

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE
PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

**PUBLIC RELATIONS PROCESS
IN THE POLITICAL PARTIES**

M.A. THESIS

M.DENİZ TANSİ

ADVISOR: PROF.DR. HALUK ÜLMAN

İSTANBUL - 1999

FOREWORD

The infrastructural shortcomings of political campaigning in Turkey is a fact to be recognized. In recent years, there have been more and extensive studies of the subject put forth both in practical and scientific terms. Our aim at this MA thesis has been to provide a scientific view on the "Public Relations" efforts of political parties in Turkey. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis advisor Prof. Haluk Ülman; to my senior scholars and tutors, Professors Ahmet Yücekök and Suat Anar; for their advice and support, to my colleagues, Okan Tanşu MA, Mehmet Ali Tuğtan BA, and all the teaching staff in Yeditepe Un., Faculty of Communications; and last but not least, to my wife Nüket Tansi for her abundant patience.

M. Deniz Tansi

TABLE OF CONTESTS

PART

I- INTRODUCTION	5
1- AIM OF THE STUDY	5
1.1. IDENTIFICATION OF THE SUBJECT	5
1.2. THEORETICAL FRAME	5
1.3. METHOD	6
1.4. EXPECTED OUTCOME	6
2- COMMUNICATION AS A CONCEPT	7
3- P.R. CONCEPT&GENERAL DEFINITIONS	9
3.1. Rising of P.R. Concept, Developments in the world	9
3.2. Developments of P.R. Concept in Turkey	10
3.3. General Definitions of P.R.	12
3.4. Four Models of P.R.	14
4- STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES	16
4.1. The Duverger Tipology	16
4.2. The Neumann Tipology	16
4.3. Contemporary Classifications	17
4.4. Other Classifications	17
4.5. The Structure of Political Parties	18
II- POLITICAL COMMUNICATION	19
1- Political Communication Concept	19
2- Development Process in the world	21
3- Development in Turkey	22
4- Political Communication Strategies	24
4.1. Bongrand's Model for Communication Strategies about election Campaigns	24

1- Summary of the Study	58
2- Evaluation of Political Parties' P.R. Studies	59
3- Evaluation of Election 99	60
3.1. Evaluation of Campaigns	61
3.2. Analysis of Last Election Results	68
VIII- APPENDIX	70
IX- REFERENCES	79
X- TURKISH SUMMARY	83

current study also includes an evaluation of *Negrine's "The Communication of Politics"* (Part I, pp 1-23 "The Communication of Political Information and the Creation of an Informed Citizenry").

The written copies of press advertisements made by political parties prior to Dec. 24 1995 elections were obtained from the Parliamentary Library. Also, the work of Fatih Ünlü from TBMM Research Service, "*Siyasi Propaganda*" (Apr. 1987) was used for this study. Finally, Nur Ündeys Phd Thesis submitted to Egean University Institute of Social Sciences, Dept. of Journalism, "*Siyasi İktidarların Kazanılması ve Kaybedilmesinde Propagandanın Rolü*" has been assessed, its part 2B pp. 85-89 titled "Türk Siyasetinde Kalite, Popüler Kültür ve Kitle İletişimi" was extensively quoted. The full list of references can be found at the end of the outline.

1.3. METHOD

Three major ways of inquiry have been used

- A- Theoretical information drawn from scientific books and articles on the subject.
- B- Field study by interviewing political party administrators and PR agency representatives working on political campaigns.
- C- Election watch for Apr. 1999 general legislative and general local elections both through of mass media and through "insider" information provided from political party representatives.

1.4. EXPECTED OUTCOME

Upon evaluation of available scientific information and field study results, we expect to be in a position to recommend a standing professional PR department to political parties in Turkey.

2- COMMUNICATION AS A CONCEPT

According to Oskay, communication is a product of human subsistence effort and it changes in accord with the developments of that effort. As such, it is a concept pertaining to human-being.¹

The word "communication" is derived from Latin. Literally, it means traffic of information between individuals comprising a society about their actions, thoughts, feelings and judgements. It encompasses all spheres of life. At individual level, communication is not only a bilateral action limited to a simple transmission between sender and receiver, but a social phenomena. Conversely, all social phenomena include a process of communication.²

Social scientists of different fields approached the concept from different perspectives. To mention only a few definitions of communication:

Transmission of information or idea in such a way as to receive an answer, or sharing information; creation of meaningful information flow between a sender and his/her receiver(s); transmission of data from one group or individual to another group or individual through symbols; process of submitting information, action and thoughts.³

Communication process has a two directional structure consisting of the sender, the message, and the receiver. In order to send a meaningful message, or to be a source of meaningful communication, one has to formulate the message with symbols that can be perceived and understood by other individuals. The ability to receive, on the other hand, depends on the ability to perceive and decode sent messages.⁴

According to Mc Quail, "The process of communication includes all message transmission efforts, channels that connect people, the codes and languages of inscription, hardware that receives, sends and compiles messages, and all rules, laws, regulations and customs regulating the conduct of communication. All these elements are connected to the culture and structure of the society."⁵ Mc Quail adds "Communication implies a sender, a channel, a message, a receiver, a relationship between sender and receiver, an effect, a context in which communication occurs and a range of things to which "messages" refer. Sometimes,

¹ OSKAY Ünsal, "*İletişimin ABC'si*" Der Yayınları, İstanbul, 1997 p7.

² ÜNDEY Nur, "*Siyasi İktidarların Kazanılması ve Kaybedilmesinde Propagandanın Rolü*" Phd Thesis Egean University Ins. of Social Sciences, İzmir, 1998, p 49.

³ BEKTAŞ Arsev, "*Kamuoyu, İletişim ve Demokrasi*",Bağlam, İstanbul, 1996 p.99

⁴BEKTAŞ, ibid. p.100

⁵MC QUAIL Denis, "*Kitle İletişim Araçlarının Etkileri*" eds. Korkmaz Alemdar and Raşit Kaya, in "*Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar*", Savaş Yayınları, Ankara, 1983, p 52.

but not always, there is an intention, or purpose to “communicate” or to “receive”. Communication can be any or all of the following: an action with others and a reaction to others.

Sometimes the originators of models point to two additional processes, that of “encoding” (at the sender end of the model) and that of “decoding” (at the receiver end). Encoding means that the message is translated into a language or code suitable for the means of transmission and the intended receivers. Decoding refers to the re-translation of the message in order to extract meaning. In a conversation between two persons, the encoding function is performed by the speech mechanism and (for non-verbal communication) muscles making possible gestures, etc. In such a case, the senses of hearing and sight perform the decoding function. In mass communication encoding can refer to technical transformations necessary for the transmission of signals and also the systematic choice of words, pictures and formats according to established procedures and the expectations held about audience experience.

In many models, the concept of “feedback” is employed. In general, this refers to any process by which the communicator obtains information about whether and how the intended receiver has indeed received the message. Such information can help to modify ongoing or future communication behaviour. In a face-to-face communication situation this may take the form of questions, requests to repeat something, gestures, responses and so on. In mass communication, feedback of these kinds is mainly replaced by: audience research; sales figures; studio audiences; tryouts; letters and phone calls. But it can also take the form of response directly from superiors, colleagues, friends and other personal contacts.”⁶

⁶ MC QUAIL Dennis, WINDAHL Sven, *“Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communication”*, Longman, Fourth Impression, New York, p.5

3- PR CONCEPT AND GENERAL DEFINITIONS

3.1. The Birth of PR Concept and its Development

The phrase "Public Relations" was first used by US President Thomas Jefferson in 1807 in a message he sent to the Congress⁷. Another US President Woodrow Wilson held regular press meetings in the White House. In fact, as early as end of 19th century, Jackson's public vote adviser A. Kendall started public vote research that developed rapidly. In the 1890's, P. Barnum used theatre to inform public and pioneered his colleagues in this regard. In the 1896 election campaign, PR was used for the first time in a planned and systematic fashion. During the same period, again for the first time, a firm employed a journalist named G. Harvey for the sole purpose of dealing with "Public Relations Problems". In 1917, Committee on Public Information became the first public administration unit to operate as a PR department. This was, in a sense, the first alteration to the ancient Greek and Roman *Forum* for centuries. At the same time, Ivy Lee started working as Rockefeller's PR specialist and tackled the problem of disgruntled ex-workers. Lee, with her later studies and the book she published, established the primary principles of PR which preserved their value up to date.

It was the time of 1929 Economic Depression that the necessity and inevitability of PR was properly understood by firms in general. PR, which until then was employed to tackle only major occasions like presidential campaigns or wars, came to be widely used among the private sector. The major reason for this was the important place companies occupied in US societal and administrative structure. Bearing the responsibility of being the cornerstone in the economic structure, firms grasped their "Public Relations Obligations" vis a vis the state and different sectors of the society; the government, the employees, or at least, their customers. This meant a kind of burden-sharing with the administration towards controlling the social environment. In other words, the private sector, by means of funding charitable works, setting up institutes and foundations, granting scholarships, tried to assist the administration as well as creating a positive image about themselves. They also helped the administration with its regular PR efforts. They allocated increasing budgets to establish ties with mass media and create public opinion in their favor. These efforts were paralleled by the government, especially during the application of the "New Deal" economic program aiming to reduce the negative effects of the depression. From the '30's onwards, PR obtained an important place within the

US administrative structure. Regular press meetings in the White House, committees set up to learn public wishes, and from the '40 on, public TV programs and public addresses were a clear sign of the comprehension that ignorance of public opinion and secrecy in public policy formation are mistakes on the administration side that should be dealt immediately. The liberal capitalist system was simply making the necessary systemic revisions to avoid the reoccurrence of similar dangers it encountered during the Great Depression of 1929. The Great Depression thought the administration and the private sector that PR campaigns could only be efficient if they are continuous and systematic. Today, the most comprehensive and interesting private sector PR applications are still in US. The Mainland Europe, on the other hand, met with the concept after WWII, when the US oil giants started investments in the continent. Here, it was viewed as a tool which would soften the traditional and rigid relations and conflicts between the ruler and the ruled inherent in European political and societal structure.⁸

3.2. Development of PR in Turkey

In Turkey, the pioneering institution of PR had been the State Planning Organization (DPT). Founded in Sept. 1960, it established the route of economic and social development of the country for many years. Designed by a European team of experts under Dutch planning professor Jan Timbergen, the DPT structure comprised of three major departments, namely: economic planning, social planning and coordination. The western experts believed in the necessity of PR to inform the people when planned development required short term sacrifices for long term benefits. To persuade both people and politicians to commit these sacrifices, and to embed the benefits of planned development in to the public opinion, one had to tell people of these benefits in a persuasive manner. In Europe and US, this was done through PR. In DPT the task was entrusted to the coordination department. In the foundation law of the organization numbered 91, the office for PR within the coordination department was named as "Yayın ve Temsil Şubesi" (Publication and Representation Office); so the PR office was to "represent" the institution and create "publications" to do so. The office, under Talat Halman who lived in the US for long time and had personal interest in the subject, comprised of Halman, Alaeddin Asna and Mahmut Tali Öngören. Together, this small staff undertook the formidable task of informing the citizenry about planned development. While the first developments in PR front took place as outlined, the general outlook was as following: In the

⁷ KAZANCI Metin, "*Halkla İlişkiler*", Savaş Yayınları, Ankara, 1982, p 3.

⁸ Ibid, pp 3-8.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the unit responsible for informing the press on Turkish foreign policy was the General Directorate of Information. The Directorate personnel comprised of diplomats who after serving in there went to other positions like embassies and consulates. So, it was not a professional PR department. The Ministry of Defense and Chief of Staff Press relations units were also run by ranking officers. They confined to dictate the information provided by the minister or the commander in chief to the press and presented a press watch report to these officials. The foreign oil companies like Mobil, Shell and BP, on the other hand, had specialized PR units conducting the companies' relations with public offices and the press. Through the PR efforts by the representation office, DPT managed to reduce the negative effect of right wing criticisms to the institution during the renowned "*Plan mı yoksa pilav mı*" discussions.⁹

Alaeddin Asna, one of the pioneers of PR in Turkey says the leader of PR in Turkish private sector had been the Koç Holding:

"During the six years I've spent in Koç, the groups and persons with whom I had to establish and maintain communication can be stated as follows:

The CEO and the Board of Directors,

The Coordinators within the holding structure,

59 company directors,

900 personnel,

the press,

universities,

professional chambers,

social institutions, and

the public (at large)

Added to these, I also published a newsletter called 'Bizden Haberler'.¹⁰

In the 1980's, the liberalization and opening up of the economy bore greater and urgent need for enhanced PR efforts both in public and private sector domains. Increasing foreign investment, competition in international markets and multi-layered relations established at state and societal levels with the outside world necessitated professional PR agencies and qualified personnel specialized on PR.

⁹ ASNA M Alaeddin, "*Halkla İlişkiler*", Sabah Kitapları, İstanbul, 1997 pp 75-79.

¹⁰ Ibid p 113.

3.3. General Definitions of PR

Some definitions depict PR as the systematic efforts of an organization to acquire public support. These definitions are fitting for private sector PR practices which aim institutional defense and positive public opinion building and spreading private sector ideology, but the ideological dimension inherent in multinational companies' PR both inside and outside their home country, is rather omitted.¹¹

There is no unity in PR definitions based on public sector efforts as well. Some view PR as the administrative function to provide accurate information on the environment, while others classify all interactions of a given organization with its environment, except advertisement and propaganda.¹²

PR, as a part of human relations, includes all dimensions of the administrations' relations with the public.¹³

According to Asna, "The function we call PR is the efforts by a public or private person or institution to enhance and maintain relations with other public or private persons and institutions doing business with it."¹⁴

According to Kadıbeşgil, "PR is a global accumulation."¹⁵

The common point in all definitions is the imbedded nature of PR within communication. Communication can be through means of mass communication or directly face to face. Sometimes, direct communication is more significant.¹⁶

The primary steps in PR are outlined as RACE (Research, Action, Communication, Evaluation).

- **Research** is one of the most time consuming part of strategic planning. The more information is obtained the more accurate planning will be possible.
- **Planning** is the process whereby the target group, the message to be delivered and the means of delivery are decided upon and written.

¹¹ Kazancı, op.cit pp 36-37.

¹² Ibid, p 37.

¹³ TORTOP Nuri, "*Halkla İlişkiler*" Yargı Yayınevi, Ankara, 1993, p 2.

¹⁴ ASNA, op.cit, p.208.

¹⁵ KADIBEŞGİL Salim, "*Halkla İlişkilere Nereden Başlamalı?*", MediaCat Yayınları, İzmir, 1998, Introduction.

¹⁶ KAZANCI, op.cit, p. 38.

- **Communication** is the stage of practice. The message is delivered as planned.
- **Evaluation** period comprises of questions: what was the initial aim? What has been done? What is achieved? What were the criteria? Were there any deviations from the original plan? If so, what were the reasons? Analysis of mistakes...¹⁷

Strategy maintains a primary position in PR. The main points in PR strategy can be summed up as follows.

- There has to be a theme, a concept.
- Exact times of launching and ending a campaign has to be set.
- It has to be able to prove the sources and validity of the base concept (theme) through researchable data.
- There must be concrete criteria for performance analysis.
- The administration has to be involved in the process.
- There must be contingency plans.
- Relations between the strategic goals and the communication scheme must be clear.
- There has to be an allocation of responsibilities.¹⁸

The reason for devoting such attention to strategy is to present an initial clarification of concept before we come to the topic of political PR.

¹⁷ KADIBEŞEĞİL, op.cit, p82-83.

¹⁸ Ibid, p.86-87.

3.4. Four Models of P.R.

P.R. is a growing field for applied communication in most countries. Of the several definitions of P.R., one of the simplest is that offered by Grunig and Hunt : (P.R.... is the management of communication between an organization and its publics)

An organization may be a large corporation, a labour union or a major sports club. In modern P.R. theory, the groups, institutions, etc. with which organization communicates are called publics. These publics may be found within as well as outside the organization- for instance the employees as well as the clients of a business firm. Communication in P.R can be of many kinds. For some practitioners, goals are mainly to be reached through one-way processes, for some by two-way (interactive) ones. Most frequently, mixed strategies are chosen, depending on the situation at hand.

Grunig and Hunt (1984) maintain that it is possible to describe the historical development of P.R. strategies through four basic models. Although their description depicts the case of the United States, the four models can be found in all countries where P.R. have developed. That the practitioners have been working according to certain models does not necessarily mean that they have been conscious of the theoretical base or of the principal differences between using one model or another.

The first to appear in American P.R. history is the **agent-publicity model, in which propaganda is the main purpose of communication.** It appeared in the latter part of nineteenth century. A newspaper claiming to its readership and advertisers to be the most popular or the "best" may serve as an example. At the beginning of this century, **the public information model appeared, within the main focus on the dissemination of information,** for example, through company newsletters with the aim of reporting to employees in a more or less neutral way, on what is happening in the corporation. The ultimate aim would be to improve the reputation of the company with its staff.

In the 1920's, **the two-way asymmetric P.R. model began to be used; its aim was persuasion,** often based on communication principles developed in communication science. An example of this could be a political party that effectively secures the placing of positive news stories in the press. This is a way of managing response from the society and from the intended public of potential voters. The self-interested organization maintains firm control.

Much later, in the 1960's, the two-way symmetric model came into use, stressing mutual understanding as a goal and involving genuine efforts to exchange views and information with the relevant public. This strategy may, for example, be used by a local school that keeps up a dialogue with different groups in the community such as parents and political groups, who may or may not support the school.¹⁹

¹⁹ MC Quail, Windahl, *op.cit.*, p. 193.

4-STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

A political party is an organized body aiming to get its candidates elected to offices of government²⁰. In modern sense, political parties were born in Western Europe during the 19th century and they developed with enfranchisement of larger sections of the public²¹. In this study, we will examine the structure of political parties under three typologies.

4.1. The Duverger Typology:

With the enhancement of voting rights, committees to organize the voters for a certain candidate or group of candidates arose²². Generally, Parliamentary committees preceded the political parties²³.

With the establishment of connections between local committees and parliamentary groups, the foundation of modern political parties was laid. We can call these first parties and their descendants "cadre parties"²⁴.

Most cadre parties were founded in a political environment of limited suffrage, as in the UK, where voting rights depended on individual property. Thus, parties representing the labor class struggle for universal suffrage were founded in the later half of the century. They are called "mass parties"²⁵. While the main organizational unit in cadre parties were committees, the mass parties rested on ocaak. The extensive chain of ocaak reaching down to villages and small urban neighborhoods was a result of mass membership. Member fees were the only reliable source of income for the party²⁶.

4.2. The Neumann Typology:

Neumann classifies political parties as individual representation or social integration parties. Individual representation parties are active only in limited environments and in election periods. Intra party discipline is very loose. The main function of the party is to nominate candidates for office and raise financial support for their election. The US democrat and republican parties are perfect examples. Once elected, the legislative or executive

²⁰ DAVER Bülent, "*Siyaset Bilimine Giriş*", Siyasal Kitabevi, 5. Baskı, Ankara, 1993, p. 223.

²¹ KIŞLALI, Ahmet Taner "*Siyaset Bilimi*", İmge Kitapevi, 6. Baskı, Ankara 1997, p. 238.

²² DUVERGER Maurice, "*Siyasi Partiler*", Çev. Ergun Özbudun, Bilgi Yayınevi, 2. Basım, Ankara, 1974, p.16.

²³ Ibid, p.16.

²⁴ KIŞLALI, op.cit., p.238.

²⁵ Ibid; p. 239.

representatives of these parties act independent from their party. The integration parties are classified as democratic and total integration parties. These parties gather their members in an ideological and organizational structure, establish regular lines of connection with them and cares for all aspects of their social life. It can be said that these parties aim to integrate the alienated and dislocated masses of the industrial urban life with the body politic. The electoral support for such parties come from a distinct class of the society. The first examples of democratic integration parties were the socialist parties in mainland Europe. The later Catholic parties were modeled after their fashion. Total integration parties are the fascist and communist parties. The ties between members are much more rigid and firm. The upper echelons of the party has great regulatory and authoritative power over the everyday life of the members. The ideology is more inclusive and the members are expected to devote themselves to the cause²⁷.

4.3. Contemporary Classifications:

The most significant among contemporary classifications is Otto Kirchheimer's Catch All Party typology. This type of parties emerged in the post-World War II Europe. They are neither pure cadre nor mass parties. The Catch All tries to transcend class divisions with a pragmatic approach to issues. Its ideological position is not rigid. The aim is to draw the marginalized electorate with a modest and all embracing program and win the election. Center left and right parties like German SPD, French RPR are good examples to this model²⁸.

4.4. Other Classifications:

In some cases, the political party can be the articulation of professional groups like trade unions, student movements, religious groups, or as in Africa, tribal groups. They can also constitute an umbrella organization for different social groups (Like the Mexican Revolutionary Party)²⁹, or they can be founded by a leading group or individual who already possesses the political power: The Turkish Republican People's Party (CHP) or the Arab Socialist Union in Egypt are such examples³⁰.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 239.

²⁷ KAPANİ Munci, *"Politika Bilimine Giriş"*, Bilgi Yayınevi, 4. Basım, Ankara, 1988.

²⁸ KAPANİ, op.cit., pp.174-176.

²⁹ LAWSON Key, *"The Comparative Study of Political Parties"*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1967, pp.73-74.

³⁰ KALAYCIOĞLU Ersin, *"Çağdaş Siyasal Bilim, Teori, Olgu ve Süreçler"* Beta, İstanbul, 1984, p 331.

4.5. The Structure of Political Parties

Political parties, like almost all social organization, resemble a pyramid. At the top, there is the leader. The followers constitute the bottom. Between the leader and the followers is the party elite. They function as a bridge connecting the leader to the followers and vice versa. They transmit the messages of the leader to the followers and the wishes of the followers to the leader, and provide advice for the leader. The not all followers are of same importance: those who are firmly committed (the partisans or militants) are more active. The propagators of the party come from their ranks. The last line of followers are the passive members. They join the party meetings, pay their fee but they do not actively work for the party. The success of a political party is not solely derived from the number of its registered members: the sympathisers within the neutral mass of people who support and ultimately vote for the party decide the fate of electoral success³¹.

³¹ DAVER, *op.cit*, p. 224-225.

II- POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

1- Political Communication Concept

The post-1980 era, often depicted as the "communication age" brought about many transformations for social and economic systems as well as the body politic. Enhanced lines and means of communication is providing real time global information and news for people all around the world. The American and Western European lifestyle, through their possession of media of communication, has become a source of envy, a *utopia* for the less developed portion of the globe. The effect of mass media, among conjectural and politico-economic reasons, in the collapse of the Eastern Bloc at the end of '80 cannot be denied. At the threshold of a new century, the importance and power of mass media is well understood by all concerned. Use of mass communication to draw support during Operation Desert Storm, Bosnia or Operation Allied Force are indications of this power.

The leadership of western political parties discovered the benefits of political communication process through political advertisement. the use mass media in political advertising played an important role in the development of political communication. The link between a healthy communication connecting the politicians to the electorate and the health of the entire election process was closely related³². Thus, the approach to political communication limited to election periods and political advertisement started to broaden. According to Topuz, what we might call modern techniques in political communication comprise of techniques adapted from commercial marketing to political marketing. Here, TV, public opinion research and advertisement constitute a three part whole³³. To these, for reasons to be explained in the chapter on "concept of political PR", we add public relations as well. Political communication is a system that encompasses all these processes. According to Erol Özkoray, "political communication should be classified as a sub-field of expertise within the field of public communication"³⁴. Others view the use of communication as an unavoidable consequence of the political process. Kışlalı states that "those who wish to affect public opinion in a given case are bound to employ some means to do so. This can be either personal, or written and visual

³² BEKTAS, op.cit, p. 172.

³³ TOPUZ Hıfzı, "Seçimlerde İletişim Politikaları", TÜSES, 1991, İstanbul, p 13.

³⁴ Erol Özkoray is the political communication director of the Boğaziçi İletişim Grubu which was responsible for CHP's political communication campaign prior to April 1999 elections. He has stated this opinion in an interview with the author.

mass communication. Political parties and governments can do that by themselves, or employ experts to do it for them"³⁵. By this statement, Kışlalı makes an outline of the political communication process that can be carried out by political parties. A final concept to be added here is the internal communication of a party. This includes the leader, the elite and the followers and is very important for the establishment of a "common language" for the political party. Özkoray makes three distinctions:

- The communication of the leader,
- The communication of the ideology, and
- The communication of the social project³⁶

Communication of the leader: It is a process of integrating the personal charisma of the leader to the goals of the political leader.

Communication of the ideology: It is the transmission of the ideology the party upholds to the target mass (the electorate) that would support that ideology.

Communication of the social project: The process of submitting a set of basic promises to the electorate prior to elections. It makes up the "exclusive feature" for which the voter supports a political party.

To outline what is meant by political communication, we are talking about an interdisciplinary field between communication and political science which initially started as an election period activity but than expanded both in terms of scope and dimension along with the developments in mass communication and politics. Here, we encounter the different dimensions like political advertising and political PR. The communication strategy of a political party represents a vital part of its overall political strategy in a parliamentary term or an election period.

We encounter political communication in different sources under the headings of "propaganda", "political advertising", or "political presentation". It is both within the field of political science as well as being an important branch of communication.

³⁵ KİŞLALI Ahmet Taner, "*Siyasal Çatışma ve Uzlaşma*", İmge Kitapevi, Ankara, 1995, p. 172.

³⁶ op.cit.

2- Development Process in the World

Political communication existed in all eras to answer the needs of different ruling structures: "The hunt for voters is as old as the elections themselves. Only the techniques change." (Monica Charlot).³⁷

As mentioned above, the concept of political communication is as old as politics itself; but the pioneer of political communication consultants in a modern sense, is without a doubt, Jo Napolitan. He was known as "Kennedy's secret weapon"³⁸. He organized election campaigns for over 200 candidates and succeeded in over 85% of them. An other pioneer was Michel Bongrand who worked as French Premier Georges Pompidou's consultant in 1966. As it will be outlined in the chapter on "political marketing", Bongrand and his team established a candidate file at the size of a telephone book. Bongrand's focus was rather on political marketing.

The first encounter of Bongard and Napolitan in 1967 brought about the exchange of ideas derived from European and American experiences. They had both worked in the biggest campaigns of their countries. Together, they decided to set up an organization to summon all major campaign consultants at an international level. The IAPC (International Association of Political Consultants) was followed by the AAPC (America) and the EAPC (Europe).³⁹

In western democracies, in the 1990, the disappearance of former differences between center-right and left, increase in shared values (plural democracy, market economy, human rights, environmental consciousness etc.), a common reflex against terrorism, and the replacement of east-west polarization by the north-south one, made the "image" of parties and leaders more important. Since there was no real difference between parties from a voter's point of view, *what* these establishments are saying became less important than *how* they're saying it. As will be mentioned in the chapter on "political marketing", the "exclusive feature" became a critical element in political communication. Thus, in liberal capitalist systems, political communication became an indispensable feature, effecting the global politics as well.

³⁷ BONGRAND Michael, "*Politikada Pazarlama*", Çev. Fatoş Gürsoy, Cep Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992, p. 9.

³⁸ TOPUZ, op.cit, p. 13.

³⁹ Bongrand, op. cit, p. 130.

3- Developments in Turkey

Although there has been practices titled as "political advertising" since 1977 elections, according to Özkoray, the first real "political communication campaign took place with the arrival of Jacques Seguela who worked for ANAP in the 1991 elections.⁴⁰ Seguela's campaign failed because it was prepared in ignorance of Turkey's local features. Seguela's "10 Golden Advice" to ANAP's leader Mesut Yılmaz were as follows:

1. The elections are won by the leader, not the ideology.
2. People vote for the future, not for the past.
3. Votes are cast for hope, not for programs.
4. Election is not only political, but also a psychological process.
5. Every politician who wishes to become a statesman must develop his own legacy.
6. The leader has to express his/her independent personality.
7. The statesman has to reflect his countries character, he must represent the future of it.
8. The leader must care for and develop his international as well as internal image.
9. The election is won by the leader, but he must keep in mind that his not alone: he should also maintain his non-political relations.
10. One must "give time some time". A leader should think in medium and long terms and be able to reflect that he does so.⁴¹

Seguela's leader-bound campaign completely ignored the realities on the ground, the Turkish social and cultural structure, and thus can be outlined with the grammatically false Turkish sentence "Çünkü daha yapacak çok iş var". Seguela had brought "political communication" to Turkey, but his ANAP practice was limited to political advertising.

The entire political communication process in Turkey, as will be outlined in the chapter on political parties' PR efforts, comprises of: PR works within the party structure,

⁴⁰ Özkoray, op.cit.

⁴¹ TOPUZ, op.cit p. 44-45.

advertisement by agencies, public opinion research made by outside agencies, and election period efforts by election committees set up within the party.

Prior to 1999 elections, the *Boğaziçi İletitim Grubu* has offered the CHP services from July 1998 to Jan. 1999 under the title of "political communication consultation", but the contract was terminated after disagreements between the parties. The political communication strategy proposed by the group to CHP will be examined in the chapter on political communication strategies. In the same chapter, the examination of an interview with Sevgi Tuncer, the Vice Chairperson of Löw-Adam advertisement agency which participated in ANAP's pre-election efforts will also be presented.

In an overall evaluation, campaigns led by various political parties except Virtue Party (FP) and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) were limited to political advertisement. The practices of FP will be examined in the chapter on political parties' PR efforts.

4- Political Communication Strategies

In this section, we will first examine Bongrand's suggestions for election campaigns. Then, we will try to construct a political communication strategy for Turkish political parties that takes the genuine structure of the country into account. Having done that, we will examine the strategies constructed by consultation firms and other agencies responsible for various Turkish parties' election campaigns.

4.1. Bongrand's Model for Communication Strategies for Election Campaigns

1. The Goal: Political strategy should first define a goal and the method and means to attain it. Within the overall political strategy, the political communication strategy must create a unifying concept to build support around it. This concept, more significant in nationwide campaigns, draws the voter to itself and formulates the promises delivered by the candidate. When defining the main themes of voter expectations, both the general ones (everyone's expectations) and those of different groups (age, gender or professional groups) should be defined. The campaign style, the tone of the candidate and the language of messages should remain fixed throughout the campaign. The entire body of voters cannot be articulated on a single political program: some would incline towards one party while others to its opponents. The ratio of indecisive voters waiting for a spark of "illumination" is no more than 20% (In 1999 elections in Turkey, this ratio was said to be 50%).

A campaign should have three targets:

- a- To assure the voters already in your favor. They should not feel ignored.
- b- To draw the indecisive, or floating votes.
- c- To create suspicion among the supporters of the opponent, making them uneasy about their choice.

To change the voter attitude towards a political party, one must change the image of that party. Hence, most campaigns aim to improve, correct, straighten an image. That being the case, the creation of a counter-image disrupting the built image should be avoided.

2. The Axis of a Campaign: The campaign should be reducible to a single slogan. It must be informative, simple, persuasive and enlightening.

- a. **The ideological axis:** The ideological axis provides the reassuring element for the natural supporter of the party. With the ideological axis, the main divide between –say– left and right is provided, it has a reaffirming effect on the natural

voter while it also introduces a very important question: "where do we pick our natural supporter from?" How is the difference defining the ideological parameters that would draw a given section of the electorate is created? Here, the slogan performs its persuading (magical, if you will) function. It establishes a difference that is in principle already existing, but must be very carefully expressed, rather than creating a new difference.

b. **The political axis:** This axis depends on the regulation of the political communication. They either pertain to election periods or the future.

i. **Solidarity and articulation:** This axis is rather fit for times of crisis. It is the direct opposite of confrontation and conflict axis. It is usually employed by parties already occupying the offices of government.

ii. **Continuity:** It is a tactic used by the insiders, the established, the old. It expresses the tradition and status quo.

iii. **The personal axis:** This the modern trend of political communication. It rests on the personification of the government. The message is delivered by the very personality of the candidate or leader.

a. **The formula in service of the campaign axis: the slogan**

The slogan is the most simplified and effective expression of the chosen campaign axis. From Eisenhower's 'I love Ike' to 'Yes to de Gaulle is yes to France', from 'You are the government' to 'It is time', all slogans were intentionally used as a unifying message. Most of these slogans were created for nationwide elections, but they can be reformulated for local or minor elections. The indecisive voter is drawn towards the message before the candidate itself. Some candidates support their image by slogans that define their career, their time in office, but the rule is to formulate a slogan that is relevant to the reality of the candidate.

b. **Finding and analyzing a theme:**

The theme of a campaign is defined by prior public opinion research on the problems of the electorate. Every party presents its solution in a different way and order of priority that is coherent with its ideology. There are two main views to thematic approach;

Monist: There is only one way of progress in history: to make people happy. The political party presents the ways and means to provide what is important for the people in a concrete form.

Pluralist: There is no single way of progress. The duty of the politician is not to make people happy; the electorate chooses among different programs what it finds most relevant.

e. **The targets:** The selection of a target is the main problem of a campaign. In principle, the entire electorate is the target. However, one cannot persuade different groups within the electorate with the same message and the same language. There has to be segmentations. These segmentations can be defined as follows:

- i. Geographic: (Segmentation on) a regional, district basis.
- ii. Demographic: Youth, first time voters, senior citizens etc.
- iii. Professional: Agricultural producers, traders, managers, workers, freelancers etc.
- iv. Cultural or religious: Members of given club, sect or order.

Prior public opinion research establishes the background of different groups, their knowledge of the candidate or party, and their sensitivity to different messages.

f. **Style:** The visual dimension of a campaign is especially important in an election period.

g. **Language:** The most criticized and emphasized part of political style is the language a politician uses. The language, like the outlook of a politician must be original. The voters get used to certain style after sometime and look for something new. There are three categories in the analysis of political language:

h. **Speaking to be heard:** It rests on the analysis of media handling of different speech forms. The assumption is, if there is harmony between the reader or viewer with the media, the reader or viewer is ready to receive the message.

ii. **Speaking to be understood:** It rests on linguistic and informative analysis. It is applied to both received and transmitted messages. It enables an accurate definition of the quality and weight of the transmitted message.

iii. **Speaking to create sympathy:** The main focus is on the attitude of the receiver. According to this theory, the aim of the politician is to be in harmony, or even to manipulate the state of mind and emotions of the receiver. Here, the receiver may act like a brave, obedient or disobedient child, or an adult. The politician aims catch the right tune.

- f. The psychology of communication: The style of a campaign is the application of either one or a combination of the following three elements.
- i. Impression: It is delivered by the organization of events; the declaration of candidacy, the billboard messages, and use of all available means to deliver. It is an element of the originality and quality of the campaign.
 - ii. The power effect: It is the extensiveness and proportions of using the means. It functions as an exponential effect, mobilizing the militants to crush the opponents by creating a firm sense of self-confidence, which in turn feeds the mobilization. However, it is important to avoid a backfire effect.
 - iii. The magnifier effect: It is created by the media who exaggerate the events of the campaign, thereby preparing the emotional acceptance of the party.⁴²

4.2 Preparation and Implementation of Communication Strategies by Political Parties

Under this heading, we will try to outline a strategy plan that should be pursued by a political party over a four to five year period to achieve successful election results in the light of what we know thus far. To establish the first four items on this outline, the voting behavior in the given country must be known. This can be done in two ways: analysis of political behavior or analysis of the current and potential voter body. In this respect, the idea of standing PR units we suggest for political parties will also become clearer, as well as its long term working agenda.

⁴² Bongrand, op.cit, pp. 50-78.

Outline for Communication Strategy:

From party headquarters and leader.

- 1- The analysis of voting behavior should be made with the help of social psychologists and qualitative analysts. At this point, some aspects of political behavior must be mentioned:
 - a. Active-Passive Behavior: People are categorized as those actively involved in the political activities, those who follow the lead, and those who remain passive. The activists are either for or against the prevailing political system. The followers are those who are characterized as the law-abiding citizen; they join meetings or other events but do not go any further. Pacifism is defined by avoidance of activities and events with a political content, but it must be said that complete pacifism or ignorance is a theoretical rather than an actual case, since everyone is interested in community affairs that affect their lives to a certain degree.
 - b. Open- and Closed Behavior: Open behaviors are high cost – high pay off actions like public statements, conference lectures or newspaper articles while closed behaviors are low cost – low pay off actions like speaking in private friend or family circles.
 - c. Autonomous – on Demand Actions: Some political actions are completely individual and they originate from individual motivation while others are made on demand. The former is a high cost – low pay off action while the latter is low cost – high pay off.
 - d. Closing – Distancing Behavior: The closing behavior is characterized by a pay off calculation while distancing is motivated by thoughts on costs.
 - e. Temporary – Continuous Behavior: Political participation is temporary in some cases and continuous in others. The latter usually brings higher rewards.
 - f. Investment – Result Relations: It can also be described as a cost-profit relation whereby the person who uses inputs like time, energy and money to political activities like meetings, articles, pamphlets etc. expects some kind of return like security, office, credit or prestige.
 - g. Expressive – Instrumental behavior: Expressive behavior is joining a meeting, circulating pamphlets or demonstrating against something. Instrumental participation is working in the candidate's office, gathering information or voting in the party leadership elections.
 - h. Verbal – Non Verbal Behavior.
 - i. Social – Asocial Behavior: Collecting donations for the party or asking for support among voters is social behavior while mere voting is not⁴³.

⁴³ Daver, op.cit, pp. 206-208.

The dimensions and trends of political behavior in the country shapes the main parameters of the communication strategy. The strategy is defined in concordance with the attitude of the electorate towards politics in general.

- 1- The results of prior elections must be obtained (from the related state agency).
- 2- Analysis of these results according to region, age, gender, economic status and other socio-political and demographic categories.
- 3- The definition of a strategy must be made in the light of qualitative and quantitative public opinion research and a target voter group must be set that is persistent with the information available on the electorate body.
- 4- The action plan to implement the strategy must be prepared. An action plan should be annual and consist of three month period sub-plans (this item will be thoroughly discussed in the chapter on political PR).
- 5- The creation of a new political rhetoric in the long term.
- 6- The agenda of activities within the action plan must be set in harmony with this rhetoric.
- 7- A budget must be drafted.
- 8- The city leaders of the party must be summoned to headquarters in every three month period to inform them on the activities in line with the general strategy and discussions must be conducted on the overall planning and implementation. They should be motivated to do the same thing with district leaders.
- 9- A contingency plan defining what to do in a case of crisis must be prepared.
- 10- Towards election period, a special team must be set up. Representatives from professional advertising agencies, the party and advisors must be placed in this team which will submit an election strategy plan to the approval of party leadership.
- 11- The advertising campaign must be launched, depending on the budget, three or six months before the election date.
- 12- The political communication project, after discussions within the party, consultation with experts and analysis of voter reaction, must be converted into a social project that constitutes an exclusive feature for the party.
- 13- The definition of the personnel who will play part in this process.

4.3. Analysis of Political Communication Strategies Prepared by PR and Advertising Agencies

Under this heading, the political communication or advertising strategies prepared by agencies for Turkish political parties prior to April 1999 general elections. We have spoken to the Boğaziçi İletişim Grubu (BİG) who provided a plan to CHP that was not implemented due to disagreements between the party officials and the group. We have also spoken to Löw-Adam Advertisement Agency that worked for ANAP. In addition, we have gathered the press statements from Genajans-Grey.

4.3.1. Boğaziçi Communication Group's Advice about Political Communication to CHP

The group started working with CHP on July 1998. On January 1999, disagreements led to the termination of cooperation. Erol ÖZKORAY, the political communication director of the group told us in our interview that they had worked with Seguela in ANAP's 1991 campaign. According to Özkoray, a successful campaign should start 9 to 10 months prior to elections. He contends

- If the leader displays good performance,
- If the party organization works properly, and
- If the strategy is correct,

Then the election campaign can add up to three points to the overall percentage of votes received. An additional two points can be drawn by the leader. Therefore, short term election campaign hardly change any general trend. To change the voting trend, one must conduct a wide ranging political communication strategy which in turn requires the analysis of voting behavior of the electorate. In fact, the establishment of any political strategy has to rest on this analysis. The political communication strategy is merely a part of the overall political strategy that determines the campaign strategy in election period. Özkoray also contends that general trends can only be changed by political communication strategies.

The Strategy offered to CHP

The proposal was outlined in four headings:

1) The political project

When preparing the political project, four questions have to be asked and answered in a satisfactory manner: 'What are you going to do?', 'How are you going to do it?', 'Where will

you get the resources', and 'Are you persuasive?'. The elections are won by a party with a project that has answers to these questions.

2) Working to draw the Indecisive

- a. Relations with the Media: A solid infrastructure of cooperation should be built with the media through personal and institutional relations with members of the press.
- b. Setting Targets: The aim should be to draw as many indecisive votes as possible by the end of December 1998, since the ratio of indecisive voters approaches 50%.
- c. Motivation of the party organization: The party members themselves have to be motivated to impress the indecisive voters.

1) Public Opinion Research

- a. The trends,
- b. The priorities, and
- c. The values of the electorate have to be analyzed.

- 1) The Image of the Leader: According to BİG, the then-leader of CHP, Deniz Baykal was one of the best orators in the Turkish political field, but he had two major flaws: he was approaching issues too indirect and he was making too much repetitions. The aim to change his image was to have more public contact of the leader, especially with children and youngsters.

Evaluation:

Much can be said about the incomplete political communication project of CHP and BİG. It should be kept in mind that the party officials have a great role to play in the process of political communication. In our interview with Bülent TANLA, the former vice-president of CHP responsible for election campaign, we have realized that there were major differences between the CHP's own political communication strategy and that of BİG. For example, BİG was unaware of the special segmentation applied to 17 cities because of their "social democrat sensitivity" by the CHP leadership. They also did not know of the leaderships' idea of establishing an election campaign team similar to that of SPD's KAMPA 1998. These examples can be multiplied. The "Solution 2000" election declaration called "Türkiye Projesi" by BİG was not, as they had planned, presented on January 1999 by experts from different fields, but by Deniz Baykal himself to a limited number of scientists and journalists late on February.

As this experience shows, the lack of a standing political communication or PR unit within the party structure, inappropriate, short term or in cases non-existent political communication strategies bring about inevitable failure.

4.3.2. ANAP – Löwe Adam Political Advertisement Study

In our interview dated 25/12/1998, Sevgi TUNCER of Löw Adam Agency provided us with interesting insights.

Advertisement strategies according to Tuncer should be shaped by three elements:

- Public Opinion Research
- The Trends of the electorate, and
- Their sensitivities

ANAP's particular strategy, however, was then a "classified" subject. Therefore they opted to answer in a general framework based on experience drawn from previous rather than current campaigns. In brief, the advertisement agency only plays a part similar to that of product management in cooperation with the party organization. They palm meeting together, receive information from the party branches about specifics of a given region and the organizational strength of the party in that region. Policy formulation and decision making parts are left to the party authorities; the agency only provides for the communication of the policies to the voters. All activities of the agency is subject to approval by the party.

Political PR Activities: Press conferences are major item in this regard. The party representatives speaking to the press are "advised" by the agency on issues like language, but this advice, according to Tuncer never amounts to determination or control over the party officials. It is an effort to preserve the coherence of the overall "communication strategy".

The Political Project: Tuncer would not comment on the political project of ANAP due to "strategic considerations".

The Election Declaration: This issue is also run by the party officials, the agency merely provides counsel if needed. In some cases, however, the agency has the initiative to publish election bulletins.

The Target Mass: Unlike the target groups approach of Özkoray and BIG, Tuncer insisted that the target mass is and should be the entire electorate body. She also added that the decision on this issue rested on the party rather than the agency.

Image Building for the Leader: Image, according to Tuncer, cannot be changed by a short term effort. She contends that in mainstream Turkish political parties, the leaders image is more prevalent than the institutional image.

Press Relations: The agency only intervenes to press releases in terms of coherence in communications.

The agency also recommends to negotiate with NGO's under different titles on relevant topics to their field of activity.

Tuncer insisted that essentially, political advertising were not different from product advertising. The main differences were that the outcome in political advertising is at hand in a shorter time. Özkoray on the other hand, proclaimed that there were conceptual differences in political advertising. In product advertising, **the taste, color, smell and design of the product** is essential while in political advertising, **the communication of: the leader, the ideology and the social project** are more important.

Evaluation:

In our interview with Tuncer, she displayed an approach that doesn't distinguish political advertising from product advertising. This approach also gave prime authority and responsibility to the party, confining the agency to the role of transmitting the message. The fact that the agency was employed only five months before election date is of course a limiting factor. Also, the benefits of a product based understanding of political advertising for the party is another question mark. In the absence of a long term political communication strategy and standing PR divisions, the creation and implementation of such a strategy shortly before elections is extremely hard if not impossible.

4.3.3 Cenajans-Grey's Advice about Election Period Advertising Campaigns

DYP's 1999 election services were provided by Cenajans. The creative director of the agency, Değer DİLEK states the following as major points in political campaigns:

- There are differences between a political product and other products.
- In political advertising, the party prepares the product and delivers it to the agency; the agency cannot manipulate the party in this regard.

- A political party presumably has established main policies and directions for the election period.
- The mission of the agency is to deliver the message in a proper manner without changing its essence, but only shape it in a more pleasant form.
- For building an image for the leader, the past experience of Turkish political life must be used. No essential change can be done, only some minor flaws can be corrected.
- A political campaign is actually a campaign revolving around the leader. Without dislodging the leader from the party, the campaign must be set about the leader⁴⁴.

While FP Press and Presentation coordinator Akif Glle stated that there had been negotiations with 15 different agencies, DSP had no initiatives on that regard.

The interviews were conducted prior to 1999 elections. Looking back, one may wonder if the problem with BİG and CHP was the absence of BİG in the decision making process on political communication; or if Lwe-Adam agency knew whether the concept of "Sessiz ođunluk" was consistent with the character, structure and history of ANAP or not.

Here, we arrive at three vital conclusions for the success of an election campaign:

- a. In an election campaign there should be a general political communication strategy and the proper infrastructure for implementation.
- b. The agency to work with during election period should be employed at least a year before election date, the agency should examine and understand the party very well.
- c. Voting behavior must be analysed.

⁴⁴ GNGR Zehra, "Sandıkta İmaj Yarışı", Milliyet Newspaper, 11/01/1999, p. 14.

III- POLITICAL PR AS A SUB-DISCIPLINE OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

1- Political P.R. Concept:

In the chapter on political communication, we had referred to TOPUZ who classified political communication techniques into TV, Public Opinion Research and Advertising. Today, PR and advertising are separate but complementary processes. In brief;

- The advert aims the sale of the service or product while PR aims a positive image for the service or product among the public.
- Adverts usually employ mass communication means while PR uses meetings, brochures or other methods as well.
- The adverts are for the public at large, but PR can divide the public into segments (community leaders, environment groups etc.) and use different ways for different groups. It also has an internal role for motivating the personnel.
- Advertising is tool of PR process and PR efforts support the adverts.⁴⁵

So, it would be more appropriate to examine PR as a separate technique within political communication called "political PR".

PR as an administrative function, helps the organization relate its philosophy and aims to the target group.⁴⁶

Politicians usually employ advisors from the press when they face criticism and rivalry once they enter the political arena.⁴⁷

Mc Nair outlines political PR under four headings:

- Media management
- Image management
- Political marketing
- Information management

⁴⁵ WILCOX Dennis L, AULT Philip H, AGEE Warren K, "Public Relations Strategies and Tactics", Harper Collins Publishers Inc. Third Edition, New York, 1992, pp 14-15.

⁴⁶ BASKIN Otis, ARONOFF Craig, LATTIMORE Dan, "Public Relations Profession and Practice", Brown & Benchmark Publishers, Dubuque, 1997, p 393.

⁴⁷ MC NAIR Brian, "An Introduction to Political Communication", Routledge, London, 1995, p. 111.

Media Management: Activities aimed at engaging any criticism or attack from the media and at drawing media attention to the party.

Image Management: The shaping of the politicians' personal image in line with the institutional goals of the party.

Political Marketing: Activities to benefit from advertisements such as staged or paid editorials.

Information Management: An important part of public opinion management which aims to transmit the information from the party to the desired (target) group of the electorate within the process of public opinion building.

McNair also advocates the development of PR departments in political parties as in other modern institutions in terms of internal communication for the maximization of organizational goals.⁴⁸

In this study, our aim is to suggest PR departments for Turkish political parties with a view on the local conditions of the country.

2- The Place of Political PR Concept in the World

The use of PR in politics started in the US during the first quarter of the 20th Century. Before that, American firms already employed PR for higher sales and more customer oriented services by way of conducting public opinion research. These studies enhanced both the methods and scope of PR. In time, as the literacy and democratic rights of the people increased, the political machinery in the country needed the benefits of PR as well. Ivy Lee was the first person to be employed by the American capital to work on PR. Shortly afterwards, in 1917, president Wilson founded the Federal Committee On Public Information to inform the public on the reasons why US entered an essentially European war as well as receiving the public reaction and relating other developments about war with a view of creating a positive image about the administration. The democrats founded their first PR office in 1928 followed by the republicans in 1932. The first political PR consultants firm was established by Clem Whitaker, his wife and their partner Leone Baxter in L.A., 1933. As these studies expanded to other states, a new sector was born in which people designed propaganda material, wrote speeches, enabled easier communication between voters and candidates, and raised campaign funds. By the 1970's, there were many political PR consultants' firms all over the country. In

⁴⁸ Ibid, pp 113-133.

the 80's, people like Peter Mandelson, Tim Bell, the Saatchi Brothers and Harvey Thomas introduced the same process to Britain.⁴⁹

Today, political PR is increasingly conducted world wide for national election campaigns, state level image building, presentation of public institutions and political parties.

3- Current PR studies in Turkish Political Parties

In this part, the PR efforts of political parties (except leasing PR agencies) are examined through interviews with party officials responsible for such efforts or by the heads of PR units within the given party.

The party representatives were asked of the following issues:

- The place of presentation efforts in the organizational structure of the party
- The organization of relations with the media
- The organization of intra-party communication channels, the activities (if any) for organizational motivation
- Whether image management is done by professional agencies or by units within the party
- The party's role in the determination of political advertising strategies
- Whether any precautions are taken to prevent corruption of information in the process of public opinion building
- The chain of responsibility for the realization of organizations
- If the Research & Development effort are conducted by intra-party units or by outside agencies, and
- If they have any special study or effort for the city of İstanbul.

To meet these questions, Mr. Bülent TANLA, the vice president responsible for presentation (CHP); Mr. Bülent AKARCALI, the vice president responsible for social affairs (ANAP); Mr. Akif GÜLLE, presentation coordinator working for vice president Nevzat YALÇINTAŞ (FP) were kind enough to spare their time for our interviews in İstanbul and Ankara. From DYP and DSP, we were unable to get an appointment.

One immediate conclusion we can reach is the fact that the parties have usually left the PR efforts to a relevant vice president who works directly with the party leader. In FP and DYP,

⁴⁹ Mc Nair op.cit p. 112.

there are units of political communication under the titles of "Public Relations Center" (DYP) and "Press Presentation and Coordination Center" (FP).

Also, media relations were conducted through personal contacts of the party leaders, direct statements of the party leadership, or through press bulletins issued by the so called "press centers" of the party. There are party units and members responsible for scanning the media and submitting daily reports to the leadership. Some politicians within the party are assigned with the task of maintaining close contact with prominent members of the media.

In terms of intra-party communication, CHP has a monthly bulletin called "Gündem", ANAP has no special effort on the issue, and FP holds monthly meetings with city heads of the party at the headquarters to inform them and receive their reports about the proceedings. Added to that, FP also sends 15 min. Long audio tapes to the entire organization every two months to motivate the members.

In CHP, image building is first consulted with expert agencies, than concluded in the Central Executive Committee (MYK). ANAP leadership contends that the image of the party would be determined by the actual political position of it. In FP, being "natural" is deemed to be the party image.

The advertisement strategies of CHP are determined in cooperation with a private advertisement agency employed for conducting that campaign. ANAP provides minimum initiative to the agency on strategic decisions. FP determines the strategy on its own and leaves the implementation to the agency.

To avoid public opinion disruptions, ANAP and CHP authorities contend that it is necessary to deliver clear messages, and that there should be no impediment in connection or prejudice on the receiving side. According to Mr. Akarcalı, one should avoid small gains by seducing public feelings on sensitive issues, since such an approach would almost certainly backfire. Mr. Gülle of FP, on the other hand, stated the necessity of close contact with media members about negative news making regarding the party.

The primary unit responsible for R&D in CHP is the "Research, Planning and Coordination" (APK) department. This department, with the help of experts, has prepared a "Turkey Project". Public opinion and trends research are made by professional agencies. In ANAP, R&D is conducted through vice presidents and public opinion research is made by outside agencies as in CHP. In FP, there is a unit called Election Studies Department (Seçim İşleri Başkanlığı) which conducts public opinion research.

In the organization of events, the chain of responsibility lies in a relevant unit depending on the nature of the event. CHP has established an election team for the activities regarding the 1999 elections while in FP, all units responsible for organization of public events receive logistic support from the Press Presentation and Coordination Center cited above.

All party officials we have interviewed have acknowledged the unique nature and importance of İstanbul, ANAP contends that it is the citizenship associations and kinship connections that play an important role in the trends affecting İstanbul's political behavior. According to their view, the city has many political owners and the MP's come last in line. FP declared it had no special organization or effort for the city of İstanbul, but the efforts of FP organization in İstanbul are special.

Only CHP's Bülent Tanla offered us information about the party's 1999 election strategies in terms of political communication. According to his statement, which was deemed as "strategic information" before the elections, CHP had planned special efforts to draw Southeastern Anatolian voters, the youth and women. 18 Cities were subject to segmentation because of their social democrat sensitivity, but he did not comment on the methods and details of that segmentation.

4- Politicians' Individual PR Studies

The individual PR studies for politicians are even more recent than those for political parties. There not many examples. In this study, we have examined the PR campaign of Ali Talip ÖZDEMİR who ran for the municipality of İstanbul during April 1999 local elections and received 20% of votes.

ANAP's former İstanbul MP and candidate for municipality Özdemir has led an interesting PR campaign as revealed to the press. As it is known, he had been the minister for environment and the municipal head of Bakırköy district. The reason why we have examined his campaign is because he adopted a continuous PR effort rather than a mere election period campaign. His press advisor, Ataç AKIN was kind enough to tell us about their working system during an interview conducted 11/11/1999.

Özdemir's staff consists of two advisors based in Ankara and a technician. Their work is focused on

- The press,
- The party organization, and

- Özdemir's close acquaintances.

The Daily Working System:

Every morning, the newspapers are scanned and comparisons to analyze the changing reactions. All articles of politicians and columnists are evaluated. Afterwards, a weekly program is prepared and speeches written for relevant occasions. Public opinion research are examined with a focus on voters socio-economic profiles rather than the ratios of support for different parties. Regardless of prevailing conditions, the aim is to preserve and uphold Özdemir's image. The important point here is the priority placed on Özdemir himself, and not his party, ANAP. This PR effort is sustained beyond and regardless of election periods.

Sustained PR is a vital element in a politicians long term success. Özdemir's approach heralds an increasing consciousness in Turkish political life about this point.

Relations With The Press:

The team performs the following functions:

Important events are related to the press in one hour through internet or GSM. A press list is kept and updated every week. Özdemir's advisor has the initiative to call him personally around the clock. In cases of important political developments, the advisor sends him a draft communiqué whether he uses it or not. He is frequently briefed about significant articles and news and thereby is able to follow the unfolding agenda of Turkey. An example to the teams' large initiative is the following anecdote:

"In 8/11/1998, the issue of Straits was being discussed at the Samanyolu TV. The station was called by phone and fax, and Özdemir's GSM number was transmitted to their crew. So, we were able to connect Özdemir live to the program, albeit on the phone, and he could participate in the discussion."

In the April 1999 elections, Özdemir received 20% of votes and was defeated by the FP candidate Ali Müfit Grtuna. The electoral support for ANAP did not increase, on the contrary, there was a little downfall. This was consistent with the countrywide trend in ANAP's votes. From here, we can see the importance of institutional identity, especially in metropolitan areas. Our reason for choosing Özdemir for this study was the large press coverage of his PR efforts as well as the close and warm connection he managed to establish with his supporters since his district municipality times in Bakırky.

5- Position of Political PR Studies in Political Communication Strategies

On political communication, we referred to political PR as a part of the overall action plan which comes immediately after the political strategy is decided upon. Political PR efforts are a part of long term the political communication strategy. It involves the following aspects:

- a. Media management
- b. Image management
- c. Political marketing
- d. Information management

In the action plan where all targets are put to paper and given dates of application, the personnel who will participate and the budget, must also be determined. The targets constitute the essence of the PR strategy. Targets can be:

- 1- To establish an institutional identity: The political party has to create a positive image in public view with its rhetoric, its program and its coherent attitude to changing political developments. The aim is to win the sympathy, trust, and ultimately, the vote of the electorate.
- 2- The leader's image: The position of the leader is very important in a political party, because he represents, embodies the party with his personality. In today's democracies, it is no longer important for a leader to be charismatic and colorful as in the old days; the institutional structure of the party is given more predominance. In Turkey, however, this is not the case. Most Turkish parties are essentially leadership parties where intra-party democracy is non-existent, the party membership and organization is defined by the leader and the leader has a patronage over the entire party. For example, Deniz BAYKAL's resignation upon 1999 election defeat was received almost with surprise, because there is no tradition of resigning upon defeat in our country. Mrs. ÇİLLER and Mr. Yılmaz are still leading their parties despite defeat. Thus, the leaders are determining the fate of their parties with their own image. The institutional identity remains in the back scene while all benefits and burden of victory and defeat are indexed to the very person of the leader.
- 3- Identification of Target Mass: In terms of political communication strategy, the analysis of the electorate and findings of public opinion research that reveal information about voting behavior constitute the basis for building a rhetoric and the line of action. The current supporters, meaning those who voted for the party in previous elections must be analyzed in terms of age, gender, occupation and socio-economic status. The priority lies in maintaining the current support at first. After that, one can analyze the profile of potential

supporters, meaning those who did not vote for the party but potentially can. This group is the target mass. The next thing is to draw a political map showing the locations of current and potential supporters. In some areas, they would be more dense than others. Finally, the techniques of communication are determined in accordance with the wishes of the members of the party and the trends of the voters.

- 4- Media planning: The media channels and press items preferred by the target mass is identified through public opinion surveys. The aim is to have more news in these channels and items (newspapers, magazines etc.). In election period, more budget resources are committed to publish adds on these channels and items.
- 5- Media relations: Institutional and personal relations must be established with the channels and newspapers favored by the mass target. These relations can be maintained and enhanced by a party member with media background so all news and related statements are reached to the right newsmaker and published in the desired manner.
- 6- Diffusion of messages to the target mass: The message of the party is related to the people with all available means such as brochures, pamphlets, TV and press adds, and the party organization. The point is to deliver the message with the right means, in the right time to the right people.
- 7- Relations with other institutions: In line with the target mass, other institutions the party can cooperate with, such as environment groups, professional chambers, trade unions, NGO's and foundations are determined. The aim is to reach the target mass faster through these institutions.

In this respect, we can examine the strategy of the BİG.

5.1 Advised PR Strategy to CHP by BİG

Nurten ÖZKORAY has outlined the strategy advised to CHP as follows:

- Diffusion of the messages to the bottom
- Relating the leader and the program to the people.
- The analysis
- The political map of the party

- Establishing target groups
- Establishing those groups which shouldn't be bothered at all

In line with these;

The Target mass for CHP is established as

- Youth and women in urban areas.
- Urban male population
- Towns
- The rural areas, and
- The natural support base of the party, which is the entire laboring masses.

Thus, communication techniques according to target groups are established and activities are planned.

CHP's Action Plan

The action plan was determined under the following headings:

- **NGO's:** The "Turkey Project" was prepared in cooperation with labor and environment NGO's with whom CHP aims to work in synergy.
- **Public Relations of the staff:** The staff has to represent the party in different areas, they should make a division of labor according to their expertise or profession and be responsible towards the public at large.
- **Communication of the Program:** Propaganda, advertisement and institutional communication.

6- Evaluation:

The rationale for determining the urban youth and women among with a natural support base of laborers was not related to us. Of course, we can presume that this process involved some sort of public opinion research. We think it to be inappropriate to reduce CHP into a rather liberal party focused on gender, youth and environment problems, devoid of major socio-economic openings and alternatives. As experienced, to accentuate the form rather than the essence, to forget the real basis of the party and the interests of those people in a quest for an ill-defined target group leads to defeat. It is also interesting that the "Turkey Project"

depicted as "Solution 2000" by CHP after termination of contract with BİG in Jan. 1999 was sort of left aside: it was presented by Deniz Baykal to handful of journalists and scientists, but not by experts to large masses, let alone to the target mass.

In this chapter, we have examined the birth, development and place within political communication strategies of political PR in the world as well as our country. Political PR is an inevitable tool for political parties in the process of political activity. Long term political PR strategies prepared by experts and the party organization, integrated to a one year election campaign strategy can help;

- 1- building the institutional identity for the party,
- 2- enhancement of the leader's image and its integration of it with the institutional identity of the party,
- 3- communication of the party with its current as well as potential supporters,
- 4- establish healthy and enduring relations with the media, and
- 5- build a solid infrastructure for a successful election campaign.

IV- TURKISH ADVERTISEMENT AGENCIES POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT STUDIES AS A SUB-DISCIPLINE OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

In this chapter, we will provide an outline of political advertisement efforts of advertisement agencies in the period of 1977-1991.

Agency participation to election campaigns in Turkey is a relatively recent event. Cenajans was the first to prepare press adds and audio tape bands for Adalet Partisi (AP) in 1977 elections⁵⁰.

In an interview with Nurhan ERKEBAY, the director general of Cenajans, Nail KEÇİLİ told about the 1977 campaign:

“We conducted the AP campaign for June 5, 1977 elections with a budget of 20 million TL. In those days, purple billboards were prepared saying *“Bu renge evet deyin”* on the walls. No one knew the answer. It was a time of anarchy, so we worked in difficult condition, so much so that six of our boardmakers were shot. It was like a military campaign rather than an advertisement campaign. We had no video at the time, so we used audio tapes. It was delivered with the message ‘Demirel in your home’.”⁵¹

“... We had additional difficulties limiting our effectiveness like: should we deem the campaign workers as volunteers or as professionals? What would happen if there were a violation of the electoral law? Was the agency responsible along with the political party or would it be interpreted as mere practitioner? All these issues were new for us as well as all other institutions involved.

We were very excited when we had launched the campaign. Those who worked on it could not go home throughout its duration. They had continuous contact with party officials at all levels. Even at that preliminary stage, we had understood one point: to relate the message of a party to its electorate, you have to spend day, even weeks together with the officials of that party. You must know, understand and comprehend their ideas and believe in them.

We tried four, five new methods which are still relevant up to date. For example, assuming that not all news we provide would be published by the free press, we launched our own private newspaper that was widely circulated. Thousands of billboards, colored in the

⁵⁰ TOPUZ Hıfzı, *“Siyasal Reklamcılık”*, 1st edition, Cem Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1991, p 15.

⁵¹ Topuz, op.cit, p16.

same color where the letters A and P were used separately were used to sustain public interest throughout the campaign.”⁵²

Ege ERNART from Manajans that worked with ANAP in 1983 campaign relates the following:

“ANAP, founded in May 1983, decided for the first time in Turkey to hand over the entire authority to the agency and they contacted us to do the job. We accepted under some preconditions: ANAP authorities would see the agency as their partner, answer all questions sincerely and give a full, detailed and accurate ‘brief’ like a brand manager would. After our first briefing with the officials, we concluded that ANAP had a very precise, driven leader and founding committee who knew exactly what they wanted. Using advertiser jargon, ‘the product was good’. If the product is not good, not even the best advertising campaign on earth can save it. If a second class product is introduced as first class, the brand definitely goes down. Handling ANAP as an advertiser and viewing it as a product, we concluded that it would be appropriate to adopt a ‘star strategy’ by investing all our resources to a single concept, or a single person: Mr. Turgut ÖZAL.

“... We used the following methods:

- Relating ourselves to the product; that is, adopting the speech style of Mr. ÖZAL as he used it to write all our material
- Maintaining a simple, understandable Turkish as we do in all our adds
- Relating our ideas always in short but dense sentences.”⁵³

Manajans was the first to use video tapes in a large scale. An interview conducted by journalist Mehmet BARLAS with Özal and Özal’s country tour was video taped. 2500 copies were distributed to all ANAP branches in 67 cities.⁵⁴

Another agency involved in 1983 elections was Ajans Ada which worked with MDP. Because there was little time before the elections, and MDP already had its own work well under way, the agency wasn’t particularly effective. Therefore, they opted to relate to the public the main ideological and economic policies of MDP and how these would effect their lives. In an already established campaign, they could only impose some corrections and diversions from the main course of action which was set upon three pillars:

- 1- Life in a country in peace and away from chaos and anarchy,

⁵² Topuz, op.cit, pp 16-17.

⁵³ 1st International Symposium on Public Opinion Research, Ankara, BYYO, October 17-19 1988.

⁵⁴ Topuz, op.cit, p. 28.

- 2- Economic development for overcoming difficulties,
- 3- A soft transition to a democratic regime where the human rights and economy develop hand in hand.⁵⁵

Yorum Ajans had planned the 1987 general and 1989 local election campaigns for SHP. Agency director Mehmet URAL comments on these campaigns:

“When we established initial contact with the party for the campaign, opinion polls showed the support for SHP to be 10 to 12%. What we first did was to search for means of reversing this trend to an upsurge. We immediately realized that SHP had a flu image. So, we tried to give an appearance of lively, smiling party. We used people from different groups of the electorate, young and smiling people, lively colors. Then, we focused on the meetings. We planned them in cities where the party was most powerful and transmitted the news about these meetings to all over Turkey via TV news. In that respect, I think we were successful.”

Ural also mentions the famous “lemon campaign”:

“Fikri Sağlar, SHP official responsible for election campaign had heard people in İçel complaining about inflation. They were saying “Özal squeezed us like a lemon!”. He told about it to people in Yorum Ajans. Thus, lemon became our main campaign slogan. We developed the slogan to “Say no to get squeezed like a lemon for another five years!”⁵⁶

In 1991 campaign conducted for ANAP by Seguela, as mentioned in the chapter on political communication, was based on his ten golden advice indexed solely to the leader and it ignored the conditions of Turkey. His approach was that of product marketing.

⁵⁵ Topuz, op.cit, pp 34-35.

⁵⁶ Topuz, op.cit, pp 39-40.

V- ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PR PROCESS

The relation between Turkish political parties and the electorate is limited to short election periods. Therefore these relations are discontinued, devoid of sincerity and content.

In our field research, we had seen that only DYP and FP have standing PR units. We have also established the fact that all political parties delegate the authority for election campaign to a vice president or an official at that level (like ANAP's head of social affairs). We contend that political parties, by using the outside election time well, can create a sound basis for a successful election campaign, not mired by shortages of time or lack of a general strategy. Instead, they can develop a continuous relation with the electorate through planned PR efforts and maximize the benefits of the election campaign.

In the chapter on political PR as a sub-discipline of political communication, we had seen Mc Nair's classification of four elements. To repeat, according to this classification, political PR process rested on:

- Media management
- Image management
- Political marketing, and
- Information management

The formulation of these elements in a casual fashion, by haphazardly chosen and established personnel, obviously bears little if any electoral success.

In this chapter we will focus on the concepts that determine the political PR process and explain why this process is necessary.

1- POLITICAL PR PROCESS

1.1 Media Management

According to Sađnak, the real importance of media power appears in election periods. The politician who needs to establish positive contact with the voters has to use the media.⁵⁷

A regular media management effort would relate the messages of the party to the media agencies without an election rush, and support the building of the institutional identity of the party in medium and long terms. Although Turkish political parties have press centers, these units do not go beyond a simple relay and information function. The relations with the media are determined by the leaders personal prestige and contacts among the members of media.

We can evaluate the role performed by the media in political presentation process in the following aspects:

- Agenda setting
- Candidate's image
- Media effect on campaigns
- Media based campaigns
- Campaign watch
- Public opinion surveys
- PR firms⁵⁸

Political actors strive to manipulate the media in their favor. Media management is a process of establishing sound contacts and positive relations with the media, presenting the institutional identity and goals of the party in a healthy manner to the media, and hence, to the electorate.⁵⁹

In political parties, officials in charge of media relations are primarily selected from ex-parliamentary journalists, or at least from the profession. Press advisors and these officials play an important role in the contacts between media and the party, so much so that sometimes the reporters are limited solely to the information flowing only from these channels.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ SAĐNAK Mehmet, "*Medya-Politik (1983-1993 Yılları Arasında Medya-Politikacı İlişkileri)*", Eti Kitapları, İstanbul, 1996, p. 283.

⁵⁸ Ibid, pp 283-325.

⁵⁹ Mc Nair, op.cit, pp 114-115.

⁶⁰ Sađnak, op.cit, pp 114-115.

Media management has a very important function in public opinion building. Since the first stage in this process is transmission of information, mass communication plays key role.⁶¹

An issue to be handled in media management is the public opinion polls published in the media. In modern societies, there is an interconnection between the media, the politicians and the voters.⁶²

In brief, the functions of media management can be outlined as follows:

- a. To establish the institutional identity of the party among the media,
- b. Establishing positive contact between the party and media,
- c. To organize the flow of accurate information from the party to media channels in order to support sound public opinion building
- d. To avoid the manipulation and misuse of public opinion polls published in the media against the political party, since these can have significant effect on the supporters and potential voters.⁶³

1.2. Image Management

Today, *what* the politicians might be saying has fallen to insignificance compared to *how* they are saying it⁶⁴. For political parties, perception management, that is, how the message is related to the voter and how it is perceived of, has become a critical issue within their political communication strategy. Image, an important aspect of political success has been *presented* to the people since the times of George Washington⁶⁵.

The former PR advisor of Margaret Thatcher, Gordon Reece states that his employer had not paid much attention to her image when first elected to lead the conservatives in 1976, but afterwards, she had taken speech and pronunciation lessons and showed great care for her hairstyle and dresses. These, he added were a part of the message delivered to the public.⁶⁶

According to Saġnak, the image of the politician is determined by the media. It is claimed that TV's have a greater influence in this respect, but Thomas E. Patterson believes newspapers are more decisive. He believes that "Image is a construct of words, and not

⁶¹ Bektaş, op.cit, p. 304.

⁶² Saġnak, op.cit, p. 310.

⁶³ Ibid, p310.

⁶⁴ Mc Nair, op.cit, p. 124.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 124.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 125.

visions. The voters pay attention to words about the political past of a candidate, and words can be found only in newspapers.”⁶⁷

Topuz contends “In election campaigns, especially in the west, form has superseded the content. Most people paid more attention to the speaker than what that speaker was saying. The politicians’ outlook; their smile, hair, teeth, tie, jests and mimics were discussed among people for days. Those politicians who had understood the importance of playing by the rules of political communication received more sympathy and thus achieved higher success. All leaders employed political communication advisors in preparing their campaigns.”⁶⁸

The image isn’t always that effective on political process: In the 1992 British general elections, the conservative prime minister John Major did not have a particularly strong image, though he eventually led his party to electoral victory.⁶⁹

But another example from the same country suggests that image has an important part to play: the strong image of Tony Blair has an obvious effect in the landslide Labor victory in the following 1997 elections.

In the west, image management develops hand in hand with style industry and fashion.⁷⁰

Image management is usually run by so called “image managers” or “image makers”.⁷¹

In the light of the above information, we can outline image management under the following headings:

1. Perception management
2. Image making
3. Cooperation with the media management
4. Crisis management to repair any disruption in the image.

⁶⁷ Sađnak, op.cit, p. 287.

⁶⁸ Topuz Hıfzı, “*Siyasal Reklamcılık*”, Cem Yayınevi, Birinci Baskı, İstanbul, 1991, p. 241.

⁶⁹ McNair, op.cit, 127.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 127.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 126.

1.3. Political Marketing

Political marketing is a tool developed as a response to universal enfranchisement, enhanced democratic and civil rights.⁷²

First applications of political marketing were conducted by order of French prime minister Georges Pompidou to forecast the coming elections in 1966. During this period, a team set up around Michael Bongrand created the primary documents of political marketing: a candidate dossier the size of a telephone book. Records about election district of a given candidate, which would be enhanced every coming election, was to provide an extensive field analysis for the candidate in determining the socio-economic status of the voters, as well as measuring the effect of local and national media on voting behavior. This simple method was the first "political marketing" effort.⁷³

Marketing is the general name for techniques applied in the adoption of a product to the market, in presenting it to the customer, increasing sales profits, and distinguishing it from similar products. Political marketing is no exemption to the rule. The aim is to present the candidate to the most possible number of voters, distinguish him from other candidates, and ultimately, to receive the most of the votes⁷⁴. We can apply the same definition to the political party in general: to present the party to most possible voters, to distinguish the party from others, and to win the elections by getting most of the votes.

It would be misleading to assume that an election can be won solely by political marketing: As many communication experts point out, a bad product cannot be sold by mere marketing. Still, marketing can win over the indecisive, whose ration changes from one election to the next, which would effect the electoral success; and this is where the communication campaigns become important.⁷⁵

Brendan Bruce who served Margaret Thatcher as her political advisor states that every communication strategy includes positioning: what the brand is, for whom it is and why people should choose it are questions prone to be asked⁷⁶.

We can adopt the six elements of marketing in general to political marketing to have clearer idea about the concept. In marketing, the six elements are depicted as:

⁷² Bongrand, op.cit, p. 9.

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 10-11.

⁷⁴ Topuz, op.cit, p. 8.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 11.

⁷⁶ Mc Nair, op.cit, p. 127.

1. The product
2. The market
3. The customer
4. The difference
5. The sale
6. The profit.

What we can place in political marketing in their stead are:

1. The Product: To achieve success in political marketing, the product must be composed of three sub-elements: *the ideas of the candidate, the candidate's connections, and the candidate's self*. Thus we have a global image of person-and-ideas. Though the product has no price, the decision effects the future of the society.
2. The Market: In the political platform, there is no market in a real sense. But, we can speak of a customer group, the electorate. Albeit one can not define a rational, concrete "demand" in classical marketing sense, we have the voters as "buyers". Thus, political marketing has the opportunity to reverse the process and define the product profile fitting to the expectations of the electorate.
3. The Customer: In political marketing, the customer, above all, is the electorate. The attention of the electorate has to be drawn into making a positive decision about the future of his or her self, family, city or country by providing relevant information.
4. The Difference: Just like in classical marketing, the product needs a positive difference, an edge to it in order to gain advantage in the competition with other products. In political marketing, this competition is between ideas and persons, but here, it is more difficult to display the difference, especially when it comes to ideas. Thus, the power of personal communication skill and that of the campaign come to fore. According to various research conducted on the subject, it is seen that almost 75% of voters make up their mind prior to election period. The target then, has to be the indecisive group whose votes may decide the fate of an election in the last moment. Their votes, directed by many irrational, emotional details, will incline towards the candidate with the most carefully planned and executed marketing effort based on communication psychology.
5. The Sale: In classical marketing, a commodity or service is sold to a customer with an appropriate price; this is not the case in political marketing. The issue here is to build a reputation and a sense of acceptance for the candidate, or in short to receive votes.

6. The Profit: In political marketing, being elected is the direct profit for the candidate.⁷⁷

In political parties, political marketing has a scope limited to election periods. The elements we discussed above are the different parts of an entire political communication process. Political marketing extending beyond election period would create a whole in terms of political communication efforts and make it something more than mere political advertising. We can say that political marketing, as the most critical heading of political PR, is also an outline of the entire process.

1.4. Information Management

According to Denton and Woodward, "Information is power and to control information is the first stage of propaganda."⁷⁸

McNair sees information as a source of power in state administration and acknowledges its importance there.⁷⁹

For political parties, it is difficult to obtain information and use it to their advantage while they remain in opposition. In terms of political communication process, the fact that the ruling party has all the information channels and sources under its control and that it can manipulate information flow and content, makes things even worse. Therefore, opposition parties can only control the presentation and flow of information coming from themselves as the source. Because, monopolization and oligopolistic nature of media inevitably bring about the manipulation of information about political parties according to prevailing interests. In our field research, the party officials we have interviewed stated that a healthy and accurate presentation of information, free of disruptions would be enough for them. Bülent Akarcalı of ANAP also added that the credibility of the message was closely linked to the credibility of the party, or its reputation among the public. Bülent Tanla of CHP stated that the prejudice factor effected the impact of messages in the public.

Isn't it the media who determines the credibility, reliability and prejudice of the public apprehension? The answer to this question would be a good outline of the entire political communication process.

⁷⁷ Ündey, *op.cit.*, pp 37-39.

⁷⁸ McNair, *op.cit.*, p. 132.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

VI- PR DEPARTMENT MODEL SUGGESTED TO POLITICAL PARTIES

Thus far we have seen how political presentation is organized within Turkish political party structures. There is an apparent need to create a political communication strategy extending beyond election periods, applied in long term with frequent performance analysis, with political PR process as its integral part. Decisions about this plan should be operationalized in the guidance of relevant party decision making bodies, and changes in the party structure must be made to that end. If a political party has no regular effort prior to election period, it is extremely hard to put up a successful PR campaign in short notice.

In this respect, the organization scheme of the political PR process we had previously examined under four headings, must be realized. This scheme we suggest must consist of:

1. A PR Advisor (head of the department)
2. An R&D specialist
3. A media expert
4. An organizations' supervisor
5. A city branches presentation coordinator
6. An Official responsible for activities in İstanbul.

First, however, there has to be a coordinator responsible for the efficient functioning of this department. The coordinator may be answerable to the president or the vice president. In the above list, this person is titled as the PR advisor. The advisor is responsible for the successful implementation of the political PR strategy decided upon by the party authorities with professional guidance and groundwork. This political PR strategy is a part of the entire political communication strategy. The advisor would summon the department personnel every week.

Upon the determination of the political PR strategy, the most important issue is to produce projects in line with this strategy. This can only be done through prior public opinion research and examination of voting behavior. The R&D specialist would be the person responsible for these activities. S/he would present the data and analysis from research to the department in the weekly meeting.

It is an inevitable fact that parties are prone to use mass media to relate their messages to the public. The relations of the political party with the media must ensure that news about the party are in line with their: political strategy, political communication strategy, and institutional identity. The media expert responsible for media relations should be from the profession, preferably a parliamentary reporter from the Ankara bureau of a TV channel or newspaper. Only such a person would have the qualification to know how the information sent to the media would be processed and presented. Also reorganization of the party press center as to attain a media language and in accordance with media members' practical needs should be the job of the media expert. The party general secretary may also review these efforts to avoid misunderstandings and mistakes in application.

An important part of political activity is basically organization. Meetings, rallies, closed door meetings and conferences, cocktails, press conferences etc. are essentially part of organization business. These organizations must be carried out in with minimum mistakes and in accordance with the overall party communication strategy. Therefore, a person has to be responsible for organizations. This person should also come from a PR agency where he had work experience in a similar position. Of course, his/her line of authority should be confined to organizing events solely for the party headquarters.

Political parties are large entities in a physical sense: they have branches in every city. So, it is important for the party to submit the same message in the same language to the entire country, or in other words, to establish an institutional identity. It is only natural that local branches develop a language fitting for the local socio-cultural conditions, but there should be no controversy with the language and rhetoric of the center. A city branch coordinator would perform an important function by providing liaison between the headquarters and local branches. This person would receive weekly activity reports from the localities and transmit the centers language and position about different issues back to them. He would contact the PR advisor of the city branch if there is any, or talk to the city head of the branch.

Political presentation activities in İstanbul are in many ways unique. The cosmopolitan nature of the city, its central position in terms of economy, trade, media and industry necessitates a different approach to organizations in this city. Two persons should be responsible for the organizations in İstanbul: the İstanbul official in the headquarters and the PR advisor of the İstanbul city branch. Also, all district branches may have PR advisors submitting weekly reports to the city branch advisor and transmit news from the headquarters regarding PR activities to the district branch head. The İstanbul official will be engaged in

shuttle missions between the headquarters in Ankara and İstanbul, providing liaison between these two and coordinating their activities.

With a standing PR department organized as outlined above, we think that a political party would have much more efficient and successful PR activities, unlike election period activities that are devoid of general direction and comprehensive planning. Thus, the yield of real election campaign would be far more.

VII- CONCLUSION

1- Summary

We initially stated that the difficulties involving PR studies of Turkish political parties derived from lack of professional approach and structures. In this study, we first examined the concepts of communication and PR, and outlined their birth and development in the world and in Turkey. In the second chapter, the conceptual and historical aspects of political communication were evaluated. After citing the developments in Turkey, we examined political communication strategies under a separate title. The strategies applied or suggested by agencies to political parties were outlined as related to us during our interviews with agency representatives or in their press statements. Among those interviewed were BIG which provided political communication services to CHP between July 1998 and Jan. 1999, whose contract was later terminated (CHP later contacted Alfa Ajans and finally worked with Cenajans⁸⁰). Another agency we surveyed was Löwe – Adam that worked for ANAP's campaign in 1999 elections.

In the third chapter, we examined political PR as a sub-discipline of political communication. The elements of political PR were depicted as

- a. Media management
- b. Image management
- c. Political marketing, and
- d. Information management.

The concept was evaluated in terms of its developments in the world and in Turkey. Also, the opinions of party officials interviewed during field research on the subject were related. These officials were chosen from the parties with a group in the parliament prior to 1999 elections. The aim was to analyze political presentation from the point of view of politicians. We conducted interviews with officials from CHP, ANAP, and FP. The DYP representative Ali Şevki Erek declined our offer due to his busy schedule; while in DSP, it had been not possible to receive an appropriate response or to find a person vested with such authority.

⁸⁰ Sevinç Şaban, "CHP Çiller'in Ajansıyla Anlaştı" *Hürriyet*, 2/3/1999, p. 33.

Thus, the political PR efforts were evaluated as a separate part of political communication strategies depicted in part two.

In part four, we outlined the history of political advertising efforts conducted by agencies in the 1977-1991 period.

In part five, the political PR concept was examined in detail, and the reasons for the necessity of PR in political presentation were outlined.

In part six, the thesis subject, "political PR" process was operationalized in an organization scheme for political parties. Here, findings from both inquiry and field research were used to define units within such a hypothetical department as well as their functions.

In the concluding section, the part titled "Election '99" contains the results, the campaign information of parties, the agencies involved, and their support to the success of their employers in April 18th 1999 elections.

2- Evaluation of Political Parties' PR Studies

In the third part, we had seen in our interviews with party officials that Turkish political parties usually handle PR at vice president level. Although this focus is promising, there is also a genuine lack of organization and system in PR and presentation activities. Political party representation is seen as every politicians' expertise. The political presentation units set up at party headquarters have no organic tie with the local branches. Especially in places like İstanbul where difference is needed, this disconnection is causing the İstanbul branch to engage in isolated presentation activities which are at times in sharp contrast with the centers' rhetoric or agenda.

Relations with the media are maintained through channels emanating from the leaders' informal, personal connections. No effort is at hand regarding institutional identity building or institutional presentation. So, the fate of the party's image is tied to that of the leader.

Also, as mentioned, image building efforts all revolve around the leader instead of the institution. This is probably because the Turkish political parties are predominantly leadership parties: since it is a topic of political science, we will not go deep into it.

In terms of political marketing, the attention of political parties are focused solely on election periods. A healthy PR process should however, be conceived of in the long term. Only a sustained effort can yield better result when the actual election campaign is launched. A political presentation process without the history of a 4to 5 years long groundwork of

sustained PR effort cannot reach its aims with a haphazard 3 or four month election period activity.

There is no professionally organized information management units in Turkish political parties. To present clear and understandable information to the media and thereby to the electorate in a coherent and unbiased manner is vital for reaching the target mass. Our inquiry suggest that in western democracies, the governments have the power the control and manipulate the flow of information process while the opposition has not (Mc Nair 1995).

In the conclusion of our study, we suggested that political parties should organize their political PR processes in a professional manner. To that end, we offered a standing PR department organization scheme consisting of

1. A PR Advisor (head of the department)
2. An R&D specialist
3. A media expert
4. An organizations' supervisor
5. A city branches presentation coordinator
6. An Official responsible for activities in İstanbul.

Here, the R&D specialist is responsible for creating new projects, the media expert for media relations and flow of information, organizations' supervisor for headquarter level events and activities, the city branches coordinator for the harmony of headquarter-local level efforts, and finally, the İstanbul official for liaison between the city and the center in Ankara in terms of PR planning and implementation.

3- Evaluation of Election '99

On the 18th of April, 1999, both general and local general elections were held simultaneously in Turkey. According to High Commission of Elections, the turn out was 86.86%. This number indicates that around 32 million of 37 million voters have joined the election. If the void votes are subtracted, we have about 31 million votes successfully cast. According to unofficial results, DSP has increased its electoral support from the previous 14% up to 22% and received the highest favor from the people, obtaining 136 seats in the parliament. MHP gained 18% of votes and 129 seats. Its support increased from 8.5% to 18%. FP, which was viewed as a replacement for the banned RP dropped from the 21% level of RP's 1995 election results down to 15% and obtained 111 seats. ANAP received

13% and 86 seats – a defeat for the two time government party who had received 19% in 1995 and became second over DYP with marginal difference. DYP on the other hand, dropped from 19% to 12 and obtained 82 seats. CHP, who had hardly passed the national threshold in 1995 with 10.71%, failed this time with 8.7% and remained out of the parliament. In the local elections, İstanbul and Ankara were won by FP while İzmir by DSP.

We will examine the election in two aspects

- Evaluation of election campaigns
- Analysis of election results.

3.1. Evaluation of Campaigns

DSP (DEMOCRATIC LEFT PARTY):

The winner of 1999 elections used the advantage of being the government and started publishing large size adds in newspapers only short time before election date. The main theme was to remind people of their success in the government and to ask for support in local government elections as well. They used an articulating language accentuating unity, peace and safety. Of course, they also built around the Ecevit legacy⁸¹.

The main themes of the campaign were thus:

- Honesty
- Success in government
- The image a party that creates solutions
- In a declaration to mothers, the promise to be the party of youth and the future.
- The image of a party that provides for peace and security in Turkey

The capture of Öcalan during the last three month minority government of DSP had been particularly useful regarding the legacy of the leader, Bülent Ecevit as a national hero, a legacy which started back in 1974 during the Cyprus Peace Operation.

⁸¹ See appendix for examples of DSP newspaper ads.

MHP (NATIONALIST MOVEMENT PARTY):

The main themes of the MHP campaign can be depicted as follows⁸²:

- The difference of MHP and the fact that it was not tested in government
- Combating corruption and deprivation
- The image of MHP as a custodian of the state and nation
- The vision of Turkey as a leading global power
- A new face excluding previous scenes of aggressive and violent nature.
- Exclusion of cynical and negative politics.
- Denunciation of parliament clearance to corruption allegations.
- A new alternative understanding introduced to Turkish politics rotating in the same devil's cycle.
- Being in the front lines of combating terrorism and reference to martyr funerals.
- Exclusion of politics based on seduction of religious faith, but also a Muslim attitude on issues like headscarf.
- The image of a party worthy and able of governing the country (omnipotence).
- A vision combining a new era with a new leader.
- Continuity.
- Security.
- References to draw the indecisive.
- The initiative for change formulated in the slogan "One thing will change, everything will change". Here, this one thing that is the change is MHP government instead of the others, and this will lead to change in "everything" that is bad.
- The image of sharing the success, a sense of partnership and mutual achievement with the voter formulated in the slogan "Be a part of change with your vote".

The clearly stated claim of government with the slogan "MHP is becoming government."

MHP is one of the winner of 18th April 1999 general elections. Turkey, lives an ethnic terrorism since 1984. Statistics say, thirty-thousand people were killed in this process. Undoubtely, Kurdish terrorist organization PKK (Kurdistan Labour Party) and its leader Abdullah Ocalan (Apo) are the responsible of these killings. And there is an absolute situation which is about the Turkish soldiers which are killed by PKK. They are called "şehitler" in the

⁸² See appendix for examples of MHP newspaper ads.

society. (It is a religious valuable) Turkey- EU (European Union) relations, are very "cold" since 12th September 1980 military coup. "Cyprus", "human rights", "high inflation" and other issues are still great problem between Turkey and EU. Naturally there is a strong negative reaction to western European countries in Turkish society. Also, center right parties in Turkey live a crisis. They have "corruption problems". They are called themselves liberal and conservative. But religious groups (tarikatar) are represented in their structures. Last years in Turkey there is a fashion about "nationalism" especially in youth. This fashion is called "pop milliyetçilik" means "popular nationalism".⁸³ High and cronic inflation affects Turkish people. MHP prepared three political projects in Election 99' process. "Leader Country Turkey", "Fighting with Corruption", "Fighting with Poorness " MHP established "parti okulu" means "political education center", party's administrative center become from academic persons. MHP changed its image. Its previous image were perceived paramilitary and aggressive, racist party. But in 1990's MHP's image were perceived, young, democrat, different, reformist, nationalist, center right party. In 1995-1999 term MHP has not any representative in TBMM (Turkey Grand National Assembly) MHP's charismatic leader Alparslan Türkeş who was called "başbuğ" died in 1997. Devlet Bahçeli won the extraordinary convention of MHP in July 1997. Türkeş's son was eliminated by the delegates. Bahçeli established a new administrative team in the party. Many of them were from universities. They used the slogan "birşey değışecek, herşey değışecek" means "a thing will change, everything will change", thing means MHP. The other slogan was "MHP İktidar Oluyor" means "MHP gets the power". That slogan's image was trusting itself.

FP (VIRTUE PARTY):

Although the FP was founded recently (Dec. 1997), it contains most of the members of the banned RP and in this respect, it is a continuation of it. Hence the comparisons between RP's votes in 1995 elections and FP's in 1999. RP had received 21% in 1995, winning local elections in İstanbul and Ankara a year before. In 1999, FP received 15.2% in general elections, but maintained İstanbul and Ankara municipalities it inherited from RP. FP created the image of the political party unjustly treated by the army during the process that had

⁸³ Faruk Bildirici, "Hürriyet", 26/04/1999, p.14

unfolded with the February 28th 1997 National Security Council meeting. Their main campaign themes were⁸⁴:

- Uncorrupted government
- Economy without inflation
- Fair income distribution
- The success of local governments under FP.
- Socially oriented policies
- Democracy

What strikes us most is the complete abandonment of RP's "Fair System" program. This is probably related with the effort to give the appearance of a new party rather than the continuation of the old RP.

FP could not get the votes like RP's 1995 results. But it can save its power in the municipalities, especially in metropolitan cities as İstanbul and Ankara. 28th February process (it means military invention with National Security Council), established an image for RP and its successor FP, these parties can't get the power. Because they fight with secular and democratic constitutional regime. And they are opponent to Turkish military. Turkish voters generally trust to the military more than politicians. Also there is an another reason about municipalities. Especially in the metropolitan areas, some districts are outside of the city which are called "varoşlar". The migration process from villages to the metropolitan cities created these districts.⁸⁵ The people who lives in "varoşlar" can't integrate to the modern cities' life styles. There are problems about cultural identity, economic and social differencies etc. These people are against the modern life. They want to realize themselves with different methods. RP's and FP's power is resourced generally from these districts. RP and FP were positioned themselves on previous radical-leftist fractions. FP can have saved its powers in municipalities in 1999 Elections but the same voters, in the same election don't prefer FP. It's an another discussing question about political sociology.

⁸⁴ See appendix for examples of FP's newspaper ads.

⁸⁵ KONGAR Emre, "21. Yüzyılda Türkiye", Remzi Yayınevi, Dördüncü Basım, İstanbul, 1998

ANAP (MOTHERLAND PARTY):

ANAP had received 19% of votes and became second in 1995 elections. In 1999, they received only 13% of votes and became the fourth party. The interesting feature of ANAP's campaign was the so called "Turkey Contract"⁸⁶. This contract was published prior to elections. The signature of the party leader Mesut Yılmaz stamped on the brochure, with an empty slot for the voters signature next to it. ANAP adopted the interesting tactic of turning its pre-election promises in to contractual obligation – albeit symbolically- with the voters. A second feature was the concept of "silent majority". It reminded people of the late founder of ANAP, Turgut Özal's "Middle class" rhetoric. But of course, the claim to work for the middle class after 8 years in government as a single party, and than in various coalition governments, wasn't particularly convincing. ANAP also placed the motto "the only solution" upon its logo in all newspaper ads. In statements referring to the silent majority, this motto was completed by the slogan "Your choice".

⁸⁶ See appendix.

DYP (TRUE PATH PARTY):

DYP has the worst election result among parties in the parliament. From 19% in 1995 they dropped down to 12% and became 5th in line. The campaign was built around the leader Tansu Çiller who was presented as "Braveheart". The main slogan was a variation of the famous 1950 slogan of DP⁸⁷. Another slogan was "We have the solution". In pamphlets published by the party, the "ten steps to the next millenium" were outlined in slogans⁸⁸. DYP also used promises like "subvention for the first house", "new technical schools", "Free job credits for new graduates", and "Adjustment in military service duration" to appeal to the young voters⁸⁹. The reasons for failure can be outlined as follows: The lack of any such initiatives during times of government, the low institutional credibility of DYP defined by personal credibility of Mrs. Çiller who pursued a pro-RP policy after Feb. 1999 though in 1995 she had presented herself as the vanguard of secularism in Turkey.

⁸⁷ Instead of "Yeter, söz milletindir", DYP used "Yeter hak milletindir".

⁸⁸ See appendix.

⁸⁹ Hürriyet, 13/04/1999

CHP (REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY):

CHP is without a doubt the defeated party of the 1999 elections. Deniz Baykal, who resigned from the post of party president shortly after election defeat confessed to having "political communication problems". CHP had received 10.7% back in 1995 and obtained 49 seats in the parliament. In 1999, the ratio of votes dropped down to 8.7% and the party failed to reach the 10% national threshold to enter the parliament. Actually, the CHP preparations for the coming elections started earlier than most other parties. As mentioned, the party had contacted BİG in June 1998, and the concept of "golden triangle" (Efficient economy, welfare state and democracy) was discussed at the party convention to lay the groundwork for election program. A rather liberal rhetoric envisaging an autonomous structure for the central bank to privatization of all state owned banks was developed and transformed into a social program called "Solution 2000" which included features like housing subvention for the youth, healthcare reform and justice reform as well. Alas, the role played by CHP in the fall of the 55th coalition government, the failure to communicate the reason behind this action, especially the Turkbank scandal, and foremost of all, the strained and aggressive image the leader, Deniz Baykal, led the party to defeat.

The first ads of CHP appeared in the papers as early as October 1998. Coinciding with the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the ads stressed the founding role of CHP in Republic's history⁹⁰. Other ads in the same period stressed the features introduced to the country by CHP like democracy and secularism. The picture of Atatürk with a CHP insignia on his jacket were used in combination with a smiling picture of Deniz Baykal. In March 1999, the first 'teaser' adds saying "*Boş verme, karar ver*" were published simultaneously with the press statement signed by Baykal with the title "*Karar ver*" to establish it as the main slogan⁹¹. In April, these were followed by three point commitment ads:

1. We will protect the secular republic.
2. We will establish the social state
3. We will protect the productive economy and fair income distribution.

⁹⁰ "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti CHP ile var." Milliyet, 16/10/1998.

⁹¹ Hürriyet, 18/03/1999.

3.2. Analysis of Election Results

The April 1999 elections changed the political balances of the country. The undisputed winners were DSP and MHP. The nationalism trend, terror and poverty in Southeast, the decadence of center right parties resulted in the victory of these two parties who depict themselves as “nationalist left” and “nationalist right”, respectively. FP failed to maintain the support RP had received in 1995 while DYP, ANAP and CHP have lost ground. From a political communication point of view, MHP conducted a good institutional identity effort and thus came to fore: the party established a “politics school” to educate its activists from dressing style to pronunciation. DSP used the honest statesman image of its leader well, and added the effect of the capturing of Öcalan during their minority government three months before election date. FP gave the image of a party in conflict with the military, and thus lost ground, but still they managed to hold on to the municipalities in major cities. ANAP lost support due to scandals surrounding its leadership, especially the Turkbank connection. With the strain of long periods in government, their promises were deemed not credible. DYP fell into conflict with the mainstream media. By supporting RP but than conflicting with FP, the party became mired by controversy and they lost their credibility. CHP, who suffered a historical defeat, lost the trust of masses due to the aggressive image of its leader. Of course, the lynch policy of the media imposed upon the party was also a factor.

In our view, the media manipulation in April 1999 elections was significant enough to be the subject of a separate study⁹². Also, the election results should be evaluated from a political science point of view by relevant scholars of the field.

One clear conclusion is that it is a risky thing to leave the political communication and presentation efforts unplanned, to the winds of fortune and prey for success. One may end up winning like DSP, but also loosing like CHP. A successful election outcome is closely related to a long term, professional political communication and PR effort. But these are not enough on their own. The party must have minimum structural problems and pursue a coherent overall political strategy. Of course, it is unlikely for a political party that has no coherent policy, no firm party structure and is disconnected from its natural supporters to establish a sound and long term communication strategy. Just like classical marketing techniques cannot sell an essentially bad product, an ill-organized party with no political strategy cannot attain electoral success with mere political advertising.

⁹² See *Hürriyet*, 16/04/1999, headline: “*Ak güvercin Geliyor*”, or *Sabah*, 17/04/1999, headline: “*Güvercinin Kanat Sesleri*”.

What are the criteria that determines success or failure for as political party in an age where media has an oligopolistic nature that superimposes images of right or wrong upon all products and institutions including and foremost, political parties. Being labeled as “wrong” or “right” in public view by the media depends on interest relations that are subjective. Are the political leaders, the political communication advisors, or the agencies responsible for an election defeat? This is the subject of another discussion.

In the political process, correct strategies are paramount. There must be harmony and coordination between politicians and political communication advisors. In our opinion, any party that wishes electoral success in the next elections, has to start its political communication efforts **now**.

M. Deniz Tansi

April 28, 1999,

İstanbul

VIII- APPENDIX:

DEMOKRATİK SOL PARTİ:

“Hükümetlerde başarılı olduk, yerel yönetimlerde de başarılı olacağız. Çözüm üreten parti Demokratik Sol Parti- Dürüstlüğün simgesi Bülent Ecevit DSP Evet ”⁹³
“Anneler oylarınızı çocuklarımız için kullanın. Demokratik Sol Parti geleceğin ve gençliğin güvencesidir. Bülent Ecevit DSP Evet”⁹⁴ “ Hakça düzen için Demokratik Solda köylü, işçi, girişimci elele. Demokratik Sol Parti: Huzur ve güven veren parti DSP Evet”⁹⁵ “Dünyada Türkiye zamanı, Türkiye’de Demokratik Sol Parti zamanı, İstanbul’da Zekeriya Temizel zamanı... İstanbul için, yurdumuz için... Ciddi, dürüst ve iş yapan bir yönetim için... İnsanca yaşanan, güler yüzlü bir kent için... Şimdi herşey elinizde! Türkiye 18 Nisan’da bu fırsatı kaçıрма! Zekeriya Temizel İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkan Adayı DSP EVET ”⁹⁶

⁹³ Hürriyet gazetesi, 07/04/1999, s.2

⁹⁴ Ibid, 08/04/1999, s.37

⁹⁵ Sabah gazetesi, 09/04/1999, s.17

⁹⁶ Ibid, 09/04/1999, s.14

MİLLİYETÇİ HAREKET PARTİSİ:

“19 Nisanda bir şey değişecek.. Herşey değişecek. *Karamsarsın!* 19 Nisan’da yine aynı siyasetçiler, aynı meclise gelir ve kalktıkları yerlere otururlar diye düşünüyorsun. Yani “bu tablo değişmez” diyorsun. Öyle mi? Öyleyse yine sen-ben davası mı? Kim çok çaldı kavgası mı? Bu kez de mi karalamalar? Bu defa da mı aklamalar? Yine mi yolsuzluk, yine mi yoksulluk? Millet yine mi çöpten ekmeğe toplayacak? Birileri yine mi devleti soyacak? Peki; bu sefer de mi biz-onlar ayrımcılığı, bu sefer de mi hak-batıl bölücülüğü? Yine mi 28 Şubat’lar olacak? Yine mi demokrasi yaralanacak? Üniversite önlerinde yine mi insanlık dramı? Yine mi gözyaşı, yine mi inanç istismarı?

Herşey aynı kalır diyorsun öyle mi? Aynı meclis, aynı partiler, aynı liderler... Yani bir daha mı ilerici-geri zıtlaşması- bir daha mı laik,antilaik kutuplaşması? Bu kez de mi meclis iradesi tatile çıkacak? Yine mi din bezirganlığı, yine mi kardeşliğimiz bozulacak? Değişecek bir şey yok öyle mi? Yine kargaşa, yine cinnet, yine umutsuzluk... Aynı kavgacı meclis, aynı siyaset... “Bu tablo değişmez” diyorsun öyle mi?

Öyle değil!

19 Nisan’da sadece bir şey değişecek. Başka alternatifi yok. Ve o bir şey, herşeyi değiştirecek. Başka yolu yok.

19 Nisan’da Türkiye’nin bahtı açılıyor.

Çünkü; milleti ferahlatacak, Türkiye’yi rahatlatacak olan geliyor. Yolsuzluğu, yoksulluğu yok edecek olan geliyor. Devleti-Milletle, Demokrasiyi-Cumhuriyetle kucaklaştıracak olan geliyor. Tarihle-geleceği buluşturacak olan geliyor.

Bu tablo değişiyor!..

İnançlı, ilkeli, bilgili siyasetçiler geliyor.

Çağı değiştirecek lider, çağı değiştirecek parti geliyor.

Herşeyi değiştirecek bir şey geliyor.

Milletin kader arkadaşı MHP geliyor.

18 Nisan’da “Lider Ülke Türkiye” coşkusuna katıl.

Oy’unla değişime ortak ol!

MHP İktidar oluyor”⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Hürriyet gazetesi, 07/03/1999, s.40.

“19 Nisan’da Millet Meclise giriyor!

Derdimize çare olsun diye meclise gönderdiğimiz siyasetçilere hele bir bakın! *“Şu millet olmasa memleketi ne rahat idare ederdik” diyorlar.*

Millet iş istemese, aş istemese devleti ne güzel yönetirdik diyorlar. Fakat bu ülkede çocuğunu hastane köşelerinde rehin bırakmak zorunda kalan, adliye koridorlarında unutilan, devlet kapılarında *unutulan bir millet var.*

Onlar, milletin imkanlarını har vurup harman savururken, geçim sıkıntısından cinnet geçiren, yokluktan ve yoksulluktan ezilen bir millet var.

Onlar, mecliste çözüm değil kavga üretirken; ülkenin her yerinde tabutlara kapanan gözü yaşlı analar, gözü yaşlı babalar, gözü yaşlı gelinler var.

Bu ülkede sıkıntı var, dert var, ızdırap var, peki *çare yok mu?*

Olmaz Olur mu?

Çok şükür *Büyük Türk Milleti* var.

Onun kader arkadaşı *MHP* var!

ELBETTE ÇARE VAR!

Önce *SEVMEK* gerek!

MHP bu milletin kara sevdalısıdır, can yoldaşısıdır.

Sevmek yetmez *BİLMEK* gerek!

MHP bu milletin hafızasıdır. Derdini bilir, çaresini bulur.

Bilmek yetmez *YAPABİLMEK* gerek!

MHP gerekli tüm kararları cesaretle alır ve kudretle uygular.

Millet ister MHP Yapar.

18 Nisan’da “Lider Ülke Türkiye”

coşkusuna katıl,

Oy’unla değişime ortak ol!

MHP İktidar Oluyor”⁹⁸

“ Meclis iradesine kavuşuyor!

Büyük Türk millet;

Biz kararlıyız!

Yarın uyandığında ne olacağını bilemeden bir Türkiye manzarasıyla karşılaşmayı haketmedin.

İstikrar için kararlıyız.

Kendi ülkende can korkusuyla yaşamayı, gönül huzuruyla alış-verişe çıkamayacak, evladını sokağa gönderemeyecek hale gelmeyi haketmedin.

Can ve mal emniyetin için kararlıyız.

Çamura bulanmış bir parça ekmek için, yiyecek yardımı kuyruklarında ve soğuk altında çile çekmeyi haketmedin.

Yoksulluğu ve yolsuzluğu yok etmek için kararlıyız.

Bütün bunlar olup biterken, temsilci diye meclise gönderdiklerin seni çaresiz bıraktı, hukukunu çiğnetti, feryadını duymamazlıktan geldi. Bunu hiç haketmedin!

Millet iradesini temsil için kararlıyız.

19 Nisan'da Türkiye "kararsız" kalmayacak.

Çünkü yeni çağa Türk mührünü vuracak *Beklenen Lider*

Dr. Devlet BAHÇELİ geliyor.

Yetişmiş kadrolarıyla, "Lider Ülke Türkiye" projesiyle MHP geliyor.

Milleti ciddiye alan ciddi siyasetçiler geliyor.

19 Nisan'da "Lider Ülke Türkiye" coşkusuna katıl.

Oy'unla değişime ortak ol.

MHP İktidar Oluyor"

"Şimdi değilse ne zaman?

Aziz milletim!

Bu ülkede, her beş vatandaştan biri açlık sınırında yaşama mücadelesi veriyor.

Daha ne kadar sabredeceksin?

Türkiye'yi yolsuzluk batağına saptıran adaletsiz, kavgacı, hoşgörüsüz bu kirli siyaset oyununu

Daha ne kadar seyredeceksin?

İstikbalini çalan, enerjini tüketen, ilkesiz, ufuksuz bu siyasetçileri

Daha ne kadar seyredeceksin?

⁹⁸ Ibid, 13/03/1999, s.47.

Yeni bir çağ senin liderliğini bekliyor.

Fırsat bir adım ötede.

Daha ne kadar bekleyeceksin?

MHP Değilse Hangisi?

Aziz milletim!

MHP, senin denenmiş gerçek gücüdür.

MHP, Yoksullukla ve Yolsuzlukla Mücadele gücüdür.

MHP, Milli Birlik ve Beraberlik gücüdür.

MHP, “Lider Ülke Türkiye” projesiyle dönüşüm gücüdür.

Gücünü kullan!

MHP, Dr. Devlet BAHÇELİ liderliğinde senin vereceğin, Türkiye’yi 21.yüzyıla taşıma sorumluluğuna talip.

Yapabilecekken Yap!

18 Nisan’da “Lider Ülke Türkiye” coşkusuna katıl,

Oy’unla değişime ortak ol!

MHP İktidar Oluyor!”⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Ibid, 15/04/1999, s.41.

FAZİLET PARTİSİ:

“Mutfaktaki yangını kim söndürecek?”

Ancak Fazilet

Bu yangın ancak temiz yönetimle, vurgunun, soygunun önlenmesiyle, rantiyeciyi değil, halkı gözetmekle söner.

Fazilet, hayat pahalılığı yüzünden canından bezenlerin en büyük desteğini alan partidir. Çünkü Fazilet derlere deva olacak tek partidir, milletin kendisidir. Fazilet; enflasyonsuz ekonominin, adil gelir dağılımının garantisidir.

Fazilet iktidarında, halktan toplanan vergiler küçük bir azınlık için değil, halka hizmet için kullanılacak. Devlet, çalışandan, üretenden emeğinin karşılığını esirgemeyecek.

Faziletli belediyelerle Türkiye halkın derdine nasıl deva olunacağını gördü!

Ülkenin hemen her yerinde Faziletli belediyeler bayramlarda ücretsiz ulaşım imkanı sundu. Onbinlerce yoksula, her gün üç öğün yemek verdi. Yaşlımın, özürünün yanında oldu. Şimdi daha fazla hizmet için bu kadroları tek başına iktidar yapın!

FAZİLET

Özlediğin Türkiye İçin”¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Hürriyet Gazetesi, 13/04/1999, s.37

ANAVATAN PARTİSİ:

Madde 1: İş

Hedef: Beş yılda 3.5 milyon işsize yeni iş imkanı ve tüm çalışanlara işsizlik sigortası.

Madde 2: Hayat Pahalılığı

Hedef: İki yılda enflasyon %5'e inecek.

Madde 3: Eğitim

Hedef: Her Türk çocuğuna çağdaş eğitim.

Madde 4: Sağlık

Hedef: Herkese kişisel sağlık sigortası.

Madde 5: Konut

Hedef: Her aileye bir konut.

Madde 6: Tarım

Hedef: Tüm tarım ürünlerinde ürün sigortası ve prim sistemi.

Madde 7: Yerel yönetimler

Hedef: Yerel yönetim reformu ile tüm sorunlara yeniden çözüm.

Madde 8: Devletin yeniden yapılanması

Hedef: Şeffaf, adil ve özgürlüklere saygılı devlet yönetimi.

DOĐRU YOL PARTİSİ:

Tam demokrasi- tam özgürlük.

1- Vergi mevzuatı deęiřecek.

2- Büyüme artacak, enflasyon düşecek.

3- Haklı rekabet, KOBİ'lere tam destek.

4- Dar gelirli halka sağlık hizmeti.

5- Hemen adalet!

6- Gençler! Gençler! Gençler!

7- Kolay bir hayat.

8- Güçlü Türkiye! Güçlü savunma!

9- Dünya devleti bir Türkiye.

CUMHURİYET HALK PARTİSİ:

“Türkiye Cumhuriyeti CHP ile var.”¹⁰¹ “Türkiye’de demokrasi CHP ile var.”¹⁰² “Laiklik CHP ile var.”¹⁰³: “CHP Türkiye demektir. Çağdaş ve aydınlık Türkiye demektir.”¹⁰⁴ “karar ver”¹⁰⁵ “karar ver”¹⁰⁶ “bir dakika düşün” “boş vaat değil, çözüm istiyorsan” “boş verme karar ver” “aydınlık bir Türkiye için çözüm sosyal demokrasi” “CHP değişimin gücü”¹⁰⁷ “1- Laik Cumhuriyeti ödünsüz koruyacağız. 2- Sosyal Devleti gerçekleştireceğiz. 3- Üretken ve hakça paylaşılan ekonomiyi koruyacağız.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Milliyet Gazetesi, 16/10/1998, s.4

¹⁰² Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 20/10/1998, s.5

¹⁰³ Hürriyet Gazetesi, 24/10/1998, s.43

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 25/10/1998, s.42.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 18/03/1999, s.23-24

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 18/03/1999, s.26

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 22/03/1999, s.41

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 11/04/1999, s.41-42-43

IX- REFERENCES:

AKÇALI Nazif, **Çağdaş Siyasi Rejimler**, Ege Üniversitesi Basın Yayın Yüksek Okulu Yayınları, İzmir,1991.

ARONSON Elliot, WILSON Timothy D., AKERT Robin M., **Social Psychology**, Longman, Second Edition, Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers Inc., New York, 1997.

ALEMDAR Korkmaz- ERDOĞAN İrfan, **Popüler Kültür ve İletişim**, Ümit Yayıncılık, Ankara ,1994.

ASNA M.Alaeddin, **Halkla İlişkiler-Public Relations-P.R.**, Sabah Kitapları, İstanbul, 1997.

AYKOL Hüseyin, **Modern Ajitasyon ve Propaganda**, Pelikan Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1996.

BASKIN Otis, ARONOFF Craig, LATTIMORE Dan, **Public Relations The Profession and the Practice**, Brown&Benchmark Publishers, Dubuque, 1997.

BONGRAD Michel, **Politikada Pazarlama**, Çev.Fatoş Gürsoy, Cep Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992.

BRODY E.W., **The Business of Public Relations**, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1987.

BROWN J.A.C., **Siyasal Propaganda**, Alternatif Üniversite, Ağaç Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1992.

CHARON Jean Marie, **Medya Dünyası**, Çev.Oya Tatlıpınar, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992

CHOMSKY Noam, **Medya Gerçeği**, Çev.Abdullah Yılmaz, Tüm Zamanlar Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1993

COTTERET Jean Marie-Emeri Claude, **Seçim Sistemleri**, Çev.Ahmet Kotil, Cep Üniversitesi, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992.

ÇAM Esat, **Siyaset Bilimine Giriş**, İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1981.

DAVER Bülent, **Siyaset Bilimine Giriş**, Kalite Matbaası, Ankara, 1987.

DUVERGER Maurice, **Politikaya Giriş**, Çev.Samih Tiryakioğlu, Varlık Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992.

DUVERGER Maurice, **Siyaset Sosyolojisi**, Çev.Şirin Tekeli, Varlık Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992.

FOSS Sonja K., **Rhetorical Criticism Exploration&Practice**, Waveland Press Inc., Illinois, 1989.

GÖLE Nilüfer, **Modern Mahrem**, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993.

GÜRBÜZ Yaşar, **Siyasal Sistemler**, May Yayınları, İstanbul, 1980.

HANÇERLİOĞLU Orhan, **Toplumbilim Sözlüğü**, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1986.

İNCEOĞLU Metin, **Güdüleme Yöntemleri**, A.Ü. B.Y.Y.O. Basımevi, Ankara, 1985.

KADIBEŞEGİL Salim, **Halkla İlişkilerde Temel İlkeler**, Tükelmat Basımevi, İzmir, 1996.

KAPANİ Münci, **Politika Bilimine Giriş**, Bilgi Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1995.

KAPLAN Yusuf, **Enformasyon Devrimi Efsanesi**, Rey Yayınları, İstanbul, 1991.

KAZANCI Metin, **Halkla İlişkiler**, Savaş Yayınları, İkinci Baskı, Ankara, 1982.

KEANE John, **Medya ve Demokrasi**, Çev.Haluk Şahin, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993.

KIŞLALI Ahmet Taner, **Siyasal Çatışma ve Uzlaşma**, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 1995.

KIŞLALI Ahmet Taner, **Siyaset Bilimi**, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 1992.

KONGAR Emre, **Toplumsal Değişme Kuramları ve Türkiye Gerçeği**, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1985.

KONGAR Emre, **21.Yüzyılda Türkiye**, Remzi Kitabevi 4.Basım, İstanbul, 1998.

LITTLEJOHN Stephen W., **Theories of Human Communication**, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Third Edition, Belmont/California, 1989.

MC NAIR Brian, **An Introduction to Political Communication**, Routledge, London, 1995.

MC QUAIL Dennis&WINDAHL Sven, **Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communication**, Longman, Forth Impression, New York, 1996.

MC QUAIL Dennis, **Mass Communication Theory An Introduction**, Sage Publications, Fifth Printing, Beverly Hills.

MC COMBS Maxwell, EINSIEDEL Edna, WEAVER David, **Contemporary Public Opinion Issues and the News**, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, New Jersey, 1991.

NEGRINE Ralph, **The Communication of Politics**, Sage, London, 1996.

NOELLE Elisabeth, Neumann, **Kamuoyu Suskunluk Sarmalının Keşfi**, Çev.Murat Özkök, Dost Kitabevi, Ankara, 1998.

SAĞNAK Mehmet, **Medya-Politik (1983-1993 Yılları Arasında Medya-Politikacı İlişkileri)**, Eti Kitapları, İstanbul, 1996.

SCHRAMM Wilbur, ROBERTS Donald F., **The Process and Effects of Mass Communication**, University of Illinois Press, Second Edition, Illinois, 1972.

SEITEL Fraser P., **The Practice of Public Relations**, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1995.

SEKARAN Uma, **Research Methods for Business, A Skill Building Approach**, Wiley, Second Edition, New York, 1992.

VAROL Muharrem, **Siyaset ve Halkda İlişkiler**, İmaj Yayıncılık, Ankara, 1994.

WILCOX Dennis L, AULT Philip H., AGEE Warren K., **Public Relations Strategies and Tactics**, Harper Collins Publishers Inc. Third Edition, New York, 1992.

TOPUZ Hıfzı, **Seçimlerde İletişim Politikaları**, TÜSES Yayınları, 1991, İstanbul.

TOPUZ Hıfzı, **Siyasal Reklamcılık**, Cem Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1994.

TORTOP Nuri, **Halkla İlişkiler**, Yargı Yayınevi, Ankara, 1993.

YUMLU Konca, **Kitle İletişim Araştırmaları**, Neşa Yayıncılık, İzmir, 1990.

X- TURKISH SUMMARY

ÖZET

KONU TANIMLAMASI:

Bu çalışmada amaç, Türkiye’de ve dünyadaki siyasal partilerin tanıtım çalışmalarından yola çıkılıp; Türkiye’deki siyasal partilere sürekli çalışan profesyonel “**halkla ilişkiler birimleri**” önermektir. Türkiye’deki siyasal parti tanıtım çalışmaları “**seçimden seçime**”, konunun uzmanı olmayan siyasal parti yöneticilerinin insiyatifiyle gerçekleştirilmektedir. Seçime az bir zaman kala el sıkışılan *tanıtım ajansları*; yapısını ve ideolojisini bilmedikleri bir siyasal partiyle çalışmak zorunda kalmakta ve paralar boşa harcanmaktadır. Seçim döneminde siyasal partilerin seçmenle buluşmaları inandırıcı olmamakta, siyasiler seçmenler tarafından “**yine seçimler yaklaşıyor, siyasetçiler kapımızı aşındırıyorlar, seçimden sonra yüzümüze bakmazlar**” yargısıyla değerlendirilmektedirler. Yine seçim döneminde yazılı ve görsel basına verilen reklamlar, gerekli etkiyi yaratamamaktadırlar.

Düzenli bir “halkla ilişkiler” çalışmasıyla, seçmene (hedef kitleye) seçim dönemleri dışında da ulaşılmış olsa, yapılan seçim çalışmaları, reklam çalışmaları ve tanıtım ajanslarıyla birlikte geniş bir “halkla ilişkiler süreci”, çalışmalarda verimliliği de beraberinde getirecektir. Kapatılan RP bunun örneğini 1995 seçimlerinde, önceden yaptığı amatör “halkla ilişkiler” çalışmalarının meyvalarını alarak vermiştir. Ancak profesyonelce yapılacak, halkla ilişkilerin değişik dallarında uzmanlaşmış, kadrolu danışmanlarla genel ya da genel yerel seçimlere 4 ya da 5 yıllık bir süreçte, orta vadeli bir çalışmayla hazırlanabilir.

TEORİK ÇERÇEVE:

Türkiye’deki siyasal partilere “profesyonel halkla ilişkiler birimleri” önerebilmek için, öncelikle ülkemizdeki ve çağdaş demokrasilerdeki “siyasal halkla ilişkiler” çalışmalarını ve bu çalışmaların kuramsal temellerini araştırmak gerekiyordu.

Öncelikle “siyasal iletişim” konusunda önemli çalışmaları bulunan Brian Mc Nair ve Ralph Negrine’in kaynakları bu çalışmanın ilk adımları oldu. (Mc Nair Brian, **An Introduction to**

Political Communication, 1995, London, Routledge) (Negrine Ralph, **The Communication of Politics**, 1996, London, Sage)

Mc Nair'ın **An Introduction to Political Communication** adlı eserinde özellikle Part II Chapter 6 Page 83-110'daki "Party Political Communication I: Advertising" ve Part II Chapter 7 Page 110-137'deki "Party Political Communication II: Political Public Relations" bölümlerinden faydalanılmıştır. Negrine'in **The Communication of Politics** adlı eserinden ise Part 1 Page 1-23'deki "The Communication of Political Information and the Creation of an Informed Citizenry" bölümü irdelenmiştir.

Türkiye'deki 24 Aralık 1995 seçimleri öncesi siyasal partilerin yazılı basın ilanları Meclis Kütüphanesi'nden sağlanmıştır. Yine TBMM Araştırma Servisi'nden Fatih Ünlü'nün "Siyasi Propaganda- Nisan 1987" adlı çalışması incelenmiştir. Nur Ündey'in Ege Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Genel Gazetecilik Ana Bilim Dalı'nda 1998 yılında verdiği "**Siyasi İktidarların Kazanılması ve Kaybedilmesinde Propagandanın Rolü**" adlı doktora tezi incelenmiş 2.Bölüm B Kısmı 85-89.sayfalardaki "Türk Siyasetinde Kalite, Popüler Kültür ve Kitle İletişimi" alt başlığı ayrıca değerlendirilmiştir. Tez çalışmasının sonunda yararlanılan kaynaklar, liste halinde verilmiştir.

YÖNTEM:

Çalışmada iki temel yöntem kullanılmıştır.

A- Bilimsel yayınlardan (kitap, makale vs) elde edilen **kuramsal bilgilerden faydalanmak.**

B- Siyasal parti yöneticileri, siyasal tanıtım kuruluşları ve ilgili kişilerle mülakat yapmak. (**Alan araştırması**)

C- 1999 genel ve yerel seçimlerini izlemek. (Siyasal organizasyonların içinden ve kitle iletişim araçlarından)

ÖNERİLEN HALKLA İLİŞKİLER BİRİMİ:

Kuramsal bilgilerin çizdiği çerçeve ve alan araştırmaları sonucunda, Türkiye'deki siyasal partilere sürekli çalışan "profesyonel halkla ilişkiler birimleri" kurmaları önerilmiştir.

Profesyonel Halkla İlişkiler Birimi , parti genel başkanına bağlı "halkla ilişkiler danışmanı"nın başkanlığında

- 1- Halkla İlişkiler Danışmanı (Birim Başkanı)
- 2- Araştırma-Geliştirme Uzmanı
- 3- Medya Uzmanı
- 4- Organizasyonlar Sorumlusu
- 5- İl Örgütleri Tanıtım Koordinatörü
- 6- İstanbul Sorumlusu'ndan oluşması tasarlanmıştır.

HALKLA İLİŞKİLER BİRİMİNDE YER ALAN ÜYELERİN GÖREV TANIMLARI:

- 1- **Halkla İlişkiler Danışmanı:** Halkla İlişkiler Biriminin başkanı olarak doğrudan genel başkana bağlı çalışacak, birimi haftada bir kez toplayacaktır. Toplantı sonucu yapılan çalışmalar, önerilen etkinlikleri ve kendi düşüncelerini de içeren bir raporu genel başkana sunacaktır.
- 2- **Araştırma-Geliştirme Uzmanı:** Siyasal partinin tanıtım etkinlikleriyle ilgili projeler üretecek, haftalık toplantıda ayrıntılı bir raporla bu projeleri sunacaktır.
- 3- **Medya Uzmanı:** Siyasal partinin genel anlamda kitle iletişim araçlarıyla bağlantılarını düzenleyecek, partideki "basın merkezi"nin başında bulunacaktır. Parti genel sekreterinin denetiminde, genel başkanın kişisel ilişkileri dışında, yapılan çalışmaların basında yer alması için gayret gösterecektir. Gazeteci kökenli bir uzman daha işlevsel olacaktır. (Parlamento ya da Ankara muhabirliği gibi) Medya uzmanı da haftalık toplantıda yapılan çalışmalarını bir raporla kurula aktaracaktır.
- 4- **Organizasyonlar Sorumlusu:** Siyasal parti genel merkezinin düzenlediği miting, yürüyüş, panel, konferans, seminer, tartışma; sanatsal ve sportif etkinlikler, imza kampanyaları, kokteyller ve geceler vs. gibi düzenli bir bütünlük içerisinde yapılması gereken etkinliklerin

uygulanmasından sorumlu olacaktır. Parti genel sekreterinin denetiminde çalışacaktır. Haftalık toplantıda, yapılan çalışmaların raporunu yazılı olarak sunacaktır.

5- İl Örgütleri Tanıtım Koordinatörü: Siyasal partilerin ülke genelinde örgütlenmiş olmaları, doğal olarak pek çok avantaj sağlar. Ancak süreç içinde en çok yaşanan sıkıntı, tanıtım çalışmalarında kopukluk yaşanması; zamanlama açısından ve ortak bir dil kullanılmamasından doğan sorunlardır. İl örgütlerindeki tanıtım etkinliklerinin tesbit edilmesi, genel bir eşgüdümün sağlanması, genel merkezin mesajlarının partililere ve seçmenlere ulaşması ciddi bir ihtiyaç haline gelmiştir. İşte söz konusu koordinatör, genel sekreterin denetiminde il örgütlerinden yapılan çalışmaların haftalık raporlarını isteyecek, genel merkezin tanıtımla ilgili çalışmalarının ivedilikle il örgütlerine ulaşmasını sağlayacaktır. İl örgütleri de, gerekli görürlerse, kendi bütçelerinden birer "halkla ilişkiler danışmanı" tutabileceklerdir. Eğer il örgütünün "halkla ilişkiler danışmanı" varsa, koordinatör doğrudan kendisiyle muhatap olacaktır. Ancak ildeki danışman, il başkanına bağlı olarak çalışacaktır.

6- İstanbul Sorumlusu: İstanbul artan nüfusu, kozmopolit yapısı, sanayinin ve kitle iletişim araçlarının merkezi olması dolayısıyla; özellikle siyasal partilerin tanıtım çalışmalarında, diğer illerin dışında adeta ayrı bir merkez haline gelmiştir. İstanbul'daki siyasal parti tanıtım çalışmalarının ayrı bir ekip çalışmasıyla gerçekleştirilmesi zorunludur. Bu yüzden "halkla ilişkiler birimi"nde, İstanbul'daki tanıtım çalışmalarından sorumlu bir uzman olacak, İstanbul ve genel merkez arasındaki tanıtım açısından bilgi alış-verişini sağlayacaktır. Bir anlamda İstanbul ve Ankara arasında mekik dokuyacaktır. İstanbul'da ayrıca il başkanına bağlı ayrı bir "halkla ilişkiler danışmanı" istihdam edilecek, İstanbul sorumlusu da genel sekreterin denetiminde, il başkanıyla koordine bir şekilde çalışacaktır. Ayrıca İstanbul özelinde eğer ilçeler gerekli görürlerse, kendi bütçelerinden, ilçe başkanına bağlı "halkla ilişkiler danışmanı" tutabilecekler, bu danışman İstanbuldaki "halkla ilişkiler danışmanı"na haftalık bilgi aktaracaklardır. İstanbul sorumlusu da haftalık birim toplantısında, İstanbuldaki tanıtım çalışmalarını ayrıntılı bir raporla yazılı olarak sunacaktır.

Bu anlamda organize olmuş bir "halkla ilişkiler birimi"yle, siyasal partilerin tanıtım çalışmalarında bir bütünlük ve disiplinin oluşacağına, seçime az bir zaman kala alel acele yapılan, sonuca ulaşmayan verimsiz tanıtım çalışmalarının yerine, seçim dışı dönemlerde de yapılan tanıtım etkinlikleriyle etkin bir tanıtım sürecinin gerçekleştirilebileceğini düşünüyoruz. Çalışma, Türkiye'deki siyasal partilere önerilecektir.