



Masterproef
Politieke Communicatie

“Where Words Fail, Music Speaks”

The Use of Music during Election Campaigns

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Academiejaar 2013-2014

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PREFACE

The master thesis before you is written as a conclusion to the master programme Political Communication at the University of Antwerp.

After finishing the master Political Science in Leiden, the question arose: ‘now what?’ An easy decision for me was to continue my studies. After careful consideration I chose to move to Belgium, for the unique master in Political Communication. This master thesis is a product of my exciting and educational year abroad. I have chosen to write my thesis in the format of an English article and according to the guidelines of the Journal of Political Communication.

Not for a moment I have regretted my choice for the master in Political Communication and the subject of my final thesis. The guidance of my thesis supervisor professor De Landtsheer and the sharp questions of my fellow students, supported me in doing the best I could and have helped me to write the thesis as it is today. Lastly, I would like to thank the respondents who took the time and effort to participate in one of my focus groups.

It is with great pleasure that I have worked on this thesis, and I hope you will have the same experience whilst reading it.

Fleur Veringa

Antwerp, 14-08-2014

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ABSTRACT

Music has always been used in politics to influence the people, music has the power to evoke emotions and to persuade. The research question of this article is twofold: *To what extent do political parties differ in their use of music? And how do those differences affect voters' feelings?* A musical analysis of the used campaign music during the Dutch Parliamentary elections of 2006, 2010 and 2012, and focus groups will be the basis for this study. In conclusion, the use of music does not depend on whether a party was part of the governing coalition before the election campaign, but it does depend on the party's principles, the party's base. As expected, music used by leftish parties is found to be more positive, than music used by parties on the right side of the political spectrum. These differences were also found in the emotions and feelings the music evoked by the respondents. The PVV, a populist Dutch party, was the only party in the sample which used negative music to influence the people. Respondents in the focus groups did feel frightened, threatened and intimidated by the music used by this populist party. Populist parties differ from other established political parties in their communication style, and do so too in their use of music during election campaigns.

Keywords: Music, Emotions, Election Campaign, Dutch Politics

INTRODUCTION

During the 2012 election campaign, Obama released a playlist on Spotify with his favourite songs. A wide variety of music genres was included, to appeal to different segments of the electorate, from the more traditional to the more alternative voters.ⁱ Besides the playlist, different artists wrote songs for Obama to support his candidacy. Music was a large part of Obama's campaign. The question is however, whether music really has the power to influence voters' feelings towards a certain political party or candidate.

Obama is certainly not the first one to use music in politics. Plato already acknowledged the power and importance of music. The Nazis and also Stalin used music as powerful propaganda in their regimes. "Music is much more than a decorative art. [...] It is a powerful medium of social order" (DeNora, 2000: 163). DeNora does not see music simply as a tool of control and oppression, but also as a tool to constitute identities and to articulate emotions that empower people (DeNora, 2000). This article will focus on the use and influence of music by political parties and candidates in contemporary election campaigns. Currently, we speak of a certain trend in political communication which is stimulated by the commercialisation of the media, modern communication means, social media and new formats, such as infotainment programs. This modern dynamic is often called populism or popularization (Nuijten et al., 2007). Programs become more simplistic and celebrities are everywhere (Barnett, 1998; Street, 2004; Coleman, 2006). The use of music is interconnected with this trend. With the rise of social media, political parties and candidates have to adapt to new trends, for example on YouTube, and the content on their websites.

This study is the first scientific study into the emotional influence of music used by political parties during election campaigns. The project will examine the influence of campaign songs on voters' feelings. By combining political psychology with a typology of

music styles and characteristics linked to specific political ideological backgrounds, differences in campaign music will be determined.

The last three Dutch parliamentary elections will be studied, the used music in these election campaigns will be analysed according to Bruner's musical characteristics for producing various emotional expressions (1990). In addition, focus groups will be organized on the emotions campaign music engenders.

This study fills a gap in the academic knowledge on the use of music during election campaigns by political parties. Music and politics is extensively investigated in the context of propaganda, censorship, protest songs and so on. However, more recent use of music in politics is an underdeveloped subfield in political communication. The recent book by John Street, *Music & Politics* (2012), only quickly notices music used during election campaigns. All other effects music can have on politics and the ways in which politics can influence music, are described extensively in the book. When analysing recent campaigns, it is easier to include the current societal context and in this same context ask respondents about their feelings concerning campaign music and specific songs.

MUSIC AND PROPAGANDA

Writings on the influence of music in politics date back to the time of the famous Greek philosophers. According to Plato, music was too politically important to be left to the people (Plato, 1961). Art, which includes music, was not to be valued in itself, but its function was to serve higher goals. Whenever music is misused “it could unsettle the most fundamental political and social conventions” (Plato, 1961), because rhythm, melody and lyrics shape social relations (Street, 2012). Later on, also Rousseau wrote about the power of music. According to Rousseau, music’s power is greater than that of other arts, because it generates feelings directly (Street, 2012).

Music is a powerful instrument of, and has always been an important part of political propaganda (Johnson-Cartee and Copeland, 2004: 143). Propaganda is “highly organized doctrinal texts communicated throughout the sound and visual media in the service of state and corporate interests” (Sussman, 2011: 1). The Nazis and Soviets saw music and ideology as interconnected and they formulated their music policy, which was driven by the belief of the power of music, to control every aspect of their people’s lives (Street, 2012: 27). The Nazis used music to promote the racial politics and to establish ‘Germanness’ (Meyer, 1991; Kater, 1997). For example, the national anthem was played in a different way during the times of the Third Reich, in the manner of a revolutionary fighting song to influence the people (Meyer, 1991). In the Soviet Union, music had another focus: overruling capitalism and the heroism of the Soviets (Street, 2012). Songs and spectacle are essential elements in propaganda; songs are the vehicle for propaganda (Domenach, 1979: 46-47). This is because the power of music lies in the generation of emotions. The link between emotions and music has been exposed many times (e.g. Krumhansl, 1997; Scherer and Zentner, 2001). Music is one of the most powerful triggers for emotions (Thoma et al., 2012: 550) and emotions have their tonal counterparts (Bruner, 1990).

In marketing research this is already used. From a marketing perspective, “music-based radio commercials tend to achieve higher recall scores than ads using a straight announcement format, regardless of the programming context” (Hunt, 1988 in: Bruner, 1990: 99). The question is whether music has also a positive effect when it is used in political marketing. The components of music are capable of having main as well as interaction effects on moods, cognitions, and behaviours of interest in marketers (Bruner 1990, 99).

Thorson et al. (1991) stated that commercials and ads with music have a greater persuasion power than ads without music. Music helps people to become familiar with a candidate. “The presence of liked music in ads was associated with more positive attitudes toward brands and with both intention to purchase a brand and actual choice of a brand” (Thorson et al., 1991).

Contemporary trends in campaigning

Turnout decreases, the volatility of voters increases and it becomes more and more difficult for political parties to hold on to their electorate. In the United States we speak of a rich culture in political campaigning to attract more voters. However, it has become unthinkable for a political candidate to go up for election without a proper campaign in Europe now too, according to Kinsey (1999). For politicians campaigning is the way to activate, mobilize and influence the voters (Schmitt-Beck, 2009; 744).

Political advertising is an important part of these campaigns. The two main functions of political advertising are to inform voters, so they can make a rational decision during elections, and to persuade them. “The offered ‘product’ (party, candidate or programme) must mean something to the ‘consumer’ (citizen or voter)” (McNair, 2004: 98). According to Brader (2005), political ads can change the way citizens get involved and vote during elections, by using images and music to evoke emotions.

Kaid states that political spots contain “an enormous amount of emotional content” (2004: 165). Certain emotions, like pride, reassurance, trust and hope, make up for 56% of the content of political spots (Kaid, 2004). Other studies show a significant impact on candidate likability and on judgments of information on candidate issues and traits after viewing candidate’s ads. However, these candidate evaluations are more likely to be affected by political advertisement for citizens with low levels of political involvement (Cundy, 1990).

As known, volatile voters become an ever growing part of the electorate (Mair, 2008). Frits Wester, a former Dutch political consultant, stated that the group of voters that determines electoral changes, determines the winners and losers of every election (Wester, 1994: 39). These voters are also most responsive to campaign activities (Hillygus and Jackman, 2003).

Music in election campaigns

Since 1800 campaign songs appeared every four years in the United States of America. The songs praised the candidate, made fun of the opposition and simplified issues (Miles, 1990). Nowadays, famous musicians and singers write songs especially for candidates or political parties. For instance Frank Sinatra’s song ‘*High Hopes*’ for John F. Kennedy or ‘*We Are The Ones*’, the song Will.I.Am, Black Eyed Peas-front man, wrote for Obama during his 2008 candidacy (Street, 2012).

Different types of campaign music can be distinguished. There are songs especially written to change the image of a candidate, songs written by artists in favour of a candidate or political party and existing songs which are used by a candidate, party or campaign consultant (Trent and Friedenber, 2008: 66). Here will be elaborated upon further in the methodological section of this article.

The research question which evolves from the above literature is twofold: *To what extent do political parties differ in their use of music? And how do those differences affect voters' feelings?* Several hypotheses can be drafted in this context. First of all, according to Trent and Friedenbergr (2008) there are different campaign styles, of which the most important styles are the incumbency style and the challenger style. These styles are different in the way that the incumbents have clear examples of what they have achieved during their time in office and the way in which they want to continue their work. Challengers on the other hand have a more difficult task (Trent and Friedenbergr, 2008). The campaign of the incumbent party or politician is comparable to relationship marketing in commercial customer relationships, states Needham. It is about reassuring the customers they have chosen well and to maintain the positive feeling with a certain product, in this case with a certain politician or party (Needham, 2005). Challengers on the other hand have to persuade the voters that change is needed. It is about attacking the current situation and taking offensive positions on issues (Needham, 2005: 94-96). From this literature, the following hypothesis is formulated: H1: *Opposition parties will use less positive music during election campaigns than coalition parties do.*

Secondly, another classic division in politics will be analysed: the left/right-dimension of politics. Ideologies at the right side of the political spectrum are often mentioned with a link to rationalism and utilitarianism (Bevir, 2002). On the other hand, left parties are linked to romanticism and idealism, rather positivist schools (Bevir, 2002). More social equality is one of the basic elements of left-wing politics. The left utopia is a not unfamiliar term, a positive image for the future. Therefore we expect left-wing parties to use more positive music, than right-wing parties. H2: *Left-wing political parties will use more positive music than right-wing parties do.*

Finally, different parties have different communication styles. The clearest example is populism. “Without an appealing communication style and a charismatic leader, there is not much left of the populist idea” (De Landtsheer, 2011: 7). “Populism always refers to the people and justifies its action by appealing to and identify with the people, it is rooted in anti-elite feelings and it considers the people as a monolithic group without internal differences except for some very specific categories who are subject to an exclusion strategy” (Jagers and Walgrave, 2007: 322). For populist parties, their communication style is of a certain importance, to such an extent that they would not exist without it. Especially in the light of extreme right parties, their rhetoric differs from other parties and for example the use of metaphorical language is much stronger (Vertessen and De Landtsheer, 2006; Kalkhoven, 2013). Similarly, party leaders of extreme right political parties deviate alike from other party leaders of other established parties. With Immelman’s method (2004) for political profiling, De Landtsheer (2011) discovered a pattern in the personality profiles of different Dutch and Flemish populist leaders, which included significant or almost significant scores on the erratic and distrusting scale and absent scores on the accommodating, aggrieved and conscientious scales (De Landtsheer, 2011: 23). These differences between established parties and populist parties could all indicate a different campaign style, and therefore a different use of music during election campaigns. H3: *Populist parties will differ significantly in their use of music from established parties.*

In the methodological section of this article will be elaborated on specific terms and concepts in the hypotheses.

METHODOLOGY

Two different methodologies will be used to test the hypotheses above: a musical analysis and focus groups. Music used during the last three Parliamentary election campaigns of Dutch political parties (the elections of 2006, 2010, and 2012) will be analysed. In this section the case selection of music types, elections and political parties will be justified. Also, the musical analysis and the focus group method will be explained.

Case selection

Music

This study will analyse Dutch campaign music, which includes different uses of music. The first application is the music during campaign meetings, activities and the entrance of the party leader during the election night. The second type of music is the music used in political television spots and ads. Political parties in the Netherlands get free airtime on radio and television and also some money is provided to cover part of the costs for technical support needed to produce these programmes, a direct subsidy (Andeweg and Irwin, 2009). When a political party satisfies certain conditions twenty minutes of radio time is granted (including a block of ten minutes on one station and ten blocks of one minute on four different public stations). Besides, six blocks of three minutes are provided on the three public television channels during the campaign (Andeweg and Irwin, 2009).

Spots have become an accepted part of election campaigns in the Netherlands and parties also pay for extra air time on commercial channels. “In 2006, the Christian Democratic Party spent the most, about €400.000 on paid publicity, mostly on television spots, followed by the Labour Party (€350.000). The Liberal Party concentrated its spots in the last days of the campaign, spending about €150.000. The Socialist Party, which had been the first to broadcast spots, spent little or nothing on national spots in 2006” (Van Praag, 2007: 104).

Overall, Dutch election campaigns have the image to be ‘cheap’ and ‘boring’ (Van Praag, 2005: 21). And as such, quite a large part of their expenses are put into producing spots and ads. Since the 2006 elections, Dutch parties have shown an increased interest in campaign activities via the internet. Almost all parties produced video clips that could be seen and downloaded on their websites (Andeweg and Irwin, 2009: 89).

Political parties

Six political parties were selected to be analysed in this study. The selected parties are the largest parties or biggest winners or losers at some point in the analysed time period. In this thesis the focus will be on six political parties characteristic for the Dutch party system: Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Labour Party (PvdA), Socialist Party (SP), Liberal Party (VVD), Democrats ’66 (D66) and Freedom Party (PVV).

CDA is the major Christian Democratic party in the Netherlands, which was formed in 1973 as a merger of the former ARP (Anti-Revolutionary Party), CHU (Christian Historical Union) and KVP (Catholic People’s Party) (Andeweg and Irwin, 2009: 57-58). PvdA is the labour party (social-democratic), founded in 1946. VVD is the major conservative-liberal party, founded in 1948. SP is the former Maoist party, now a more left populist party, founded in 1972. D66 call themselves a progressive-liberal reform party, founded in 1966. PVV, a populist and conservative anti-Islam party, which started as Group Wilders in 2004 (after founder Wilders left the VVD), but registered as a party in 2006 (Andeweg and Irwin, 2009).

Elections

The election campaigns included in this study are the campaigns of the 2006, 2010, and 2012 Dutch parliamentary elections. The Netherlands is a useful case, because of the party system inter alia. The multi-party system in the Netherlands in combination with a low threshold

(0.75) leads to a great variety of parties in parliament (Andeweg and Irwin, 2009). The 2006, 2010, and 2012 elections had very differing outcomes. Every election knew different big losers, which is valuable for the analyses in this study. In addition, a more practical reason to select these three elections is the fact that the more recent the election, the easier to find campaign material, spots and ads on the internet and in archives.

Before the 2006 parliamentary elections, CDA and VVD were in government together as a minority Cabinet, after D66 left the coalition.ⁱⁱ The great winners of the 2006 parliamentary elections were the Socialist Party (9 to 25 seats) and the new Freedom Party (0 to 9 seats). CDA still was the largest party after the elections, with 41 seats in parliament (a loss of 3). PvdA and VVD both lost quite a large part of their votes compared to the previous elections; PvdA lost 9 out of 42 seats and VVD 6 out of the former 28. The 2006 elections were also for D66 not that great, as they lost half of their seats in the Second Chamber and had only 3 seats left.ⁱⁱⁱ The formed governing coalition in the Second Chamber consisted of CDA, PvdA and CU (Christian Union).^{iv}

VVD became the largest party after the 2010 elections. CDA was the biggest loser, with a loss of 20 seats in the Second Chamber. The party which won the most compared to the last elections, was PVV with 15 seats (now 24 seats in parliament).^v The coalition formed after the 2010 elections was a special one. VVD and CDA took place in a minority government with support of the PVV.^{vi}

The winners of the 2012 parliamentary elections were VVD and PvdA and the parties which lost the most seats were CDA and PVV.^{vii} The two winners of these elections together formed the next governing coalition.^{viii}

Party	Number of seats			
	2003	2006	2010	2012
CDA	44	41 (-3)	21 (-20)	13 (-8)
VVD	28	22 (-6)	31 (+9)	41 (+10)
PvdA	42	33 (-9)	30 (-3)	38 (+8)
SP	9	25 (+16)	15 (-10)	15 (/)
D66	6	3 (-3)	10 (+7)	12 (+2)
PVV	0	9 (+9)	24 (+15)	15 (-9)

Table 1. Number of seats in Parliament 2003-2012

Coding of music

A musical analysis of the music used in campaigns will be carried out. The music will be classified by means of the emotional expression it produces, as for example indicated by Bruner (1990). Six elements of every piece of campaign music will be coded: mode (major/minor), tempo (slow/medium/fast), pitch (low/medium/high), rhythm (firm/flowing/uneven), harmony (consonant/dissonant) and volume (soft/medium/loud). Combining these allocated characteristics of the music in the sample, the emotional expression it produces can be named (see table 2 below).

- The **mode** of a music piece refers to the series of notes, arranged in a scale of ascending pitch, which provides the tonal substance for a song (Bruner, 1990: 102). Coding: major or minor mode.
- The **tempo** is the speed or rate at which a rhythm progresses (Bruner, 1990: 102). Coding: slow, medium or fast.
- The **pitch** is the succession of notes occurring over time throughout a song. Changes in melody can be either ascending (up in pitch) or descending (down in pitch) (Bruner, 1990: 102). Coding: low, medium, high.
- The **rhythm** is the pattern of accents given to beats or notes in a song (Bruner, 1990: 102). Coding: firm, flowing, uneven.
- The **harmony** of a song refers to notes played simultaneously. Harmonies can be consonant or dissonant; the former refers to notes or chords producing an agreeable

subjective reaction whereas the latter refers to sounds evoking an unpleasant reaction (Bruner, 1990: 102). Coding: consonant, dissonant.

- The **volume** can be used to make one note louder than the others around it, to make a passage of notes louder than other passages, or to make a whole song louder than others (Bruner, 1990: 102). Coding: soft, medium, loud.

Musical Element	Emotional Expression								
	Serious	Sad	Sentimental	Serene	Humorous	Happy	Exciting	Majestic	Frightening
Mode	Major	Minor	Minor	Major	Major	Major	Major	Major	Minor
Tempo	Slow	Slow	Slow	Slow	Fast	Fast	Fast	Medium	Slow
Pitch	Low	Low	Medium	Medium	High	High	Medium	Medium	Low
Rhythm	Firm	Firm	Flowing	Flowing	Flowing	Flowing	Uneven	Firm	Uneven
Harmony	Consonant	Dissonant	Consonant	Consonant	Consonant	Consonant	Dissonant	Dissonant	Dissonant
Volume	Medium	Soft	Soft	Soft	Medium	Medium	Loud	Loud	Varied

Table 2. Musical characteristics for producing various emotional expressions (Bruner, 1990)

In table 2 different codifications are paired with different emotions raised by the music. After a test-coding of campaign music it was decided to add an extra category, the category ‘hope’. When music is related to politics, this is an important emotion not to be left out. This category will be coded as: minor (mode), medium (tempo), medium (pitch), flowing (rhythm), consonant (harmony) and soft (volume).

Besides the content analysis and musical analysis, it will be also important to determine the place and time wherein the music is played. Different settings will produce different aims of the music. Music in electoral campaigns can be played during campaign spots or ads on television or radio, during campaign meetings, at election night, or just on a market place while spreading flyers.

A last aspect to focus on is the lyrics of the campaign music. Because only a very small part of the songs in the sample have lyrics, this will be mentioned incidentally throughout this article.

Focus groups

The effects of music on voters will be tested by means of focus groups. A focus group is a group of seven to ten people, selected on the basis of similar demographics, psychographics, or behaviour, who engage in a discussion about a certain topic, led by a moderator (Greenbaum, 2000). The goal of a focus group is “to delve into attitudes and feelings about a particular topic, to understand the why behind the behaviour” (Greenbaum, 2000: 3). Emotional effects on respondents triggered by campaign music will be discussed in these focus groups. The results of the content analysis of the songs will be tested by means of a reception analysis during the focus group. The starting point of a reception analysis is the assumption that not everyone has the same ‘meeting ground’, there is no ‘common meeting ground’ (Kepplinger, 1989: 175). Every respondent will see or interpret things differently, so campaign songs can be interpreted in different ways. Because it is not a controversial subject, it is expected that respondents will tell freely about their reactions to the music.

Because “different voters respond differently to different campaign activities” (Hillygus and Jackman, 2003: 595), two focus groups of both seven respondents will be organized. Campaigns appear to change just very little in the minds of politically interested voters (Hillygus and Jackman, 2003). And campaigns seem to have most effect on politically inactive respondents (Wester, 1994). The first focus group will therefore consist of political inactive respondents. Law students, with no specific interest in politics will be participating in this first focus group. To explore whether there is a different emotional interpretation of campaign music by political active respondents, the second group will consist of Political Science students. The groups are overall comparable and differing in their interest in politics.

With the textual and musical analysis of campaign music used in campaigns combined with the focus groups, a widespread overview of the use and influence of campaign music can be given.

RESULTS

Out of the total of 42 analysed and coded campaign subjects, 9.5% of the music in the sample was written especially for the party using the music, in all cases for the Socialist Party by one artist: Bob Fosko. Over half of the used music (59.5%) was instrumental background music and 19.0% were modern and recognizable pop, dance or rock songs. Besides, in 11.9% of the cases, no music was used in the spots or during election nights, this will also be considered as a choice of the party.

Party/		Election year		
		2006	2010	2012
PvdA	Election spot	<i>Not found</i>	Serene	Hope
	Election ad	Hope	Serene	Hope
	Election night	<i>Not found</i>	Happy	Exiting
VVD	Election spot	Serious	Serene	Majestic
	Election ad	Exiting	Hope	No music
	Election night	<i>Not found</i>	<i>Not found</i>	Serene
CDA	Election spot	Happy	Majestic	Serene
	Election ad	Exiting	Exiting	Serene
	Election night	<i>Not found</i>	No music	Happy
D66	Election spot	No music	Hope	Serious
	Election ad	<i>Not found</i>	Exiting	Serious
	Election night	<i>Not found</i>	Exiting	Exiting
SP	Election spot	No music	Exiting	Hope
	Election ad	<i>Not found</i>	Serious	Happy
	Election night	Exiting	Happy	Serious
PVV *	Election spot	Serious	Frightening	Frightening
	Election night	<i>Not found</i>	Majestic	No music

Table 3. Campaign music and emotions 2006-2012

*PVV does not have election ads.

The occurring emotions in the sample are: exiting, happy, hope, serene, majestic, serious and frightening. The emotions ‘humorous’, ‘sad’ and ‘sentimental’ did not appear in the sample of campaign music. These are not emotions, especially ‘humorous’, which are seen in the light of politics. In the subsequent table, the frequencies and percentages of the occurring emotions are listed. In this study, a division in the evoking emotions will be made. This is the

positive/neutral/negative division. Positive emotions are ‘exiting’, ‘happy’ and ‘hope’ (50.0% of the sample). Neutral emotions are ‘serene’, ‘majestic’ and ‘serious’ (33.3% of the sample) and ‘frightening’ will be classified as a negative emotion (4.8% of the sample). Campaign subjects without music conclude to 100.0% (11.9%) (see table 4).

Emotion	Frequency	Percent	
No Music	5	11.9	11.9
Exiting	9	21.4	Positive: 50.0
Happy	5	11.9	
Hope	7	16.7	
Serene	6	14.3	Neutral: 33.3
Majestic	3	7.1	
Serious	5	11.9	
Frightening	2	4.8	Negative: 4.8
Total	42	100.0	

Table 4. Evoked emotions by campaign music 2006-2012

Left-wing and right-wing music

The first hypothesis of this study incorporates the left/right-dimension of politics. Parties at the left side of the political spectrum are expected to use more positive music during election campaigns. At a glance we see a clear difference between VVD and PVV on the one hand, and PvdA and SP on the other hand in the use of positive music. The PVV used no positive music at all as stated before, the VVD used positive music just in two cases. For PvdA and SP, positive music is the largest part of the music used during election campaigns. A statistical analysis of evoked emotions by campaign music in combination with the division of Dutch political parties on the left/right-scale supports this image. A Chi square test for independence indicated an almost significant association between the variable ‘left/right’ (1 = left – SP, PvdA, D66; 2 = right – CDA, VVD, PVV) and positive/neutral/negative music, $p = .068$, Cramer’s $V = .412$ (a medium effect size, according to Pallant (2009: 220)). A Chi square test for independence indicated an almost significant association between the variable

'left/centre/right' (1 = left – SP, PvdA; 2 = centre – D66, CDA; 3 = right – VVD, PVV) and positive/neutral/negative music, $p = .095$, Cramer's $V = .359$ (a large effect size, according to Pallant (2009: 220)). We cannot speak of a significant difference in this matter, however there is certainly a difference in the use of campaign music by left and right parties.

In the focus groups just eight songs were analysed by the respondents, though we certainly see some differences in the evoked feelings of the respondents in both groups. Feelings mentioned while listening to music used by the PvdA were: happy, spontaneity, unity, cheerfulness, 'we-feeling'; and for another piece of music used by PvdA: dreamy, calm and an ideal worldview. And for music used by the SP: not serious, cheerful, unclear, connecting with the people, original, simple. On the other hand, words to describe the music used by the VVD were: powerful, triumph, detached, cold, arrogant and victory; and words to describe the music used by the PVV were: powerful, determined, combative, strong, and also intimidating, frightening, threatening and nervous. A whole different image is sketched by these words and feelings.

When looking at the lyrics of some songs in the sample used by leftish parties, a positive image is drawn. For example, PvdA, the Dutch labour party, achieved very good results in the 2012 elections. Their song had a very positive connotation. The Dutch public broadcasting organization also used this song during the reporting of the 2012 Olympic Games (in which the Netherlands did quite good), a song by the Handsome Poets, *Sky on Fire*. "On fire, on fire, new kids coming into town. Let's get together, we take over now." Bob Fosko, a Dutch artist, wrote songs for the Socialist Party during every election campaign for several years now. These songs are always very positive, happy and exiting. For example *Doe mee met de SP!* ('Join the SP!') in 2012 and *Jij, ik, wij, SP!* ('You, me, we, SP!') in 2010.

On the other hand, another image derives from lyrics of some songs in the sample used by right parties. The VVD, the liberal party in government before the elections, used

Coldplay's *Viva la Vida*. The lyrics of this song are a strange choice in this context: "*Never an honest word, that was when I ruled the world.*"

The first hypothesis will be assumed to be true. The statistical analysis of the coding of the songs, the results from the focus groups and the differences in lyrics all contribute to this assumption.

Coalition and opposition music

As stated with the second hypothesis, opposition parties are expected to use less positive music during election campaigns, compared to incumbent parties. However, these differences are not found in the analysed campaigns. No relationship is found when comparing the music used by parties in government before the election with the music used by parties in opposition before the elections. For this, a dummy variable is constructed, because this is different for each party per campaign.

Also when looking at an example of the music used by CDA in 2012, an incumbent party, and the music used by D66 in 2012, an opposition party, the expected differences are not found. CDA used a song classified as 'happy' by Bruner's method and also some self-mockery: *Tubthumping* from Chumbawamba with the lyrics: "*I get knocked down, but I get up again. You never gonna keep me down.*" D66 used a song classified as 'exciting' for the entrance of their party's leader Pechtold. A very popular song at that moment, with just a few lines of lyrics: "*Oh sometimes I get a good feeling, yeah. A feeling that I never, never, never had before.*" (Levels - Avicii). Both parties used music with a very positive feeling.

D66's song felt even more positive for the participants in both focus groups. Feelings like euphoria, happiness, enthusiasm, cheerfulness, energetic, young, victory and triumph were mostly mentioned. In all three observations, no differences were found, therefore the second hypothesis has to be rejected.

Populist music

The third and last hypothesis foresees a significant difference between the music used during election campaigns by established parties and by populist parties. To test this hypothesis the PVV (Wilders' Freedom Party, classified as a populist party (Lucardi, 2007; 185)) has to be compared with the other parties. What can be discovered by a quick look is the fact that, as stated before, the PVV is the only party using negative-classified music during the analysed campaigns. The PVV is the only party using frightening music in their campaign spots. Another striking discovery is that the PVV is the only party not using positive-classified music at all. The PVV uses neutral or negative music only. A Chi-square test for independence indicated a significant association between the variable 'extreme right' and emotions, $p = .005$, Cramer's $V = .697$ (a large effect size, according to Pallant (2009: 220)). This indicates a significant difference between the PVV and the other studied parties for the kind of music they use in election campaigns. When the classification of emotions (positive/neutral/negative) is incorporated in the analysis, an even stronger result is discovered. A Chi square test for independence indicated a significant association between the variable 'extreme right' and positive/neutral/negative music, $p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .655$ (a large effect size, according to Pallant (2009: 220)).

Also in the focus groups there were other feelings mentioned by the respondents when hearing music used by the PVV, not heard by other pieces of music. Feelings like anger, intimidation, impatience, nervousness, threatening, frightening and some kind of 'anti-feeling' were mentioned.

In this case it's very clear the PVV uses different types of music in their electoral campaigns compared to other Dutch political parties. The last hypothesis is confirmed by this study. However, this is only based on one party. In fact, it could be the nature of the party itself, instead of the populist effect of this party, which is determining the difference in music.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Hans Christian Andersen once said: “Where words fail, music speaks.” Nowadays in politics it is difficult to hold on to voters, the electorate is volatile and voter turnout is decreasing. Politics is not all about content and party identification any more, presentation and appearance in the media is as important in these times of popularisation. Music can play a part in influencing and convincing these volatile voters, not only with celebrities writing songs for politicians or political parties, but also by the feelings music evokes.

This study shows differences in the use of music between different kinds of parties in the Dutch political spectrum. The use of music does not depend on whether a party was part of the governing coalition before the election campaign, but it does depend on the party’s principles, the party’s base. As expected, music used by leftish parties is found to be more positive, than music used by parties on the right of the political spectrum. The PVV, a populist Dutch party, was the only party in the sample which used negative music to influence the people. Respondents in the focus groups did feel frightened, threatened and intimidated by the music used by this populist party. When this information is being combined with the principles of populism, this is not inexplicable. For example, in the focus group with politically active participants some mentioned they get some kind of ‘anti-feeling’ from the music used by the PVV, combatant and ready for a fight. One of the three populist principles, as stated by Canovan (1999) and Jagers and Walgrave (2007) is anti-elitism, in the broader sense. Another principle is that of exclusion of certain groups in society. The PVV tries to scare his voters with images of the future in which the ‘other groups’ (in this case immigrants) dominate society. The frightening, threatening feeling all participants in both focus groups got from the used music in the PVV’s campaign spots can be related to this.

An improvement for this study would be more diverse respondents in the focus groups, because only students have given their opinion about the feelings the music evoked.

As this is an explorative study and the findings from the focus groups are substantiated by the results from the statistical analysis of the music, we cannot speak of major problems with the drawn conclusions from this study. However, using more diverse respondents will improve the generalizability of the conclusions.

Another angle for the focus groups could have been focus groups based on party identification or political preferences. In this way one can check for the differing influence of one's 'own' party, compared to music used by other parties. Finally, to reflect on the findings of this study, one thing has to be kept in mind: music choice depends on one's cultural background, social environment, personal experiences and personality (Dunn et al., 2011). These factors have not been taken into account in this study.

This study focused on the use of music during three recent election campaigns of six Dutch political parties. A small based research into the use of music by political parties and the influence on voters' feelings. However, there is still a lot unknown about the influence of music on feelings in the political context. More research has to be carried out.

One proposal for future research is expanding this study by including more countries, and thus more political parties, in the study. In this way the results of this study can be tested and maybe the found pattern can be discovered in different political systems. It will be interesting to see whether populist or extreme-right parties all over Europe are differing significantly from the other parties and whether more general parties at the right side of the political spectrum are different in their use of music during election campaigns than parties at the left side of the spectrum.

A larger study has also the possibility to focus on the influence not only on voters' feelings, but also on voters' behaviour. With incorporating this in further research in conclusion a practical advice for campaign consultants can be written on how to use music during election campaigns.

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APPENDIX 1. ABSTRACT FOCUS GROUPS

1.	Song:	Avicii – Levels (D66)
	Coded as:	Exiting
	Political inactive respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Happy - Cheerful - Positive - Euphoria - Enthusiastic - Young
	Political active respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Happy - Energetic - Cheerful - Victory - Triumph
2.	Song:	Coldplay – Viva la Vida (VVD)
	Coded as:	Serene
	Political inactive respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Calm - Powerful - Triumph - Relaxing - <i>Lyrics:</i> Suitable “enemy”, “I rule the world”. They hadn’t heard: “Never an honest word, that was when I ruled the world”
	Political active respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Powerful - Detached - Cold - A lot of ‘I’ - Arrogant - Victory - <i>Lyrics:</i> Hypocrite
3.	Song:	Handsome Poets – Sky on Fire (PvdA)
	Coded as:	Exiting
	Political inactive respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Happy - Solidarity, unity (everyone) - ‘Listen to the people-feeling’ - Spontaneous - Not arrogant or serious
	Political active respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ‘We-feeling’ - Cheerful - Powerful - Solidarity, unity
4.	Song:	Knocked down (CDA)
	Coded as:	Happy
	Political inactive respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Noisy - <i>Lyrics:</i> “I heard: You didn’t pay” (not the lyrics of the song). - Not consistent - Like they don’t care - What you see is what you get
	Political active respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strange - Enthusiastic

	respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Irregular - Energetic
5.	Song:	Eye of the Tiger (PVV)
	Coded as:	Majestic
	Political inactive respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Powerful - Combative - Eventual victory - Determined - Strong
	Political active respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Powerful - Angry - Invincible - Anti-feeling - Distant
6.	Song:	Bob Fosko – Doe mee! (SP)
	Coded as:	Exiting
	Political inactive respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Carnival-song - Not serious - Irritating - Overweening - Unclear - Cheerful, but dumb - Connecting with the people
	Political active respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Original - Simple - Unclear - Strange
7.	Song:	PvdA spot 2012
	Coded as:	Hope
	Political inactive respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dreamy - Calm - Sad - Not convincing - Unreachable ideal world view - Depressing
	Political active respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Calm - Fairy-tale
8.	Song:	PVV spot 2010
	Coded as:	Frightening
	Political inactive respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nervous - Threatening - Frightening - On the run - Impatient - Combative
	Political active respondents:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intimidation - Doomsday picture - Frightening

APPENDIX 2. CAMPAIGN MUSIC

2006		
PvdA	Spot	<i>Not found</i>
	Ad	“De pont” (The ferry) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ffv7IJ5OJVY
	Night	<i>Not found</i>
VVD	Spot	“Commercial VVD” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zdvQsemqy5o
	Ad	“Echte oplossingen voor hardwerkende Nederlanders” (Real solutions for hard working Dutch) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=92zi5b000nw
	Night	<i>Not found</i>
CDA	Spot	“Respect” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RIUCFSMacGk&index=11&list=PLEDE47EF7D0A75BE6
	Ad	“Respect” (‘Love is all’ – Roger Clover) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OdkygQQvdGw&list=PLEDE47EF7D0A75BE6
	Night	<i>Not found</i>
D66	Spot	“Eigenlijk bent u een D66’er” (no music) (Actually you are D66) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISX5nXI922U
	Ad	Non-existent
	Night	<i>Not found</i>
SP	Spot	“De brief” (no music) (The letter) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aNMlleib39U
	Ad	Non-existent
	Night	‘Jan en Alleman’ – SP https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B5vTdhhvIL8
PVV	Spot	“Campagnefilm Partij voor de Vrijheid” (Campaign spot Freedom Party) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A4kPVm7SouU
	Ad	Non-existent
	Night	<i>Not found</i>

2010		
PvdA	Spot	“Iedereen telt mee” (Everyone counts) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2mQWLSSgYVM&list=PL40AEA569CF00C3AA
	Ad	“Iedereen telt mee” (Everyone counts) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B_gcQbSEYiE
	Night	http://www.rtlx1.nl#!/wat-kiest-nederland-de-uitslagenavond-226028/4937e0cd-6702-37da-b1bb-4287be9ab6a1
VVD	Spot	“Orde op zaken stellen” (Put our own house in order) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AAaG-RT04Io
	Ad	“Reclamespots VVD” (no music) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KBsX6SNRQUk
	Night	http://www.rtlx1.nl#!/wat-kiest-nederland-de-uitslagenavond-226028/4937e0cd-6702-37da-b1bb-4287be9ab6a1
CDA	Spot	“Nederland kan op ons rekenen” (The Netherlands can count on us) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tIckIWJQbDE&list=PL40AEA569CF00C3AA
	Ad	“Dit is het CDA” (This is the CDA) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KfD-vjLVWnk
	Night	No music http://www.rtlx1.nl#!/wat-kiest-nederland-de-uitslagenavond-226028/4937e0cd-6702-37da-b1bb-4287be9ab6a1
D66	Spot	“D66 TV-spot 2010” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oc3menDPFs4&list=PL40AEA569CF00C3AA
	Ad	“Durf te kiezen” (Dare to choose) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wvdIPJb8l84&list=PLD7F03D548AE0684F
	Night	‘Pjanoo’ – Eric Prydz http://www.rtlx1.nl#!/wat-kiest-nederland-de-uitslagenavond-226028/4937e0cd-6702-37da-b1bb-4287be9ab6a1
SP	Spot	“Verkiezingsjournaal” (‘Doe mee met de SP’ – Bob Fosko) (Election news) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4UR6OoMDfRw
	Ad	“De rekening van de crisis leggen waar hij hoort” (Put the bill of the crisis were it should be) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y5mXyLBHGZs&list=PL40AEA569CF00C3AA
	Night	‘Jij, ik, wij, SP!’ – Bob Fosko (You, me, we, SP!) http://www.rtlx1.nl#!/wat-kiest-nederland-de-uitslagenavond-226028/4937e0cd-6702-37da-b1bb-4287be9ab6a1
PVV	Spot	“Verkiezingsspot PVV” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K8otL4bILfk
	Ad	Non-existent
	Night	‘Eye of the tiger’ – Survivor http://www.rtlx1.nl#!/wat-kiest-nederland-de-uitslagenavond-226028/4937e0cd-6702-37da-b1bb-4287be9ab6a1

2012		
PvdA	Spot	“Nederland sterker en socialer” (<i>The Netherlands, stronger and more social</i>) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=199G2eR86y0
	Ad	“Nederland sterker en socialer” (<i>The Netherlands, stronger and more social</i>) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Js-3Tyljx30
	Night	‘Sky on fire’ – Handsome Poets http://www.uitzendinggemist.nl/afleveringen/1288231
VVD	Spot	“De VVD-campagne” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2fHR-XBwiVY&list=PLBB1D0A4E11DF0E60
	Ad	“Een betere toekomst, daar hoeven we niet op te gaan zitten wachten” (no music) (<i>A better future, we don’t have to sit and wait for it</i>) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iwyfLlglVCs
	Night	‘Viva la vida’ – Coldplay http://www.uitzendinggemist.nl/afleveringen/1288231
CDA	Spot	“CDA campagnespot Tweede Kamerverkiezingen 2012” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IhSIjmYn1zE
	Ad	“Samen kunnen we meer” (<i>Together we can do more</i>) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mkDh4PR__EY
	Night	‘Tubthumping’ – Chumbawamba http://www.uitzendinggemist.nl/afleveringen/1288231
D66	Spot	“D66 spot Zendtijd Politieke Partijen 2012” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dPyT3XZkpXY&list=PLBB1D0A4E11DF0E60
	Ad	“En nu vooruit” (<i>And now ahead</i>) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6tWjkVqAkuU
	Night	‘Levels’ – Avicii http://www.uitzendinggemist.nl/afleveringen/1288231
SP	Spot	“Doe mee met de SP” (<i>Join the SP</i>) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GcPaAZZt95k
	Ad	“SP, doe mee” (<i>SP, join us</i>) http://www.sp.nl/2012/doemee/
	Night	‘Doe mee met de SP’ – Bob Fosko (<i>Join the SP</i>) http://www.uitzendinggemist.nl/afleveringen/1288231
PVV	Spot	“PVV Verkiezingsfilm TK 2012” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O2n3uQpurTE
	Ad	Non-existent
	Night	No music http://www.uitzendinggemist.nl/afleveringen/1288231

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- ⁱ <http://www.shortlist.com/entertainment/music/obamas-campaign-playlist> (23/04/2014)
- ⁱⁱ http://www.parlement.com/id/viqseyoh12ze/periode_na_2002_instabiliteit
- ⁱⁱⁱ http://www.parlement.com/id/vhnnmt7mrzz/tweede_kamerverkiezingen_2006_uitslag
- ^{iv} http://www.parlement.com/id/viqseyoh12ze/periode_na_2002_instabiliteit
- ^v http://www.parlement.com/id/vifwepx4awo1/tweede_kamerverkiezingen_2010_uitslag
- ^{vi} http://www.parlement.com/id/viqseyoh12ze/periode_na_2002_instabiliteit
- ^{vii} <http://www.verkiezingsuitslagen.nl/Na1918/Verkiezingsuitslagen.aspx?VerkiezingsTypeId=1>
- ^{viii} http://www.parlement.com/id/viqseyoh12ze/periode_na_2002_instabiliteit