but also exclude and divide Turkey and its population.

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Appendix 1

Aynı yoldan geçmişiz biz/ We passed the same path

Aynı sudan içmişiz biz/ We drunk the same water

Yazımız bir kışımız bir/ Our summer is same, our winter is same

Aynı dağın yeliyiz biz/ We are the wind of the same mountain

Şarkılar bir türküler bir/ Songs are the same, Ballads are the same

Hep beraber söyleriz biz/ We sing together

Halaylar bir horonlar bir/ Halays are the same, Horons are the same

Aynı sazın teliyiz biz/ We are the strings of the same saz

Gönüller bir dualar bir/ Hearts are the same, prayers are the same

Bir Allahın kuluyuz biz/ We are one god's creatures

Has bahçemiz yurdumuzdur/ Our private garden is our land

Aynı bağın gülüyüz biz/ We are the roses of the same garden

Haydi bi daha bidaha bidaha/ Let's again, again again

Hep beraber söyleyelim/ Let's sing it together

Vur şu davula bidaha bidaha/ Hit the drum, again again

Hem çoşup hem söyleyelim./ Lets gush and sing

Appendix 2

Kılıçlar çekildi bu bir düello/ Swords are drown this is a duel

Kısa çöp uzun çöpten hakkını alacak/ Short stick and long stick will get its right

Karanlığın sonunda güneş olacak/ there will be sun after the darkness

Geliyor Kılıçdar Kılıçdaroğlu/ Swordman Kılıçdaroğlu is coming

Yalanın talanın göründü sonu/ The end of the lie and pillage is seen

Soruyor Kılıçdar Kılıçdaroğlu/ Swordman Kılıçdaroğlu asks

Türkiyem sen de bas bağrına O'nu/ My Turkey you nestle him too

Geliyor Kılıçdar Kılıçdaroğlu/ Swordman Kılıçdaroğlu is coming

Hem temiz hem dürüst bir insanoğlu/ Clean and honest human being

Soyulmuş boğulmuş lal olsan bile/ Even if they are robbed and drowned garnet

Halkımız yeniden gelecek dile/ Our public will speak again

Bir değil on değil milyonlar ile/ Not one, ten, but millons

Geliyor Kılıçdar Kılıçdaroğlu/ Swordman Kılıçdaroğlu is coming

Hem temiz hem dürüst bir insanoğlu/ Clean and honest human being

Sırtından halk değil harami doydu/ Through you robbers are feeded not public

Ödenen diyetin sebebi neydi/ What was the reason of the pay off

Karanlığa bir ışık tutalım haydi/ Let's enlight the darkness