

The Political Promotion in the Politic Arena “A Historical Analysis on Turkey from 1950’s till 2000’s”

Assoc. Prof. Müge ELDEN*

Rest. Assist. Dr. Belma GÜNERİ FİRLAR*

Abstract: Today is nothing similar to yesterday, at our time. In this respect, when we examine especially advertising sector, we see that there are some forces shaping our world and these forces are very different from the forces in the past. We also witness rapid changes occurring in a day within minutes. In this respect, the condition of advertising sector in Turkey is similar to that in other countries.

When we examine political advertising campaigns held in Turkey and the researches made about them, we see that the necessary archiving has not been done and this subject has not been dealt with according to the political science so far. We encounter with “Advertising” that has an increasingly popularity when we analyse some concepts on political promotion and marketing recently. As a consequence, the changes in the world conjuncture and differing position of political promotion shaped this work and brought it to the agenda. According to the mentioned determiners, of a different research subject from the previous ones is diffened due to different approach on communication science and corresponding promotion discipline. Beside, the concept of this work is determined according to; political promotion, perception and practices in Turkey, promotion from the perspectives of Turkish politicians, the political panorama of Turkey and the analysis of historical development of political promotion. Regarding the table resulting from the general evaluation, the limits of research are completed with the evaluation of the political promotion campaigns done in pre-elections in Turkey between 1950-2002, the changes and effects of slogan, target mass and vote preferences and the evaluation of their effects in quality and quantity.

Key Words: Political Advertising, Political Living, Democracy, Political Parties

*Ege University, Faculty of Communication Department of Advertisement and Introduction /İZMİR
elden@iletisim.ege.edu.tr

**Ege University, Faculty of Communication Department of Advertisement and Introduction /İZMİR
guneri@iletisim.ege.edu.tr

Introduction:

Justice and freedom are the fundamental determiners of democracy in almost every respect. They are basically shaped as preliminary concepts, especially during the election period. Everyone has the right to vote and to be elected due to principles of democracy. Free will is valid in politics as it is in all areas. The use of free will depends on presentation of candidates' or their party's opinions, policies, suggestions on the points they would differ from other parties to voter, in order to help voters take decisions objectively. In other words we can say that the use of free will depends on the way of communication between candidates and voters.

On the other hands every social structure forms an unavoidable political system and culture in itself. When all these coalesced, governments, which help the societies maintain their existence in the world platform, are embodied. And when it is taken into consideration in this respect, the existence of parties who have major roles in establishing and working of governments is unavoidable. The ideologies of these parties also reflect the political culture of the country. Consequently despite of being in another dimension in which they perform the function of being a mirror to society (www.5mworld.com/agustos_2000/Tarih_reklam.htm)

Politics is a very complex concept as it can be understood from all these explanations. Although the individuals as voters are from this society, it is very difficult for them to practice their personal experiments, observations or the faith and attitudes they synthesized from the sensations they gained from different perspectives, and to act these as a result. At the same time it is obvious that such a synthesis would be difficult as well as it would be mistaken. So we can conclude that promotions of the parties are not only necessity they are also compulsory. In other words in order to reach the targets parties determined, promotion is unavoidable and there is only one way for this; the Management of Communication.

When considered Turkey in this respect, it has appeared that the process of "Politic Communication Management" has been tried to apply approximately for thirty years in the direction of these necessities. The aim in this is similar to all democratic systems: "To informing the public and to provide opportunities to the use of free will". When we consider the deliverance of information about a specific topic, event or plot and the existence of the mass that receive this knowledge in the communication process, we come across the term of marketing. According to Turkish politicians, the determiners of a mass communication concept of political

marketing is based on a stable profile, displaying a transparent image in almost every angle for a specific target group are; (AKYOL, 2000, p.3);

Putting a candidates own opinions, environment and relationships in the preliminary plan instead of a production,

Our target group is the citizens in the role of voters instead of consumers and clients who have commonsense and who can decide about tomorrow by evaluating today and past,

The term of “sale” even should not be taken under consideration because it is related with a negative value in the politic area,

The determiner of the income earned should be the party’s coming on power.

I. Turkey’s Political Portrait

The world has changed and has been still changing as a result of various reasons since its existence. These formations which came as a consequence of various explosions, crisis and inventions on the agenda are the turning points of human history and they effected the societies and their structures nearly in all periods and they continue effecting them. When these changes are analyzed, it is seen that the core of them is technology and communication. It is also seen that these two elements bolster up each other. Related to this, the advances in the historical past and communication process can not be ignored what ever the subject matter of the analysis and the factors are.

When the subject is examined from Turkey’s point of view, we can observe some conflicts between the first communication examples from “Multi Parties System” of 1950s and today. Although Turkey who is evaluated as a bridge in the intersection point of the East and the West was affected by the changes, protects her democratic line and continues to be a developing country. It is obvious that her development line is slowed down by some of the pauses, crises and various interferences occurred at times. After all, democracy protects itself by improving for fifty-two years. The functional structure of these happenings and changes and the relation between political promotion forces us to analyze through the frame of politics and promotion that are determined as the two main variables of historical development process.

A- Multi Parties System And Transition Period

The main reason of Turkey’s attempt to pass on multi parties system is the desire to improve relations with the western countries after the Second

World War. Besides this, existence of a class called elite and the depression created by this class in governing the country influenced this attempt excessively. Furthermore another factor that accelerated the transition to multi parties system was that there was no other party that would stand against Republican People's Party (CHP).

By this the politicians of the era who wanted to go further in democracy process, that is to say CHP as of the time, formed the institutional and legal structure of multi parties system in order to create dissidents for them. With this kind of approach it was understood in the elections of 1946 that the steps taken in this case were mere revisions. In that election instead of two-degreed elections, one-degreed, but open vote-secret counting was carrier out, due to these CHP won the elections. Although it was considered as a transition to multi parties system as the method was anti-democratic, some negative faith and attitudes against CHP emerged despite of the results of the election. Consequently, because of these negative faith and attitudes, CHP lost the general elections in 1950. The Democrat Party (DP) that was in power at that time had to deal with these troubles one by one. So public's hesitations and discomfort about democracy went on.

B- The View Under The Military Regime

The military regime carried out in the 1960s because of the turbulence going on dominated the country. After the military interference, Democrat Party (DP) was closed down. In the 1961 general elections, DP was divided into two trends because of the nationalist and religious discourses. As a consequence to this Turkish Policy was shaped according to parties supporting these three ideologies. Up to 1980s, parties sometimes through conflicts sometimes through compromises continued their struggles for power. During this period another military regime came on the agenda because the country had been dragged into chaos due to terror events. The existing party leaders were barred from policy and emergency rules were declared in order to ensure order and peace in the country. When examined from the political front, closure of parties by the National Security Council in 12 / September / 1980 caused three years of distance from politics in Turkey. In the spring of 1983, the council approved establishments of new parties, while confirming only Social Democrat Party (SODEP), Welfare Party (RP) and True Path Party (DYP) to enter the elections.

As it can be seen discharging the staff of the existing parties did not bring absolute solution to the problems because the leaders who were estranged from politics as a result of the requirements of the era returned with their

staff by the referendum in 1987. The oppression and the struggle of the leaders and their staff on the center parties became clearer as a result of the increase caused by the affect of the legal arrangement. In short, although the aim of the military regimes was to improve the current situation, they could not fulfil the aim and the chaos worsened. On the other hand, the military regimes that interfered prevented the formation a stable base between the political parties and the public. As a result of this the transposing of the political culture from generations to generations was interrupted time to time and there occurred moving even unstable groups between the voters who are divided as target group. As it is analyzed as era, the new political understanding after 1983 branded 1980-90 era and gained a different view.

C- Turkish Political Life in 1980 And Afterwards

The success graphic of ANAP and MDP in 1983 general elections waned by time. When considered from the point of Turkish Political History view, the votes belonging to central right declined under %40, and the parties having religious and nationalistic ideologies ascended. The decline started in 1969-1977 elections. In the 1977 general elections there had been a shift to the left and CHP developed noticeably. As to explain it, we can say that one of every three electors voted for the parties who were out of center.

The most effective part of this view is that Welfare Party and Nationalist Movement Party located on the right of the center had not been associated with non of the acceded dissidents in 1983-1995 and have got five points more support of the voters than the center-left who had formed government between 1991-1995. Despite this, ANAP that had been on power with the majority between 1983-1991 got fewer votes than RP that had rooted from National Order and National Salvation parties. Similar to this the Justice Party of the 1960s-70s and the True Path Party linked to Democrat Party got less support from the voters after 1991. As a consequence, the most interesting point is that the parties on power were supported by fewer voters and the opponent parties were supported by more voters. This can also seen as the parties on power displayed low performances against their voters. Another indicator of this is that %75 increase in the votes of the Welfare Party and The National Movement Party.

After 1995 election as a result of the frailty in the center parties and the rise of RP caused a traumatic coalition between the parties in the center right. Although there was an intention in forming this coalition, the falseness of the decisions and implementations were seen by the reactions of the public and military forces. RP-DYP government resigned and ANAP-DSP-DTP

minority government was established instead. The April 1999 general elections were held under these circumstances and together with DSP minority government. The maximum decline in the votes of center right since 1983 was observed and the quality of getting most of the votes as a political approach since 1977 abolished.

As it can be followed, the formations, changes, anxiety etc. occurring in the political structure of the country affected the choice of Turkish voters and caused a change in the directions. The desire of the voters as to try the untried, to prefer the one who was not involved in the political games showed itself in the 1999 general elections through the vote ratio of DSP and MHP.

These parties have different ideologies and as a natural result of this these parties have different political priorities and as a result of all these their overcoming other parties was considered an inevitable fact. If to explain the reasons (DAVIDSON,1998; s.17);

The voter preferences in Turkish Party System were determined according to centrifugal force, except the ones shaped by the military regimes.

The support of the voters shifted towards especially to center right after 1960 and 1980 regimes.

The parties that are located on the right of the center managed to be coalition partner only as small partners. When it is examined they were not in power between 1980-1995, this shows that they could not have a strong bound with the public. They did not have the exact performance that would keep the voter support.

The first movements on political promotion and works of marketing were seen in 1977. The conscious, planned campaigns that would be examples to the foreign countries started in 1991. Today all the communication skills are used actively in the campaigns of political elections and this process is held highly professionally. Parties prefer to work with the professional agents who would produce campaigns to introduce them in the most effective way to the public. That the voters who do not have definite choices because of the reasons mentioned above lies beneath this preference. The purposes of the general campaigns are primarily to protect the vote level and secondarily to have %5 more votes.

Voters want to communicate face to face with the party leaders, they, themselves, want to tell their annoyances to the leaders because the leaders have not fulfilled their promises for years, this disappointment makes discomfort in the voters. The leaders follow different tactics such as

interfering into the society as if they were one of them. This tactic is named as “man to man marking” in basketball, by doing this they plan to determine the faith and the attitude of the voters and they want to attract their attention according to the desired party. In this respect, the voters are classified under these names; stable, ascending and undecided. When the class distinctions are taken under consideration it is understood that reaching the target with one grouping is not possible though. The class distinctions lie in the basis of this. For instance the distinction in the distribution of the income between the workers, officers and the boss. When examined through political promotion campaigns it is obvious that only one slogan will not be sufficient or the necessity of decoding the same code differently. On the other hands the difference in educational levels of the voters cause problems. For instance it is necessary to try different media tactics according to the illiteracy.

Consequently the aim of political promotion can be determined as to regain the stable voter and to gain the unstable voters. Before agreeing on the messages that would be the focus, it is important to consider the panorama and the disorder of the country and to determine the general complaints and expectations of the public. The messages should be shaped according to the unification of deterrents and the qualities of the target group. The general themes of the political promotions done so far in the Turkish Political History are; honesty, temporality, love, peace, justice, freedom, transparency, solidarity, solving problems, welfare, security, a will and talent to say “STOP” against every negativity etc. These themes never changed even in the meetings, billboards and broadcasts, the only changing thing is the qualities of party leaders who clears them.

II.A Historical Analysis On The Evaluation Of The Turkish Political Promotion Campaigns Between 1950-1999

A- The Theoretical Frame Of The Research

The basic distinction in the Turkish Political Promotion occurred in the changing attitudes of the voters due to changing conditions before and after 1990. It is clear that although there were not many visual works, there had been enough specific analysis. In this respect there are two main models when examined the election analysis and the reports related to their results together with the theoretical sources.

The first of these models is Şerif Mardin’s center/edge model. He developed this model after he evaluated heritage political life of the Ottoman Empire through ages. According to this model, the conflict comes out between the

bureaucrat center and the democrat edge in the multi parties age (1950-1960) in Turkey. Ergün Özbudun develops Social Activity Model after he examined the era right after the military interference; he also examined the relationship between unequal social-economic and political participation. This work of Özbudun enlightens the specific interest relation between leader and voter of our day and it acts as a deterrent of the milestones and evolutions (TOKGÖZ; 1999, p. 64-65). Under the light of these models there appear two factors that determine the political preference of voters: the conflict between center and edge and the affects of social-economic and demographic factors. This result makes it essential to take into consideration Kalaycıoğlu's research in 1990 questioning the effects of center-province conflict on political attitude especially party preference. According to the results voters seem like in a difference when compared to the previous years but still main deterrent is the devotion to the extremes. "Religion" comes as a more effective directing element than social-economic factors. The discourses on "Secularism" and "Religion" represent the conflicts between center-edge in Ş. Mardin's model. Social-economic deterrents are the changing status depending on urbanization that is perpendicular social movement (UZTUĞ; 1999; p.73-75). At the same time, Kalaycıoğlu points the recent effective changes as the "cultural symbols" at the end of his work.

In our point of view, the models and inferences based on different dependent and independent variables become more evident when considered the development in Turkish Political Promotion. For instance; the main directives of political rivalry in Turkey are CHP (Republican People's Party) and DP (Democrat Party). In 1950s, when multi parties system was popular, the voters of DP ended CHP's long power and possessed a different dimension of our political heritage. Every military interference first brings an unproductive period and then brings varieties. The so-called varieties are only in the format and only aim is to protect and to possess the heritage. For instance, the Justice Party that was established instead of Democrat Party, which was closed after the intervention in 1960. This variety changes direction after 1980 intervention. Before there had been candidate parties who wanted to represent another dimension of the heritage but after 1987 referendum direction changed totally and from then on the candidate parties continued to protect the same dimension of the heritage. For instance ANAP (Motherland Party) and DYP (True Path Party), they wanted to carry on traditions of Democrat Party.

1980s were a time when there were strong winds of change throughout the world. During this time, there was also a change in Turkey's Political Life. CHP became an observer and as a result of this Welfare Party associated the power in 1995 general election. Kalaycıoğlu's "Cultural Symbols" determined voters' directions. In other words it can be said that the discomfort in the voters as a result of the performance that were activated or inactivated for years became evident as a change in their vote's direction. Another reason for voters flocked around the parties with religious or ethnic identities is the "Chaos" caused by the variety. The voters could not decompose the parties and the leaders, and this behavior reflected their political attitudes, social-economic, the level in their social-cultural development in the last three election periods. According to the evaluation of Nazlı and Dirlik; "There is an crowding voter mass who do not see the central parties as a solution for country's social-political and economic problems. These people show their reactions in two ways; they either do not vote or they vote for the radical parties (radical wing). (UZTUĞ; 1999, p. 69-71)".

The verification of this work that puts clear datum about the point reached in Turkish Political Life and the reasons of voters' attitudes have come right after the results of 2002 general elections. Turkish voters left the founders of coalition governments; ANAP (Motherland Party), MDP (National Democrat Party) and DSP (Democrat Left Party) under the threshold. They carried AKP (Justice and Development Party) which was established on the ashes of the banned Welfare Party (RP) to the power alone because they believed that this party has a new tendencies compared to the previous parties. Furthermore the voters gave the chance to CHP which is known as "Atatürk's Party". CHP was in a passive position in the political arena for a long time to enter the parliament as a dissident.

This table also can be accepted as the indicator of the "Identity Depression" going on in Turkey. "WHO am I?" question of parties is a question of the citizens as well. The parties shape their messages according to this question. The political parties supporting ethnic groups and ideologies are welcomed. Making campaigns in which the identities of the party leaders and candidates are put forward especially before the elections are other results of this reflection. The only place where can observation on all the points be made the best is the "Political Campaigns".

When the election campaigns in the countries where democratic ruling process; although in differing levels, is dominant evaluated, it is obvious that actually the target is the same; that is, to win the elections. According to this,

the target is being forced to shoot in the center by means of varying communication techniques. When all the techniques related to political campaigns from the past to the present examined, it is seen that among all the communication forms that aim to change certain manners or to persuade people, promotion has a rising value. So, what are the determinants of this choice?

As it is known by the majority, promotion is a form of communication that is commercial and together with this notion it has an artistic appreciation. In this respect promotion aims to change the attitude of a certain mass about any kind of idea, object or event by first acknowledging them on this subject and then by pushing them to act according to the requirements of the idea, object or event that is in question through attracting attention and surfacing the hidden motives. In other words, promotion directs people to behave in a certain way by activating their purchase motives. When the frame in question is evaluated according to political promotion, it is determined that the targets are not differing. When the basic determiners that distinguish political promotion and product promotion from each other taken into consideration, we firstly come across a practice area in which the target is varied around one main focus and surely, reaching a conclusion as soon as possible is taken for granted. On the other hand, political promotion campaigns demand varieties due to their preference of kind and strategies. For instance in these sorts of campaigns the most probable strategies are dissident and power strategies. Generally evaluated, it is determined that the kinds of promotions that are preferred are image, issue, attack, negative or positive and comparative promotions. At this stage the most interesting point in political promotion history is the rising importance and density of the negative promotions which carry some messages that focus on the weakness of the rivals (TURAN, 1996, s.57-58).

Actually the increasing appliance on negative promotions fits 1980 war era. In the past periods campaigns, the political party candidates preferred mostly the image and positive promotions in order to introduce their parties and to emphasize their difference. In the second step of the campaigns, they preferred comparative and negative promotions in order to clarify the properties of their parties given in the first step, and to put their difference forward more clearly, that is to say; to transfer the things that are done, undone and will be done. Although the arguments about the negative promotions' being proper still constitute one of the main subject matters,

they increased their density each day due to the conditions in Turkey that ease to attack rather than defend or the continuation of the parties around the inheritance system. These conditions provides lots of materials to the parties to work on. When the political promotion campaigns of nowadays are examined, it is determined that parties and the candidates shape their overall work according to negative promotions. When the researches and the works on theoretic and practice fields are analyzed, the reactions given to these sort of campaigns by the voters as target mass form a really interesting picture. In this respect, according to some research results either political campaigns as a whole or one to one promotion campaigns affect the individuals negatively. According to some other works, these kinds of strategies and tactics especially in the practice level become effective in fulfilling the need of individuals in gaining information by developing the attitude in the desired direction. At this point we encounter some problems such as; the perception level and perception forms of individuals, and the level of cause and effect relation between functions and effects of promotion. On the other hand the subject matter of the research on theoretic point of view gains a different dimension when the factors in question evaluated according to social norms, values and the qualities of the language of Turkey and Turkish Public.

When the sorts of theories reached as a result of researches done in order to determine the activity of promotion and works about one to one political promotion from past to present examined, it is obviously seen that especially two of them have to be taken into consideration along with the factors in question (AKYOL, www.anap.org.tr,s.4); 1. Expectancy Theory and 2. Cognitive Response Model.

As it is known, the majority of the communities shape their language and the structures related to language themselves. According to the determined shape some samples either normative or non-normative are built. Consequently, when information broadcasted through communication channels are in harmony with the norms in question and when some expectancies formed connected to these, related manners to these are strengthened. In other words, if you share the same words with target mass in every point, that is to say, if you express their problems, expectancies, demands, and needs, it becomes easy for you to reach the target. Such appliance is encountered quite often in Turkey. For instance; the party candidates join the public, they sit at an ethnic country café and the candidate chats with them or he says the slogan as “That’s enough, the price increases hurt us!”. He does this to make the voters act according to his aim

by implying that he is also one of them, he is not an extraordinary person at all. As it is seen from the examples, two different promotion tactics should be followed according to the related theory: Positive and Negative.

If the conditions are examined through expectancy theory, positive improvements occur in the direction of manners when the related messages affect individuals' linguistic expectations positively. Together with this, in negative messages two different reactions occur in the agenda. Firstly, negative messages can form positive reactions when the expectations of individuals conveyed through a different rhetoric, secondly there can occur negative attitudes. As a result of this, the level of attack dose in the rhetoric used in promotion messages should be arranged carefully. In other words, mostly usage of negative promotion, as it also happens in Turkey, may bring unexpected results due to arousing discomfort in voters. In the reality of such manner lies the perception of a leader image who is mainly interested in power struggle and who cares about himself and his future more than he cares about public.

When the expectancy theory is evaluated through perception and persuasion process, cognitive response model comes on the agenda through the differentiation of reactions. In the essence of responsive model, there is condition in which individual is subjected to a message and s/he starts to evaluate it in the psychological dimension process. The Cognitive Response Model is structured in order to evaluate the effects of the political promotion messages that are formed to persuade and to evaluate the reactions that will or may come out dependent on this. There are three different ways directing from this model; counter argument, source derogation and support argument. When evaluated through the appliance of political promotion, counter argument occurs when the voters take place next to the target, that is to say when they carry certain attitudes which are related to the target. Dependent on this, target mass displays tendency that rejects the message. Individual goes away from the source when there are anxieties about the reliability and esteem. Support argument is propped when there is negative images especially belonging to the target. The situation in question acts like a sort of explanation to the incoherence between the results attained from the campaigns held in Turkey before the elections and previous evaluations.

The incoherence and the existence of stereotyped beliefs and attitudes between individuals' fifty years of experience, knowledge and the messages directed towards them make such results unavoidable. As a result of this Turkish Public displays their reaction at the ballot box. When the reactions

given by the individuals as voters and promotion messages are through historical process, we encounter an interesting table.

The Political Promotion works were seen in 1950s in its simplest way in Turkey. Political promotion practices accelerated parallel with the progress in mass communication instruments. They became legal in 1983 election. The promotions had the same structure as the foreign ones and the promoters followed exactly the same route. In structures of the promotions there are positive, negative and comparative practices. According to this (UZTUĞ; 1999, p. 123-124):

-the promotions that praise the party:

“We are not going to allow to end the high altitude we started.”

(MOTHERLAND Party)

-the promotion that humiliate the performances of the party in power and to satirize that party:

“Social Democrat Publican Party asks our public: do you have the power to be squeezed like a lemon for another five years?” (SHP-1987)

-the promotions that emphasize the leader’s devotion to the party:

“The recruit of the Democrat Left; our votes are for you-against all the slandering, contradictions, disloyalty and poverty” this slogan was promoted together with the portrait photo of Bülent Ecevit who was the leader of DSP on the fond.

-the promotions targeting all the private layers or demographic groups:

“the situation of middle-class is obvious” (MOTHERLAND-1983)

-the normative promotions that give information about the party:

“True Path Party is the owner of the BIG TURKEY matter” (DYP- 1983)

-the comparative promotions attracting attention the done, not done and has been done:

“from the darkness through the enlightenment on the true path of DYP’s white horse-What did they say?, What did they do?, What are you going to do?...if you say....” (DYP-1987)

Four hypothesis’s are put forward when the theories related to political promotion and the promotion messages that are listed above and are shaped in Turkey’s political structure.

1. Political promotions cause to strengthen the beliefs and attitudes of the voters’ about getting better acknowledged. However, to create such an

effect, the expectations and hopes of the voters should be taken under consideration.

2. In reaching the determined targets, there lies the reality of whether fulfilling or not fulfilling the promises. If there occurs an incoherence between the past experience, knowledge gathering and the messages, reaching the target will be difficult or even impossible.

3. Creating target effect through communication by promotion would not be enough, the campaign should be evaluated in the frame of total communication process.

4. Negative promotion campaigns will cause to form negative attitudes in the voters as target mass if its dose is not adjusted well.

B- The Research Method

The main purpose of this course is to evaluate the development in the perspectives of parties' communication and their point of view on political promotion since 1950s. Besides this, evaluation of the relationship chains between the voters and the political promotion campaigns gained from the election results we have, example promotions, Turkey's social-economic location and the wide effects of the changes in the campaigns in the world and in the conjuncture of the country and how these effects are reflected to the preferences and to the strategies of campaigns in the historical process is the other intention of this course. In this respect the aim is to evaluate the campaigns in quantities and qualitative approaches (DAVIDSON,1998; s.47).

The election periods and promotions of the primarily parties in these periods are taken into consideration. In the process of analyzing the promotions, the works of promotions in the given periods, the thesis written on political promotions, newspaper archives and the limited academic literature on the subject were also used.

A division has been applied on the political promotions of the parties according to dissident and power strategies. On the other hand the positivity and negativity has been taken into consideration during the evaluation. When the promotions were analyzed the chain between the election results and the effectiveness of the campaign was also taken into consideration. The evaluations of the strategic approaches were accepted as the main determined of the activity. All the necessary assumptions are listed below (KÖKER,1998; s.26):

1. The "inheritance approach" in Turkish politics influences political promotions.

2. It is the leaders who win or lose the election not the parties and the ideologies.
3. Negative promotions always attract the voters but if the dose were not balanced well, these promotions would create negative attitudes or would strengthen already existing negative attitudes.
4. The dissident and the power strategies are followed in the promotion campaigns.
5. The fundamental strategies in Turkey are the populist discourses that reflect the patriarchal society or the discourses that reflects this structure.
6. The effectiveness of the promotion campaign is not enough to carry the party to the power.

C-The Analyse of Political Promotion Campaigns in The Historical Process: Turkey Example

Turkey was governed by one party (CHP) since the declaration of Republic until 1946, and as a natural result of this there was no need for elections and political promotion campaigns. The first election was held in 1946 and as the essential election system was not yet established, the election was not like the elections of today. It was the 1950s that the elections were free and just, closer to today. In those periods there were no planned campaigns except Democrat Party's famous words that were used in the boards: "Enough, now its public's turn!", this was considered as the first examples of the political promotion in Turkey. Democrat Party aimed at getting the votes from the rural areas whereas CHP protected its tradition and had meetings in the public squares and called for the votes of elite, intellectuals and soldiers. This slogan ended CHP's 27 years of power, however. During these 27 years CHP divided, the already damaged country as a result of the wars into classes and let the people join the government under this restriction. This slogan was used several times in different formats according to their necessities by Justice Party, True Path Party, and besides these parties it was used by left and Marxist left and Radical Islamic Parties but the effects were not like the first one. May be the reason for his is that the message conveys that day's necessities.

DP continued to be on power in 1954 and 1957 elections. But the credits and the helps taken started to damage economic balances in the country and democracy concept in the country faded slowly. Military intervention in 1960 ended this era. Due to these movements in political life continued. Depending on this rapid changes, new political parties emerged. In those years, leader of Justice Party; Süleyman Demirel was known as "Çoban

Sülü” and leader of Democratic Left Party; Bülent Ecevit was known as “Kara-oğlan” that was dedicated to Mr. Ecevit by an old peasant woman. The effects of these nicknames given to party leaders by nameless communication specialists, understood in the former years and as a result of this Seguela named Turgut Özal “Tonton” in 1980 political campaigns. These nicknames were considered as a part of image works.

In the election posters the favorite slogans are grouped around “NOT”. For instance; “They said national protection, they did national drying” (CHP), “We pull the tractor by an ox” (CHP), the AP that was in power gave messages about things they performed and would perform; “Solidarity means power, let’s unite around AP”, “Public’s problems are best understood by the ones who are from the public.”, “The flag of Democracy”, “Peace, order and development...AP”.

Television started to be watched nationwide in 1970 and in 1977 it was legally opened to propaganda, and this opened a new page in front of the specialists on political communication. In this respect, a sense of professionalism started by 1977 election. Parties started to design their campaigns by working with agents.

The Justice Party continually wrote things done so far, that would be done so far and reasons in choosing the Justice Party under titles like; “This is the service deserves beloved Turkish public”, “To the big Turkey on the realist way”, “My beloved mother.....”, “We.....” etc. CHP without working with an agent prepared these posters: “Arms will go, peace will come”, “Only way VOTE CHP”, by these posters CHP won 1977 election. They could not win vote of confidence after establishing the government so they had to leave the government to Süleyman Demirel leading the Justice Party. 1973-1980 is considered as coalition governments running the country in history. Weak governments and the chair struggles in the parliament calls for another decadence and in 19/September/1980 another military intervention occurred. According to some politicians the main reason for this decadence is failure in establishing AP-CHP coalition.

In 1983 spring, military government let to establish new parties instead of ones that were closed down. Although there were six parties the military government led only three of them to enter 1983 election. (ANAVATAN-Turgut Özal, Liberal Conservative Right; People’s Party-Necdet Calp, Center Left, National Democracy Party-Turgut Sunalp and Conservative Right). Political promotions of this era can be classified in each other: “Do not forget yesterday my Turkey, look at tomorrow confidentially”,

“Balanced economy, healthy democracy, powerful Turkey”, “O! Turkish Nation”, when these slogans of MHP are examined it is understood that the party had been shaped by military government through indirect messages. HP was the party who did not work with an agent and main target of its slogans were Turgut Özal. ANAP emphasized in its messages that all problems including economic ones had solutions, they would handle primarily with economic problems and then with the others one by one and their slogans conveyed messages that Turkey would be governed with democracy in the real sense. They also addressed directions of votes in order not to return again in their messages. Some of their messages are: “It is good not to be afraid of streets”, “Nobody will be unemployed”, “In the deepest water is the best fishing”, “Situation of middle class is obvious”, “We are going to solve housing problem”, “6th of November and You”, “Tomorrow...”, “Do not spoil your good deed with a bad one” etc. Consequently election was done and ANAP was the choice of public. 1983 election was a turning point in the name of political promotion history because for the first time a corporation between party-agent occurred, campaign was held through mass communication skill, time and place were purchased and a strategic plan was made and campaign was shaped according to focus point which was “Star strategy”.

Beginning from 1984, parties started to vary in Turkey and parties began to emerge in the political arena leading by the same leaders under different names. For instance; Bülent Ecevit founded DSP instead of CHP, Necmettin Erbakan founded Welfare Party instead of National Salvation Party (MSP), Alparslan Türkeş founded National Working Party (MÇP), and these leaders preferred to carry on their political life with these parties. Consequently there were enough alternatives against Motherland and Turgut Özal in 1987 election. Together with this Motherland Party fulfilled most of their promises to the public and through a TV program “Through performances” transferred things they managed to do and they could not do. By this at the same time they continued communication with public.

In the campaigns held before 1987 election, Motherland Party identified themselves with communication strategies giving explanations to dissident’s attacks suitable to power strategy. They shaped basic message strategies with these slogans: “Turkey switches an age”, “Turkey is catching the age”. SHP led by Erdal İnönü developed his party campaign around these main slogans: “Social Democrat Publican Party asks: Do you have enough power to be squeezed as a lemon for another five years?”, and The True Path

Party's slogans are; "From the darkness to the enlightenment on the true path on DYP's white horse", "We are going to take off the expensiveness' shirt of fire with the power of True Path on 29th of November", "Valid from tomorrow". Before the election the Motherland Party changed the election system and increased number of deputies to 450, practiced multi-threshold system. As a result of this, the winner was again the Motherland Party. SHP leading Erdal İnönü who was a follower of İsmet İnönü could not enter the parliament. Although they could not fulfil expectations these political promotion campaigns were one of the most effective examples in Turkish Political Promotion History.

In the second run of prime ministry, either Turgut Özal or ANAP lost the performances in economic reform and started to put their political concerns forward. Naturally image of the party was damaged slowly and lost prestige. The rise of discomfort in public and appearance of political conflicts emerged when Turgut Özal left the leadership of party in order to become the President of the Turkish Republic instead of Kenan Evren whose working period had been over. In such a time of discomfort, the preparation for 1991 election started.

Before the 1991 general elections, all the parties preferred to work with professional agents to carry on their communication plans. Such a period brought another turning point in the history of political promotion in those days' Turkey. 1990s were the years pointing change throughout the world and these years brought more fresh blood to Turkish Political Promotion History in another dimension. Professionals who used all the technological instruments actively prepared colorful campaigns for the parties. Another reason for this was the experiences from the previous years and parties welcomed all innovations and accepted to obey the rules of agent-customer relationships as a whole party.

Another reason to have new approaches was the recovery of certain facts. One of them was that parties were formed by "National Heritage" since the time they switched to multi parties system up to 1991. The discourses on protecting or possessing this heritage given by leaders and their parties lost value and they realized this according to their past experiences. This led a division between old leaders and the followers of them. Although they were supporting the same ideologies at first they seemed to have different ideologies and this bring the parties closer in ideologies and party programs. Another fact was changing expectations of voters due to changing balances. As to explain in other words, the fading lines between parties swept away

the determiner that caused the difference. And all these put the communication management process in political promotion forward because it had an elaborated direction and it took the observation of competitive elements through different perspectives, also it had the ability of showing the same subject on different points by using different tactics. Another distinctive importance of 1991 election is for the first time the duty of preparing political campaigns was given to a foreign advertiser. The corporation between ANAP and Jacques Seguela.

Seguela had the photos of Mesut Yılmaz who is heir of Turgut Özal and many other party members and preferred to use only one of these photos in all the campaigns. He determined some differing messages as; “We are not going to let close the altitude we opened.”, “If Turkey would continue to spread over the world in order to catch the age...”, “If everyone would get what he deserves...”, “If Turkey would provide education and job opportunities for her youth”, “Tomorrows are built on today.”

DYP led by Süleyman Demirel come out with main strategy; “Speaking Turkey”. Süleyman Demirel who is a milestone in Turkish politics was known as quarrelsome, anti-democrat and uncompromising identity. His old image had been renewed as “democrat, experienced, renewed, affectionate” politician. As a result, instead of his old nickname “Çoban Sülü”, there came “Father”.

SHP led by Erdal İnönü was a weakened party because of the conflicts in the party. Party joins the competition with the slogan “Roses will bloom in ballot box”. SHP as being a dissident party used negative promotions targeting ANAP and DYP, and tries to determine its place with the slogan “What is their difference?”

During this time there occurred some separations on the radical right. Welfare Party was established as a result of the joint of MÇP and IDP, and they were the initial points of MHP. The ones who were supporting RP declared “the holly alliance”. As a consequence of this, party’s slogan was determined as “A new world”. They did not use only Necmettin Erbakan, the leader of the party, in the party campaigns. Theme was based on “Fair Order” and how to install it. Bülent Ecevit is pictured in his blue shirt in the promotions designed for DSP. The main slogan used is “Good news Turkey! There comes the white pigeon.” ANAP used power strategy in its campaigns exactly because in the campaigns they placed promotions including the explanations for the critics and attacks coming from the dissident parties as well as the image campaign. DYP was the winner of 1991 general election,

and its success was evaluated as a victory of strategy. On the other hand, in 1994 election; Welfare Party won many of the local governments and this was considered as a corruption in the balances and victory of DYP would be temporary.

Generally the rise in Islamic Welfare Party, representative of Islamic elements, can be interpreted as the reflection of discomfort in voters against the political governing. The growing recession in the economy day by day, the rising social-economic problems, in short the insufficiency of center parties in solving the problems of the voters chooses the new opportunities presented to them. The preparations for 1995 election started in such an era.

CHP managed its campaign with these slogans; “A new left in the world, Turkey new CHP”. The various pictures of Deniz Baykal were placed on the bottom right corner and the paper articles about past events were placed on the top left corner. “Things we did are the guarantee of things we are going to do” message had been tried to convey. At the same time, another dissident strategy was stressing the gaps in performances that had not fulfilled by the acceded party. The messages concerning this aim were; “Rise is not enough we want a syndicated officer”, “Turkey has to pass this lesson—Democracy”, “CHP is going to overcome the crisis in the system in Turkey”, “CHP is going to improve the conditions of laborers”, “CHP is going to carry Turkey to the world”, “I also have a family”, “Me, Deniz Baykal... I am also a voter.”, “If you do not want a Turkey shifted to right, vote for CHP”, “CHP is Turkey, new CHP=new Turkey” etc.

The six arrows symbolizing CHP were used in all the promotions strongly. The most important strategy false of the campaign was that there was no information about how CHP was the new left. Another fault was that these images made CHP seem “quarrelsome, critic but not presenting solutions”.

DYP with “Come on Turkey, Forward” explained the performances of other parties and performances of DYP in the past years in power in a critical and humorous way. For instance; in the message “We do, they destroy” we see Tansu Çiller, leader of DYP, trying to build a wall and other party leaders are running towards the wall carrying paddles and mattocks to destroy it. Another work on the same message, we see Tansu Çiller trying to build a bridge and in the same message we see other party leaders putting dynamites under the bridge. These promotions in which characters and events are caricaturized could not go further than being funny.

From 1990s some mosaics began to emerge throughout the country. Parties turned towards these mosaics which were closer to party ideologies although

they shaped themselves according to change. Such an approach led them destruction. ANAP tried to determine its difference by taking these mosaics as a whole. “Vote for ANAP, put an end to adventure” was the main slogan. In the second run of the party campaign they changed the slogan to eliminate the affects of the negative slogans of the opponent parties. In this respect, they published the picture of Mesut Yılmaz with his right hand up as if he were in the court and were giving oath, and the slogan was “I guarantee”. In these promotions the topics were generally; declining inflation, solution for unemployment, solution for South East problem, protecting rights of Custom’s Unity, solving education problem etc.

At the same time, in some of the promotions there were the pictures of people from public and the slogan was “We are bored of lies, there is the ballot box” and under this they wrote promised but unfulfilled performances of the leaders in the past. Related to all these they also used these slogans; “Sweep away” and “Wanted”. When analyzed thoroughly main target of ANAP was Tansu Çiller, that is to say DYP. Unfortunately when the results came it was seen that this campaign affected both of them.

One of the most effective slogans of 1995 election was Welfare Party’s “Turkey will be reborn”. In the campaign together with examining the unfulfilled performances of other parties in power, they also examined the expectations of citizens very well. The messages were; “The wages will not be cut by the taxes”, “Turkey’s future is also my future”, “Air, water and politics will be cleaned”, “Doors of bribery will be closed forever”, “Wound of terror will be cured by Welfare”, “We only promise you welfare”. Together with these effective messages the changing in outlook of the party also effected the campaign. Welfare’s election attitude was not violent as the other parties and this was welcomed and made the campaign more effective. Also they organized education seminars, various meetings, women commission had been activated, by these innovations they changed the panorama of Welfare Party.

DSP’s campaign that was formed around Ecevit’s honest, reliable and loyal to the heritage image was not as professional as others. The campaign was successful because it was based on “trust and loyalty” and these concepts’ values were very eroded this period. It was a rational work. National Publican Party preferred to call for the votes under Alparslan Türkeş’s sympathetic and democrat identity. The winner of the election was Welfare Party, and the following parties were ANAP, DYP, DSP and CHP.

The years between 1995-1999 were the years of coalition governments. Instabilities and uncertainties caused escalation of tension. The conflicts in the political arena, the problems in economy, the problems on international terror and human rights could be considered as the signs of a period full of discomfort and uncertainty. Bülent Ecevit was given the task of forming minority government to take the country to early elections. By the election decision parties started campaign preparations.

CHP, the representative of left in 1995 general elections based its campaign on the slogan; “Do mind”. Following this promotion they used some other promotions and the purpose of these negative promotions was to criticize the performances of the parties until that day. The messages were; “We are going to found the secular republic without concession.”, “We are going to make real the social state.”, “We are going to make our country and public rich by a productive and competitive economy.”.

DYP who primarily used the slogan “Enough, it’s public’s turn” in 1950 election, used “Enough, right is public’s” in this election. The party claimed that they had the solution and as Welfare Party did in 1991, they used the pictures of people representing different classes in the society. At the same time, they aimed to have the votes of the mosaics in the country; it can be said that their campaign resembled to ANAP’s campaign done in 1995 election. As in all the previous campaigns the main themes were the promised performances, and the unfulfilled ones. The main mistake in DYP’s campaign was that it covered too many messages and the party could not determine their program clearly.

ANAP’s campaign based on negative promotions and party described the “Silent Majority”; the ones who gained the right to vote newly and the ones who were disappointed in the past, fundamentally we can call them undecided. In the messages they as usual focused on the problems of the citizens and the country as a whole. In the campaign there was a softer approach when compared to the previous ones. DSP that held the campaign with their own budget focused on Bülent Ecevit’s honest and clean identity as a politician. The arrestment of Abdullah Öcalan who had been the leader of PKK terror organization carried DSP to the peak suddenly. PKK was a source of depression throughout the world as well as Turkey. Öcalan was arrested during Ecevit’s minority government. As a result of this, DSP won 1999 election as a symbol of honest and hard working. Welfare Party had been closed and Necmettin Erbakan, leader of the party and many of the party members were banned from politics. Virtue Party that can be described

as an heir of Welfare Party was founded. Recai Kutan, the leader of Virtue Party followed nearly the same way of the previous campaigns. But the conflicts going on in the party affected the campaign's success.

MHP's leader who was one of the milestones of Turkish Politics died after 1995 election. After a bickering on whom would be leader, Devlet Bahçeli became the party leader. The main strategy he held in 1999 election was "Nation enters the parliament". In such a period the election results formed a very strange table. DSP was the first party, MHP was the second, and Virtue Party was the third party. Any of them had enough number of seats in the parliament to found the one-party government, however. Finally a coalition government of DSP, MHP, and ANAP was established under the premiership of Bülent Ecevit. This government tried to solve the problems of themselves and the country for four years. But the domestic problems get heavier and uncompromising behaviours of ANAP and MHP together with the unsolved problems of the country bring general election on agenda again. The campaigns managed had the nearly same qualifications with the previous ones. The result of the election was again surprising because AK Party led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan won a landslide victory. AK Party was founded by the politicians who left Virtue Party and gathered around R. Tayyip Erdoğan. Another surprising result of the election was that none of the founder parties of Turkish politics could send any deputies to the parliament because all of them were left under the threshold (%10). The third surprising result was that CHP, previously known as Atatürk's Party who remained out of politics for a long time entered the parliament as opponent to AK Party.

D- Consequence And Evaluation

There has been an important bias to the extreme right when the ideological preferences of the voters are examined from 1977 to 1999. There are of course different reasons that lie in both entire country and voters' preferences: "The consistency of the promises given by the party leaders and loss of comfort in the public as voters. Surely the inadequacy of the communication policies."

The country's going to election for the sake of being modern or the providing participation created by the multi parties system did not create the effect that had been expected as it is followed through the historical process. On the other hand, the politicians' speeches about the promises determined by the needs of public also did not give an effective result. Because the public always wanted the parties who pretended as if they were with them in

order to get their support, to fulfil these promises but as they did not fulfil the given promises the public began to get away off the politicians. People approached to the party leaders to fulfil their expectations and desires, and the leaders chose the easiest way which is taking the role of the public hero, to get closer to the public. Consequently some characters such as “Father”, “Sister”, “Wiser”, and “Karaođlan” emerged in Turkish Political Life. Every party considered their leaders as “Main Queen” as a result of this the tradition of passing the leadership from father to son developed. By this tradition, the parties could not develop and change themselves. This successor and predecessor point of view followed by the parties in Turkey made the political arena seem more complicating.

As a result of all these formations the qualities of parties in Turkey are determined like these listed below (TURAN,1996,s.34):

-The party systems in Turkey, since Ottoman Empire to present, has been shaped according to the elites in the social classes and the leaders coming from this class. They were not shaped according to social divisions and conflicts.

-As a result of the military interventions made in order to get rid of the chaos and to ensure peace and order, the parties to find the permanent and orderly base could not form and transfer an institutional culture.

-Although the parties are the products of differences in society in the recent years, the differences between the parties nearly disappeared.

-The changing discourses of parties and the incoherence in these discourses made the voters, who already had hesitations primarily, more hesitant.

-The dissatisfaction and loss of trust of voters against political parties shifted the votes to the right and divided them more.

-The lack of communication inside the parties and between the parties and the public became more and more clear each day.

When these are listed, there appears only one result and that is the lack of importance attached to political communication management... It is impossible to reach anywhere without transferring information, making plans to send them to market at any time either in the election or after the election in our day of system based on knowledge. Parties' main intention is to be on power and during election campaigns without promotion they can not reach their intentions. Although these are known by everyone there are still areal gaps in Turkish Political Life, these can be observed through the results of the examples.

We can divide the promotion campaigns into three categories when we examine the campaigns held between 1950-1999. On the contrary, when examined generally the first use of radio in 1945, the era of multi-party system, the first use of political propaganda in press in 1960, the first use of television in 1973 are accepted as turning points in political communication campaigns but they are not the only determiners. Furthermore in 1977 one of the parties' corporation with an agent for political promotion campaign is a sign of becoming more professional in this area.

a. First Political Promotion Practices

In our country Republic was declared in 1923. The years of switching to democracy were between 1924-1946 and during this period there was only one party so political promotion was out of question in those years. In other words political promotion came to agenda with the multi-parties system in Turkey.

1950 was the turning point of both Turkish Political Life and political promotion. As a result of the causes as multi parties term, usage of radio as a propaganda item besides newspapers, the first promotion examples began to be observed. Republican People's Party (CHP) and Democrat Party which was the root of today's True Path Party began to use radio as a propaganda item in 1950s. As a consequence of all these efforts and the slogan in the radios; "Enough, now it's public's turn" Democrat Party came on power. After the election in the pioneering of DP, radio started to serve to all parties as a propaganda item. Giving speech about election duration was determined the 15 days before the election. (TAŞ, ŞAHİM; DECEMBER/ 1996, P. 104).

Consequences of the extraordinary situations in Turkey, the permission given by Democrat Party was taken back by DP, itself and the parties had to enter 1955 election without the radio. This prohibition was abolished after the arrangements done after 1960 military coup and radio, handouts, posters and some other written texts as brochures were used in 1961, 1965, 1969 general elections. In 1968 television started to be used as experimental broadcasts but in 1970 when television started to be used throughout the country political promotion dimensions began to change slowly. When the campaigns is researched before 1973 general election, its reflections that even in the news programs there were news from elections can be observed.

In spite of all the positive changes, it was the year 1977 when television was used exactly in all forms as political promotion. This was not an unlimited usage, Supreme Election Board brought some restrictions in this process.

Besides television, another innovation was purchasing advertisements in the newspapers in the political promotion area. The first practitioner of this was the Justice Party and they worked with Cen Agency with a very high budget. In the same period market researchers managed poll to define the voters' bias. (TAŞ, ŞAHİM; December/ 1996, ps. 105-106). In short the formations experienced before and after 1977 general election were recorded as turning point in history. Same period is also accepted as the starting point of political marketing appliances.

b. A Different Term in Political Life and Its Reflection to Promotion Sector

Due to the crisis in the country in 12/ September/ 1980 there had been a military coup and it was decided to close the political parties. After the tension ended, general election decision was given in 1983. The established parties had to obey the restrictions arranged by National Security Council (MGK) and they carried out their campaigns according to these obligations. Council allowed the parties to give advertisement to the press and this had legalized the Justice Party's appliance in 1977.

The Motherland Party prepared for the election very carefully and they carried out their campaign and evaluation of the campaign with a promotion agency (Manajans). Although the other parties also gave importance to press advertisements like ANAP, ANAP came on power due to the strategies and the tactics of the agent determined for ANAP's campaign; "the continuity of the peace and security provided in 12 September", "Stopping the inflation", "The class described as lower class will be empowered", "Reduction of the bureaucratic practices to the minimum". At the same time the leader of the Motherland Party, Turgut Özal went to America and got the necessary information, this also effected ANAP's success. Turgut Özal was chosen as the most effective user of the media in the politicians.

Before 1987 general election, it is obvious that more than one party (ANAP, MDP etc.) worked with the promotion agents to prepare a campaign their parties. The most important problem of this period is budget.

c. Symbolic Era in Turkish Political Promotion Period

As can be followed from the line of history, the change occurring throughout the world in all aspects of life affected the politics as well. Primarily the differences in the products and then the differences between the parties faded away so that they became nearly invisible. The shifting in votes of the individuals was also experienced. Depending on this, the professionals found out that the mere usage of election propaganda or mass communication skills

were insufficient. They came along with some certain theories. One of these theories was that in order to make a difference in the political products they had to add a “value”, to put the loyalty on the strong base and they had to form a “brand”. According to these theories, image of the candidate or leader was the main factor of political communication. When all these formations are evaluated as a whole in order to re-establish the damaged balances due to the changing dynamics they had to handle with political promotion and advertisement which is accepted as a part of it today in another perspective. The word “marketing” which was accepted as a trade term until that time got into politics. When political marketing process was evaluated generally, it was determined as one of the most important items of political promotion especially when creating value and brand. It is found out that it did not follow any different route in Turkey than in the world.

Turkey’s political communication process has no difference than world’s as said before. The factors that cause the differences are; individuals as voters have right to say anything just in the election periods, the chaos and the pauses caused by the military coup and the divisions depending on these factors and parties could not base their substructure on strong roots. The campaigns carried out before the election period, results of elections and the communication strategies determined by these restricted factors. The restricted factors that direct the election strategies can be summarized as (Mediacat; October/ 2002, p. 28);

- The level of loyalty of individuals as voters to the party,
- The image of the party and party leader or its candidate in the public,
- The unexpected events occurred in the world conjuncture or country before the election period,
- The attitude taken towards the events or the subjects in the campaign period,
- The strategy of the communication campaign,
- The support of the media.

In this respect, taking into consideration all the political communication campaigns held from 1950, these determiners mentioned above started with 1991 general elections in Turkey. In other words, this period is accepted as a starting point in “Professional Political Communication Campaigns in Turkey” because in this period, besides ANAP cooperating with Jacques Seguela who was a competent of promotion, to prepare its campaign, other parties also worked with agents due to their past experiences.

In the related period, when we examine the other parties' election campaigns we see that they followed an equivalent line. For instance, SHP that dwelled on the lost votes primarily, used Erdal İnönü's poses with different messages in order to regain the voters. The poses of Tansu Çiller as the leader of DYP and MHP's leader, Alparslan Türkeş were also used in the posters. When we examine the political communication campaigns before 1991 general elections we see that images and identities of party leaders were coalesced with the party ideologies, even sometimes they came before the parties.

These differences in the strategies of political promotion campaigns started after 1980 and became obvious before 1991 general election, they protected their existence in 1995 and 1999 elections. When examine these campaigns in the election periods uniting with the general condition of Turkey in order to find the point reached in political promotion campaigns, some sub factors found. As to summarize these (www.liberal.serefates);

1. Shifting to data based economy.
2. Besides the privatization of mass communication instruments as television and radio, intensification of public pressure due to the increasing numbers of these instruments.
3. Disappearance of the ideological differences of parties through time and as a result of these the tendency towards leader or candidate images in order to create a difference.

Depending on all these formations, communication specialists turned to create a "Symbolic Values" psychologically as they could not create "Value" in theoretical dimension. The increasing importance of symbols in political communication process put forward the effectiveness of other communication forms such as promotion in another dimension. In the campaigns about Turkish politicians on their images it is seen that the existing appearance tried to be protected, they were contented with some corrections. During this correction, especially the past experiences of Turkish voters are taken into consideration and although leader or the candidate is put forward they pay attention not to break the connection with the party (www.milliyet.com.tr; 1999, p.1).

The basic determiners of the promotion campaign, slogans, and themes of the political parties between 1991-99 are: Being contemporary, Economy, Democracy and Development Concepts. The values in these works tied up to the "A New Turkey" presentation are; Stability, Open society, National Unity, Transparency, Fair Order and Share, the Continuity of Development, Unity.

In these themes the most effective director is what country has experienced so far and what she lives today. On the other hand, relating to all these difference in the vote preferences of changing Turkish voters, reasons explained before, are very important as well. Consequently, the disappearance of the line between the parties day by day, the detorment of negative faith and attitudes emanated from past experiences, the technological and knowledge based changes occurring throughout the world, and the pushing powers depending on these and etc. affected the dimension of political promotion campaigns and changed them. The political image campaigns in which symbolic values are prominent surrounded us. Under the light of all these inferences, the assumptions that are the bases of this analysis are verified. We can not make a generalization, however as to remember the promotion campaigns in 1995, especially the campaign strategies made by ANAP and CHP. Depending on this, our assumption on mere power and dissident strategy can not make coherence so it can not be verified. Taking into consideration the historical process, analyzing the applications on political promotions in Turkey through different factors when we make an interpretation, we come across these determinants over Turkey example;

1. While determining promotion strategy, expectations of citizens as voters should be taken into consideration (Accommodation/ Nurturing/ Health and Social Security/ Environment/ Human Rights and Democracy),
2. According to these priorities, parties' promises whether they can fulfil or not should taken into consideration and messages should be formatted according to these.
3. As a result of the cultural structure, the importance of face to face communication for Turkish public along with poster or paper advertisements should not be forgotten (Complementary Communication Campaign),
4. The basic rule in protecting the existence in political life is the continuity of communication. So instead of concentrated but short promotion campaigns, all the parties, whether they are on power or they are opponent party, should prepare campaigns in which "Continuity of Communication" is the basic principal. (Like Turgut Özal's program "Through Performance"),
5. As negative promotions will harm first the party and then the voter, comparative promotions including messages not to damage the image should be preferred.

Under the light of all these assumptions we can reach only one point which can be used in political promotion by not only Turkey but also all the

democratic countries: “You can sell a bad product with a good promotion only for once”... People who are either consumers or voters will buy it from you only one time, also if you do not play the game according to its rules, they would take you out of their lives instead of dealing with you, they would get rid of all the pain caused by the risk.

Sources:

A. Books:

- DALKIRAN, Nesrin (1995), *Siyasal Reklamcılık ve Basının Rolü-Kanaatlerin Etkilenmesi Sürecinde Siyasal Reklamcılık*, Türkiye Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Publications, İstanbul
- DAVIDSON, A. (1998), *Securalism and Revivalism in Turkey*, Newhaven, London:Yale University Press
- KÖKER, Eser (1998), *Politikaların İletişimi, İletişimin Poitikası*, Ankara:Vadi Yayınları
- ÖZKAN, Necati (2002), *Seçim Kazandıran Kampanyalar-Türkiye ve Dünyadan Örneklerle*, MediaCat, İstanbul
- TAN, Ahmet (2001), *Politik Pazarlama*, Papatya Publishing, İstanbul
- TAŞ, Oktay; ŞAHİM, Tarık Z. (1996), *Reklamcılık ve Siyasal Reklamcılık*, Aydoğdu Ofset, December
- TOPUZ, Hıfzı (1991), *Siyasal Reklamcılık-Dünyadan ve Türkiye'den Örneklerle*, Cem Publishing, İstanbul
- TOPUZ, Hıfzı (1991), *Siyasal Reklamcılık*, İstanbul:Cem Yayınevi
- TURAN, S. (1996), *Siyasal Sistem ve Siyasal Davranış*, İstanbul:Der Yayınları
- UZTUĞ, Feruğ (1999), *Siyasal Marka-Seçim Kampanyaları ve Aday İmajı*, MediaCat, İstanbul:

B. Articles:

- ALEMDAROĞLU, Ayça; Refah Partisi'ni Yeniden Düşünmek: 1991 Reklam Kampanyasının Analizi, www.ilet.leidenuniv.nl/teimo/tulp/Research/aa.htm
- Akademik İlgi Alanı Olarak Siyasal İletişim, [www.ilet.gazi.edu.tr />atabek/docs/silet.html](http://www.ilet.gazi.edu.tr/>atabek/docs/silet.html)
- AKYOL, Avni; Politik Pazarlama, Siyasi İlişkiler Açısından Halkla Temas Teknikleri ve Halkla İlişkiler, www.anap.org.tr
- ÇEVİK, Semra; Siyasal Reklamların Çözümlemesi, , Journal of Gazi University Communication Faculty Academic Magazine, 99/3
- Seçim Sonuçlarını Etkileyen Unsurlar; MediaCat, Y:10 P93, İstanbul: October/2002, p.28

- ÖZER, Ömer; Siyasal Reklamların Çözümlemesi, Journal of Gazi University Communication Faculty Academic Magazine, 99/3
- TOKGÖZ, Oya; Motherland Party and True Path Party (1987-1999): Gazete Siyasal Reklamları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme, Journal of Gazi University Communication Faculty Academic Magazine, 99/3
- TUNCER, Erol; Siyasal Partilerin Durumu, www.radikal.com/2001/03/10/yazarlar/erotun.shtml
- TÜRK, Hikmet Sami; Türkiye İçin Nasıl Bir Seçim Sistemi, www.basarim.com.tr/yayin/politik/seçimsis/1.htm
- Türkiye Siyasetinin Belli Başlı Özellikleri ve Parti İçi Demokrasi, www.tesev.org.tr/guncel

C. Web Sites

- www.liberal.dt.org.tr/idd/ml8/serefates.htm
- www.milliyet.com.tr.1999/01/11/siyaset/siy01.html
- www.5mworld.com/agustos_2000/Tarih_reklam.htm

Politik Arena’da Siyasal Reklam “1950’den 2000’e Türkiye’ye İlişkin Siyasal Tarihsel Bir Analiz”

Doç. Dr. Müge ELDEN*
Dr. Belma GÜNERİ FIRLAR**

Özet: Günümüzde bugün asla, dünün aynısı değildir. Özellikle de reklam sektörü açısından konuya yaklaşıldığında, dünden farklı güçlerin dünyamızı şekillendirmekte olduğu yeni yüzyılda, bir gün içerisinde saat hatta dakikalarla değerlendirilebilecek değişimlerin yaşanmakta olduğu görülür. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye’deki reklam sektörü de diğer ülkelerden farklı bir noktada değildir.

Bununla birlikte Türkiye’deki siyasal reklam kampanyaları ve bunlara ilişkin araştırmalar incelendiğinde, hem gerekli arşivlemenin yapılmamış hem de konuya bugüne kadar siyaset bilimi açısından yaklaşılmamış olduğu belirlenmiştir. Son dönemlerde siyasal iletişim ve pazarlama kavramlarına bağlı olarak popülerliği artan kavramlar incelendiğinde ise, karşımıza yine “Reklam” çıkmıştır. Özetlenecek olursa, gerek dünya gerekse Türkiye konjunktüründe meydana gelen değişimler ile siyasal reklamın ülkemizdeki farklılaşan görünümü çalışmanın şekillenmesini gündeme getirmiştir. Sözü edilen belirleyicilere bağlı olarak, iletişim bilimi ve birebir reklam disiplini açısından konuyu ele alması nedeniyle geçmişte gerçekleştirilmiş çalışmalardan farklılaşan bir inceleme konusu öngörülmüştür. Buna bağlı olarak da çalışmanın içeriği; Türkiye’de siyasal reklam, algılar ve uygulamalar, Türk siyaset adamlarının perspektifinden reklam, Türkiye’nin siyasal görünümü ve siyasal reklamın tarihsel gelişim çizgisinin irdelenmesi olarak belirlenmiştir. Genel değerlendirme sonucunda ortaya çıkan tablo doğrultusunda da araştırmanın sınırları; 1950-2002 tarihleri arasında, Türkiye’deki genel seçimler öncesi gerçekleştirilen reklam kampanyalarının; slogan, hedef kitle, oy tercihlerindeki değişim ve seçim sonuçlarına etki boyutlarının nitel ve nicel olarak değerlendirilmesi ile tamamlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Politik reklam, siyasal yaşam, demokrasi, siyasal partiler

Ege Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Reklamcılık ve Tanıtım Anabilim Dalı / İZMİR
elden@iletisim.ege.edu.tr

**Ege Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Reklamcılık ve Tanıtım Anabilim Dalı / İZMİR
guneri@iletisim.ege.edu.tr

Политическая Реклама на Политической Арене Политико-Исторический Анализ, Касающийся Турции с 1950 по 2000 гг.

Мюге ЕЛДЕН, д.н., доцент*

Белма ГЮНЕРИ ФЫРЛАР, др.**

Резюме: Сегодняшний день не является повторением вчерашнего. Особенно если подходить к теме с точки зрения рекламного сектора, то можно увидеть, что сегодняшний мир формируется новыми силами, отличными от вчерашних и что в новом тысячелетии происходят интенсивные изменения каждый день, час, а то и каждую минуту. В этом отношении рекламный сектор в Турции ничем не отличается от рекламных секторов в других странах.

Наряду с этим исследуя кампании политического рекламирования в Турции и связанные с ними работы, легко заметить отсутствие архивоведения и подхода к теме с точки зрения политологии. В последнее время вместе с увеличивающейся популярностью понятий, связанных с политическими отношениями и маркетингом мы снова встречаем понятие “реклама”. В кратце, изменения в Турции и во всем мире, а также видоизменение политической рекламы в Турции определило форму настоящей работы. Имея ввиду упомянутые факторы была предвидена тема, иная от предыдущих работ. В связи с этим в содержание работы вошли следующие темы: политическая реклама, понятия и их осуществление в Турции, реклама в перспективе турецких политиков, политическая панорама Турции и анализ исторического процесса развития политической рекламы. В итоге представлена таблица, показывающая рамки исследования, оценку влияния рекламных кампаний, проводившихся накануне всеобщих выборов в Турции в 1950-2002 гг. на изменения в лозунгах, массах и голосах.

Ключевые слова: политическая реклама, политическая жизнь, демократия, политические партии.

* Эгейский Университет, Факультет Коммуникации, Кафедра Рекламирования и Озна-комления- ИЗМИР elden@iletisim.ege.edu.tr

** Эгейский Университет, Факультет Коммуникации, Кафедра Рекламирования и Озна-комления- ИЗМИР guneri@iletisim.ege.edu.tr

