LISTENING TO TURKISH COUP ATTEMPT BEHIND LOUDSPEAKERS

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Abstract
This thesis explores the meanings and roles of electroacoustic mediums in Turkey in the case of the coup attempt of July 15, 2016. Although the sounds of the failed coup received controversial reactions from different social circles and therefore engendered various consequences, sounds that were echoed from loudspeakers of radio and megaphones had a great impact on political and social behavior during and after the coup attempt. This event is an exceptional example of how the ingredients of quotidian soundscape are transformed into politically charged sounds and led various reactions from different social circles. The aim of this thesis is to understand the constituents of electroacoustic soundscape that mediate social and political relationships in Turkey in the context of coup attempt, following different dimensions of people’s experiences, reflections, and consequences of political soundscapes. The outcomes and the process of study are discussed through two audio documentaries that are inspired by personal reflections of political, cultural, and emotional effects of the coup attempt.

Keywords  electroacoustic, soundscape, Turkish coup attempt, radio documentary
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1. Introduction

1.1. Motivation

On 14th of July, 2016, I arrived back in Finland from my summer visit in Turkey. The next evening, July 15, during a casual chat on Skype I incidentally witnessed an occurrence that was to have a major impact on Turkey: Jets began to fly unusually, portending an abnormal situation. News about military blockade on the main bridges in Istanbul has emerged in the mass media. Following the invasion of airports and confrontation of military forces and police, the military manifest, on which the Minister of National Defence commented “pirate”, was forcibly read on the channels of national broadcasting company, TRT. Whereupon Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan appeared on CNN-Türk live broadcast via FaceTime and exhorted the nation to occupy main squares and airports, people flocked to streets with their flags and slogans. These chants were to be accompanied by Ezan, a special prayer, albeit outside its regular hours. The night continued with statements from Turkish Armed Forces and the government officials, conflicts in significant buildings such as TRT Istanbul Radio, Police Department and Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM), gunfire and explosions, and sonic booms of high-speed military jets. Moreover, incessant newsflash engendered many speculative conjectures regarding the persons behind this insurrection. Independent reported on 25th of July: “Since the failed coup, many people have alleged on social media that the armed uprising in which more than 250 people were killed was orchestrated by the government.” Reverberations of this failed coup were perused, discussed, and criticized; but mostly within the limits of the government-controlled media. It is, therefore, arguable that the public was offered a wide range of aspects for a thorough understanding.

From the first roar of low-flying jets to silenced music of the radio on the grounds of State of Emergency, all kinds of sounds permeated the case of the coup attempt. I followed the news intensively during the night, but in terms of my very own senses, the only thing I could do from a distance was to listen, albeit through a digital communication agent. Emergence of the uprising, menacing aircraft, counteraction, and public panic manifested itself aurally. The future of the country was anticipated via
sounds heard and the personal emotions that these sounds had triggered. What made people go to streets to raise their voice, or in contrast, stay at their homes, was an ascendant call from megaphones of minarets. Since these aspects, i.e. manifestation, anticipation and controlling public were highly dependent on the sounds, whereas never have been brought forward; I decided to unfold the sonic content of the failed coup and analyse its relationship with the society.

This thesis focuses on the electroacoustic dimensions of the soundscape, particularly the sounds that are mediated through megaphones and the radio. This limitation was a necessity due to the scope of a master’s thesis; yet, being detached from their original sources, electroacoustic sounds have been very influential on natural sounds of the people. Schizophonia that prevailed over the night of the coup attempt proved to be more than an acoustic entity. Symbolic meanings were diffused among social circles through omnipresent sounds. Sonic medium was the conveyor of information, emotion, and reaction between the crisis and individuals, families, neighbourhoods and bigger communities.

The case of the coup attempt of July 15 has potential to unfold reciprocal effects of disembodied sounds and the social and political life in Turkey. Moreover, the study of sound, which concerns aural aspects of the environment and its interaction with individuals, is not yet well established in the scholar milieu in Turkey. Even though there are various soundscape projects and researches that are developed in Istanbul, these studies would remain insufficient. My observation that most of my interviewees tended to express their feelings through sound events without any particular question exemplifies the strong connections between Turkish society and its acoustic environment. Therefore, employment of sonic approaches in order to explore multifaceted issues within contemporary Turkey would provide a valid case.

1.2. Formulating the Thesis

I have started to work on this study approximately two months after the coup was attempted. My first step was to refer to previous studies in order to have an overall understanding of the relationship between sonic environment and society, which
contains multiple power structures. In addition to that, I had to explore the electroacoustic profile of Turkish culture specifically. With the guidance of related researches and analyses, I had to form an efficient approach. As the coup attempt of July 15 was so recent that its echoes were still persisting, and also due to the insufficiency of soundscape studies in Turkey as mentioned above, I have planned to dedicate a considerable amount of my study to the experiences of the people who had witnessed the coup attempt. I was prepared to make interviews with approximately thirty people from different backgrounds and political opinions. Because only then I would have been able to attain a reliable ethnographic data in order to analyse the variety of effects that electroacoustic mediums did on larger communities in the coup.

During the research process, however, two crucial problems occurred successively. Due to a never-ending delay of administrative procedures, I had to stay in Finland during the time that I aimed to spend for a fieldwork in Turkey, which was going to be the most crucial part of this research. Nevertheless, I continued interviewing as many people as I could, mostly via Skype. As a result, I could have discussions with only thirteen people. Fortunately, they had different views to the coup attempt, as well as the Turkish politics in general. Besides, their professions and the age range varied. Therefore, our conversations have been very informative, albeit online, and almost everyone consented to a sound recording. Moreover, the obligation to collect ethnographic data through a lo-fi mediation in fact proved to enhance the theme of electroacoustic representation of soundscapes of the coup attempt.

Following the first hindrance, a listening experience reshaped the direction of the thesis by interfering with my motivation, and moreover, severely affecting my psychology. Halfway through the thesis, I decided to dedicate an adequate time for a listening exercise. I gathered various amateur recordings made by witnesses, walkie-talkies, and other materials that document the actions in streets from the Web. After showering my ears with them for about an hour, I started to shudder. I was enormously agitated by the sounds of all kinds of brutal voices that were represented in a great detail. Besides, they were as close as my headphones. An amalgam of fear, anger, disgust and pity that possessed me has ruined my “cool documentary journalist” standpoint, and therefore, my efforts to maintain objectivity.
Where was I, then? Who was I? A researcher, an artist, a citizen, an immigrant? It seemed impossible to emancipate from confusion and take a firm position. Perhaps the most important factor that influenced my unstable attitude was the very reality of my cultural closeness, yet physical distance to the location of the event. Listening the sounds from the heart of the night of the coup was a merciless reminder that I had been living in Finland since the onset of the failed coup. I took for granted that I was absolutely able to understand the effects of sounds on people. However, the sounds I have listened taunted me, so to speak, showing that I was clueless when I write about violence on a peaceful land. After this experience, every instance occurred more dramatic on the text. I could not refrain myself to write subjectively; each phrase reminded me of the recordings that I had irritated me. Yet, one cannot question an undergone experience anymore.

My search for a solution resulted in an idea to utilize the very sounds to discuss and write the coup attempt of July 15. This thesis is thus featured by two short audio documentaries. Although their forms and contexts differ, both pieces reflected my research process and its outcomes fruitfully. Furthermore, they provided a reliable guideline for framing the written part of the research as well. The contribution of the audio works helped the thesis to recover. As a result, the text has both emerged from, and sprouted through the sounds of Turkish coup attempt naturally.

1.3. Structure

As a research on the soundscape of the attempted coup of July 15 needs a comprehensive background given the political and cultural aspects of sonic relationships in the country, the next chapter of the thesis outlines electroacoustic communication agents in Turkey. Growing up in its metropolis Istanbul, and living for two years in its capital Ankara, I consider myself having an intrinsic understanding of sonic hints that constitutes the uniqueness of Turkey, even though this assumption has failed to present the coup attempt objectively. Yet, my cultural familiarity would be a bonus to interdisciplinary approaches that sound studies offer when dealing with the radio and public addressing practices during earlier times.
In the third chapter, I explore the role of the sounds behind loudspeakers in the emergence and the aftermath of the coup attempt. Throughout the chapter, experiences of different interviewees play a significant role opening up various interpretations of the same sounds. The sound materials that I refer, on the other hand, brings schizophonic interpretations of the moment. The dynamics in viewpoints ramify the deductions. It leads to the fourth chapter, in which I describe my short audio documentaries, “Echoes of the Coup D’état” and “Rëportaj | Interview”. I elaborate the creative process including the background of the pieces, their contribution to the research, artistic choices and detailed storylines.

Finally, I conclude the thesis with final outcomes, constraints, and an overview of prospective developments of this work.

Note

I have provided English translations of all direct quotes from Turkish sources and interviews that were held in Turkish. Unless specified otherwise, all translations from Turkish are mine.
2. Overview: Listening to Turkey Through the Loudspeakers

2.1. New Acoustic Space

*Early Practices*

Electroacoustic\(^1\) contribution to the soundscape of Turkey dates back to the early twentieth century when the first experiments with wireless transmission were made by amateur broadcasters. Upon the emergence of the need for a better communication technology during Independence War (1919 - 1923), the *wireless telephone*, namely radio, began to be developed as a variation of wireless telegraphy (Kocabaşoğlu, 1980, p. 9). During the 1920s, Organization of Post and Telegraph (PTT) started to build the wireless station. Subsequently, Turkish Wireless Telephone Corporation (TTTAŞ) was given the charge of radio broadcasting. In May 1927, broadcasts started to reach its audience regularly after a public announcement in two languages (Turkish and French) from the loudspeaker installed to the PTT building\(^2\).

Especially after the foundation of Turkish Republic in 1923, radio was considered as a medium to inform the society about executions of this new government and to increase cultural literacy. Nurgün Koç (2012) draws an analogy between radio and ancient agora (p. 71). Similar to the latter, radio is a place to gather and exchange ideas, knowledge, and art. The loudspeaker of PTT was one of the first examples of such aural connection between the government and the public. Deducing from Koç’s remark, it is apt to imagine that the loudspeaker transformed Sirkeci Square into an agora, where a

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\(^1\) Throughout the thesis, I employ the term “electroacoustic” as what Truax (2001) explains as “the electronic generation of sound without an original acoustic source” (p. 9). In other words, “electroacoustic” refers the quality of a sound that is produced from an electronic medium. For instance, loudspeakers of public addressing systems and radio reproduce human voice detached from the body through electronic transmission, which would be the most significant example for this study.

community of a rooted culture has met fresh ideas of the new state in a shared sonic environment.

Radio broadcasting in Turkey was nationalized in 1938 and moved from Istanbul to the new capital Ankara, which, as Meltem Ahıskalı suggested, “represented the ‘ground zero’” for the construction of the new nation after the National Struggle (2010, p. 18). The founders gave importance to electroacoustic means in order to communicate the revolutions and modernisation to the society. The following statement of the government would prove such approach:

Ankara Radio often has the honour of being the ear of the nation and the mouth of the Government in order to announce the realities, whether bitter or sweet. (as cited in Koç, 2012, p. 76).

This remark has been vastly scrutinized. Kocabaroğlu (1980) finds it controversial as he argues that radio was devoid of any discussion about social problems from different perspectives of various ideologies (p. 251). Besides, being “the ear of the people and the mouth of the government” was a difficult task due to not only the necessity of trustworthiness, but also the complex structure of the nation, which consists of e.g. many different religious and ethnic minorities. Given that there were different audiences in different parts of the country, “radio had to introduce a plurality of forms for the sake of having an impact on the audience” (Ahıskalı, 2010, p. 24). The regime aimed the loudspeaker to achieve, in Arnheim’s words, “unity in multiplicity” (1936, p. 252) with a balanced content including culture, education, politics, and entertainment, engaging a public interest.

However, “official rhetoric and populism proved challenging to reconcile” (Ahıskalı, 2010, p. 24). Contents of programs were criticized profoundly. Radio magazines such as Radyonun Sesi (“Voice of the Radio”) and Telsiz (“Wireless”) included commentaries and complaints about music repertoire or superficialness of talk shows. In addition to printed media, the audience was offered an opportunity to participate in this coexisting social space behind the loudspeaker by contributing the content itself. One of the earliest broadcasts, Posta Kutusu (“Mailbox”), allowed the audience become intertwined with the radio. The show was dedicated to radio listeners’ letters and responses to their curiosity
and various questions about radio. Koç (2012) notes that the program received hundreds of wholehearted letters, which evince that most listeners utilized this service to communicate and stay in contact with distant family members or friends reciprocally (p. 80). This broadcast, therefore, evinces the sincere interest of Turkish audience in the electroacoustic form of communication.

It is indisputable that Turkish radio, while permeating the domestic society, existed on international domain of aural communication as well. It had the mission of shaping and contributing the modernity and the creation of a new nation; but also the political behaviour of the government in domestic and foreign affairs shaped the content of radio inevitably. Turkish broadcasts included foreign languages and introduced the political issues, culture, and accomplishments of the country to foreign audiences. Ankara Radio embodied the neutrality of Turkey by broadcasting unbiased and therefore trustworthy news during the crucial times of World War II, explains Jülide Gülizar³, a veteran radio speaker. Meanwhile, the voice of Turkey was also heard in foreign radios in the cause of political strategies given the criticality of this era⁴. Thus, it is possible to say that the electroacoustic medium provided a door to the outlands channelling political and cultural exchanges.

Following the internal and foreign circumstances, liberalistic attitudes were reflected in radio practices as the new regulations concerned the rights of also dissident ideas (Asker, 2014, p. 128). After 1950s, however, the state-owned radio started to serve the ruling party as an instrument of propaganda. Exploiting the power of reaching mass audience, new government of multi-party system excluded voices of the opposition. The content of the radio became unilaterally politicized. In the following chapters, it will be elaborated that how such partisanship acutely oppresses the soundscape of contemporary Turkey today, and moreover, how it deepens the polarization in the society by discriminating the audience as well.

³ From Gülizar's interview in a documentary film Cumhuriyetin Radyolu Günleri (“Radio Days of the Republic”). This documentary is produced by Tarih Vakfı (Foundation of History) for 75th year of Republic in 1998.

⁴ For further details regarding the relationship between broadcasting politics and foreign affairs in Turkey during WWII, see Kocabaşoğlu, 1980, p. 242-248.
**Electroacoustic Democracy**

Throughout the history of Turkey, employment of sound in behalf of propaganda has not been limited with radio broadcasts. For instance, before the elections of 1943, 78-rpm records were distributed to provinces by Republican People’s Party (CHP) and played from the loudspeakers of municipalities (Alkan, 2004, p. 46). Although initially it was not so common, 45-rpm records started to pervade Turkish elections after 1960s. Alkan (2004) categorizes these records used commonly during the period of 1961 - 1980 as three groups: (1) candidate parties’ own propaganda records, (2) commercial records that either support or criticize a party or its leader, and (3) records of political humour (p. 46). They reflected different ideologies through wide range of aural disciplines such as poems, popular music, composed anthems, and short plays. Loudspeakers of public places were charged with political voices, but meanwhile representing multiplicity and freedom of expressions.

Is it then possible to define the qualities of the democratic events by electroacoustic means? How effective is the electroacoustic medium effective on democracy? Sage Dictionary of Sociology describes democracy as a practice where it is possible for everyone to have a say in decisions (Bruce & Yearley, 2006, p. 66). In other words, democracy offers everyone in the society the possibility to equally raise voice. Thus, a setting where democratic methods are practised would have a potential to establish ideological equality. From the atmosphere of “45-rpm elections” until the night of the failed coup in 2016, which the current Turkish government and its supporters pronounced as “the day of democracy”, the norms of social equality have been changing. This change is beyond elections and official procedures, since balances of power exist within wide range of relationships from smallest to largest social circles. The following section, therefore, explores the components of sonic equilibrium in Turkey and their interaction within the amplified soundscape.
2.2. Amplified Streets

Vendors

I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed:
At first there is a gentle breeze
And the leaves on the trees
Softly sway;
Out there, far away,
The bells of water-carriers unceasingly ring;
I am listening to Istanbul, intent, my eyes closed.

(...)

Orhan Veli Kanık

In 1949, pioneering the First New Movement (namely Garip), Orhan Veli [Kanık] wrote one of the most popular poems in Turkish literature. With the simplicity in the language, “I am Listening to Istanbul” (Kanık, 1990 [1951]; Halman, 1997) is an exceptional work that addresses the reader’s ears directly. Even in the first lines the wind is heard by swaying leaves on trees, then follows a sonic fragment from quotidian city life: never-ending bells of water-carriers: I remember that it was a very exciting moment as a child when I hear a seller man with Boza\(^5\) in his demijohn shouting with a special melody during winter evenings. Although Orhan Veli’s remark was already disappeared by then, itinerant vendors have made notable contributions to soundscape of Turkey. They are invisible indicators of time and space. Boza-seller calls at night, milkman sings a unique melody imitating a cow sound in the morning, and sounds of water-carriers blossom in the summer. Albeit their variety depending on the location, product, or even the seller himself or herself; sounds from Turkish vendors have been constituting the feeling of familiarity, home, and safety for residences of neighbourhoods. They are so internalized by communities that these characteristics have been treated vastly in popular culture including Turkish cinema (i.e. Yeşilçam), music, and literature. Drape sellers, for example, had a particular saying: “Draper is here, lady!”. It was a cliché in Yeşilçam pictures: A grifter who disguises himself as woman utters this line, gains the confidence of household, and then easily sneaks into the house.

\(^5\) A local drink made with yeast.
One can assume that those sounds are declined today. However, they do exist rather on motor vehicles with megaphones. Another remarkable example can be found in Nesli Çölgeçen’s popular movie Zügürt Ağa (“The Broken Landlord”, 1985), where an inexpert tomato seller (Şener Şen) is very shy about talking to his megaphone, and eventually he gets more excited as he sees potential customers when he starts to shout louder. In the beginning, he is timid and concerned about disturbing people with the loud noise that he will cause. What happens then is that he gets engaged with the privilege of occupying the street; or rather, participating in the local soundscape to communicate with the buyer-audience. If the megaphone is a tool to address customers, then the seller is in need of using it to the fullest. Improvised ingenious melodies in combination with competence in vocal skills are at the core of itinerant vendors’ contribution to Turkish soundscapes. The seller demonstrates a sincere creativity and subtlety with a wide range of sound references and vocal imitations in order to invite the customer. Outcomes from the interviews that are made for this study show that inhabitants agree on that these calls from megaphones are far from being prosaic when compared to the past; contrarily, genuineness and authenticity have not lost a jot.

Religion

Just like the “broken landlord,” possessing the power to be dominant in the soundscape one will bear a big responsibility. Perhaps one of the most evident sonic gestures that prevail over the soundscape, and therefore require such responsibility is the Ezan, namely prayer calls. During 1970s and 1980s, urbanization in Turkey resulted in problems such as public transport, population growth and noise pollution, as well as power cuts due to shortcomings with infrastructures in big cities. Because of these frequent cuts, muezzins often had to call for prayers with bare voice. My mother remembers this uncommon situation from her childhood:

We used to stop and actually listen to this bare voice with astonishment. It was coming from a distance faintly, but also awakening deep meanings and emotions.

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*Muezzin is a person who recitates prayer calls from a mosque.*
In principle, muezzin slowly makes one round around the minaret, given its architectural quality, in order to make his voice heard from all sides throughout the prayer call. This procedure started to be substituted by amplification systems after 1960s, in parallel with electroacoustic methods with election propaganda. According to some interviewees, the first installations of megaphones did not seem to change the feeling of astonishment that prayer calls give. However, after minarets were embellished by a set of four megaphones all round (or eight, if the mosque has two minarets), sonic aesthetics and sensitivity in the urban space became controversial.

**Religion and Ideology**

Call for prayer has been strongly connected with Turkey and Turkish culture, rising from minarets five times a day. The broadness of prayer calls from mosques is a reminder of the divine, omnipresence of no particular body. It is deeply respected by the society resulting in e.g. turning off the music player during the prayer. But lately this respect appears to be unilateral. Complaints regarding the noise levels of prayer calls get severe reactions, especially from conservative milieus. In Bianet, it was reported that a case in 2012 has been dismissed by the court of law, with the explanation of “Ezan cannot be defined as noise”, even though it exceeds the legal limit of 65 decibels (Karaca, 2012). Theologians opposed this decision. In the same report in Bianet, Prof. Dr. Emin İşik emphasizes that such cases are the concern of artistic debates, aesthetics and living culture, rather than religion (ibid, para. 8). Today, it is more of political and partisan discourse. Imams, who are key figures within the institution of religion, “are employed by ideologies of the ruling government”, remarks an interviewee, explaining that sermons become more biased against antagonistic expressions.

When the impact is strengthened with physical reinforcement via amplification, religious utterance undertakes the responsibility of acoustic sovereignty. Thus, being under the yoke of politics or any particular ideology has the peril of eradicating its redemptive power. When legislative body and political rhetoric are bereft of reconciliation, as in the above-mentioned example, any democratic solution is impeded by bigotry. As a consequence, discrimination, tension and polarization become compounded among society through religious sensitivity.
Ideology and Politics

Today, persuasion is enhanced with rhetoric, which implements political ideology directly to the emotions of the audience, surpassing the reasoning. It is known that the members of Turkey’s current ruling party, AKP, are skilled with oratory, which intensifies their ability to influence rather conservative and pious communities through the expressiveness of their ideology. It must be also noted that the ears of the contemporary society obliviously hear the segregation of religious and ethnic groups in the political discourse. This will be elaborated in the following chapters in the context of the coup attempt, as it exemplifies that having the competence of using electroacoustic addressing, political power overwhems the soundscape of personal and social feelings for its own expediency.

It should be noted, however, that the domination of a political ideology in the soundscape is nothing new. My parents tell the remembrances of the 12 September 1980 Turkish coup d’état:

After it happened, streets were refined from any other sounds but the incessant megaphone announcement of countrywide curfew until a second order by military forces. There wasn’t even any sound of gunfire in this coup.

As people had to stay indoors, the only way to get information and access to the outside was by aural means. In the case of 1980 coup d’état, “the sonic forms a portal into invisible” (Goodman, 2012, p.13). The atmosphere of the coup was subjected to sonic dominance, which, Henriques (2003) explains, “occurs when and where the sonic medium displaces the usual or normal dominance of the visual medium” (p. 452). Unlike invitatatory prayer calls, military used the sonic power as “oppression and subjugation” (ibid, p. 453). It is then possible to say that political symbol of megaphone creates the “sonic warfare continuum”, as Goodman puts, which possesses centrifugal and centripetal qualities (2012, p. 11). Megaphone became a centrifugal instrument in the context of military insurgence, whereas it carries centripetal meanings when it is used for political advertisement purposes for election campaigns, considering the increment with sonic mobility by the usage of motor vehicles equipped with public addressing systems after 1983.
Objectivity

“A megaphone is provided for the village, and anyone can use it except the Imam.”

In contrast to its deeper meanings, a witty clause written in Vikipedi about Emirinköyü might aim to rescue the megaphone from any religious or ideologist context. It provides a good example for secular, objective and participatory contents of the multifunctional public addressing in provinces.

“Attention please! A child has been found in the market place,” and his parents are kindly asked to pick him up. “There will be a wedding celebration in the central park next to the village coffeehouse, starting at 16:00”. “A new grocery store is opening tomorrow, all the folks are invited to the opening”. The driver of the 34AB77-plated car apparently parked wrongly...

Inhabitants of Geyikli are quite familiar with these announcements from the megaphone, which is positioned on a pole in the main square, serving as an “audio newspaper.” News about important days, any visitor, warnings, or advertisements are announced from the megaphone of the village. Accordingly, the content of electroacoustic environment of the town is highly dependent on its inhabitants. We would remember that Posta Kutusu (“Mailbox”) broadcasts had also achieved such interactivity behind the loudspeakers of radio. The oppressiveness on the one hand, and the mutuality of sonic inputs and outputs on the other; its acoustic and symbolic meanings make the megaphone an ultimate medium for aural communication for public, whether it be an announcer of a wedding or a coup d’état.

In Turkey, there are many references that show sonic exchanges within the social conversation. Truax (2001) explains this phenomenon as “acoustic community”, which, in his words, “may be defined as any soundscape in which acoustic information plays a pervasive role in the lives of the inhabitants” (p. 58). For instance, considering the inclination of Turkish drivers, some teachers in driving schools emphasize that car horn is for emergency use only, not for greeting others! It is a case that greeting does not require words; rather, the pattern of sound “mediates [this] relationship” (ibid p. 26). As another example, power cuts in Turkey prompt an exclamation of “Aaaa!” with

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7 A village in Afyonkarahisar, Turkey.
8 A village in Çanakkale, Turkey.
descending glissando that vocally imitates the breakdown of electricity, particularly in smaller communities such as families. That particular expression requires no further explanation about the condition of electricity. Because, the dialogue involves more references than the semantic information, as Ursula Le Guin says: “it is a language, a function of a society, a culture, in which the language, the speaker, and the hearer are all embedded” (as cited in Popova, 2015, para. 3). The sound mediates an input that accumulates social meanings and emotions, and an output that carries the feedback of the sonic experience in the contemporary culture.

2.3. Towards July 15

The relationship between such sonic inputs and outputs in the electroacoustic realm will guide the following chapter of the thesis. It will be explored that in the context of the coup, singular utterances contained the dualism of encouragement and pressure, unification and discrimination, reactivity and ingorance, or participation and dominance. Yet, albeit this semantic abundance, various interpretations are still connected to the sonic exchanges in Turkish culture that are hitherto outlined.

From the first installation of public radio to the invisible existence of aural communication in everyday life, electroacoustic means involve economic, religious, and political voices. Since its adolescence, the loudspeaker proved to be an effective medium for a chain of communication from smallest groups to mass audience. Individuals, society, administration and government are the leitmotifs and hinges of the loudspeakers within cultural structure. Moving towards the coup attempt, however, electroacoustic instruments will extend the dynamics of these quotidian sounds. Political appropriation of the sonic environment will outcast some of its inhabitants, whose voices I will try to listen from the interstice of virtual communication.
3. The Coup Attempt

The Night of July 15

The emergence of the coup starts with the sounds of low-flying jets.

Government ministers explain the coup attempt on television via phone interviews.

Manifesto of rioting military forces is read on TRT channels.

Newsflash reflects the panic in the media.

President Erdoğan invites people to occupy streets, airports, and main squares.

Prayer calls begin to overwhelm the soundscape of the cities.

Public reactions differ. Partisanship manifests itself.
3.1. The Emergence of the Coup

Given the public acclimation to social unrest as a result of frequent terror attacks in Turkey in the last few years, the first signals of the coup attempt of July 15 were initially regarded insouciantly. When the traffic was blocked on Istanbul’s two main bridges, and riot control vehicles and police passed through the streets, people supposed that this was a forewarning of a terror attack or sabotage. However, the ensuing sounds of low flying military jets prompted public distress, and this time it was beyond the usual fear. The tension began to rise when the Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım explained that they consider a supposition of an “attempt”, on NTV via phone. It should be also noted that he continued with definitions such as illegal action, activity, and madness. Although the anchorwoman asked if this is a “coup”, Yıldırım avoided verbalizing the word.

Phone interviews with government ministers played a crucial role in the media during the first hours of the failed coup. Officials addressed the public through electroacoustic representation of their voices. Perhaps the most sensational case was President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s speech through the FaceTime app on the smartphone of CNN-Türk anchorwoman Hande Fırat. Although his voice travelled through the microphones of the smartphone to the television studio, “the distinctiveness of [his] voice, even transformed over the telephone, is recognizable” (Ihde, 2007, p.195). The declamation was so persuasive that it enticed his supporters into the streets regardless of the electroacoustic hitch due to hastiness of the situation. Moreover, for people like me who had to follow the events from a distance, an additional pair of loudspeakers distorted the quality of the voice even more; a voice which was already conveyed through lo-fi mediation. However, neither the lo-fi voice transmitted via the loudspeakers nor the live stream of the speech on the computer could misrepresent the severity of President’s call for help.
To some of my interviewees, however, military activities and panic in the media seemed like a deception. Firstly, the government composed and started to broadcast these events at 10 pm, they suspect, when most of the people were already watching television. Thus, the government's efforts to portray itself as the saviour of democracy, as well as the President's call, would reach the vast majority of the society. Secondly, not only interviewees but also several journalists argued that people who occupied streets to protest the military insurgence could have been informed beforehand about the advent of the coup. They found it surprising that the rally had started immediately. It takes time to gather, suspected an interviewee: “Before leaving home, you go to the toilet first!” Nevertheless, President’s resort to oratorical skills initiated the protest marches in the streets and provoked fervent dialogues behind the loudspeakers of media.

Meanwhile, military objectives were manifested through—thus interfered with—the national broadcasting company, TRT. For one of the interviewees, the most emotive part of the coup attempt was hearing the military statement from a newsreader who has a brilliant, clear Turkish articulation. She associated this statement with the military manifesto of the 1980 Turkish coup d'état, when people fearfully listened to the General

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9 “This coup was like a toy”, expressed an interviewee.

10 Here, she remarked a particular jargon in spoken language that is used to define such beautiful dictons. It can be translated as “TRT language,” or “Turkish of TRT”.

Figure 1: The president is on Hande Fırat’s smartphone. [Digital Image] Retrieved from http://www.cnnturk.com/yasam/hande-firat-cumhurbaskanini-yayina-aldigi-o-anlari-anlatti?page=1
of the Turkish Army, Kenan Evren. Rather than the content of the text, she continues, the acoustic feature and the context conjured temporal and spatial *surreality*. This exemplifies Torigoe’s (2002) suggestion that the perception of soundscape consists of both current sounds and accumulated sounds (p. 57). She was immersed in her auditory knowledge from the popular culture that employs historical references, such as the image of people who gather in front of the radio anxiously. Yet, among the myriad of unreliable information on Twitter, she adds, the broadcast was a reflection of pure *reality*. The dilemma shows that acoustic presence, cultural experience and the context were the main parameters to decipher the coup attempt via sonic inputs, which both obscured and clarified the situation.

In fact, the sounds that were broadcast during the failed coup were not necessarily extraordinary on the surface. If they were perused as sound objects, which Schafer suggests as “an abstract acoustical object for study,” while, on the contrary, as Schafer continues to explain, “the sound *event* is a symbolic, semantic or structural object for study, and therefore a nonababstractable point of reference ...” (1994, p. 274, emphasis mine), neither the content nor the medium itself could have an exclusive or significant effect on public or political behaviour. As the term sound event emphasizes the importance of context in the meaning making process, the onset of different emotional responses and social reactions was contingent on particular *events*, not sole sounds.

With the unusual context, the meaning making process varied. For instance, the prayer calls inherently define the rhythm of urban soundscape appearing five times a day. Albeit the controversies, such as loudness and religious sensitivity as mentioned in the previous chapter, inhabitants of sonic environment are accustomed to this rhythm. In the context of a military uprising, however, the rhythm of the recurrent prayer calls ceased to be monotonous and instead, appeared to sound aberrant. This uncanny context contradicted with existing knowledge of soundscape, which its inhabitants acquire via listening whether consciously or subconsciously. In his distinctive book *Acoustic Communication*, Barry Truax (2001) emphasizes that our interconnection with the environment is strongly related with our acoustic experience. He adds that we behave according to sounds, and their individual or communal power on us (p. 13). During the first hours of the coup attempt when military tanks blocked the main bridges, and drivers started to grumble angrily due to a huge traffic jam, an interviewee hesitated to
ask anyone anything. Because the sounds he had to behave according to those unfriendly sounds that had heard:

The radio was broken at that time and gas stations were full. On the highway there was an extraordinary traffic jam and intensive noise. People were shouting, some were swearing to Erdoğan, or cheering on him. ... My son was with me. I was afraid that they could have hurt us if they think that I am from the “opposite side.” I just waited in the car.

Sounds of the temper resembled his trauma of the 2014 Kurdish riots in Turkey, during which he had a similar experience of a “battlefield.” This experience shows that the acoustic knowledge provided a reference point to compare and understand the surrounding sounds of the attempted coup. When the same interviewee eventually arrived at his neighbourhood, he heard the prayer calls and subsequently the public announcements. “Then I comprehended the severity of the situation,” he said, “during the whole journey, I had no idea that a coup was happening.” His remark will remind the necessity of multiple sounds events for deciphering the coup attempt.

3.2. Prayer Calls

It would be apt to consider megaphones as the source of the most striking echo of July 15. Following the critical hours and the designation of the “coup attempt,” mosques started to air sermons and prayers upon the command of Religious Affairs. Ear-witnesses explained that although the sermons varied according to neighbourhoods, a certain prayer overwhelmed the cities and maintained social and political pulses in unison during the night.

The particular prayer that reverberated through the coup attempt, namely Selah, is different than regular prayer calls. Normally, Selah is read out only once before a daily prayer call when someone dies in the neighbourhood, and followed by the announcement of the lamented person and the time of the funeral ceremony. This sorrowful yet accustomed setting, therefore, is an indispensable part of local mourning
in traditional circumstances. But this time, from approximately 1:20 a.m. onwards, megaphones performed the sound of Sela simultaneously at the night of July 15.

Surrounding sounds of lamenting prayer evoked public fear of death. “As if my country is dead,” three interviewees expressed similarly. The appropriation of Sela during a military uprising made people anticipate an Islamic Revolution, a call for jihad similar to Middle Eastern conflicts. Mosques have become the centre of the military action. According to the experiences of an interviewee, Sela overwhelmed sonic booms, and thus, the coup had become the war of religious sounds. Besides, another interviewee realized that sounds from megaphones were louder than usual. She was frightened by this untimely oppressiveness of sonic power. Further expectations were dystopian; this coup was a rehearsal for a civil war, or an earthquake precursor.

**Religion and Politics**

In their article, Blondheim and Rosenberg (2017) discuss the power of simultaneous transmission of a sole message to myriads of people. They suggest that “God could be revealed by invoking his holy text, uttering it, transcribing it, or studying it” (p. 46). Normally, God’s presence is already remembered in particular intervals in the soundscape of Turkey via adhans. In the case of July 15, however, adhans sounded overpoweringly and ceaselessly, and this time it was not only God’s message.

The first prayer calls were followed by ideological expressions in addition to religious utterances. Some interviewees commented that mosques immersed the sound environment in a political setting. One of them experienced those moments:

> We heard jet flights and sounds of bombings; but we couldn’t see anything. Then, prayers started. Among Selas, Tayyip’s [Erdoğan] voice. His poem. He had a famous poem. ... That was read. By his voice; from a recorded tape, I guess.

The successive appearance of religious utterance and governmental lexicon resembled the discourse of Turkish politics today, which intertwines ideologies with oratorical skills as explained briefly in the previous chapter. Given the increasing segregation in
contemporary Turkey, a dichotomy between public reactions would be a likely consequence of the electroacoustic perversion. Hence, the soundscape of megaphones invigorated and encouraged those who espouse its message, whereas for others it was utterly oppressive. “People applaud [this poem], from the windows,” the same interviewee continues, “an applause rose from the neighbourhood, when the poem was heard.” This interviewee, however, describes these praises as a nightmare. Such an attitude proves that the soundscapes of megaphones were exploited on a political level, because they triggered partisan behaviour.

On the other hand, an interviewee explained that the prayers also provoked people:

Ordinary citizens like me feel uneasy when they hear prayers [Selas], considering the occasion they are recited in. But because everyone was excited at that moment and we could think calmly only later, Selas were actually for galvanizing people. Meanwhile the President was inviting people to streets and airports; right there people mingled with each other.11

Indeed, the alleged purpose of adhans and sermons was to galvanize and unite the nation. BBC Türkçe reported that in Diyarbakır12 an announcement from the megaphone followed the prayer call: “Ezan is read not only for calling for prayers but also to awaken the believers if Islam is in a dire strait.” If we analyse, however, the first phone calls showed that the official discourse aimed to unify the country, not address only the “believers.” The government was against the thread that targeted the secular government, democracy and the nation (not Islam). In fact, the cause of military uprising had nothing to do with religion. But when the impulse on streets is explored, “when you see the image, or hear the slogans,” as an interviewee pointed out, the coup was countervoiled with the unification of religious and political zealotry, which is a very critical issue regarding the polarization in Turkish society, instead of national togetherness. In contrast to its supposed purpose, electroacoustic perversion intensified

11 I would like to note that this interviewee had stated his scepticism about the coup attempt in the beginning of our discussion. Even though he appreciated the President’s call and the reactivity, the coup did not seem realistic compared to the previous one, he expressed. Confusion was still persistent.

12 A city in the south-east of Turkey
the idea of “us” and “them”. This is perhaps the main reason that an interviewee disagreed the President’s invitation: “I did not go out; why would I?”

3.3. Streets

Streets became occupied by embodiment of acoustic vibration. Incessant prayer calls fuelled the persuasiveness of President’s invitation. Protesters, or “defenders of democracy” as often called in the media, congregated in the streets where they were uplifted by the power of amplified eloquence and religious recitation. In his comprehensive study on Islamic uprisings, Hirschkind (2004) points out that “the utility of mosques has been redefined to some extend … as structures for the localization, control, and supervision of bodies” (p.142). Megaphones played a similar role in the night of the Turkish coup.

Firstly, the sound of prayers provided the perfect periphery that people could feel united and encouraged within. The very timbre of adhans, president’s poem and sermons that imams preached had directly communicated to people’s beliefs and ideologies. As they galvanized the people not to leave the streets, the individuals became more engaged, and receptive to any emotional stimulation. It occurs parallel with Truax’s remark: “the stronger the emotional response on the part of the listeners, the more power the speaker has over them” (2001, p. 45). Troops appeared to be fiery about the power that they obtained through, as well as bestow on, their “commander” behind the megaphones.

But it should be noted that the power on streets had also dynamics in it. In order to arrive home, an interviewee had to pass a road which was blocked. He timidly asked the policeman if he could walk further. The policeman was quite kind and said, “sure, of course you can pass.” As he was already fuelled with intimidating sounds of people, sirens, and helicopters (which had no light indicators, he remarked), this unexpected humane communication was rather a relief. Yet, it did not last long; walking in the neighbourhood, he was repulsed by the hum of fervent dialogues of an angry group, which he imitates as “Argg grhh hrrr, arggrr rrhh hhrr.”
Returning to Hirschkind’s remark above, megaphones of minarets also controlled people so that no one gave up albeit the efforts of sonic boom to repel them away. The “army” was charged with surrounding sounds that are impossible to hide from. Attali (1977) points out Gillett’s remark, “Music has tendency to absorb violence, and to redirect violent energy into partisan ... support ...” (p. 28). If we consider the paralinguistic qualities and rhythm of prayer calls as music, the night of the coup evoked a latent anger and transformed the capacity into a violent soundscape in order to thwart the attempt.

What qualities made the soundscape violent then? Surprisingly, the recordings of the rallies, which permeated my ears and erupted from my eyes in the form of tears, did not include any swearing. Words expressed peace, democracy and the country, brotherhood, unity and patriotism. Yet, vocal gestures proved the power of non-lexical aspect; the attitude was extremely aggressive. Bellows contradicted with the commitment to democracy and human rights. Especially, two particular slogans proved to be indisputably distressing.

“Ya Allah, Bismillah, Allahu Ekber!” strongly communicates religious corruption, which has been connected to violence, ignorance, and bigotry that lead degradation in the country. Even though it is in Arabic language, not Turkish, its timbre evokes very strong emotions and therefore dominates semantics. It resembles the global trauma of jihadist terror. When I asked about the chants and religious utterances, an interviewee made a wry face and told how he detested “Allahu Ekber” or any related expression after the failed coup. Additionally, once again, political fanaticism accompanies the piety. Erdogan’s supporters cried their President’s name with a precise melody, which is usually adapted in soldierly marches, or football ovations! When the power of occupying streets was obtained by those who use the freedom recklessly, sonic space became centripetal for the others.

All these aspects evinced that public phobia of a civil war was grounded by discriminatory rhetoric and justified by its actualization. In his book Sonic Warfare, Steve Goodman (2012) explains, “Sound is often understood as generally having a privileged role in the production and modulation of fear, activating instinctive responses, triggering an evolutionary functional nervousness” (p. 65). During the night of the coup attempt, mingled sounds of the divinity, dominant ideologies, and military
actions precipitate what people defined as a *nightmare*. On the other hand, this sonic power had struck the flint in explosive hearts. Overawing the intellect, the rhetoric permeated, discriminated, and manipulated bodies; transformed them into pawns; and discharged the resentment through them in the sonic battlefield. At the end of the battle, the coup was failed; and it provided a pretext for the government to amplify its successes and glory, reinforcing its arbitrary power.

*Interlude*

Hitherto part of current chapter discussed how strong emotional and physical reactions the electroacoustic soundscape of the coup attempt created, but we overlooked another aspect. While expressing their fearful experiences, interviewees made also contrary remarks such as “I just slept at the night of the coup,” “I saw many people, who were casually having picnic in the next morning,” or “I didn’t hear *Sela*.” One interviewee who works in a wedding hall explained that on July 15, no one in the hall heard the sounds of jets, sonic boom, or any sound from the military uprising; music and cheers in the wedding party had dominated them all. Moreover, even though the content of the coup (or the very military forces) occupied TRT and mainstream news channels like CNN-Türk and NTV, many other TV and radio stations continued to broadcast regular shows like soap operas, which are extremely popular in Turkey, or music programs. The night of July 15, therefore, contains a variety of impressions. While talking about violence, the fact that “life goes on,” as several interviewees emphasized, will remind itself as we explore the aftereffects of the failed coup.
Aftermath of July 15

The coup fails.

Public in the media is replaced by the victory of the nation. Music is still absent.

Streets become occupied by the new community that was born from the failed coup.

The government legitimizes its corruption in the grounds of state of emergency.

Governmental voice dominates.

Ears seek music. Anticipations regarding the future of the country vary.

Prayer calls continue to overwhelm the soundscape of the cities.

Public reactions differ.

Yet, life goes on.
3.4. After the Coup Has Failed

Victory On-Air

One of the most tangible results following the night of the attempt was that the national broadcasting company TRT adopted a new policy for ten days. A devoted Radyo 3 listener witnessed that all of the music programs were substituted by uninterrupted TRT Haber ("TRT News") bulletin, albeit not immediately after July 15 but one day later instead. Radio then tuned the victory of the people and democracy.

Continuous news about the failed coup had trapped the listeners in July 15. The constrained newsflash breached the freedom of listening to music, an interviewee protested. This interviewee then suggested that "broadcasting policies could have been adjusted." So the news coverage would increase, and meanwhile, music would not be eradicated. The ears that were enjoying the tunes in the radio were excluded. Ironically on World Listening Day 2016, July 18, I was discussing with a friend who was exhausted by what she had been hearing:

Somehow our radio was the only thing that they [the government] haven’t confiscated; but since two days, it has been left to those who talk nonsense...

Turkey was supposed to recoup the democracy after the failure of the attempt. Contentiously, the “defenders of democracy” did not back the demand for music; but instead, they condemned devoted listeners who, in their terms, were arbitrarily concerned about jazz music, to be elitist and indifferent to the triumph of the government and the nation. Whereas democracy requires “a variety of circumstances” (Bruce & Yearley, 2006, p. 66), they seemed to accept broadcasts that cover only a single ideology, which in fact complies with their own. “Everything was exaggeration, victimization of the government, and the victory of the public, but actually, only his [Erdoğan’s] supporters," an interviewee comments. Even though the vast majority of the

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13 TRT Radio 3 is one of the rare radio stations that broadcast distinctive music genres like Western classical, jazz, rock, and world.
citizens agreed on the relief after the failure of the coup, the intolerance to the “other side” was still influential on the public attitude.

*Mono Vocal Reigns*

National radio tended to undertook the function of megaphone after the failure of the coup. Instead of its institutional voice, radio was possessed by individual ideology. In other words, the plurality of voices behind speakers was abated. It is already known that throughout the history of the Republic of Turkey, governments had used national broadcasting organs for their own sake. Yet, TRT Radio is known to have the most variety of content and a great archive. Therefore, regardless of its control by government, listeners would expect to hear various voices performing behind the speakers. Arnheim (1936) expresses that “one only exists as long as one has a function, and if one’s function is small, one’s existence is small also!” (p. 156). Even though he discusses the art of radio drama, Arnheim’s point is connected to post-coup radio broadcasting in TRT. By eliminating the variety of content, the government ignores the existence of its people in acoustic communication realm. The result is that the broadcasting shifted from public service to individual benefit (Esposito, 2012, p. 236). Therefore, although national broadcasting was a voice of the people ostensibly, it was given to a particular one voice in reality.

Not only radio, but also the streets became under the yoke of a mono vocal that addresses a fixed group allowing no participation. A single mouth defined the rules of chanting of myriads. It must be noted, however, that this is not a new condition in Turkey. Numerous videos on the Web exemplify how devoutly people would bolster the government’s actions regardless of what has been said. This behaviour does not seem to be abandoned after the failed coup. In one of the recent uploads on YouTube, for example, the president Erdoğan tells about the problems in former healthcare systems, and then asks:

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14 People would expect to participate in the radio similar to earlier radio show *Posta Kutusu*. This tradition is still valid in TRT Radio and many other stations. During the period that I worked in TRT Istanbul Radio as an apprentice, I participated in many productions, of which the repertoire of the day is defined by the audience during an hour of the show. The live orchestra plays the songs and dedicates them to other listeners as the audience wishes.
- Do we want that [bad] healthcare system?
The crowd answers:
- Yes!
His face changes, and he comments with an obscure smile:
- You’re mixing things up.

Another demonstration shows withal that after him, the audience repeats the poetic phrases that Erdoğan utters. This occasion combines the rhetorical skills of the government and the crudeness of their supporters on streets, and evinces that the cheerleader behind the microphone takes charge of controlling and manipulating the freedom of expressions in his demonstrations. By that, people “enjoy the feeling they’re ‘taking charge’, ‘owning the street’” (Henriques, 2003, p. 453) while the microphone, or the megaphone as a symbol, preserves the power of singularity.

The New Community

At the night of the coup, acoustic dominance of this particular ideology had ceased the polyphony of expressions and filtered the opponents. An interviewee explained that she did not want to go out on the night of the failed coup and afterwards:

You immediately feel that you have no room there. ... When you see the image, or hear the slogans. ... When you hear Ya Allah, Bismillah, Allahu Ekber you understand that you shouldn’t go there; testosterone does not leave you any space.

What she describes is the new community born out of the failed coup; the new occupiers of streets, who were conspicuously men, Muslims, nationalists, with a majority of AKP supporters. In order to “watch the democracy” with a sense of duty, they had not left the streets for weeks. Although they were given a chance to be active citizens and raise their voices, the result was not a democratic sphere given the hostility that they adapted. Following the failure of the coup attempt, brutal mottos were in feedback. For instance, when the Prime Minister uttered the word “execution” publicly, the ferocious audience who protested and condemned the insurgents started to interrupt him with violent
slogans: “We want execution!” and, again, “Allahu Ekber!” The sonic quality of this rage built an aural picket line, which would impede any “outsiders.”

Deducing from the behaviours after the coup failed, it became more evident that the sounds of July 15 fed the deepest emotions, and changed the sonic experience on the streets. Moreover, any input in this experience became amplified increasingly, whether it is encouragement or suppression. The new soundscape that the failed coup created proved to have a great potential to proliferate, in Goodman’s (2012) words, “audio viruses” (p. 62) in the form of embodied aggressiveness. No one could avoid from receiving the exposure of political appropriation of sounds.

3.5. Further Effects

Just before the winter holiday in 2017, a journalist interviewed with a primary school student about her future dreams. She told that she wants to be a president and change the constitution, as the current one does not allow execution, so she will punish the military forces that attempted the coup. It is terrifying that the magnitude of the rise of violent rhetoric could contaminate even juvenile ideals. An interviewee emphasized that during the 1960 Turkish coup, children were not affected by the curfew: “We played outside with friends and even though there were soldiers around, they didn’t say anything to us.” Children were protected from any political trauma. Today, however, the verbal exchange of violence infects young intelligence that is perhaps the ultimate victim of politically charged expressions.

It was an inevitable result of a soundscape that is “retrograding,” as an interviewee commented. With its cities, streets, buildings, traffic, industry, entertainment and art, Turkey is a modern country albeit the controversial administration of the ruling party. Starting with the prayer calls, however, the dynamic changes in the soundscape suddenly submerged the main cities in a Middle Eastern atmosphere. “Istanbul became Baghdad,” explained an interviewee, and for him, this means the oppressiveness of religion, lack of freedom and harmony, and intrinsic fear of violence. “Its soundscape did not resonate with the city,” the same interviewee thought, hoping that the city would not surrender.
Deducing from the hitherto protests of interviewees, an acoustic responsibility must be adopted in order to prevent the diffusion of such “audio viruses” (Goodman, 2012, p. 62). Especially after the failure of the coup, reconciliatory practices were required to defend the democracy, occupy streets, as well as utilizing radio broadcasting in order to ease the tension of failed coup. In addition to the authorities, individual participation in the acoustic environment would be essential for that, as Schubert (2011) explains:

The inhabitants and participants become creators and victims of the existing and constructed soundscape: together they define the acoustic space. (para. 18)

In a political context, for example, citizens are given right to vote, and therefore they have a say on the sonic aspect of politics as well. An interviewee, too, considered being exposed to a political soundscape as a choice in a democratic setting. However, one should not think that the coup attempt is the only reason for deterioration in Turkish democracy today. All of the political exercises from persuasive public addressing to brutalized discourse were already prevailing before the onset of the coup attempt of July 15. Only now the arbitrary use of power, blatant control of media, violated laws and intolerant climate have been legitimized in the grounds of State of Emergency, by which the government had an alibi to shut many radio and TV channels15, arrest scholars and journalists, and be as oppressive as possible for a cause that is “beneficial for the nation”.

Nevertheless, blatancy of the government is a part of normalization. “If it was before,” an interviewee expressed, “we would have returned from our holiday.” She had a dilemma about what she should feel:

You start to prevent these occurrences to interrupt your life. There is nothing I can do; I must continue to live my life. I don’t know if it’s ethically right or not, but human reflex. ... But should I prefer unhappiness as an attitude? I’m not sure.

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15 Most of these channels had no connection with the primary suspect of the coup attempt, namely FETO organisation, which is led by Fetullah Gülen, a Turkish cleric. They rather broadcast neutral content. After the coup, it was often discussed that these channels have target audiences of particular ethnic groups, and banning these channels could be the government’s oppression on them, it is claimed.
Every citizen experienced the trauma of the military insurgency, praised the failure of the coup, and had to endure the outcomes. Yet, whether they reacted actively or passively, the public needed the feeling of “life goes on” in the surrounding sounds. Even though radio broadcasts returned the usual schedule after a while, for example, ears sought music during most intensive first days of the coup. Military sounds and other sonic behaviours such as continuous broadcasts of adhans have intrinsically provoked a fear, and therefore, music had the potential to defeat menacing sounds, in contrast to the groundless denigrations regarding the arbitrariness of listening jazz music. Radio could enhance the continuity of the rhythm of life, while mediating a sonic remedy for ears that became distressed. Even until recent years, a Turkish Pop Music station Kral FM had a very popular jingle: “Radio like medicine”

Indeed, aural space proves to have a potential to be a literal medicine. One could drain the emotional load of prevailing soundscape in the aural space, which mediates the two-way communication, including impressions and expressions of ideas. One interviewee, who is a sound artist himself, sincerely explained that the sound piece that he composed upon experiencing the coup attempt helped him to reveal what he had felt during the night of July 15, and overcome the sonic trauma, which the sounds of low-flying jets caused. Furthermore, it was safe to rely on the radio for an interviewee, who refrained from communicating with the angry crowd just because his radio was broken, as mentioned before. The experiences of these interviewees show that it was safe to communicate the coup attempt through the speakers. On the other hand, a dominant voice behind the megaphone had charged its listeners with rage. This dichotomy between public addressing systems and radio, in fact, forced me to stay behind the speakers; led me to experiment and question the feeling of safety; produce two audio pieces that are outlined in the next chapter.
4. Reflecting the Coup Attempt

4.1. “Echoes of the Coup D'état” (4’06”)

Artistic Statement

Since the beginning of my research, I had the idea of producing an audio documentary that explains the flow of the events during the coup attempt. Sound events such as military jets, sonic booms and public announcements were to define the key points of the scenes that would be presented through transitions between soundscapes of streets and media. After listening the recordings and newflash that are spread through Internet, I wanted to escape from the streets and to stay “safe” behind the loudspeakers. This fear has been the basis of the content and the form of my first audio work.

Echoes of the Coup D'état re-stages the night of the attempted coup in Turkey by following the emergence of the uprising, public behaviour and the emotions stimulated by politically charged sounds, broadcasting policies of local and global media organs, key figures, and their reflections on the streets. By re-representing the reminiscences and testimonies from a major political event in a sterilized space, the piece tries to discover social meanings of the waves that have diffused through the night of the attempted coup in Turkey on 15th of July 2016.

The Form

The composition of Echoes of the Coup D'état consists of a sound collage of different excerpts from the sound material that I have collected. These sonic fragments are deployed within a quadrophonic space in order to surround the listener with the continuum of real and abstract voices from the failed coup. Four speakers output

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16 The installation of “Echoes of the Coup D’état” will be realized in Otaniemi Free Space, Espoo, Finland in Spring 2017.
different constituents of the respective soundscape. All of these sonic elements have a
dedicated place within the four-channel setting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loudspeaker 3</th>
<th>Loudspeaker 4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Megaphone: Reflection from streets and abstractions</td>
<td>From real-time broadcast to reminiscences</td>
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**THE LISTENER**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Loudspeaker 1</th>
<th>Loudspeaker 2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informative foreign radio and TV</td>
<td>Occupied radio and military statements</td>
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*Figure 2: Loudspeaker layout for installation of *Echoes of the Coup D'état*

The contents of each channel are interwoven. For example, the speaker that performs reflections from streets borrows a TV interview that is made during the celebration rally after the coup failed. Another speaker that represents a current radio show later tunes the military manifesto, which re-appears on the speaker of newsflash in an abstract form. Besides, the collage is composed considering the foreign audience. The statements, discussions and sound events that appear simultaneously or successively are somewhat counterparts or follow-ups, respectively. For instance, an excerpt from Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım’s statement is accompanied by English translation of his further explanations, which are not included in the piece, and followed by the news where Yıldırım’s name is mentioned.
While the work questions political relationships within each sonic element and how sounds mediated this connection, the linear narration follows the main timeline of the coup attempt. However, some details in the composition that ear-witness the experiences and reminiscences of the coup layer the time flow occasionally. The piece also guides the written part of the research, since every aspect in the piece has a reference from the text.

**Plot**

The beginning of “Echoes of the Coup D’etat” reaches to 1920s, the onset of regular radio broadcasts through the first public announcement, which is heard in French. An excerpt of a Radyo 3 show, **Plakta Caz** (“Jazz On Record”) from its broadcast on July 10, 2016 follows the announcement. The first twenty seconds of the piece introduces the electroacoustic soundscape towards the coup attempt.

As abnormal events emerge, someone among the street noise asks what happened there, and the news and police walkie-talkies begin to pronounce the attempt. Music stops. While the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s invitation occupies the media, a sonic boom vibrates the windows and sermons start to rise from megaphones of mosques. The particular sermon prays for *tomorrows* of the country. This is where people are charged; the President praises the power of the public and invites people to face military tanks. The dominance of religious utterances that encouraged his supporters leads to severe criticism from global media.

The voice of Tijen Karaş, who was forced to read military statement that supposed to be broadcast on all of the Turkish channels, was an indispensable part of the night of the coup attempt. Here, I would like to note that she later explained that how dangerous and fearful was the TRT studio at the night of the coup. Her experiences refuted my assumption regarding the safety of electroacoustic realm, which seemed plausible, as Karaş did not communicate the emotional load in her voice to her audience. Her professional tone echoed through the night of *nightmares*.

The subsequent line, “... to restore democracy and human rights”, gives the hint for the incongruity of the sound of violent screams of “defenders of democracy”, which is
excerpted from the very sound that had the biggest impact on me during the process of this thesis. Shortly after, these shouts and all others become immersed in the voice of the divine power. Political appropriation of Sela manifests itself in an abstract form. It creates the synthesis of encouragement, discouragement, safety, and fear. The oppressiveness of the sound vibrates the windows for the second time.

Inspiring from one of the interviewee’s comment about temporal and spatial surreality, the following section is developed in an abstraction. Heavily used reversed reverb drifts the soundscape back and forth. Voices from the rally try to jumble in, but they fail. Listeners try to understand the attempt, anticipate the future, and meanwhile, remember the past unwittingly. The loudspeaker of flash news brings the TRT radio news from the 1980 Turkish coup d’état. Confused ears start to search for music, which Plakta Caz was broadcasting.

After the emotional and mental intensity, the night is over. Although now the victory of Turkish society is advertised, the narration leads to scepticism due to the overemphasis on the unification and togetherness of different political views. The final excerpt reveals the dominance of one particular voice, and thus questions the absence of the “other side”. It is President Erdoğan’s rhetoric controlling the expressions of his audience. Furthermore, the sounds of the demonstration contaminate the loudspeaker which was representing radio broadcasts. Music listeners interpret the abstract timbres of a moment from the post-coup soundscape of a dominant ideology, which vibrates the windows for the third time.
4.2. “Röportaj | Interview” (4’ 30")

Figure 3: An interviewing session. 2016, November 21. [Screenshot]
Artistic Statement

Based on the interviews about the night of the Turkish coup attempt on July 15, Röportaj is the second of the two short radio documentaries17. It ear-witnesses the significant part of the data collection process, since the experiences of my interviewees have been essential to decipher the aural aspects of the failed coup. It documents the interviewing process of this research, while Echoes of the Coup D'état is presenting its outcomes. Unlike the variety of locations and the spectrum of sound materials in the latter; Röportaj | Interview, as its name suggests, processes the discussions in front of my handy recorder and solely takes place in my room.

The characteristics of the piece, however, focus on the narrator’s struggles of being distant to the scene of the failed coup. As interviews are done mostly via Skype, it recurrently becomes hard to grasp the words and comprehend the experiences and emotions that are told due to the unreliability of digital connection. Thus, the documentary is staged in the lo-fi medium that the interviewees, the narrator, and the thoughts are trapped in. Event though I give my voice both to the interviewee and the narrator, as well as to floating thoughts; the acoustic variety in the piece betrays the division and the distance, and leads the narration.

The Form

Similar to the practice that I adopted for Echoes of the Coup D'état, the story of Röportaj is composed as a sonic collage. I have scrupulously picked the dialogues and words from the recordings of interviews that, in total, equal to approximately five hours of data. My approach during interviews was to abstain from asking elaborate questions and give more freedom for expressions of interviewees. Each of our discussions thus had a unique direction. Although every interviewee explained similar events, they had different perspectives. In order to highlight different aspects of the soundscapes of the failed coup, Röportaj maintains the equality of different voices and various opinions throughout the piece.

17 “Röportaj | Interview” has been premiered in Ääniaalto Festival in Vapaan Taiden Tila, Helsinki, Finland on March 10th-11th, 2017.
There are three main sonic dimensions in Röportaj. First of all, the recordings of interviews (except one of them) involve two acoustic environments. Being positioned next to my computer, the recorder catches the digital representation of interviewees’ voices through the loudspeakers. Meanwhile, it also captures the natural sounds of my voice and my pen as I take notes, as well as the sounds in my house such as a door slam. Within the piece, I left these recordings intact for both aesthetic and documental purposes. The glitches, dropouts, artefacts, background noises, and other qualities that the recordings contain are preserved as the constituents of whole interviewing process.

Another unprocessed voice creates the second dimension in the sonic space of the documentary. With a clearer tone, a narrator (as hinted at above) construes and communicates the expressions of interviewees to the listener. The keywords that the narrator utters build the storyline of Turkish coup attempt from interviewees’ perspective. Considering that the interviews were held mostly in Turkish language, this recitation provides guidance especially for international audience.

Abstracted voices appear as the third dimension in Röportaj. Timbral features of each abstract occurrence represent particular aspects of my personal interpretation of interviews. For instance, distorted diffusion of the keywords that are narrated imitates the electroacoustic transmission of our conversations. On the other hand, the employment of reversed reverb, which resembles the idea and the technique in Echoes of the Coup D'état, is a sonic reflection of the remarks that I recall to make connections and deductions within the chain of events. The sonic oppression of abstracted thoughts performs my efforts to grasp the words and put the pieces together.
Plot

Röportaj begins with a common problem in online chat platforms. “Hello, can you hear me?” says the interviewer. While the narrator is introducing the documentary, an actual electroacoustic hitch causes digital peaks and a high-pitched reproduction of interviewer’s voice on the background. Nevertheless, the first questions initiate the conversation successfully.

The first set of excerpts is related to the emergence of the coup attempt. As interviewees explain the first activities, various military vehicles are enumerated and collected in thoughts. Despite of its electroacoustic deformation, the word “television” indicates interviewees’ observations of the media during the first hours of the attempt. The same problem of disconnection occurs again and impedes the discussion about the public behaviour on the streets. However, the interviewer attempts to analyse the hitherto keywords, while thinking about the next question: “What were you afraid of?”

The discussion begins to heat up with the explanations of activities on the streets. Its abstraction tries to imagine the hum, which an interviewee had heard. Another interviewee remarks an analogy between Zombie Apocalypse and the coup. Military actions were still followed on “deformed” television. Following information regarding the sonic elements of the coup attempt accumulates, and the emphasis on prayer calls, namely Sela, leads the story to the immersion of megaphones. The poem that the President has read is remarked. As frequently perused in preceding chapters, political appropriation of minarets develops the discussion to a more intense level of public reactions, such as the people who applauded their President’s voice on their windows. The events intensify. While an interviewee
discussed the profile on the streets, starting that they were all men; I remember the suppressed minorities. Although in a very abstract form, another interviewee argues in the background, “we have a politicians [sic] who enumerate these [ethnic groups],” he remarks.

Subsequent utterance of the word “slogans” revives my listening experiences and charges the story with reminiscences, which the narrator of Röportaj becomes isolated within. Interviewees disappear again. The density of thoughts is reinforced with a short chord progression of fourth intervals, which is, in fact, inspired by a surprisingly harmonic artefact that an electroacoustic fault produced. It transforms the thoughts into a frightening level. Nevertheless, after the reconciliation of emotions, the documentary investigates music in order to suggest a possible solution. However, the inquiry cannot develop further. It leads the narrator to question her own perspective and understanding back again.
5. Conclusion

The alternative of violence is dialogue.
Marshall McLuhan

Since its first installation, the electroacoustic medium proved to be a very efficient tool to cooperate with its listeners, inhabitants; the society. Radio has infiltrated into the private space, and megaphone has surrounded the public space with impassioned ideologies. Once discovered, the power of communicating masses via amplification and electric diffusion of the voice has been utilized thoroughly. Electroacoustic entities have been indispensable instruments of commercial, religious, and political persuasion, as well as everyday communication and popular culture in Turkey. It is thus found that disembodied sounds appeared well established in Turkish society.

Thereafter the chain of events that occurred in the coup attempt manifested this establishment densely. The soundscape that megaphones and radios compose engendered unique sound events and a variety of individual interpretations that likely represent particular communities within the society. Already existing political attitudes were amplified in the form of prayer calls, sermons, military manifesto, and occupied radio broadcasting. Acoustic experiences and triggered emotions were reflected in the coup attempt as fanaticism, religious zealotry, discrimination, intolerance, and oppression. When compared, earlier discussions in the thesis have dealt with the soundscape mostly concerning the whole nation. Through the coup attempt, however, examining the soundscape has led me to individual perspectives as the sonic choices during the attempt were either inviting or excluding the members of society who embraced, condemned, or disregarded the failed coup. In parallel, the coup of singular ideologies eventually occupied the progress of the thesis. Remembering that the sounds mediate information and emotion between various social circles from the biggest communities to individuals, as briefly mentioned in the introduction, this study flowed from the national to the personal reflection with a deductive movement.
These diverging interpretations of the public behaviour became more tangible and distinct due to the weightiness of politically charged sounds. Nonetheless, the arguments were not loaded with dire, dramatic meanings only. Towards the aftermath of the coup attempt, dominance of the political events in the electroacoustic space of Turkey did not result in a public trauma only. According to the reflections of many interviewees, people tend to cease fervent political discussions and have common sense today. An interviewee, for example, summarized this inclination mimicking a possible thought: “Do they behave fierily? Then I shouldn’t.” Turkish society after the coup attempt could transform intolerance into more tolerance than any other time. My assumption of an intensified bigotry due to my distance to the heart of the coup was rather refuted. Even though for some others a dystopia still awaits in future of Turkey, a spark of an idea that my home country is not buried entirely under despair made me hold on to hope.

My analyses and interpretations were under the influence of a dynamic of emotional and attitudinal conditions, and, perhaps even more of, the power of sounds. Considering the insufficiency of ethnographic research and my lack of any background in social or political sciences, this study predominantly relied on listening; it was born exclusively from the resonance of the very sounds that were revolved. My contribution is thus based on how I listen, and how I understand the coup attempt in the electroacoustic realm. Despite of the profusion of sonic information, it was not easy to comprehend the roles and the effects of the sound events. I was able to absorb all of the inputs, as I had no language barrier; however, it was limited with the monitor and the speakers of my computer. Exceptional soundscapes of July 15 thus challenged the peculiarity of my standpoint as well. The coup failed; so did my initial approaches, interpretations, prospects, and assumptions. Fully understanding the event semantically, yet not experiencing on location encouraged me to reflect my observations in telepresence.

The best way to explain sounds was, again, through sounds. Radio was the key medium to serve this purpose. A set of actual events and the personal narration can be richly documented in the form of radio. From my perspective, the coup attempt
was a just set of schizophonic events, which I could express the most efficiently within the acoustic space behind loudspeakers. Even though the radio symbolizes a lo-fi mono sound reproduction considering our historical culture, this condition would not conflict with my final works that concerns hi-fi sound and also spatial aspects. The main reason is that I employed the practice of radio, rather than its acoustic qualities only. Radio is able to mediate sonic existence, different forms of voices and backgrounds, “given its infinite overture to imaginative conjecture and visual discord” (Weiss, 2001, p. 5); and the failed coup was rich in dominance and oppression of voices, political and religious rhetoric, reverberations of the load of amplified sounds, and emotional reflections on the individuals.

My experience forced my thinking to expand these aspects beyond journalistic approaches. The freedom of aesthetic choices that radio offers influenced expressions, interpretations, abstractions, and real experiences of the night of July 15 in the radiophonic pieces. Moreover, this work connected me to my home. Questioning the meanings and roles of electroacoustic soundscape of Turkish coup attempt of July 15 in the light of its soundscape has substituted my alienation with a closer connection. The sonic elements that I have dived into through this study provided a gate for me to reach out the chaos, which I was “exiled” from.

5.1. The Future of This Research

In addition to the personal experiences; my techniques, references, writing practices, framework, as well as my grasp of the events and concepts evolved throughout the thesis. This study witnesses and reflects all of the phases of my preparation, experiments, and attempts to synthesise and analyse the elements of the case, while understanding my perspective and position as a researcher and an artist. Due to these factors, one would find the methods that are I have followed controversial to achieve cogent results. However, this study has outlined that how diverse the meanings and the evaluation process were in the case of the failed coup. The final outcomes could offer possibilities to bring a new way of reminding the

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18 Schizophonia is a term coined by R. Murray Schafer, one of the pioneers of soundscape studies. He describes schizophonia as a reference to “the split between an original sound and its electroacoustical transmission or reproduction.” (1994, p. 90)
society, as well as the academic milieu, the two-way features of aural communication, approaching veiled issues such as religion as it has became an instrument of politics, and appreciating the already-existing reactivity towards sound.

Moreover, the concepts that are explained in this thesis could branch out into new artistic directions. While I was exploring how the political discourse mingled with religious rhetoric in the third chapter, for instance, I realized that the topic circulates around particular adjectives that define today’s political discourse in Turkey. It immediately prompted an approach to create a minimalist sound piece that abstracts the repetition of these *keywords*. Of course, I had to limit the outcomes of such new ideas after various personal enlightenments that I experienced due to the timeframe and the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, I consider this study as a fertile source for my future creative process.

*Figure 6*: Following the stairs that contain the concepts of contemporary Turkish politics.
Listening and reproducing the coup attempt could also inspire and guide future researches in Turkey. Radio, for example, as a medium of dialogue, offers a wide range of materials to be comprehensively analysed in the context of contemporary Turkey, as it would serve as replacement of violence and fear with encouragement and public participation. As some of my interviewees already remarked that expressing their fears in a creative way helped them to overcome the trauma of the military uprising, employment of the sounds and their reminiscences could in fact fail the oppression of the coup. Because, regardless of the diversion of the methods and predicted results, this study evinces that the main components of the electroacoustic of the coup attempt, the radio and the megaphone, has remained influential on the behaviour of the public and individual ears that they capture the attention of.
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APPENDIX I: TRANSCRIPTS OF AUDIO DOCUMENTARIES

“Echoes of the Coup Détat” (4’ 06”)

(The first radio announcement in French, 1927)

“We have listened the opening song of ‘Plakta Caz’ from Oscar Peterson trio

(Among the street noise, faintly)

What happened there?

Can we hear its reason?

In fact, err, we suspect a contingency of an attempt.

This attempt will not be permitted; those who attempted this will pay the heaviest price.

The Prime Minister Binali Yildirim has been on television declaring (…)

Let’s get straight to the breaking news overnight, an attempted coup leading to chaos, death and instability in Turkey, a key US ally

Via megaphone… They shall announce, they shall announce. In this way, from this attempt...

And in this sense, as the President, as well as Prime Minister, government; we will take whatever step we need to tak...
...verdiğimiz vergiyle... böyle bir güçünüz mü var sizin?!

Ve bunların o azınlık grubu tanklarıyla toplarıyla gelsinler, ne yapacaklardı halka orada yapınlar, halkın gücünün üstünde bir güc ben tanımadım bugüne kadar

...with out taxes ... how do you have such power?!

And this minority group of them shall come with their tanks, and do whatever they will do to people; I have never recognized any other power above the power of nation

He has moved them back towards to Islamist Turkey and this is now the clash that his own.
Taking over the state television and instructing a newsreader to announce a peace council was now in charge

Tüm türkiye cumhuriyeti kanallarında yayınlanması türk silahlı kuvvetlerinin bir emridir. Türkiye cumhuriyetinin değerli vatandaşları, sistematik bir şekilde sürdürülen anayasa ve kanun ihlalleri, devletin temel nitelikleri ve hayatı kurumların varlığı açısından önemli bir tehdit haline gelmiş...

It is an order of Turkish Armed Forces, this text to be broadcast in very channel of the Republic of Turkey. Dear valuable citizens of the Republic of Turkey, violations of the rule of law and the constitution, which are maintained systematically, has become a major threat, in terms of the existence of vital institutions and attributions of State.

They’ve got TRT, they’ve gone inside and they’ve made the newsreader read out this statement.
...friendly relations with the world, and they’re doing this in their words in their statement to restore democracy and human rights.

Hum from streets

Sela
Nationwide Martial Law has been declared...

Dear listeners, we will now connect to TRT News centre, and will listen to the first news bulletin of the day. (Signal).

It's 7:30. We are presenting the news bulletin that TRT news centre has produced. Turkish Army Forces, within the command chain, has taken the full control of the governance of the country.

... his supporters, this was a moment of Triumph after the chaos and fear of the night of the failed uprising.

... as political parties as people who believe in democracy, we must make the step together, all together.

Turks are determined to our democracy. There are, God knows how many people here, and they are from different political views...

"Beraber yürüdük biz bu yollarda!"
(This is a line from a popular song, which has become one of the President's remarkable slogans)
“Röportaj | Interview” (4’ 30”)

Hello? Can you hear me? Hello, can you hear me?

This was when I tried to understand what happened in the coup; how did it start?
What did you hear?

Şimdi önce hissettiklerimizi söyleyelim, o geceden başlayalım.
Dokuz, Saat 9 sıralarıydı falan, işte, arkadaşlarla telefonlaşıyoruz falan, ya dediler, işte Kızılay’dan alçak irtifadan jetler geçiyor, falan filan.
Hani, önemli bir gün öncesi değil.

Helikopter geçti; ışıkları kapalı.

Now let's say what we have felt, let's begin with that night. Nine, it was around nine o’clock. We're talking on the phone with friends etc. Well, they said, low-flying jets pass above Kızılay (A district in Ankara). I mean, it's not a significant day.

A helicopter passed; with no light indicators.

Köprüyü, İstanbul’daki köprüleri gösterdi Boğaz köprülerini. Tanklar vardı; askerler, tanklar vardı.

The bridge. It [television] showed the bridges in Istanbul, on Bosphorus. There were tanks; soldiers, tanks.

Kalkışma olduğunu söylediler, bu FETÖ örgütünün. FETÖ yapılanmasının. Darbe kalkışması olduğunu hep söylediler.

They said that this is an attempt, of this FETO organisation. They always said that this is a coup attempt.

An attempted coup.

They invited people to streets.

Hello? Can you hear me?
What were you afraid of?
There was a hum among them. A hum, like, a fervent dialogue. That is, hum. Argh grrh hrrr, arggrr rrhh hrrr.

It was like Zombie Apocalypse. (…) I mean, it felt so surreal to me.

The coup seemed to be on the thin line between surreal and real, a nightmare and a dream.

I saw what they have done to people (interviewer: Sure) after those Kobane conflicts. Therefore I didn’t do anything, didn’t get involved. Until, as I said, I arrive home, I hear that Sela. The mosque that the Sela (his friend: when one hears Sela…) was read from was already close to my house.

Music was gone, and the prayer calls prevailed over the city.

I didn’t hear Sela.

Then Selas begun.

Selas began to be read and echoed from all of the mosques in Istanbul; untimely. Selas were presented. They put them so loud; megaphones were on highest volume.

Among Selas, Tayyip’s voice. His poem. He had a famous poem, “Minareler Süngü Camiler Kışla”. That was read. From his voice; through a recorded tape, I guess. I mean, it was that poem. People applaud, from the windows. An applause rose from the neighbourhood, when the poem was heard.
And all men, I mean, all men. I, this I don't understand; why men?

Alevi, Sunni, Turkish, Kurdish, Laz, Circassian, immigrant, (made up phrases to stand for “etc”), Gypsy... We have a politicians [sic] who enumerate these.

What's going on there?

When you see the image, or hear the slogans.

And the poems, megaphones, political voices. Political megaphones.

(Interviewer) Is it because of the piece you’ve made?
(Interviewee) Maybe, maybe. It may be, because, um, I thought that I expressed my, you know, experience or what I felt at that night through my piece.

Where is the music?

Life goes on. Okay, there is a coup attempt; but meanwhile life goes on. Street lamps are on. Music.

Where is the music,

Where am I?
APPENDIX II: MAPS OF TURKEY

Figure 7: Map of Turkey. Retrieved from http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/turkey_admin_2006.jpg

Figure 8: Turkey in European Map. Retrieved from https://cies.einaudi.cornell.edu/sites/cies/files/styles/front_small/public/europelargesm_o.jpg?itok=LkJUrcO