

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY And POLITICAL MARKETING APPLICATIONS IN TURKEY



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ABSTRACT

With the development of the democracy, citizens are more free and have more alternatives to choose their administrators. The development of democracy brought a real and fair rivalry in the political arena. In this competition, the actors are trying to find ways and tools that they can gain any advantages. Marketing techniques and tools are being used in politics since 1920's.

The democratization process of Turkey, which dates back to late Ottoman times, is still in progress. It is claimed here in this article that there was a correlation between the development of democracy and the use of political marketing in Turkish political arena. To support this claim, the democratization process of Turkey since the 17th century Ottoman Empire through the EU integration process in the new millennium is reported with the examples of political marketing applications in each specific term.

KEYWORDS

Democracy, Political Marketing, Turkish Democratization, Voter Behavior, Political Marketing in Turkey.

1. INTRODUCTION

Regardless of the subject area, if there is competition, it is not to be underestimated that marketing is curious. Today, marketing tools and techniques are used in almost every business, including not only the for-profit but also the non-profit sector. Enormous changes in technology, communication and social life, and increasing level of competition resulted people having more choices and also to be more careful about the environmental issues. Though, Marketing Philosophy became more important and this increasing importance is recognized by various organizations. These organizations attached more importance to Marketing, as they understood the correlation between Marketing Philosophy and the success.

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Various non-profit organizations in size and subject, as well as the private companies and government agencies are using marketing philosophy and techniques with an increasing density day by day. Political parties are also counted in these groups of organizations.

Since the development of modern democracy brought equal chance for every person (actually every political party) to be elected for governing, competition in the political arena became more intensive. And this “abundance” of alternatives led the parties to look for differentiated characteristics, which might make sense for the voters. Actually, a number, at the end, also limits the characteristics of the political parties or candidates. Politicians needed to find some effective tools, which would help them to gain some advantages under these limitations. Political parties understand that they have to renew their understanding of functioning in a revolutionary way, in order to be the party in power and also to stay there; and they have to meet the wants, needs, desires and expectations of the population and the state in the highest possible level.

The explicit use of marketing techniques in politics dates back to 1920’s in Britain (Wring, 1994). Following applications were seen in the United States of America and France (Bongrand, 1991). And today, marketing techniques are used in politics all over the world. Several authors have discussed the use of marketing by political parties for over 40 years (Glick, 1967; McGinnis, 1969; Nimmo, 1970; Shama, 1973; Kotler, 1975; Kotler&Kotler, 1981; Mauser, 1983; Newman&Sheth, 1985; Smith&Saunders, 1990; Butler&Collins, 1994; O’Cass, 1996).

The case of Turkey is seen similar, with some particular differences when compared with the mentioned countries. The young Republic, which is actually the heir of a 700 years old Empire, experienced a fast and uneasy transition, and is still in the progress. During this process, we can list various examples that can show the interaction between the “democratization” and “the use of marketing techniques in political arena”. This interaction became more intense since last two decades of the previous millennium. Nowadays, the major political subject in Turkey is the European Union (EU) integration process, which deeply affects the democratization process of the country.

2. POLITICAL MARKETING THEORY

Political Marketing is something certainly different from “just hunting the votes” (Islamoglu, 2002). It is described in various ways. Political Marketing is one of the newest tools of political communication, which is needed because of the innovations in voting right, and changes in democracy and information technology (Bongrand, 1991).

Political marketing is consist of a whole set of techniques that are used to make the party or the candidate favorable for the voters; to make the party or the candidate recognized by the most possible voter groups, and by every individuals in these groups; to put the party or the candidates’ differences forward; and to obtain the necessary amount of votes with the minimum expense to win the elections (Bongrand, 1991). Political marketing is the activities executed by the political organizations, to realize the necessary programs and services that the citizens need and to obtain support and organizational recognition (Kotler, 1972).

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There have been many arguments considered if the marketing techniques could be used in the political arena. Former resources focused the Political Marketing theory mostly on campaigning, propaganda, advertising and establishing the communication between the voters and the parties, party leaders or the candidates (Franklin, 1992; Jones, 1995; Kavanagh, 1995; Maarek, 1995; McNair, 1995; Newman, 1994; Rees, 1992; Scammell, 1995). Some of the resources focused on lobbying activities (Dubs, 1979; Ellis, 1998; Miller, 1990; Wilson, 1993). Authors who approach from the view of marketing philosophy argued that marketing techniques could be used in nonprofit organizations (Kotler and Anderson, 1991; Levelock and Weinberg, 1984; Butler and Collins, 1994; Smith and Saunder, 1990). Those, who have not adequately adopted the marketing philosophy claim that, applying the marketing techniques into the politics is an ethical problem, and thus they oppose to this approach (Islamoglu, 2002).

Today, marketers believe that there is a direct transference of marketing concepts and tools to the political arena (Lock and Harris, 1996). This is true to an extent. But there are some essential differences between using these techniques in mainstream (product and services) marketing and in the political arena (Lock and Harris, 1996; Egan, 1999; Kotler, 1991).

Table 1. Elements o Modern Marketing Approach

Products and Services (Mainstream Marketing)	Politics (Political Marketing)
1. Consumer Based Approach a. A General Definition of Needs b. Defining the Target Groups c. Differentiated Goods d. Distinct Superiority Strategy e. Consumer Research	1. Citizen Based Approach a. Needs of Citizens b. Defining the Target Voter Groups c. Differentiated Political Products d. Distinct Strategies Among Competitors e. Research on Voter Behavior
2. Consumer and Community Satisfaction	2. Voter Satisfaction
3. Integrated Marketing	3. Integrated Marketing
4. Systematic Planning	4. Systematic Planning

Source: A. Hamdi Islamoglu, *Siyaset Pazarlamasi Toplam Kalite Yaklasimi*, 2.Ed., Beta Basim Yayim Dagitim A.S., Istanbul, 2002, s.24.

Anyhow, the “profit” of political marketing is winning the elections, becoming the party in power and having the candidate elected. In Turkey’s near history of democratization, political actors realized the importance of political marketing to achieve this profit. And nowadays, they are using this tool in every opportunity through considerably high levels.

3. OVERWIEV ON THE DEMOCRACY and POLITICAL MARKETING APPLICATIONS IN TURKISH NEAR HISTORY

3.1. OTTOMAN TIMES

In order to maintain the power and to survive the state, Ottoman Governing elites established a social system that never lets a chance for any alternative power that may stand against them (Yucekok, 1998). Since, governing the Ottoman Empire was based upon the absolutist

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authority of the Sultan; we cannot mention any pluralist democracy until the last century of the Empire's history. The democratization of Turkish people started with the modernization efforts of Ottoman Empire at the end of the 17th century. Turkish efforts at modernization first began in the military area with Selim III and Mahmut II. As a natural result of these efforts, Western values and norms first entered Turkish society via the army. Traditionally, Turkish military elites have been ascribed important non-military functions and accomplished several important missions as the agent of social and political change in the development of Turkey. Social and political reforms followed the military reforms in the later times of The Empire. Arslan reported "*Sultan Mahmut decided with Alemdar Mustafa Pasa to co-operate with the Council of Notables (Ayan) by the Deed of Agreement (Sened-i Ittifak). With this document, the absolute authority of the Sultan began to be shared with a council. Sultan Mahmut made great efforts to create a new bureaucracy in the governmental machinery staffed by people who had Europeanized minds and a European style of education. As a result of the pressure of the new elite "reorganization" (Tanzimat), Rescript (Gulhane Hatti Humayunu -the Imperial Edict of Gulhane) was proclaimed in the reign of Sultan Abdulfecid. Mustafa Resit Pasa who was a civil servant, a diplomat and the Ottoman foreign minister engineered the Edict. With this document, all citizens -Moslem or non Moslem- would be treated equally before the law and criminal and civil trials would be conducted in public. Another rescript was declared in 1856, which was the Islahat (Reform) Edict. This Edict emphasized the equality of all religious groups and forbade religious and racial discrimination in the empire*".

Following the Tanzimat period, the first attempt at transition into a constitutional monarchy took place on the 23rd of December 1876. This period is known as the First Constitutional period (I. Mesrutiyet). The first Constitution was modeled on the 1831 Belgian Constitution, with Mithat Pasa as its chief author. It defined the sovereign right of the Sultan on the one hand and the basic rights of the individuals on the other hand. However, this was to be ended by the absolutist monarch Abdulhamid II in 1878. He suspended the 1876 Constitution and dissolved the parliament until 1908. The first reaction against Hamidian despotism occurred in Monaster, orchestrated by Besneli Niyazi on July, 1908. Abdulhamid was not successful in suppressing the uprising and he was compelled to sign the declaration of the Second Constitutional Period (II. Mesrutiyet) in 1908 (Arslan, 1999).

The second Constitutional Government (the last try of pluralist democracy in the Empire) was established on July 23, 1908, and continued until the collapse and extinction of the Ottoman Empire as a consequence of World War I.

3.2. THE NEW TURKISH REPUBLIC

The Ottoman Government made the mistake of entering the World War I, on the side of the Central Powers, and the defeat of Germany meant the end for the Ottomans. After The Ottoman Empire lost the war in 1918, all Turkey was occupied apart from a small part. There were no regular armed forces and no weapons. But the resistance movement of Turkish people soon became into a true struggle for independence. The Turkish Independence movement was a civilian organization with a military apex: all decision given by the TGNA (Turkish Grand National Assembly-Turkiye Buyuk Millet Meclisi which was established on April 23rd 1920).

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The parliament (TGNA) was a mixed body of representers coming from all over the country, with the same objective: independence. This constitution was a real formation of democracy, and it formed under extreme difficult condition with the leadership of Mustafa Kemal.

Under the command of Mustafa Kemal, the Turkish army defeated the invading armies and saved the Turkish sovereignty (1919-1922). After completing the first step of his Revolution, Mustafa Kemal continued to work for creating a totally new state, a new society and a new country. His real objective was to create a modern, democratic, secular, republican and independent country based on the sovereignty of the people (Arslan, 1999).

He soon announced that The Turkish State is a Republic, on October 29, 1923. To achieve this first of all the Caliphate (religious leadership of all Moslems) and Sultanate (political leadership) was separated, then the Sultanate, and secondly the Caliphate was abolished. Later, the Sheriat, which is the Law of Koran, was replaced with a modern civil code adopted from the Swiss civil code, and a penal code modeled on the Italian Penal Code. This new legal system was based on Roman law. Following this, a series of revolutionary changes in practice was put in place in the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (*the use of Arabic script was abolished and Latin characters was adopted in 1928; Turkish women were given complete equality in society and the right to be elected to parliament; the fez was outlawed, and the religious dervish order was proscribed; Western calendar and time standards were adopted; A national system of education was established*). As another important development, the first political party in Turkey -The Republican People's Party- established on September 9th 1923.

3.2.1. SINGLE PARTY DEMOCRACY

The Republican People's Party governed Turkey from 1923 to 1946 as a monopoly. But this does not mean it was a real monopoly. Actually, it acted like an umbrella of different ideologies. As Arslan reported *Mustafa Kemal several times attempted to end it. Factions developed freely inside the party without destroying it. The Grand National Assembly has had an opposition since the establishment of the first National Assembly such as "Second Group". But the first opposition political party was founded officially on November 17, 1924 by the two former commanders, Kazim Karabekir and Ali Fuat Cebesoy: it was the Progressive Republican Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Firkasi). But their linkage with the Shaikh Said Rebellion, which was a fanatical religious and anti-revolutionist revolt, brought about their end. The second try of the multiparty system took place in 1930. Fethi Okyar established the Liberal Republican Party, at Atatürk's suggestion. In a short time, the Liberal Party became the new meeting point of religious fanatics and they started to campaign against the secular state. As a result of this, the Liberal Party was abrogated on December 17, 1930 (Arslan, 1999).*

The opposition groups even continued with their activity in the Parliament until the Democratic Party established in 1945 as the last try for a multi-party democracy. Turkey dramatically passed from a single-party system to pluralism as The Democratic Party won the 1950 elections against the “main party“.

First political marketing examples in Turkey appear in the times of passing into multi party democracy. The first political marketing tool in Turkey was a poster used by Democratic

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Party (DP) during 1950 elections. On the poster, there was a big hand figure and it was written “Stop! Now the public speaks” under that figure. Actually, the first political poster was prepared by İhap Hulusi for RPP in 1946. (There was a text on the poster saying: Ataturk and İnönü are the heads of RPP) But that poster had not done the same impact as the one that DP used in 1950.

3.2.2. PASSING INTO MULTI PARTY DEMOCRACY

The Democratic Party was established on January 7 1946, by Adnan Menderes, Celal Bayar, Fuat Koprulu and Refik Koraltan who were the members of RPP (Republican People’s Party). It grew rapidly in a very short time, with the election of 61 deputies in the 1946 elections. The eighth Assembly (1946) was the first real multi-party Assembly, but the first completely free and openly contested election in Turkey was held in 1950. The period of 1946-50 is called as the "Transitional Period" to a multi-party system.

Within this transition process, Turkish political arena saw more examples of political marketing examples; especially DP’s election campaigns, field trips and meetings etc. increased the public attention on the politics. The name “Democrat” was a quite favorable one especially in the post-war period’s moderate political climate. DP was the winner of 1950 elections with 53.35 % of the popular vote and 83.57 % of the Grand National Assembly seats and established the government while RPP gained 39.78 % of the votes and 14.40 % of the seats. As a result of 1950 elections, mass-population realized for the first time that, they could step into the political stage and influence or change the governing power.

Although it is very recent that the Turkish political parties started using marketing tools professionally, we can see various examples of political marketing applications by the time a “competing party” run into the arena. Political parties tried to persuade the voters to vote for them by campaigns. The first example for this was opening the radios for political advertising before 1950 elections (the opposing party-DP had requested to open the radios).

The populist politics, inflationary economic policies and foreign capital brought social and economic welfare for the people in the following years. As the result, in the 1954 general elections DP won 503 seats, whereas the Republican had only 31 in spite of 34.78% of the popular vote. But in the late 1950s, the vote for the Democratic Party began to decline. However, the Democratic Party won the 1957 election with 47.3 % of the vote while RPP achieved 40.6 %.

Before 1954 elections, it was prohibited by the DP Government to use the radio-the most effective political marketing tool of the date- for political campaigns. Written media was also having troubles for performing a healthy political informing because of limitations. Political parties were seeing certain newspapers as their own “publishing tools” and were using them for such purpose. E.g. “Ulus Newspaper” was supporting RPP, and “Vatan Newspaper” was supporting DP. This censorships and similar pressures on the democracy raised a reaction, and Adnan Menderes' despotic and neurotic behavior and politics led to a downfall and his party's end as a result of the 27th May 1960 overthrow.

3.2.3. THE PERIOD OF MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

3.2.3.1. THE 1960 INTERVENTION

The Turkish armed forces have taken over the administration of the country on May 27 1960. The Turkish political life moved into a new stage: the military interventions stage. After the intervention, The Junta prepared a new- very civilized- constitution “*Under the 1961 Constitution, Turkey enjoyed a greater degree of freedom than ever before. People had more civil rights, the universities had greater autonomy, and students were given freedom to organize their own associations. Workers were given the right to strike. Turkey had been thoroughly politicized in the 1960s and ideological politics were permitted. The Islamist movement also became quite powerful. Two new political parties were formed in 1961 as the inheritors of the Democratic Party: the New Turkey Party (NTP) and the Justice Party (JP), to compete in the first election under the new election law. The two biggest parties were RPP and JP in all the elections during this period. The 1960s could be labeled the period of coalition government*” (Arslan, 1999).

The 1961 constitution opened the use of the radio for political parties again. In those days, radios and newspapers were the main tools of mass communication. In political propogandas, the main issues were the election campaign visits and speeches of the party leaders and the candidates. Because of the absence of such a visual means as the television, radios and newspapers were trying to close this visual-gap by reporting the speeches of the leaders as well as describing the details such as what clothes were they wearing, what movements they were doing. With the legal arrangements and changes in 1965, political parties gained the right to organize meetings and make propoganda by using radios and loudspeakers; to distribute leaflets and handouts, to use wall-posters. During 1960’s and 1970’s, newspapers were still one the most important means of following the political environment.

3.2.3.2. THE 1971 MILITARY MEMORANDUM

High political tension, social movements and anarchy starting from the mid 1960’s, with high inflation, rising unemployment, and rapid social and political change dragged Turkey into chaos. Conflicts in universities and street fights demolished the social life. The Islamist movement and its party, the National Order Party had become more aggressive and openly rejected Kemalism. As a result of this, the generals presented a memorandum to the President and the chairmen of the two chambers in 12 March 1971. The Generals demanded the formation of a strong, credible government capable of implementing the reforms envisaged by the constitution; and they warned that otherwise, The Military Forces would take on the administration. Upon this memorandum, Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel and JP Administration resigned.

Following Demirel's resignation, Nihat Erim formed the government. *According to Erim and the Military High Command, the liberal constitution of 1961 was a luxury for Turkey. They started a campaign against civil rights and liberties. This modification covered every institution of the state, such as the unions, the universities, the press, radio and television, the Council of State, the Constitutional Court, the Court of Appeal, the Assembly and the Senate. The philosophy and activities of the 12 March regime was totally different from the 27 May regime. It could be labeled the antithesis of the 27 May spirit* (Arslan, 1999). This was a

significant back-step in Turkish Democratization process. After this event, there was a deep political instability. There have been eight different governments in the following four years period of 1971-1975. Although the political parties were not closed, the post-memorandum process was a semi-military administration with the designated governments established by Erim, Melen and Talu until 1973.

The regular elections were held in 1973 and RPP under the leadership of Bulent Ecevit had 33,3% of the votes and 41,1% of the parliamentary seats. RPP established a coalition government. Again in the 1977 election, Ecevit's RPP (Republican Populist Party) won 41.4% of the votes and 213 seats while Demirel's JP had 36.9% of the votes. Ecevit established a minority government but since he could not get a vote of confidence, Demirel established the government in coalition with small rightist parties. This was the beginning of one of the darkest periods in Turkey's modern history, which would eventually culminate in the 12 September 1980 Coup D'etat.

On the other hand, from the political marketing side, 1970's brought important innovations and new developments into the political life. Concerning the increasing literacy rate, JP started to give written political announcements in the newspapers, especially in editions distributed in Istanbul and other big cities. In 1968, the first TV broadcast started in Ankara, by the Turkish Radio and Television Institution (TRT). TV broadcasts started to spread all over the country by 1970. So, there had been a new and more effective means of mass communication to be used in political promotion. Television is a tool that deeply influences the election campaigns and political promotion in every country it exists. In 1973, it was accepted by the political parties that, news about the elections could be given by also the television in addition to the radio. But, in Turkey, the exact use of the television in political marketing started in 1990's when the private TV Channels launched.

Turkish political parties started to get professional assistance by 1977 elections. During the 1977 election campaign, JP took professional help from Cenajans (a private agency) for preparing the TV, radio and newspaper interviews and speeches of the leader; for designing open meetings, distributing leaflets, handouts and posters. These activities are considered as the first professional examples of political marketing in Turkey.

3.2.3.3. THE 1980 COUP D'ETAT

The most common reasons for Turkish military interventions are deviation from the laic-democratic Kemalist Principles, rising corruption among the ruling elites, increasing socio-economic problems in the country, rising terror, disorder and violence, and the failure of the political elites to solve these major problems (Arslan, 1999). The deep chaos during the late 1970's brought another military intervention on September 12, 1980.

The junta set up the National Security Council (NSC) under the chief of Staff Kenan Evren. The other members of the National Security Council were the chiefs of the armed forces comprising army, navy, air force and gendarmerie. They ruled Turkey until November 1983. The Council suspended the constitution and dissolved parliament, then closed down the

political parties, detained their leaders and suspended the professional associations and confederation of trade unions.

The next elections were held in November 1983. Although the Junta openly supported the retired general Turgut Sunalp's Nationalist Democratic Party (NDP) the victory was with Turgut Ozal's Motherland Party (MP).

3.2.3.4. 1990's and THE “FEBRUARY 28 PROCESS”

The period of Motherland governments continued until the 1991 general elections. 1991 elections resulted a coalition government of Demirel's True Path Party (TPP) and Inonu's Social Democratic Populist Party (SPP).

In 1995 elections, the political power was over-diffused amongst several political parties. Five major political parties gained more than 10 % of the popular vote and passed the national threshold. The radical Islamist Welfare Party-WP (Refah Partisi) gained 21,38% of the votes. WP's ultimate aim was to replace democracy with a totalitarian theocratic regime based on Sheriat (the Holy Islamic Rule). WP established the government in coalition with TPP of Tansu Ciller, but this government also ended in 1999 because of a “soft military intervention” which was made by The NSC declaring another memorandum on February 28 1997. The National Security Council issued a proclamation, which invited the government to halt anti-laic and anti-democratic activities, and to follow the constitution and laws of the country. Tansu Ciller's TPP resigned from the coalition and the WP-TPP government ended. Bulent Ecevit's Democratic Left Party (DLP) established a minority government until 1999 elections.

3.2.4. THE RISE OF POLITICAL MARKETING IN TURKEY AFTER 1980

After the 1980 military intervention, a significant improvement on the relationships between the advertisement agencies and political parties is seen. Before the 1983 elections, MP took professional assistance from Manajans while NDP took from Ajans Ada (Uztug, 1999). Manajans's service to MP is the first complete example of political marketing in Turkey. MP left the entire election campaign to the agency. The agency first researched what the voters really want and developed the government programs according to those findings. MP had a glorious victory in 1983 elections; but made an important mistake since they cut their relationships with the agency after the elections (Topuz, 1991). MP created another important innovation as they produced TV spots called “From Inside of Our Operations” which was a kind of “speech to the citizens” The program was basically promoting the government's activities by showing them with intensive audio-visual tools. This was also important since it was a kind of political marketing activity in the non-election terms.

SPP worked with Yorum Ajans in 1987 elections. Yorum Ajans conducted a voter research in order to find out the issues that the voters give the most importance. This was an indicator of scientific marketing approach was fairly run into the political arena. MP also administrated its campaign by a team of 12 professionals and hired Jacques Séquéla for technical consultation.

In 1989 elections, MP established a work group of 60 people in the party center, in order to conduct researches by themselves. The team held a research about how voters perceived Turgut Ozal, and what were his pros and cons.

SPP again worked with Yorum Ajans in 1991 elections. The agency made a research and defined the undecided voters as the campaign's target group. Suleyman Demirel's True Path Party (TPP) worked with Ax Ajans, but they defined the campaign strategies by themselves. MP hired Jacques Séquéla for election campaigning. They were criticized by local advertising agencies. They claimed that, the elections were a distinct socio-psychological event that local figures that a foreign consultant may not fully understand play important role (Topuz, 1991). In 1995 elections, TPP worked with Cenajans. The agency planned and carried out its campaign strategy based on convincing undecided voters. They gave extreme importance to the image of the party leader, and processed the information coming from separate regions distinctly.

WP worked with An Ajans for Turkey campaign, and hired Ak Ajans for its Istanbul campaign for local elections. The party defined itself as "we are with you in good days as well as the bad days" and determined its target voters as the poor people living in ghettos and who feel themselves as externalized. They give plentiful promises to these people (Ozerkan&Inceoğlu, 1997). WP staff widely used the canvassing method and established a warm relationship with the voters by face to face visits. This method was really effective in gaining support for the party since WP was seen a voter (customer) oriented party. Even in the Election Day, WP staff waited in front of the voting centers, to help especially the elderly and illiterate people to find out the right voting room etc.

3.2.5. THE LATEST ELECTIONS

In 1999 elections, two nationalist parties; rightist Nationalist Action Party (NAP) with 18.1% of total votes, and the leftist Democratic Left Party (DLP) with 22.1% of the votes were the winners. The two parties established a coalition government with Mesut Yilmaz's MP.

The main factor on DLP's victory was arresting the head of the terrorist organization,-Kurdish Labor Party (PKK)-, Abdullah Ocalan, months before the election while Bulent Ecevit was the Prime Minister of the minority government. Ecevit was presented as a "victorious commander" by the media. On the other hand, NAP was seen as the most reasonable alternative for the right wing (and extreme religious) voters after the February 28 soft military intervention process. Religious-traditional constituencies saw NAP as a key Party that could "normalize" the political process as it had committed itself to removing pressures over these voters. These two factors can be good examples of the effect of situational contingencies on voter preferences.

The coalition governed Turkey until 2002 early elections. The general election of November 3 2002 was a complete disappointment for the members of the coalition. None of them could pass the national threshold of 10% to be able to run into the parliament. Actually, the reason for making the elections earlier than its regular date was the pressure of deep economical crisis of 2001 and Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit's sudden health problems in the first half of 2002. These factors also played an important role on the victory of Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (JDP). "It is commonly agreed that the victory of the AKP was the endorsement of Erdogan who, during the campaign, ran on the issues of human rights,

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liberties, economic development and integration into the EU. What made him so familiar to the public were his successful performance in solving the enormous problems of Istanbul when he was the mayor of this city between 1994-1997” (Caha, 2003). Another important factor on Erdogan’s victory was that Turkish people was really tired of living with unstable coalitions for more than 15 years. This is another evidence for some temporary and unpredicted social and/or economical events may effect voting decision. These events may create opportunities for some parties, although it may cause threats for some others.

November 2002 elections resulted important developments in Turkish political life. The other party, who could pass the national threshold was Deniz Baykal’s RPP. So, the Turkish Parliament became a two party parliament again after about a half century. The leaders of MP, and TPP resigned, and the leader of NAP declared that he would take his party to congregate. In addition to all of these, there was another important development in 2002 elections. The Young Party (YP), which was constituted by a young businessman, Cem Uzan, just a couple of months before the elections brought various innovations in terms of political marketing. By using his mobile telephone operating company (TELSIM), Cem Uzan used SMS marketing to promote his campaign. His campaign was professionally planned and executed by consulting agencies. He used a rather assertively reactive language against the government's agreement with the IMF, and the EU adjustment package, which had demanded from the government some fundamental changes in the field of human rights and liberties. His consultants arranged public meetings integrated with concerts of famous musicians in almost every region of the country. It was clearly planned what messages should be given when, with which mimics and how a body language should be used in his speeches. As a result of this campaign, YP gained 7% of the popular votes. It has been evident that the support for the GP came overwhelmingly from unemployed young and female generations. It was not enough to pass the 10% national threshold, but was an important indicator of what political marketing tools can do.

Another new development of 2002 elections was Erdogan and Baykal’s TV discussion one week before the elections. Leaders of two favorite parties joined a live program on the TV and tried to increase their votes by asking and answering each others questions.

The results of 2002 elections gave such a clear message that, the political parties or leaders who do not give the necessary attention to the customers’ (voters’) needs, wants, desires and expectations can not be successful.

3.2.6. THE PROCESS OF EU INTEGRATION AND CURRENT PICTURE

Turkey has been an associate member of the EU since 1963. Its membership has been promised, on paper, since then. In 1995 it negotiated its entry to the EU customs union, the only to country to be part of our customs union without being a full member (Lake, 2005).

According to the opinion polls, a high majority of Turkish population, about 75 percent, demand integration with the EU and the political values connected with this integration. One of the most important arguments that helped Erdogan’s JDP to win the 2002 elections was their decisiveness for EU integration. However; nowadays, Government's vague policies in that respect resulted with the loss of much of its credit in the eyes of the masses. After Turkey

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has adopted most of the Copenhagen Criteria, JDP Government implemented various changes towards improving the democracy in the country in order to fulfill and adopt the entire *acquis communautaire* of EU. JDP Government has secured passage of laws and constitutional amendments abolishing the death penalty and army-dominated security courts; repealed curbs on free speech, and brought the military budget under civilian control for the first time in Turkish history. Authorized Kurdish-language broadcasting, swept aside thirty years of Turkish intransigence on the Cyprus issue, and eased Greek–Turkish tension so effectively. And is still making some more democratic expansions.

Finally, The European Commission has judged, and the European Council, or summit, has approved, that a sufficient critical mass of reform exists for negotiations to open on October 3. And nowadays, Turkey is waiting for starting the negotiations.

However, the developments after 9/11 also affected Turkey. USA’s Iraq invasion and the rise of mass terrorism stressed the daily life in Turkey, too. In addition to rising radical Islamist terror, Turkey has another headache for more than 25 years: PKK. The terrorist organization PKK, which was silent since its head was arrested and put in the prison in 1999, again started fire recently. Because of new legal arrangements obtained more freedom on speech, some groups (especially the extreme nationalist Kurdish groups) venture to openly declare their sympathy (even support) to the terrorist organization, which produced a sharp reaction from every part of the society (including elites, sub-elites, action groups, opposition political elites, military elites etc.). Nowadays, it is being discussed to make some arrangements on the law of fight against terrorism, similar to The Great Britain’s measures after 7/7, which might be some back steps on democratic rights.

Anyhow, Turkey is still in progress through a real democracy, but processed a lot. The vision of EU membership increases the speed of this process. Turkey is the unique example of a democratic country whose population is Muslim in a great majority; and is a good opportunity to bridge EU’s and The Western World’s relationship with the Islamic World.

It seems, the next elections will be held in 2006, and we will be able to see more in terms of political marketing in this upcoming race. The recent elections introduced Turkey with SMS Marketing. But, the internet could not be effectively used in political race, even though all of the political parties have well designed web sites. The reason was the low internet usage rate. In addition, the most common internet users-the young generation- is not necessarily interested in politics and political parties. The polls may take more and more important role on informing as well as guiding the voters.

5. CONCLUSION

Today, marketing tools and techniques are used in almost every business, including not only the for-profit but also the non-profit sector. Political parties are also aware of the advantages of using marketing tools in their race. Marketing techniques has been used in politics since 1920’s. One of the reasons for using marketing widely in politics is to make a difference, since the development of democracy raised competition. In the democracy, one person means one

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vote, and to gain this one vote, the politician has to compete with others to persuade the voter to choose himself.

There is nowhere with a perfect democracy. But it is obvious Turkey has some more to ride on the way to a healthy democracy. In the age of the Ottoman Empire, government was based upon the absolutist authority of the Sultan. No example of a pluralist democracy was seen until the last century of the Empire's history. The democratization of Turkish people started with the modernization efforts of Ottoman Empire at the end of the 17th century and continued after the transformation into new Turkish Republic at the end of World War I. And even the new Turkish Republic was governed by a single party regime for more than 25 years.

Passing into a multi party democracy in 1950's brought a rivalry in Turkish political life. As a result of this competition, political marketing started to be used in Turkish political arena, too. At the beginning, Turkish political parties tried to use some basic communication tools and techniques. Later on, as parallel to the outer world, new political marketing techniques were introduced to Turkish political arena. Those developments were following the examples in the Western World step by step. As Turkey gained experience on its way through the democracy, political actors used marketing more and more in their campaigns.

The new millennium brought a new world. Turkey is on its way for a full membership to the EU. This process pushed Turkey more in the front of improving its democracy. The more democracy in Turkey gives the more choices to its citizens. And for convincing them, politicians will need more help from marketing.

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