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**ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PROMOTION MIX ELEMENTS IN ELECTORAL
CAMPAIGNS USED BY PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES: THE CASE OF
ADANA**

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ÖZET

SEÇİM KAMPANYALARINDA MİLLETVEKİLİ ADAYLARININ KULLANDIĞI POLİTİK TUTUNDURMA KARMASI ELEMANLARININ İNCELENMESİ: ADANA İLİNDE BİR UYGULAMA

Günümüzde partiler/adaylar seçim kampanyaları süresince seçmenlere ulaşmak için politik tutundurma faaliyetlerini yoğun olarak kullanmaktadırlar. Bu sayede seçmenle ilişkilerini geliştirerek onları etkilemektedirler. Hem adayların politik tutundurma faaliyetlerinden yararlanma düzeylerinin hem de seçmenlerin bu faaliyetlerden etkilenme düzeylerinin ölçülmesi, bir sonraki seçim dönemi kampanya faaliyetlerinin düzenlenmesi açısından önemlidir. Bu önem dolayısıyla araştırmanın temel amacı, 7 Haziran 2015 Genel Seçimleri'nde Adana milletvekili adaylarının seçim kampanyası faaliyetlerini politik tutundurma karması elemanları çerçevesinde değerlendirmek ve bu faaliyetlerin seçmene yansımalarını ortaya koymaktır.

Bu amaca yönelik olarak gerçekleştirilen saha araştırması kapsamında, öncelikle milletvekili adaylarının gerçekleştirdiği kampanya süreci faaliyetlerini ortaya koymak için, yargısal olarak seçilen adayların kampanyaları incelenmiştir. Sonuç olarak, bir partinin ilk sıra ve kritik sıra adayının seçim bürosu faaliyetleri ve söylemleri birbirinden farklı değildir. Ancak partilerin seçim bürosu faaliyetleri ve adaylarının söylemleri birbirlerinden farklı temeldedir. Ayrıca katılımcı profilleri açısından, adaylar ya da parti temelinde değil toplantı mahiyeti temelinde farklılık oluşmuştur.

Kampanya sürecinde adayların kullandıkları politik tutundurma karması elemanlarını belirlemek için, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde grubu bulunan siyasi partilerin Adana milletvekili adayları üzerinde tam sayım gerçekleştirilmiş ve adaylarla yüz yüze anket uygulanmıştır. Diğer taraftan seçmenlerin politik tutundurma karması elemanlarına yönelik faaliyetlerden etkilenme düzeyini belirleyerek, bu düzeyin seçmenlerin demografik özellikleri, siyasal katılım düzeyleri ve bağlılık düzeyleri temelinde farklılık gösterip göstermediğini ortaya koymak için kota örnekleme ile yüz yüze anket uygulanmıştır.

Araştırma sonuçlarına göre, seçmenlerin politik tutundurma karmasına yönelik faaliyetlerin tamamından farklı düzeylerde etkilendikleri sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Diğer

taftan adaylar ise politik tutundurma karmasına yönelik faaliyetlerin tamamından farklı düzeylerde yararlandıklarını bildirmişlerdir. Seçmenlerin demografik özellikleri (yaş, medeni durum ve eğitim durumu) ile adayların kullandığı politik tutundurma karması elemanlarından etkilenme düzeyleri arasında anlamlı farklılık görülmüştür. Ayrıca seçmenlerin siyasal katılım düzeyleri ve partilere yönelik siyasal bağlılık düzeyleri ile politik tutundurma karması elemanlarından etkilenme düzeyleri arasında da anlamlı farklılık vardır. Ancak seçmenlerin cinsiyetleri ile politik tutundurma karması elemanlarından etkilenme düzeyleri arasında anlamlı farklılık görülmemiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Politik Pazarlama, Politik Tutundurma Karması, Seçim Kampanyaları, Milletvekili Adayları

ABSTRACT

ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PROMOTION MIX ELEMENTS IN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS USED BY PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES: THE CASE OF ADANA

Today, parties/candidates intensively use political promotion activities to reach the voters during the election campaign. Thus, they develop their relationship with the voters and influence them. Measurement of the utilization level of political promotion activities by candidates and the voters' level of being influenced from these activities are important for arrangement of campaign activities in the next election period. Due to such importance, main purpose of the study is to evaluate election campaign activities of Adana parliamentary candidates in the General Elections of June 7, 2015, under the political promotion mix elements, and present the reflections of these activities on the voters.

As part of the field research conducted for sub-purpose, campaigns of candidates who were selected judgmentally, were reviewed in order to present the campaign activities carried out by the parliamentary candidates. Consequently, election office activities and claims of first-place and critical-place candidates are not different from each other. However, election office activities and claims of their candidates were different from each other. Also, the difference was not related to the candidates or parties, but the nature of meetings.

A census was employed in order to determine the political promotion mix elements during the campaign on all candidates from Adana of the political parties which are represented as a group in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT). Face-to-face questionnaires were applied with people who were selected using the quota sampling, in order to determine the levels of being influenced by political promotion, and present whether such levels differ in terms of demographic characteristics, political participation levels and commitment levels of voters.

According to results of the study, it is concluded that voters are influenced from all activities related to political promotion mix at different levels. On the other hand, candidates stated that they use all activities related to the political promotion mix at different levels. Significant differences were observed between demographic

characteristics of voters (age, marital status and education level) and their levels of being influenced by political promotion. Moreover, there is significant difference between political participation level of voters and the levels of being influenced by political promotion. There is also significant difference between commitment level of voters and the levels of being influenced by political promotion. However no significant difference was discovered between the gender of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion.

Key Words: Political Marketing, Political Promotion Mix, Election Campaign, Political Candidate



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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

Association of Business Women: İŞKAD

Justice and Development Party: JDP

Motherland Party: MP

Nationalist Democracy Party: NDP

Nationalist Movement Party: NMP

Peoples' Democratic Party: PDP

Republican People's Party: RPP

Social Democratic Populist Party: SDPP

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey: GNAT

The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation: TRT

The Union of Academic Professional Chambers of Adana: ADAMOB

The United States of America: USA

True Path Party: TPP

Turkish Statistical Institute: TSI

United Kingdom: UK

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

The developments emerging with the changing world have led to making broader definitions of the concept of marketing. Along with goods and services for the demands and needs of people, it is possible that individuals, places, ideas and institutions are subject to marketing. Accordingly, political activities that bring individuals, ideas and institutions into the forefront and aim to infuse them may also be subject to marketing (Torlak, 2002, p.33). Relying on the assumption that features, functions and practices of marketing relating to products and services can also be implemented successfully into other fields, the political marketing is concerned with making a great progress (Odabaşı, 2009, p.33). Political marketing can be used to communicate programs, ideas and promises created within the party to the voters (Pirtini, 2003, p.328). Therefore, political parties/candidates may benefit from the marketing mix elements in line with their purposes and goals. Expected purposes and goals can be achieved if political marketing mix elements are used correctly and effectively.

One of the political marketing mix elements is political promotion. A political party, candidate and leader make use of political promotion mix elements to attract target voter groups to them or their party. Also, it is observed that activities towards this political promotion intensify during the election campaigns. Essentially, activities that are performed towards political promotion during the election campaigns focus on influencing decision processes of voters. Based on studies in the literature, political promotion mix elements were determined in this study as follows: advertising, propaganda, public relations, and promotional incentives. It is assumed that political promotion mix elements that are shaped depending on the target audience in the design of election campaigns will influence the voter behavior. Therefore, a framework should be created to make sure that financial resources that are used for the purposes of political promotion activities are offered at the right time, in the right place and through the right means. Through the performance of effective political promotion activities, efficiency can be achieved for financially.

In this context, the study consists of five parts. The first part describes the research problem, its purpose, importance, limitations and definitions. The second part

covers the concepts of marketing and politics, historical development of political marketing and elements of marketing mix. The third part of the study deals with election campaigns. Accordingly, it focuses on election campaign, preparation stage of election campaign, election campaign process, campaign organization, and campaign evaluation activities. The fourth part includes an analysis of parliamentary candidates and voters from Adana in terms of political promotion mix elements. This part also covers the research methodology and evaluations on the results of hypothesis tests. The final part concerns the results and recommendations.

1.1. Problem

When the literature about political marketing is reviewed, it is observed that studies mostly focus on political marketing practices of parties. Majority of studies on political promotion mix elements are generally conducted based on political parties. However, this study focuses on candidates in terms of political promotion mix elements. Moreover, campaign activities of the candidates are examined as well. On the other hand, studies in the literature deal with perception of voters on marketing practices of parties. This study, however, concentrates on reflection of political promotion mix elements used by candidates on the voters during the election period. Reflections of political promotion mix elements on the voter were examined in detail and perspective of target audience towards the candidates was presented. Also a study, which presents both candidates' and voters' perspective in terms of political promotion mix elements in a comparative way, was not found. In this respect, comparison between usage of political promotion and perception of voters in the same manner offers the opportunity of evaluation on the past as well as the future.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

Main purpose of the study is to evaluate election campaign activities of Adana parliamentary candidates in the General Elections of June 7, 2015, under the political promotion mix elements, and present the reflections of these activities on the voters. In this context the sub-purposes are as follows:

1. To present campaign activities performed by the parliamentary candidates,

2. To determine political promotion mix elements used by parliamentary candidates during the campaign,
3. To determine the levels of being influenced by activities towards political promotion mix elements and present whether such levels differ in terms of demographic characteristics, political participation levels and commitment levels of voters.

1.3. Importance of the Study

Today, parties/candidates intensively use political promotion activities to reach voters during election campaigns. Thus, they develop their relationship with voters and influence them. As a result of such interaction, parties/candidates develop relationship with their existing voters and/or gain the votes of floating voters. It is important that parties/candidates benefit from political promotion activities in an effective and efficient manner in this process, which will result in favor of both sides. The utilization level of political promotion activities by candidates and the level of being influenced these activities is important for arrangement of campaign activities for the next election period. Thus, efficiency and effectiveness of activities towards political promotions can be increased through the results of the present study. From this perspective, it is believed that the study will make an academic contribution. Besides academic contribution of the study, it is believed that the study will present valuable data for the candidates.

1.4. Limitations of the Study

One of the limitations of the study is the size of population. Since it is impossible to reach all voters in terms of time and cost, quota sampling is conducted in the study. In the study that was performed to present campaign activities of the candidates, judgmental sampling is conducted due to limitation of time and cost.

1.5. Definitions

- Political marketing is about marketing designed to influence target audiences to vote for a particular person, party, or proposition (www.ama.org).

- Political promotion is a communication process that conveys information about a political party, candidates or leader or the policies and services developed by them to audiences, target voters or individuals in a desired manner, and that consists of many elements (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.138).
- Election campaign can be defined as activities that are performed by political parties to offer their ideologies, programs or candidates to voters (Tan, 2002a, p.101).
- As a product, political candidates are one of the product mixes that give an idea about the identity, ideology, image and representment of the political party (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.129).



PART II

POLITICAL MARKETING

Marketing can be used not only for products and services but also for ideas, organizations and non-profit organizations. The fact that ideas are marketable can show that politics benefit from the marketing science. Political parties can use political marketing elements when conveying their ideas to voters. Accordingly, this part covers the concepts of marketing and politics, historical development of political marketing and elements of marketing mix.

2.1. Relationship of Marketing and Politics: Political Marketing

With the changing world order, it is seen that the concept of marketing can also be used in different fields, not only in the sense of product marketing. It is also seen that politics may be marketed with more comprehensive definitions of the concept of marketing are made. Because there are important similarities between the two in terms of destination and the means used (Tan, 2002a, p.14). Marketing means meeting the demands, desires and expectations of consumer and pleasing them. Getting beyond the expectations means satisfying the consumer and this applies to a political party as well (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.25). When performing activities with a voter-oriented approach, the parties mainly aim to produce policies that can fulfill their expectations and achieve preferability and they have to operate with a marketing approach in this process (Tan, 2002a, p.14). Therefore, the concept of marketing must be understood first. According to the most current definition recognized by American Marketing Association (AMA) (2007): ‘marketing is the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for customers, clients, partners, and society at large’ (www.ama.org).

The essential idea that a field, for example politics, would ever utilize marketing was initially proposed in the 1960's, most outstandingly in a now-celebrated article by Kotler and Levy, who asserted that marketing, already kept to business and business enterprises, could really be utilized by all establishments, including non-benefit, state, open segment and magnanimous ones (Lees-Marshment, 2009, p.24). The ‘product’ can

take numerous structures, and this is the main significant point for the situation for expanding the idea of marketing. All organizations create a 'product' of no less than one of the following forms (Kotler & Levy, 1969, p.12):

- *Services*. Services are intangible merchandise that are liable to market exchange, for example, insurance, advisory, conference, and banking.
- *Physical products*. 'Product' first infers ordinary things like cleanser, garments, and sustenance, and stretches out to cover a large number of substantial things that have a commercial value and are accessible for procurement.
- *Persons*. Individual marketing is an endemic human movement, from the worker attempting to awe his manager to the statesman attempting to win the backing of the general population. With the approach of mass communication, the marketing of persons has been swung over to experts. Hollywood stars have their press consultants, political hopefuls their promotion offices, etc.
- *Organizations*. Numerous organizations invest a lot of energy marketing themselves. Numerous non-profit organizations and colleges see offering their organization as their essential obligation.
- *Ideas*. Numerous organizations are essentially in the matter of offering thoughts to the bigger society. Populace associations are attempting to offer anti-conception medication, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union is as yet attempting to offer the possibility of prohibition.

Based on the product varieties in Kotler and Levy's (1969) extended marketing concept, it can be seen that physical products, services, individuals, organizations and ideas can be marketed. As is understood, the concept of marketing is needed to meet the expectations of individuals and organizations reached, and social sciences and politics are integrated with the word 'ideas' in to the definition of marketing notion.

In order to understand political marketing, we can list other definitions that are related to marketing of ideas as follows: According to AMA's (www.universitybusiness.com, 1985) definition of marketing; 'marketing is the process of planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion, and distribution of goods, ideas, and services to create exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational goals'. 'Marketing is a societal process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need

and want through creating, offering, and exchanging products and services of value free with others' (Kotler, 2000, p.4). According to The Chartered Institute of Marketing (CIM) (www.cim.co.uk) 'Marketing is to establish, maintain, enhance and commercialize customer relationships (often but not necessarily always long term relationships) so that the objectives of the parties involved are met. This is done by a mutual exchange and fulfillment of promises'. 'Marketing is the process of development, pricing, promotion and distribution of products, services and ideas in order to facilitate satisfactory exchange relationships with customers and develop and maintain good relations with stakeholders in an environment' (Mucuk, 2012, p.5).

According to definition of the Turkish Language Association (TDK), politics is 'is a special opinion or approach about the art of regulating and executing the state affairs (www.tdk.gov.tr).The word 'politics' is of Greek origin and 'polis' means city states and politics means state-related affairs (Kışlalı, 2011, p.17). Based on the definitions of marketing and politics, we could suggest that two concepts support each other. According to Lees-Marshment (2001, p.692), it is all things considered a marriage between political science and marketing. It obtains the center marketing ideas of product, deals and market-introduction, and procedures, for example, market knowledge, and adjusts them to suit customary fundamentals of political science to deliver a coordinated hypothetical structure. A marketing point of view can recognize which party/hopeful pursued the more reasonable campaign. It can test campaigns against the different measurements of marketing, from product development, positioning, market segmentation, targeting and promotion. (Scammel, 1999, p.736). Like the arrangement of a business firm, the organization of party campaign can be seen to advance more prominent complexity through three stages, specifically the purported 'production', 'selling', and 'marketing' introductions; in electoral terms these are what might as well be called what have been termed here the 'propaganda', 'media' and 'political marketing' ways to deal with electioneering (Wring, 1996, p.103). The 'marketing idea' is the way to comprehension of political marketing. Without it, we are as yet discussing basically a present day type of propaganda. (Scammel, 1999, p.726).

Figure 1 presents two maps looking at business and political marketing. The business marketing map demonstrates a vender dispatching products, services, and communications to the business sector; consequently it gets dollars and data. The internal circle is a trade of cash for goods; the external circle is a stream of information.

The political map demonstrates a political hopeful dispatching particular guarantees and words to a series of voters in return for their votes. Political hopeful uses general communications to pass on these and assembles voter data to arrange next term's marketing work. In schematic terms, the auxiliary procedure of business marketing and political marketing are fundamentally the same (Kotler, 1975, p.762).

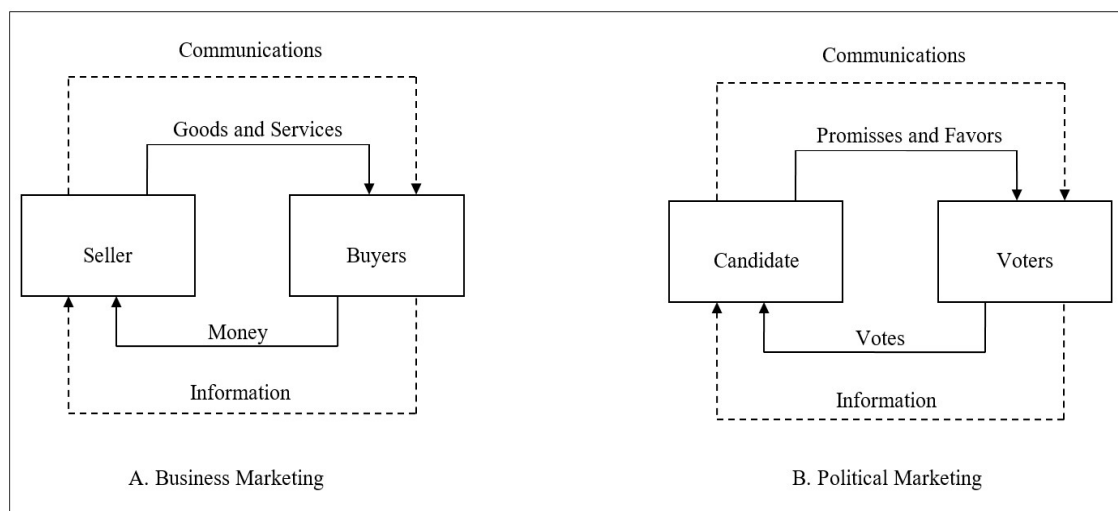


Figure 1. Business and Political Marketing Compared

Source: Philip Kotler, Overview Of Political Candidate Marketing, *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol.2 Issue 1, 1975:763.

Both politics and marketing are similar as they use political marketing techniques to meet various needs of people, and play a role and have a duty to improve welfare and happiness of people (Üste, Yüksel and Çalışkan, 2007, p.214). Similarities between political marketing and product and service marketing are as follows (Shama, 1975, pp.793-795): (1) Dealers, products and purchasers that are marketing is a procedure which merchants offer the purchasers products and services consequently to something of worth, political marketing incorporates same procedure which are hopefuls offer the voters products or thoughts, for example, 'financial thriving', 'safe society' and so on consequently for their votes and backing in the campaign and afterwards. (2) Costumers are the center of both marketing and political marketing. Without costumers, there is no business sector idea. In the both circumstances, (3) market segmentation and product mix that use the ideas of business market segmentation and target audience to expand deals and votes. (4) Product image is the costumer and voter conduct toward items and hopefuls formed by product images. (5) Brand loyalty that has been used as a gauge for promotion procedure for the product and

candidate. (6) Product development that is a buyer fulfilling process incorporates contents, quality, brand, bundle for marketing and candidate, issues, party for political marketing. (7) Product concept is formed by marketing and political marketing, which serves as the center of the product in the mind of target audience. (8) Product positioning is the procedure by which the product is situated against its rivals in the sector.

Just like similarities, there are also differences between political marketing and product and service marketing. Lock and Harris (2011, pp.14-16) list them as follows: (1) For any election, all voters settle on their decisions around the same time. There are no acquiring choices with this feature and surely none of which influence as substantial number of individuals. (2) There is no cost specifically or in a roundabout way connected to voting or the decision of party pointedly separates it from a purchase. Despite being regularly obliged to settling on one and only legitimate decision, the traditional utility amplifying system subject to spending plan limitations fits constituent decision inadequately and the connection to individual results in this manner is, best case scenario shaky. (3) In spite of the fact that the genuine act of voting might not have a value connected to it, a voter needs to live with the aggregate decision, despite the fact that it will not have been his or her own particular choice. This indicates the sharp difference between public decision problems and buyer markets. (4) The political party or candidate is an intricate impalpable product, which the voter can't unbundle. As a result most voters need to judge on the general bundled idea or message. Moreover, on account of complex item or service decision, buyers are typically ready to alter their opinions, but at an expense, on the off chance that they trust that they have made a mistake. Voters need to hold up until the following election. (5) While there might be a method for affecting the course of a regional or national party (with clear parallels with customary product changes or brand expansions), the likelihood of presenting another brand as another party is moderately remote. (6) In most marketing circumstances, brand pioneers tend to stay in front. Governments need to settle on troublesome and at times disagreeable choices, especially when picking between controlling expenses and raising duties. This cycle may well turn out to be more highlighted as it creates the impression that legislatures' obtaining abilities turn out to be progressively obliged by monetary markets.

2.1.1. Political Market

In marketing, target market of the product is created by a certain buyer audience and the service is mostly towards such market. Similarly, voter group constitutes the target market of political leader, a political product, and the service is offered towards such market (Polat & Külter, 2006, p.198). In political marketing, the concept of marketing is used in the meaning of political market. This market consists of all voters in the country and is extremely large. Each party selects a certain sub-market (or market segments) and tries to win their support. To do that, it is important to know the political market (Polat, 2015, p.103).

As a consumer unit that constitutes the market in marketing, the word 'consumer' refers to persons, institutions and entities who have a need to be satisfied, money to spend and the will to spend. This scope is very comprehensive; persons, families, producer and seller (commercial) businesses, legal entities, public institutions and non-government organizations are main units that are a part of this scope (Mucuk, 2012, p.70). In the field of politics, there is no real market; we could mention of 'a voters buyer audience'. There is no objective and concrete demand; there are citizens who are at the voting age. Depending on ideas defended by the candidate, political marketing allows for 'qualification' and 'quantization' of customers (Bongrand, 1992, p.18). Political market can be expressed as a group of people who are willing to accept and buy and who are in a position to buy the individuals, organizations, ideas, programs and services that are marketed by the parties (Tan, 2002a, p.15). The political market contains sellers and customers who exchange something of value. The parties/candidates offer representation to customers who in turn offer support to them (Scammel, 1999, p.722).

Market knowledge is the way to political marketing. Without comprehending what the sector is, the means by which it carries on and what it needs, men of politics cannot settle on educated choices about how to react to it (Lees-Marshment, 2009, p.76). Each country shows different characteristics in terms of political, economic, social, cultural, religious and ideological structure. Therefore, structure of each political market is shaped differently. Voters (qualities, demands, needs and expectations), parties (number and qualities) in the market and relations between them are idiosyncratic. For this reason, the first thing that political parties and/or candidates should do is to make a detailed analysis of their political market (Polat, 2015, pp.103-

105). Nonetheless, it additionally is certain that hopefuls must identify voters' needs and desires before they can successfully advertise themselves. That is the reason marketing exploration is turning into a vital instrument in the campaign organizations of political candidates (Newman, 1983, p.14). Marketing research is a function that connects an organization with its market through the information channel. The information obtained helps recognition and identification of marketing opportunities and problems, generates the actions of marketing, evaluates such actions and eliminates unnecessary ones, monitors and measures marketing performance, and corrects the marketing approach as a method (Nakip, 2006, p.23). Therefore, market information that is obtained through marketing research is needed in political market.

Just as consumers perform the buying behavior for the products they need, want and desire, voters can vote for a political party, leader and/or candidates. Besides similarities, there are differences between voter behavior and consumer behavior (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.82). Such similarities include the following (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.82): (1) Voters expect service from the politics as well. (2) The price that the voters pay is the cost of taxes they incur and services they buy. (3) Measurable factors play a role in the preference of voters as well. (4) Voter evaluates the results of its preference and decides whether he is pleased with it. (5) Voter decides with relative information and his past experiences influence his decision. The differences are as follows (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.82): (1) In the elections, there are less alternatives than products and services for several reasons. (2) In the elections, it is difficult to perceive and evaluate the risk and price. (3) It is extremely difficult to compare political products and their performance based on concrete criteria unlike in products. (4) Voting decision is made on the last day and in a very short time.

2.1.2. The Concept of Political Marketing

Political parties can utilize marketing activities in order to fulfill the needs, demands and desires of voters and/or to win their votes. In this respect, political marketing is creating cross-disciplinary political marketing communication points of view not just to clarify the promotional elements of today's governmental issues however as apparatuses of investigation of gathering and voter conduct (Scammel, 1999, p.718). Political marketing is a developing field of scholarly study in spite of the

fact that marketing has been utilized as a part of politics in some structure or other for quite a while, it is just since the 1980s that it has turned out to be all the more usually noted by scholastic and media analysts and specifically there has been a critical increment in the sharing of thoughts, systems, specialists and even product thoughts crosswise over various nations since the 1990s. (Lees-Marshment, 2009, p.5). In Turkey, actual development of political marketing practices started in the elections held in 1980 and afterwards. Starting from this period, political parties and candidates have substantially utilized the mass media in parallel with technological developments. By doing so, they have adapted political marketing practices to their campaigns (Demirtaş & Özgül, 2011, p.16).

According to Lees-Marshment (2009, pp.28-29) political marketing is not just about communication, advertising or campaigning. It is a great deal more than that. Parties are acting like an enterprises, utilizing market insight to advise the configuration of the political item they offer, getting to be market – (or voter-) driven as opposed to concentrated on offering. Lees-Marshment explains political marketing with a market-oriented/customer-focused approach. According to this approach, profit is made by satisfying the consumer (Mucuk, 2012, p.9). The concept of political marketing indicates all marketing tools, notions and philosophies that are used by political parties and organizations to develop campaigns and internal affairs. This concept is considered as an indicator of rise of political consumerism and fall of party loyalty in the Western democratic societies as well as emergent democracies (Lilleker, 2013, p.207). Political marketing is defined in different ways in different sources. Some of the definitions of political marketing are as follows:

- ‘Political marketing is the party or candidate's use of opinion research and environmental analysis to produce and promote a competitive offering which will help realize organizational aims and satisfy groups of electors in exchange for their votes’ (Wring, 1997, p.653).
- ‘Political marketing involves, methods that are used to attract the necessary votes to win the Elections by creating a difference between the adversary and the rivals using minimum tools’ (Bongrad, 1992, p.17).
- ‘Political marketing is the process by which political candidates and ideas are directed at the voters in order to satisfy their political needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question’ (Shama, 1975, p.793).

- ‘Political marketing is the marketing activities that are carried out to ensure that a person is nominated, appointed and elected or parties, and their ideas/causes are put into power’ (Tek, 1999, p.41).
- ‘Political marketing is all kinds of activities related to introduction and promotion of candidates, parties and programs to fulfill the needs and expectations of voters’ (Özkan, 2014, p.27).

Political marketing starts with the identification of political needs of candidates and parties, offers them to voters through various tactics and strategies by developing solutions to fulfill them and tries to win the support of voters in return. Afterwards, it continues with the process of necessary communication, information and persuasion for fulfilling the satisfaction of voters in exchange for the votes that have been won (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, p. 8). Based on these definitions, we can see that the concepts of marketing and political marketing have many things in common, marketing science can also be used in politics, and marketing can be utilized when election campaigns are announced. The definition of political marketing which sets the basis of this study is AMA's definition; (www.ama.org) ‘political marketing is about marketing designed to influence target audiences to vote for a particular person, party, or proposition’.

Political marketing cases to offer better approaches for comprehension current politics (Scammel, 1999, p.719): (1). It states that political marketing is progressively what democratic parties and hopefuls really do to get chosen and this is not quite the same as prior types of political persuasiveness. (2) It asserts that marketing is a particular type of financial levelheadedness that offers experiences into the key choices and conduct of parties. (3) It offers with history a yearning to research and clarify the conduct of driving political figures, and in this way its center stretches out from campaigning into the high politics of government and party administration. (4) It offers with political science a yearning to comprehend basic procedures, and in this way to make illustrative models of party and voter conduct. (5) It offers with political communications the key proceeding with enthusiasm for influence.

2.2. Historical Development of Political Marketing

There are different approaches on the date when the political marketing emerged for the first time. Some people argue that the first political marketing activities started

as of the end of 1960s as they do not accept election campaigns and public relations activities that were conducted for a certain period of time as political marketing. Others consider such practices as the core of political marketing and argue that the beginning of political marketing practices dates back to 1930s (Parılı & Baş, 2002, p.13). Under the heading of historical development of political marketing, the development of political marketing in Turkey and in the world is covered.

2.2.1. Development of Political Marketing in the World

It is considered that political marketing was dealt with scientifically for the first time in the beginning of 20th century in the world (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, p.12). Accordingly, the Industrial Revolution, Reform and Renaissance movements, World Wars I and II, development of mass media and globalization have made a direct and indirect influence on political marketing (Kaleli, 2015, p.7). Witnessed a different development course in different countries, the concept of political marketing has affected its development in the world. Therefore, the practices of political marketing in United Kingdom, France and United States of America are covered.

In British politics, there is no tradition of running a campaign with public meetings. Party officers visit the houses in their election district or try to access to voters by phone. Leaders attend local meetings in their critical election districts, visit supermarkets, hospitals etc., and talk with the voters (www.bbc.com). The first example of political advertising in United Kingdom (UK) was the campaign of Conservative Party in 1959. The party's slogan, 'Life's Better with the Conservatives-Don't Let Labour Ruin', is a product of the analysis of financial conditions in the country (Çankaya, 2015, p.133-135). In England, political marketing as a marvel completely created in the 1980s under the party administrations of Thatcher and Kinnock who intended to coordinate every single political correspondence and control the news agenda (Harris, 2001, pp.35-36). The most important difference from the past in the 2010 UK general election was live debates that leaders of three major parties came face to face. Leaders of three parties met three times at 90-minute live debate shows (www.bbc.com). In the 2015 general elections, the voters voted online for the first time (www.hurriyet.com.tr).

In France, activities related to political marketing are pretty much parallel with those in the United Kingdom in terms of time (Polat, 2015, p.35). However, the use of media in the French elections was mostly arranged by using public TV channels. Political advertisements are broadcasted in public TV channels only and the period of time allocated to political parties for political advertisements is determined based on the votes received by the parties (www.siyasaliletisim.org). A political campaign was run by using modern advertising techniques for the first time in Oise in the 1953 local elections and in the entire country in the 1956 general elections (Çankaya, 2015, p.153). In France, 'Services and Methods' of political marketing were regulated for the first time in 1966 for the forecasting of upcoming elections. Accordingly, the data related to election districts allowed the candidates and centralized power to conduct an actual field analysis as well as demographic, economic, social and political analyses and measure the influence of various regional and national media on the voters. This simple method was the first real political marketing activity (Bongrand, 1992, pp.10-11). In France, the second country that witnessed most political advertising practices in Europe, the leader who understood the power of television and communication was De Gaulle. Due to De Gaulle's style of using this new means of communication, many French thinkers started to use the word 'telecracy' in place of democracy. In the 1970s of France, Jacques Séguéla was a popular advertiser who used his own creativity techniques called 'Star Strategy' instead of American principles of advertising. In the 1977 elections, Séguéla got on the stage as the advertiser of Mitterrand and developed the campaign with the slogan 'La Force Tranquille' (the Tranquil Force) in the 1981 elections and the slogan 'United France' in the 1988 elections and created the campaign movie which describes the history of France with hundreds of images (Çankaya, 2015, pp.154-158).

The radio talks and advertisements used by Franklin Roosevelt in the 1928 election campaigns in the United States of America (USA), one of the countries that have used political marketing practices most effectively, are considered as the first examples in this field (Parıltı & Baş, 2002, p.14). The first campaign that witnessed the cooperation between politics and modern advertising in the USA was the product of cooperation between Thomas Dewey and the television personality Happy Felton in the 1950 New York gubernatorial elections. TV clips were created with the answers that Dewey gave to the questions asked by the voters. This event is the first experience of political advertising (Çankaya, 2015, p.75). Political marketing commonly began with the USA and there is the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon challenge, in which Kennedy prompted by

republic relations masters, obviously won the candidates' debate on TV and lost it on radio (Scammel, 1999, p.723). Differently from previous periods, presidential candidates in the 1992 USA presidential election benefited from television shows for launching their campaigns. Ross Perot launched his campaign at the show 'Larry King Live', while Clinton started his campaign at 'Arsenio Hall'. This new approach in election campaigns is called as the 'Larry King era' in presidential campaigns (Özkan, 2014, pp.309-310). The 2008 presidential elections witnessed a significant breakthrough with regard to use of media in political communication. This was the beginning of a digital revolution in political communication. In order to win the presidential elections, Thomas Jefferson used newspapers, Franklin D. Roosevelt used radio to govern, and John F. Kennedy utilized the power of television, the new means of communication of his era (Çankaya, 2014, p. 123). Barack Obama's creation of election strategy by using digital technologies and the Internet (especially virtual social networks) makes him the first president who won the elections by means of Internet environment (Vural & Bat, 2009, p.2759).

2.2.2. Development of Political Marketing in Turkey

Just like in other examples in the world, Turkey also witnessed similar developments in the field of political marketing. In Turkey, the first political marketing practices started with the 1950 elections. In this period, late arrival of newspapers to many cities, lack of TV broadcasting in Turkey and limited number of movie theaters show that communication technologies were extremely restricted. Other than posters, no media, which could be defined as 'outdoor' in its current meaning, had not been discovered yet. In that case, the only media available for use was radio. However, the legislation did not allow the parties to use make use of radio for the purposes of propaganda (Özkan, 2014, p.36). Therefore, with an amendment to the Law on General Directorate of Press, Broadcasting and Tourism no. 5392, the following article was adopted: 'Each political party which held their general assembly, established its organization in at least ten city centers or had at least three-person group in the Grand National Assembly and had organization in at least three city centers was given time to talk for free on state radios to explain their programs starting from fifteen days before the date of elections until two days before that date at the general elections of Grand National Assembly. Each political party with the authorization to talk could make a 4

15-minute speeches during that period.’ (www.tbmm.gov.tr). As a result of this amendment, political parties started to use radio in the field of political marketing.

The poster that was used by the Democrat Party in the 1950 elections with the slogan ‘Enough! Now It’s Public’s Turn’ (Yeter! Söz milletindir!) is considered as the first example of political marketing in Turkey (Tan, 2002a, p.33). The parties started using television for free as a mass media for the purposes of propaganda as late as the 1977 elections. The first professional campaign in our history of political marketing communication was run in the General Elections of June 5, 1977. An advertising agency assumed the role to run a political campaign in this elections for the first time (Özkan, 2014, pp.53-55). These audio tapes were named ‘Demirel is in Your Home’ (Karacasulu, 2005, pp.46-47). 20,000 audio tapes were produced with the own voice of Demirel. 5 million flyers were printed and distributed. Streets and walls were covered with a series of purple posters and these empty posters aroused great interest in people. A few days later, the letter A was attached on the poster on one end of the street and the letter P on the poster on the other end, and an AP poster was created (Özkan, 2014, p.56).

For the first time in the 1983 General Elections, both the Nationalist Democracy Party (NDP) and the Motherland Party (MP) received professional support from advertising agencies. As part of political campaigns that were run in this period, open session and debate were broadcasted on The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), the only TV channel at the time, in order to introduce party leaders and party programs. Broadcasting of debate in election periods after that date created a political tradition in this field (Üste et al., 2007, p.218). In the 1987 elections, MP, the Social Democratic Populist Party (SDPP) and the True Path Party (TPP) placed ads on the newspapers. Also, SDPP and MP broadcasted video propaganda on TV. For the first time in this election, American-style campaigns were developed with songs and concerts and promotional materials distributed to the voters (Özkan, 2014, pp.94-96). The October 20, 1991 general elections changed the entire balance that was established after September 12. In these elections, all parties made a well-rounded cooperation with advertising agencies for the first time. Election campaigns were turned into theatrical shows. Pop singers performed in all public meeting grounds and large-size screens were used thanks to advancing technology. Election expenses of the parties reached a peak (Duman & İpekşen, 2013, p.128). Ads were used in flyers, posters, bill-boards,

newspapers and magazines as well as radios, TV channels and movie theaters (Özkan, 2014, pp.130-131).

The American-style campaign tradition, which started in previous elections, was also adopted in the same way in the 2002 general elections. However, in the 2007 general elections, the decision of Supreme Electoral Council, dated 04.05.2007 and no. 224, is important. With this decision the Council announced that private radio and TV channels may not broadcast the ads of political parties and candidates in the election period (www.ysk.gov.tr). As a result of this prohibition, the means of political advertising other than radio and television had been used more in the elections. This prohibition was listed in the 2011 General Elections. In addition, political parties started to place commercials on TV channels (Avcı, 2015, p.118). In the June 2015 General Elections, a prohibition that is different from the bans in previous election periods was introduced. According to the decision of Supreme Electoral Council, no. 236 (www.resmigazete.gov.tr), it was decided that it is prohibited to make propaganda by sending video, audio or text messages to electronic mail accounts, mobile or fixed phones of the citizens, but political parties can always send such messages to their own members.

Therefore, we can suggest that political marketing practices started late in Turkey compared to developed countries. Because senior management staff of the parties did not believe in the necessity of marketing and acted reluctant to delegate some of their powers to professionals (Tan, 2002b, p.24). However, just like in other countries, political marketing practices have been developed, prohibitions were lifted and election campaigns were organized this way in the course of time in Turkey.

2.3. Political Marketing Mix

Political marketing mix aims generally at political behavior and specifically at voting behavior of the voters which a political party defines as its target audience (Tan, 2002a, p.20). In election campaigns, perceptions, attitudes and voting behaviors of the voters can be influenced by using the elements of political marketing mix so as to make sure that the voters act in line with the preferences of the party (Divanoğlu, 2008, p.106). Political parties and candidates pay attention to create a correct political marketing mix in order to succeed in their election results. For this reason, the main

component of success in elections is the correct use of political mix elements (Demirtaş & Orçun, 2015, p.41). According to İslamoğlu (2002, p.115), votes of the voters can be won by using marketing mix elements used in political marketing in a way to make sure that the voters develop a perception, attitudes and new behaviors. The extent to which this is achieved can be pre-defined by means of measurement and assessment criteria. The vote rate that is won as a result of election campaign as well as the expenses can be compared with the previous election campaign to make an assessment. If there is a failure after the results are measured, political parties, leaders and candidates can check and develop controllable factors and prepare for the next elections (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.116). The marketing mix elements that are used in commercial marketing can also be used for political marketing. A marketing specialist named E. Jerome McCarthy introduced the marketing 4Ps in the 1960s, this order has been utilized all through the World and the marketing 4Ps (Product, Price, Place, and Promotion) are additionally the establishment of marketing mix. The 7Ps model is a marketing model that adjusts the 4Ps model. The 7Ps (Product, Price, Place, and Promotion, People, Process, Physical Evidence) is for the most part utilized as a part of the service enterprises (marketingmix.co.uk). Since the marketing of political activities is mainly the marketing of an idea and future, it could be suggested that the 7P approach is more suitable for politics (Polat, 2015, p.420). Accordingly, product, price, place, promotion, people, process and physical evidence are used as the components of political marketing mix.

2.3.1. Political Product

While the concept of product is considered as concrete products and services, it is not always possible to draw such a restriction and axis to the product in political marketing (Kaleli, 2015, p.9). When it is considered as a variable of political marketing, the product refers to leader, candidates and party program. The importance of product as a strategic decision variable is that the product constitutes the basis of all marketing activities of a political party. The product functions as a bridge between the political party and voters. Because the voters evaluate political party based on political products it offers (Tan, 2002a, pp.35-36). The product consists of many components with different weights depending on the type and cultural environment of the strategy to be planned (Schröder, 2004, pp.47-50). Today, it is observed that especially party leaders and candidates come to the forefront more besides party programs during the election

periods. This is because there are no extreme differences of opinion, all parties try to position themselves at the center and even party constitutions are similar to each other. In this case, images or party leaders or candidates come to the forefront and personalization of them with the political party becomes more important (Karaçor, 2007, p.88). Therefore, political party leader, political party candidates and political party program are covered under the political product.

2.3.1.1. Political Party Leader as a Product

First of all, political party leader can be covered as an element of political product. The Turkish Language Association (tdk.gov.tr) defines leader as ‘the person who is in charge of senior level management of a party or an organization; director, chief’. During the elections, the influence of leader on preference varies depending on the lifetime of democratic life, characteristics of society and existing conditions, and practices show that this influence is huge. For example, it is observed in Turkish elections that the voters substantially votes based on the leader; when the voters is asked which party he will vote for, he gives the name of leader rather than the party (İslamoğlu, 2002, pp.116-117). According to a survey conducted in the United Kingdom, preferences of voters are different from the preferences of voters in Turkey. In a survey study that was conducted by Baines, Worcester, Jarrett and Mortimore (2003, p.236) on 1928 voters in the United Kingdom, the voters were asked about the order of importance of National Policies, Local Policies, Values, Candidates, and Leaders. Results of the survey show that national policies (60%), policies affecting local areas (54%) and values (53%) are seen as more important than party leaders (47%) or candidates (41%). In this respect, political party leaders are important as a product in Turkey, while national policies are more important than leaders in the UK. However, it can be suggested that voters in Turkey are more commonly identified with the leaders of political party. The reason why the influence of political leader is mostly more dominant than other factors is that the voters can embody the offered product more easily with the party leader (Kaleli, 2015, p.11).

Considering that political party leaders are influential on voters, political parties should make a careful selection about the issue. Since the leaders have an important prestige both inside and outside the party, they play an important role in gaining

sympathy and vote for their party (Tan, 2002a, pp.37-38). In their study conducted on first time voters, Demirtaş and Orçun (2015, p.45) expressed that the most important three qualities that a political party leader should have are honesty, credibility and past efforts. Therefore, leaders should have certain qualities in order to win the votes of their voters. Accordingly, leaders should meet the needs, demands, desires and expectations of voters and develop themselves.

2.3.1.2. Political Party Candidates as a Product

The person who is willing to serve the state by means of politics and takes part in the elections by meeting required conditions for being elected is called 'candidate' (Tan, 2002a, p.41). As a product, political candidates are one of the product mixes that give an idea about the identity, ideology, image and showcase of the political party (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.129). Candidates are individuals who represent the party in all aspects as the face of that party in their relevant districts. In addition, candidates serve as a bridge between the voters and political party (Kaleli, 2015, p.15). According to the Deputy Election Law, 'all citizens of Turkey, who are eligible to stand for election regardless of being a member of a political party, can run for deputy according to the provisions of this Law' (www.anayasa.gen.tr). According to Article 76 of the Constitution of Republic of Turkey (www.tbmm.gov.tr): Every Turk over the age of twenty-five is eligible to be a deputy. Persons who have not completed primary education, who have been deprived of legal capacity, who have not performed compulsory military service, who are banned from public service, who have been sentenced to a prison term with a total of one year or more excluding involuntary offences, or to a heavy imprisonment¹; those who have been convicted for dishonorable offences such as embezzlement, corruption, bribery, theft, fraud, forgery, breach of trust, fraudulent bankruptcy; and persons convicted of smuggling, conspiracy in official bidding or purchasing, of offences related to the disclosure of state secrets, of involvement in acts of terrorism, or incitement and encouragement of such activities, shall not be elected as a deputy, even if they have been granted amnesty. Judges and prosecutors, members of the higher judicial organs, lecturers at institutions of higher

¹According to Article 6(1) of the Law on the Enforcement and Application of the Turkish Criminal Code no. 5252, amended by Article 2 of the Law Amending the Law on the Enforcement and Application of the Turkish Criminal Code co. 5349, the "heavy imprisonment" punishments that are stipulated in the laws were turned into "imprisonment".

education, members of the Council of Higher Education, employees of public institutions and agencies who have the status of civil servants, other public employees not regarded as laborers on account of the duties they perform, and members of the Armed Forces shall not stand for election or be eligible to be a deputy unless they resign from missions.

In political marketing, the product that is expected to succeed consists of three elements: Ideas of candidates, connections of candidates, and the candidate himself (Bongrand, 1992, p.18). It is also important that political candidates have ideas and personality suitable for their parties and have strong connections in their election districts. The qualities that voters want in an ideal deputy include integrity, efficiency, proximity to people's problems, accessibility, local passion, vice, humility, leadership, wisdom, past achievements, honesty and reliability (Bongrand, 1992, pp.49-50; İslamoğlu, 2002, p.129). Besides the qualities that voters want in political candidates, there are also certain qualities that parties want in candidates: The candidate should have his own vote potential, be successful in his relations and communication with the public, have a good reputation and image, and should not have an infamous past (Divanoğlu, 2008, p.111). Political marketing has a function to find the most qualified candidates, reinforce the political product and present a better product than rival parties for the voters. Therefore, marketing decision-makers and practitioners have the duty to find potential and qualified candidates and bring them in the party and make sure they take part in the elections under the roof of their party (Polat, 2015, p.425). Figure 2 shows a marketing framework that a political candidate will come across. This framework offers details for the political candidate (Kotler, 1975, pp.762-766):

- The environment, which characterizes the notable issues and open doors for the candidates, is appeared at the far left.
- The candidates, their parties and their vested party partnerships are the merchants.
- Each candidate builds up a product idea that he accepts is merchandisable to the voters. The idea is based on a blend of political reasoning, remains on specific issues, individual style, and background capabilities.
- Each candidate tries to gain voters through three main distribution channels: mass and specific media, individual appearances, and volunteer and party staff. These channels cooperate, e.g., an individual appearance contacts a

prompt group of onlookers furthermore a bigger gathering of people through broad communications scope.

- All of these endeavors are balanced for various voter sections, and the outcomes are consistently looked into for further campaign alteration.

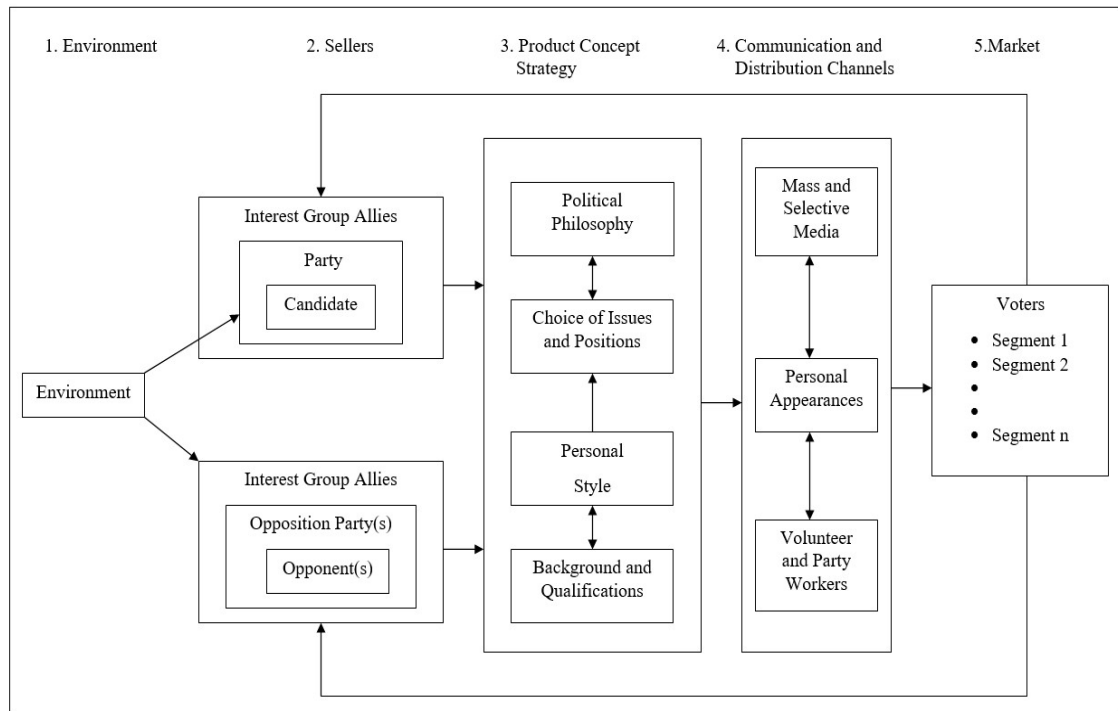


Figure 2. A Comprehensive Political Marketing Map

Source: Philip Kotler, Overview Of Political Candidate Marketing, *Advances in Consumer Research*. Vol.2 Issue 1, 1975:764.

In this context political marketing includes environment, sellers, product concept strategy, communication and distribution channels and market. The candidate, who is a product in the political marketing mix, should create a marketing strategy that the party, his assistants and interest groups will utilize as well. They try to convey these strategies to voters through various means of mass media, personal contacts, party staff and volunteers. Therefore, the importance of candidate in political marketing can be understood better.

2.3.1.3. Political Party Program as a Product

The last element of product in political marketing is the political party program. A political party program is an action plan that distinguishes the party from its

counterparts and shows the outline of which needs, demands, desires and expectations of voters will be fulfilled when the party comes into power, and this action plan should be consistent with the party's philosophy, ideology and image (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.123). A political party must define the works it aims to carry out, present them to the public, convince the public and then put them into practice. The party program must contain primary problems of the country and its social, economic and cultural model and affairs of the country at global level in a way that is not contrary to the capabilities of country and political opinion of the party (Yılmaz & Köse, 2012, p.235). A match between the programs of political parties and expectations of voters will enable political parties to become more advantageous than their rivals (Okumuş, 2007, p.158). Accordingly, certain characteristics of a political party program can be listed as follows (İslamoğlu, 2002, pp.125-126): a party program should be national, consistent with the philosophy/ideology and identity of the political party, take problems of country and their order of priority into consideration, include solution offers in line with the realities of the country and the world, be coherent in itself, be convincing and reassuring, be a product of the party, include realistic and attainable goals, and be based on scientific data. Political party programs can be used as an important tool to introduce and explain the party better to the voters. If the party program fails to keep pace with changing demands of the society, then the support of public will melt and the party will gradually lose its votes in the elections and finally go out of existence (Tan, 2002a, p.41). Therefore, party programs are expected to keep pace with the change in line with current issues and trends.

2.3.2. Political Price

The price cannot be argued as the most important element for marketing success but it is important for consumers and gives an idea about quality albeit it is superficial and helps consumers perceive and assess the product (Mucuk, 2012, p.154). In political marketing, there is no consideration that voters pay in 'monetary' sense in return for 'political buying'. Political buying is considerably a forward looking buying and directly associated with the promises made to voters. Political buying is substantially an event of 'buying hope' for the future (Polat, 2015, pp.440-441). In terms of political marketing, conceptualization of price is a problematic process. The price could be practices such as new tax and social developments that will be brought by political

parties and candidates in the lives of voters if they win or psychologically winning or losing belief and trust in political party and candidate in the eye of public. Since it is not possible to know the election results beforehand or fulfillment of promises made by the winning party or candidate before the election cannot be guaranteed, the 'price' element in political marketing is likened to a game that is played by voting (Demirtaş & Özgül, 2011, p.18). The price that is paid to support the candidate can be considered as the cost of going to polls for voting and grants and voluntary works for the campaign (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, pp.63-64).

According to the laws, parties get support from the treasury depending on the votes they receive. This support that is granted to political parties from the treasury consists of the taxes paid by the voters without a doubt. In this case, the voters make an impact politically by means of the votes they cast for political parties during the elections and economically as political party receives support from the treasury based on its votes. The income of parties does not only rely on the treasury grants; even if it is small, they receive contributions and grants from their members as set out in the laws (Karaçor, 2007, p.89). Political leader and/or party program promise various public services to the voter in return for a certain consideration. They define the extent of public services they promise in return for the votes considering the national economy and government budget. Here the purpose is to offer more benefit to the voter than their rivals (Kaleli, 2015, p.18).

The goals or objectives in pricing are generally operational and marketing goals, because management aims to achieve certain marketing objectives through all other decision variables, not only through the price. General objectives that a business wants to achieve when pricing a specific product or service include the following: maximization of current profit, target profit, market share, maximization of sales revenues, skimming of market and others (Mucuk, 2012, p.155). The consideration, which is measured in 'monetary' terms in commercial products, changes its form completely in political products and takes forms such as sacrifice, time, effort, emotion, psychological investments, emotional investments on expectation and problems suffered. Political pricing should be determined in a 'reasonable' way depending on and considering the characteristics of voters in the target audience (Polat, 2015, p.445).

Indicating that the product determined as leader, party program and candidates is accepted by the voters, the vote is a social approval of promises made for the future and

participating in the public cost. Marketing management can develop optimal policies and strategies that may positively influence opinions of voters without spoiling economic balance of the country by means of public income and expense decisions that define to what extent the cost of promised public goods will be reflected on the voters (Parıltı & Baş, 2002, p.21). A political party should calculate pricing goals well when defining the type, level and financing method of public services. Similar to commercial objectives, these goals can be listed as follows (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.134): (1) Maximizing the votes, (2) Rising to a certain rank among the parties, (3) Maximizing future votes, (4) Being among main rivals, (5) Being a partner of ruling power, (6) Creating a certain image. Public finance decisions that will be taken in line with these general objectives may be used in a way to direct voters' preferences as a means of marketing to make sure the political party achieves its certain public goals (Tan, 2002a, p.48). Consequently, a political party cannot define a certain price beforehand unlike in commercial enterprises but just targets a price. Besides, regardless of the amount of price it is paid, the political party should accept it and endure irremediable costs for this price (Akkılıç, İlban and Özbek, 2011, p.223).

The price paid by voters can be considered as the sum of cost elements. The cost that arises out with the election of a party and/or a candidate has the components of economic costs, psychological costs and alternative costs. Economic costs include costs that voters are closely interested, such as increase of taxes and interests and utilization of means of the state. Psychological costs arise when a party or a candidate that is elected by voters is not embraced by media and bureaucracy and the voter group feels this situation continuously by means of mass media etc. Lastly, alternative cost is the level of benefits, services and satisfaction that the voters will lose due to failure of other party and candidate to win the elections (Polat, 2015, pp.442-443). Cost-benefit analyses focus on balancing social benefit with social cost before deciding on making certain expenses. Three stages stand out in calculation of cost-benefit. The first one is listing the cost and benefits of considered items, second is valuing them and third is comparing the projects with each other (Tan, 2002a, pp.50-51). However, it is impossible to balance between benefit and costs of certain services (İslamoğlu, 2002, pp.132). But, it should not be forgotten that you cannot always subject price to a rational evaluation.

2.3.3. Political Place

Place covers all efforts related to placement of products to consumers and thus closes the gap between production and consumption (Mucuk, 2012, p.263). When it comes to place in political marketing, the place refers to delivery of political products and related messages (party program, leader, candidate, practices, organization) to the voters from the short cut, at the right time and in the most economical and effective way (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.135). Communication of promises and undertakings to the suitable voters and performance of the management by proper means at the right time by organizing personal activities of the masses, media volunteers, salaried workers and candidates that constitute both distribution channels and promotion tools of the political party are among the main responsibilities (Parıltı & Baş, 2002, p.21). Political product package is delivered and communicated to the target market with a top-down flow by means of activities organized by units in the distribution mechanism. On the other hand, it is a double-function mechanism that communicates market data and information to upper decision mechanisms with a bottom-up flow (Polat, 2015, p.484). At the center of a placement or distribution technique is a system of territorial suppliers. The administrators of these organizations help facilitate and supply volunteer work and vital inputs amid election campaigns. What's more this system additionally interacts with the national device to organize and facilitate local occasions and visits by the party administration (Wring, 1997, p.657).

Messages related to words and promises of political parties are communicated to the voters through various types of marketing channels. Called by different names, these various types of channels are individuals or entities that maintain the relationship between political party and voter (Tan, 2002a, p.51). Members of distribution channels are generally divided into two: those who have legal and managerial connection with the political party and those who work for the party for a certain remuneration without such connections. Those who have legal and managerial connection with the political party consist of candidates, party organizations, members, volunteers and political party workers. Those who work for the party for a certain remuneration include intermediary institutions such as advertising agencies and political communication advisors (Kaleli, 2015, pp.19-20).

Public meetings, party organizations and election offices can be considered as the elements of distribution channel in political marketing. Public meetings function as

a distribution channel and promotion activity: the reason why it functions as a distribution channel is that it directly communicates policies, opinions, plans, projects and discourse of the party or candidate as a product package by visiting the places where the voters reside. They also function as a means of promotion as it distributes the foregoing and make the voters embrace and believe in them with a certain format and style (Polat, 2015, pp.489-497). In the context of political marketing, political promotion and distribution mixes are mostly intertwined and thus it is mostly difficult to separate them from each other with certain borders (Polat & Külter, 2006, p.198). Since the public meetings function both as a distribution channel and promotion activity, this study deals with public relations and publicity activities as a promotion activity.

Political parties and candidates can use two ways to communicate to voters the promises that they will fulfill if they are elected. The first one is 'direct distribution', where the party and candidates directly communicates with voters. The second is 'indirect distribution', where they use intermediaries to access to the voters (Demirtaş & Orçun, 2015, p.43). Accordingly, direct and indirect distribution is discussed as a distribution channel.

2.3.3.1. Direct Distribution Channels

In direct distribution, parties/candidates directly access to voters without any intermediary. Its advantages include communicating products and ideas to voters without any modification by others, keeping messages under control and preventing misunderstanding or misperception but its high cost constitutes a disadvantage (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.135). When we adapt main advantages of direct distribution in conventional marketing to political marketing, its advantages for the political party can be listed as follows (Tan, 2002a, p.53): (1) Political party becomes able to better monitor the developments in the public as it can establish a close relationship with voters and make changes and corrections when necessary. (2) Political party can have a wider freedom of movement in general. (3) Marketing activities can be controlled actively. (4) When an extraordinary marketing effort or technical service is needed, political party can know whether it can offer it through its own organization.

2.3.3.2. Indirect Distribution Channels

Supporters, party organization and party workers who serve as intermediary institutions in indirect distribution are advantageous in terms of contacting face-to-face with the voters and thus they play an active role in distributing political products. In addition, intermediary institutions know the connections, relationships and voters in that region better and closer (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.137). The main reasons why parties use intermediary institutions can be listed as follows (Tan, 2002a, pp.53-54):

- Even if they are big, the parties generally do not have a distribution channel that will forward their messages directly to the target public. Because an organization that will replace these intermediary institutions who assume the role of distribution will take the political party out of its specialization. Also, cost and risk of assuming these functions may have a negative impact on other activities of the political party.
- The knowledge of parties is not enough to communicate messages to the target public. Intermediary institutions are used because of their superiority and efficiency in terms of basic marketing duties and functions.
- Making the expected impact through the messages depends on conveying them to a wider audience at the right time, in the right place and through suitable means. Intermediary institutions may be helpful in making the expected impact through messages. Therefore, it would be a more rational approach to make use of existing distribution networks of intermediary institutions.
- The use of intermediary institutions reduce the activities that the party will carry out, and ensure saving in the workload. Thus, the efforts of party to convey its messages will increase as the number of voters in its target public increases. Failure to finish these efforts in time may prevent the political party from reaching some parts of its target public. By using an intermediary, these efforts will be finished on time and all segments of the target public will be reached.

As a result, it is thought that use of direct distribution channels in an integrated way with indirect distribution channels will provide efficiency. In direct distribution, it is an advantage that the voter can contact face-to-face with the party/candidate and

problems in the market can be dealt with immediately. In indirect distribution, use of an intermediary means lessening the workload for the party or candidate.

2.3.4. Political Promotion

One of the elements of political marketing mix is promotion activities. According to Harris (2001, p.36), promotion plays the crucial role in political marketing mix. Because promotion is a means of marketing that announces promises and undertakings and presence of candidates of a political party to the voters and enables survival and development of the party (Tan, 2002a, p.58). According to İslamoğlu (2002, pp.138-140), political promotion is a communication process that conveys information about a political party, candidates or leader or the policies and services developed by them to audiences, target voters or individuals in a desired manner, and that consists of many elements. Promotion campaigns that are run by candidates, party organizations and political groups mainly try to influence political decision-making process of voters and ensure that they make their choices in favor of suggested political product package and influence the election results accordingly (Polat, 2015, p. 447). Political players need to express themselves in order to create change of opinion and behavior and maintain the continuity of existing opinion and behavior. The communication that meets this requirement is political communication (Eroğlu, 2006, p.170). The power of communication to be created between target audience and institutions is the most important factor on the way to success in promotion of concrete goods or services, and promotion of products subject to political marketing (Kaleli, 2015, pp.21-22).

As long as politicians comprehend voters, they can make more powerful communication; knowing who they are, what they need and how to contact them substantially reveals a need for focused communication. Marketing communications are utilized for a few reasons, not simply to win a election, including (Lees-Marsment, 2009, p.162): to enhance the candidate's or political leader's picture, to speak to what the party or politician is about, to induce voters to a perspective, to make something clearer, to counter negative assaults from the opposition, to instruct and educate voters, to pick up or build support for a specific bit of enactment, to place an issue on the plan, and expand support for referendum proposition. Another element that is important as

much as the content of a message for the voters is that such message is conveyed through a suitable channel of communication. For example, distributing leaflets in a region with a very low literacy rate could mean wasting limited resources of the party (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, p.68).

There are reasons why political parties pay high importance to promotion. These reasons can be listed as follows (Divanoğlu, 2007, p.100): (1) Long distance between headquarters of political parties and places of residence of voters. (2) A continuous change in demands, needs and expectations of voters. (3) Increasing competition with the increase in number of political parties. (4) Increase in number of and development of means of mass media. (5) Increase in number of uncontrollable variables of political party. (6) Voters look for qualities in activities of political parties, such as distinctness and superiority. (7) Guiding attitudes of voters towards the party in a positive way. (8) Identification of party with votes and positioning the party at the highest position in the mind of voters. As a result of the importance attached, the elements of political promotion mix that are used by political parties are as follows (Tan, 2002a; Lees-Marshment, 2009; Oktay, 2002; Bongrand, 1992; Bowler & Farrel, 2011; Polat, 2015; Divanoğlu, 2007):

- **In advertising**, messages are communicated to the voters by using television, radio and cinema advertisements, newspaper and magazine advertisements, online advertisements, wall advertisements, bill-board ads and posters, vehicle advertisements, delivery of introductory document by mail, flyers, brochures, catalogue/introductory book and introductory film (cinevision).
- **In propaganda**, mobile messages, e-mail messages, door-to-door voter visits and canvassing with election office visitors are used.
- **In public relations**, phone calls and presentations, organization of meetings, such as commemoration, celebration, wishing merry holiday, organization of special meetings such as conferences and seminars etc., attending social events, public meetings, organizing press releases and press conferences, television and radio news, newspaper articles, conversations and interviews, candidate websites, and use of social media (facebook, twitter, etc.) are used.

- **In promotional incentives**, the voters are reached by using gifts such as badge, pen, key holder, coffee etc., organizing events such as free concerts, exhibitions etc., flags, balloons, banners and pennants.

Accordingly, this study deals with advertising, propaganda, public relations and publicity and promotional incentives that are evaluated in terms of elements of political promotion mix.

2.3.4.1. Advertising

As a political promotion mix element, advertising is ‘the placement of announcements and persuasive messages in time or space purchased in any of the mass media by business firms, nonprofit organizations, government agencies, and individuals who seek to inform and/ or persuade members of a particular target market or audience about their products, services, organizations, or ideas’ (www.ama.org). Advertising functions as a persuasive power, which enables changing consumer attitudes and behavior patterns for a commodity, service or idea by means of mass media. Due to its success in reaching the masses, it plays a concretely effective role in modern politics. (Tan, 2002a, p.87). Political advertisements are used intensively together with other means and methods of promotion, in order convey and introduce to the voters the approaches of parties and candidates towards problems of the country, opinions about their solutions, political vision, their accomplishments and promises and ultimately to make sure the voters embrace and support them (Polat, 2015, p.453). Political advertisements that are created for elections, an essential element of democracies, have functions such as creating interest in the public towards the candidate or party, introducing their names, supporting partisan tendencies, increasing participation, informing them on controversial issues and influencing the votes of floating voters (Eroğlu, 2006, p.176). Political advertisement uses the same methods as product advertisements. Both aim to achieve their goals by appealing to demands, perceptions and emotions of people and using various stimulants to influence consumers/voters. Therefore, both advertisements aim to reach target audience by using emotionality and the element of fear in conveying their messages (Polat, 2015, p.457).

In general, political advertising campaigns consist of two main stages: In the first stage, value judgments, trends and expectations of voters are identified. The second

stage consists of efforts to determine the communication strategy. At the beginning of campaign, parties/candidates try to define problems, demands and thoughts of voters (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, p.73). Parties and candidates who challenge to win the support of voters are expected to take two factors into consideration: firstly, they should persuade voters on why they should vote for them. Second, they should persuade voters on why they should not vote for other candidates (Balçı, 2007, p.124).

Changing a preference for a party, candidate and ideology depends on creation and transfer of political symbols defined by specialist advertisers. Here, political candidate or party refers to 'source' and special voter groups or all voters refer to 'target' (Eroğlu, 2006, p.172). In political advertising, the leader and/or candidate used means concretization of offered abstract values in the eye of voters. The hero and symbols used in advertising correspond in a sense to leader and/or candidate in political marketing (Kaleli, 2015, p.51). Many political symbols such as clothes of party leader and/or candidates, party's emblem, public meeting speeches, posters, banners, their colors and the way how they are presented to the audience are considered as a political message (Eroğlu, 2006, p.172). An advertisement message is generally communicated to large masses by means of mass media. Besides the use of tools such as radio, television, newspaper, magazine, posters, boards and catalogues, visual and audio ads are developed for TV watchers, audio ads for radio audiences, graphical ads for newspaper readers and interactive ads for Internet users (Tan, 2002a, p.61; Polat, 2015, p.465). In this respect, one of the most important stages of an advertisement or advertising campaign that is planned to present a product or service is the selection of advertisement media. Because advertisement media are the places where message meets with target audience, a wrong choice at this stage will cause all expenses, efforts and time used and it becomes invain failing to communicate an advertising message to the target voters (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, p.32). Advertisement media are divided into three groups: Broadcasting advertisement media, printed advertisement media, and other media. Accordingly, television, radio and cinema commercials, newspaper and magazine ads, outdoor ads, direct mailing ads, flyers, brochures and catalogues and online announcements are used.

2.3.4.1.1. TV, Radio and Cinema Advertisements

An advertisement message reaches the consumer in a printed way in printed advertisement media and in audio, text, effect and image format in broadcasting advertisement media (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, p.39). In this context, television, radio and cinema commercials are considered as broadcasting advertisement media. Television has the capacity to display political (advertisement, news, commentary etc.) messages through a wide range of programs such as movies, music shows, entertainment programs, commercial ads, news, debate programs and documentaries by combining them with the advertisements (Polat, 2015, p.507). Television is the most effective mass media as it appeals to both eye and ear. In particular, the fact that it has video and audio makes it far more effective in countries with low literacy rate (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, pp.42-44). Television ads enable reaching not only voters who are interested in politics or a supporter of a political party/candidate but also the voters who are not interested in politics or who are dissidents. Political party or candidate finds the opportunity to express the party program with future targets and past practices by means of television advertisements in combination with various elements such as tone of voice, gestures and mimics, body language, and selection of clothing (Eroğlu, 2006, p.174).

Radio is a highly powerful means of broadcasting considering the geographical area it covers and size of population it reaches. Radio can quickly communicate advertisement message to the target audience, radio is an economic advertisement media both for listeners and advertisers, and it is an advantage of the radio that you can listen to radio shows anywhere and throughout the day (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, pp.39-41). The type of communication used in radio media is verbal communication. The word does not only consist of codes, symbols or indicators but is a part of concepts, culture and world-view that constitute that language. If the words are not selected correctly and communicated with the right voice, it is not possible to make the expected impact on the receiver. Other elements which are important as much as language and word are voice, toning and emphasis. Voice is the most effective way to show reliability, credibility and sincerity (Eroğlu, 2006, p.175). Also, strong associations can be evoked about the advertisement on those who hear that any spot that is broadcasted on television is also broadcasted on radio with the same voice (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, p.91).

Having a wide area of use for many years, cinema is also an effective advertisement media as it appeals to eye and ear. It reaches the target audience in a limited manner because the advertisement introducing the product or service in question addresses to the number of viewers who go to the movie. Cinema advertisements require high cost since they require a special work and appeal to restricted number of viewers (Taş & Şahim, 1996, p.55).The advertisements that are developed as a clip and find a sufficient running time at the cinema could be effective and permanent. However, if the running time of advertisement is long, this impact would be negative (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, p.48).Accordingly, parties and/or candidates who use television, radio and cinema advertisements are expected to convey their message and present their image in a coordinated way in this media.

2.3.4.1.2. Newspaper and Magazine Advertisements

The most effective and most consumed means of printed mass media is newspapers. The audience of newspapers is different from each other in terms of their economic, social and demographic characteristics. In this case, advertiser can increase the chances of reaching different audiences by using various newspapers (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, p.34). Besides, newspapers have the opportunity to publish certain advertisement messages on pages that are related to the subject. For example, advertisements about the economy are published on economy pages (Taş & Şahim, 1996, p.50). Also, regionally printed national newspapers and availability of local newspapers offer an advantage in terms of reaching the target audience and saving cost of the advertisement by means of advertisements that are published within certain geographical limits (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, p.35). News, announcements, advertisements or commentary messages are stable on pages of newspapers and easy to perceive for human mind. All kinds of images, graphics, figures and designs (visual content) that the newspaper contains facilitate perception of messages. Therefore, newspaper pages are thoroughly covered with political advertisements and announcements especially during the election periods (Polat, 2015, p.512).

Magazines constitute second major group of printed advertisement media. Magazines that are printed at various locations are distributed nationwide or in a specific region for large masses or individuals who are united around certain

professions or features. Magazines have the chance of being kept and read for a long time. However, since their period of publication is long, they are not suitable for advertisements that are developed in connection with current issues (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, pp.37-38). The influence of magazines on voters may be more permanent compared with other media, but the rate of reading magazine is very low in Turkey (Polat, 2015, p.512). According to statistics of Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI) (www.tuik.gov.tr), there are 4176 magazines countrywide and 74 magazines in Adana and Mersin in 2014. Considering that the rate of reading magazines in Turkey is 4%, this decreases the weight of magazine readers in the total voter audience. However, despite its disadvantages, it is observed that magazine advertisements are used by parties and candidates.

2.3.4.1.3. Outdoor Advertisements

Outdoor advertisement media are fixed or mobile advertisement media that are used outside indoor areas (Taş & Şahim, 1996, p.54). Functions and effects of outdoor advertising can be listed as follows (Uztuğ, 1999, p.125): it boosts the morale of party or candidate sympathizer and supporters, it is effective in improving the recognition of name, it offers an effective visual help in encouraging participation and informing the voters who are not connected with the candidate or party yet, it is a cheaper and rational media compared with mass advertising, and it supports the message in other communication channels through its reinforcing and evocative functions. This study deals with bill-boards, posters, election cars and wall advertisements under the outdoor advertisements.

In political marketing, bill-boards are one of the most used media especially during the election campaigns. These are the frames that are placed mostly in crowded locations of the city or locations with heavy traffic, for special purposes to hang large-size posters and announcements for advertisements that are easy to see (Polat, 2015, p.518). Posters are very important for the advertiser as striking and attention-grabbing advertisement media. They may have an extremely effective influence on the target audience when short and effective messages are combined with non-word elements in a coherent manner and in a way to supplement the meaning (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, p.47). In other words, visual expression is in the forefront in posters, which are one of

the media that are preferred when you have to send certain messages to the masses through a plain expression (Avcı, 2015, p.235). One of the applications that are used in election campaigns and considered as one of the most common practices in on-site political marketing is the election cars, which make mobile announcement, advertisement and publicity. These cars are prepared specifically for purposes such as introducing the party and/or candidates, reminding them, saying 'We're here, too!', and increasing recognition. They take attention of many voters with the music they play and announcements and calls they make on large-volume speakers mounted on the cars, but the impact of messages given decreases naturally since all parties/candidates carry out similar activities (Polat, 2015, pp.530-531). Wall advertisement is an advertising method that is used for a long time. Smooth walls of apartments and buildings with no windows are made available for use by advertisers. This type of advertisement is visually important as it offers a fixed and wide space (www.grafikerler.org).

2.3.4.1.4. Direct Mailing Advertisements

One of the means of political marketing is direct mailing advertising. Mailing is used frequently to send specific messages to the target voters and make various political market researches (Polat, 2015, p.535). It covers delivery of advertising materials that contain a message for the selected target audience, such as letters, flyer, postcard etc., by mailing to certain addresses. Target audience can be reached directly by means of direct mailing advertisements (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, p.48). It has a few key qualities Lees-Marshment, 2009, p.168): it mirrors every beneficiary's individual attributes; it stands out enough to be noticed; it clarifies why they ought to be intrigued; it urges them to act. On the other hand, an important drawback is that advertising material is not read by the targeted person (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, p.48). Thanks to the opportunities offered by the database technology, millions of voter records (containing information such as name, surname, educational status, occupation, geographical area, personal details, political opinion etc.) can be stored in a single file and voters can be classified by these characteristics. Therefore, it is possible to create a certain message depending on the characteristic of each voter group. For example, in the general election of 2015, the Justice and Development Party (JDP) sent a letter to first-time voters (in their name) as a special message (Polat, 2015, pp.535-536). Direct mailing is about sending a large number of letters to voters. When the direct mailing first emerged years ago, recipients

of letters were proud of themselves thinking that the candidate wrote something personally for them. However, today, everybody knows that these letters are sent to many people at the same time (Bongrand, 1992, p.88). Nevertheless, letters that are mailed directly with special signatures can make voters feel special.

2.3.4.1.5. Flyers, Brochures and Catalogues

In addition to newspapers and magazines, flyers, brochures and catalogues can be considered as printed advertising media. Flyers are adverts that generally consist of one page and are developed to announce something new and support a launched advertising campaign. Here, the most important thing is to select areas for distribution of flyers in a way to attract target audience and use very attention-grabbing spot headings in the advert. Brochures are used to give comprehensive information about a product or a service or an ideology. They are designed to convey the most important messages in a really influential manner. Catalogue, another printed advertising media, is created to give a set of information about a product or a service or an ideology and they generally do not directly contain a sale or preference message (Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, p.38).

Flyers and brochures, which are the most used and currently classical marketing tools of political marketing, especially during the election campaigns, are used heavily by the parties and candidates. This is because they can reach many voters, offer concrete and tangible information about the party or candidate, they are easy to copy and distribute, they are cheap, and offer material in visual as well as text format (Polat, 2015, p.523). In political marketing, flyers are highly preferred during the election campaigns as they can be put into the mailboxes for the purposes of regional information about an issue. Brochures have been used almost in all election campaigns as an introductory printed media with plenty of images besides summary information about candidates of political parties. Catalogues contain information on what a political party and/or candidate has done and will do, and offer information message for the voters (Avcı, 2015, pp.233-237).

2.3.4.1.6. Internet

On the web, or virtual, or e-marketing is one of the freshest types of marketing communications, as advancements in communications innovation have opened up new communications means, for example, websites, email and written content (Lees-Marshment, 2009, p.170). Inclusion of internet as an element in the cycle of politics, marketing and communication has brought previously unanticipated changes and innovations with it. With the use of internet in political marketing, political parties, leaders and candidates have found the opportunity to be closer to voters. Such political persons and organizations have strengthened their communication with their voters thanks to the internet (Akar, 2009, p.180).

The use of internet in political marketing in an advanced and systematic manner was seen for the first time in the United States presidential election of 2000. The parties had become more advanced and systematic this time. In this election, parties/candidates opened special websites, and published visually rich online brochures and campaign posters on their websites. Also, they communicated with the voters and answered their questions online (Polat, 2015, p.539). A study was conducted to determine the level of utilization of digital media by university students and their level of influence from the contents of these media during the period of election campaigns in the Local Election of March 30, 2014 in Turkey. As a result of study, it was found that internet was the mostly used media since it is accessible by means of various devices and contains wide range of content, and enables access to other means of mass media. (Temel; Önürmen; Köprü, 2014, p.335). When the Information Society Statistics of TÜİK for 2004-2015 (www.tuik.gov.tr) are examined, the usage rate of internet by years of general elections held in Turkey is 30.1% in 2007, 45.0% in 2011, and 55.9% in 2015. The increase in usage rate of internet indicates that political marketing practices can be carried out by means of internet.

The most effective and commonly used means of communication in the new century, the internet increases its share among the advertising media in parallel with the increasing number of users every passing day. The most important features that distinguish internet from conventional advertising media are that it is interactive, personal and measurable (Altınbaşak & Karaca, 2009, pp.464-465). In political marketing, some of the advertisements that can be used effectively as internet

advertisements include the following (Penpece, 2013, pp.36-37; Lees-Marshment, 2009, p.170):

- **Banner Advertisements:** They are placed on a website in the form of tape or strip and provide a link to the advertiser website. A person who enters the website clicks on the message or symbol on the banner and is directed to that website.
- **Search Engine Advertising:** This type of advertising is seen when you make a search in search engines. It is important since it displays ads related to a keyword when you make a search using a specific keyword.
- **Digital Video Advertisements:** They are advertising videos or frequently displayed advertising texts in pre-roll, mid-roll and post-roll of the video content clicked by the user.
- **Pop-up Advertisement:** Internet advertisements that pop up when the public is browsing are designed not just to reach them but be tailor-made to the recipient in terms of content and time.

Introductory films are visual digital data that contain personal information about the candidate and aims to introduce the candidate. Introductory films can be posted online or recorded in CD-ROMs to reach the voters.

2.3.4.2. Propaganda

Propaganda refers to all efforts that are carried out to spread a certain idea, opinion and ideology by using various means and methods to influence domestic or foreign public around certain objectives, and aims to convince and guide people (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.141). From the perspective of communication, propaganda can be defined as a conscious attempt that is made to define, shape and control attitudes of an individual or group or other individuals or groups, and determine their reactions in line with the desired direction by using the means of mass media (Armağan, 1999, p.418). Especially when addressing to individuals or voters, propaganda becomes an important means of promotion for candidates and parties to introduce themselves and explain their policies. In such settings, it is important for parties and candidates, which have marketable political products and can present these products in a good way, to be able to use propaganda positively and effectively. On the other hand, parties and candidates,

which have quality political products but fail to communicate them by means of propaganda and use this advantage in such settings, have a less chance of being preferred (Torlak, 2002, p.39).

Main purpose of the propaganda is to carry the ideas and ideologies beyond all question. The masses are directed to acceptance by means of activities that are carried out by highlighting various sentimental themes and supported with anthems and slogans (Kaleli, 2015, p.24). Propaganda means the control of thoughts through meaningful symbols, visual and audio materials, stories, rumors, news, images and other means of public communication. Propaganda aims to direct the individuals, to accept an idea with their own will even though they are not obliged to do so, and to take part in a movement willingly without being forced (Özsoy, 2002, p.185). It can be argued that propaganda is used to influence target audience, carry the ideas of party/candidates, and influence voting behaviors of voters. As a main condition of success, propaganda should hide the source of message adroitly, message carriers should be convincing, individual should perceive the message without defending and interpret this message objectively, and therefore logical processes should be analyzed well and message should be supported with evidences (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.142). Techniques such as creating a single enemy, simplicity, exaggeration and making use of common values and common memory of the society have increased the power of propaganda and 'repetition' has become the most important technique used (Özkan, 2014, p.23). Propaganda activities that are performed by party leaders and/or candidates include face-to-face meetings with voters who visit party offices, promotion activities that are carried out through door-to-door visits, phone messages and e-mails. In this study, slogans and election songs are covered as propaganda activities.

Canvassing² produces more effective results than written communication because written communication is one-way, while verbal communication, especially face-to-face communication, functions two-way. If buyer or target audience gains a positive impression as a result of face-to-face communication, they will serve on behalf of institution (party) by conveying their impression to others (Bilgin, 2010, pp.56-57). Making face-to-face contact with the voters has an important impact in terms of

² Canvassing is the systematic initiation of direct contact with a target group of individuals commonly used during political campaigns. During Elections party leader, candidate or party members will knock on doors of private residences within a particular geographic area, engaging in face-to-face personal interaction with voters (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canvassing>).

persuading volunteers of candidates or party and voters of the political leader. (Güllüpunar, 2012, p.82). In terms of public relations, it has important opportunities for political leaders, candidates and organization staff to have continuous contact with the public, canvassing with voters in order to determine and eliminate negative opinions of voters about the party/candidate. A political party wins the support of public if it can show the public during such contacts that the party knows demands and needs of the public, makes great effort to listen to and solve their problems (Tan, 2002a, p.67). Accordingly, canvassing can be performed in settings such as party offices.

Requiring canvassing with the voters, door-to-door canvassing is suitable for the purpose of persuasion, while general trend in the literature shows that it is mainly performed to mobilize the voters and increase voter turnout (Kalender, 2007, p.144). These efforts are commonly made through volunteers. In this respect, having volunteers with necessary qualities is an important factor in the success of election campaign. In addition, it is concluded that in terms of methods of application canvassing is more effective than other efforts such as telephone and e-mail (Güllüpunar, 2012, pp.83-85). Workplace visits, coffeehouse and tea house meetings, street meetings and home visits of candidates or party personnel and introduction of political products and requesting the support of voters from individuals or small groups are some of the propaganda activities (Polat, 2015, pp.476-478).

Another activity that is used as a means of propaganda is mobile messaging. According to Mobile Marketing Association (2014), mobile messaging is 'broadly categorized into SMS, MMS, Push Notifications, Cross Channel Messaging, Over the Top Messaging and Instant Messaging'. Every class varies in that the messages are conveyed to cell telephones through various specialized organizations. Instant messages, for instance, contain just words and images, while MMS messages contain an instant message, and in addition a photo or video, which is conveyed as an attachment to the instant message (www.mmaglobal.com).

As an another means of propaganda, e-mail is an effective way that can be used by parties or candidates. E-mail is a fast, cheap and continuous channel of communication. E-mail enables parties/candidates to electronically store delivered e-mails and to answer back to the voters. Thus, parties/candidates can establish a two-way communication with the voters and the voters can perceive that the party/candidate is

accessible (Polat, 2015, p.550). Therefore, a two-way communication is established by using a tool with a very low psychological and economic cost and saving time.

Slogans as a supporting propaganda activity are short and clear words that are easy to remember and repeat, and words that express a thought, emotion or principle for political, commercial, religious or other purposes. Slogans are highly influential on the voters, because a well embraced slogan can tell and evoke the things that many words cannot tell and evoke. The influence of slogans is about their characteristics such as their fluidity, harmony, being easily expressible, memorability, catching common feelings and thoughts, acceptance by large voter masses and mobilizing the voters (Polat, 2015, pp.524-525). The most crucial slogans in Obama's election campaign focused on the themes 'hope', 'trust', 'change' and 'progress'. The slogan 'Yes we can' (Evet, yapabiliriz) symbolized hope and gave confidence. Considering the situation in the world and the state of mind of American voters, it was a good theme and slogan at a time when the hopes were exhausted (www.siyasaliletisim.org). In the General Election of 2007, the JDP, besides its main slogan 'No Stopping, Keep on Going' (Durmak Yok Yola Devam), adapted the slogan of Democratic Party, 'Enough! Now It's Public's Turn' (Yeter! Söz milletindir!), with a slight change by using the slogan 'Enough! Now It's Public's Decision' (Yeter! Karar Milletindir!) (Uslu, 2007, pp.109-110).

Election songs that are used throughout the election campaign identify with the party after some time and remind that party in all settings. Also, election songs are adapted with various political messages and generally sung by famous singers to make sure they draw more attention. Political messages used in the songs appeal to the subconscious of voters by using universal language and aesthetic of music. Election songs are used as part of political promotion mix and to supplement other means of promotion. The purpose here is mainly to gain visibility in the market, voters and rival parties, to come to attention, to preclude rivals and gain psychological advantage over other parties and in the eye of voters (Polat, 2015, pp.533-534). Effects of music used as a means of political communication during the elections include the following (Tanyıldızı, 2012, pp.100-102): information, drawing attention, remembering party/message, creating attitude, mobilizing and increasing turnout. As seen, each propaganda activity has the power to highly influence voters. Therefore, it is thought that propaganda activities that are performed integrated with all political marketing elements are very important in directing the perception of voters.

2.3.4.3. Public Relations

Public relations means identification and performance of activities and policies required to introduce and infuse an institution, individual or idea positively into the public by means of communications without a predefined price and a known responsible (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.157). The purpose of public relations is to create a positive image about the institution in the environment, improve the prestige of institution and gain a general trust and support. Therefore, public relations has more long-term goals compared with advertising (Bilgin, 2010, p.131). Also, the fact that public relations activities are performed without paying a price is one of the important characteristics that distinguishes them from advertising. Another distinctive feature of public relations compared with advertising is that the owner of message and target audience does not directly come across each other. In public relations, target audience knows that the message comes from a third source (Polat, 2015, pp.466-467). Public relations and publicity activities aim to minimize negative opinions about the party in the eye of voters, improve the party's image and correct negative understanding and perceptions about the party (Polat, 2015, p.474). Çatlı and Çatlı (2013, p.223) studied the level of influence of promotion mix elements on voters. In the questionnaire study, it was found that the voters are mostly influenced from public relations activities of parties and secondly from advertisements, and lastly from propaganda activities and promotional incentives. Therefore, public relations has a clear importance among the elements of political marketing mix.

Political parties can develop their public relations with the following methods by using the communication technology (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.158): it is possible to spread and infuse the party's identity and philosophy into large public masses by organizing gatherings such as commemoration, celebration, wishing a merry holiday, education and award organizations, organizing public entertainment and exhibition programs, ensuring that news about successful efforts of the party or leader are published, attending international events and announcing it to the public, running sponsorship activities and turning it into a propaganda, being represented in all public events, creating a website and making one-on-one contact, and organizing gift events, drawings, shows and competitions. In this study, the elements of public relations activities include meetings such as commemoration, celebration, conferences, seminars etc., special meeting arrangements, taking part in public events, organizing public meetings, press releases

and press conferences, television and radio news, newspaper articles, making interviews, phone calls and presentations, having websites, and using social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.).

Public meetings are a means of making scene and a power play against the rivals and election public meetings give (i) the message 'We're powerful' to the supporters of party, (ii) the message 'We're more powerful' to floating voters, and (iii) the message 'We're more powerful than you' to rival parties/candidates. The level of participation and enthusiasm at the public meetings is the main factor that shows to what extent the messages will reach their destination (Polat, 2015, p.492). If they are planned and practiced well, public meetings are a very helpful activity in winning the elections (Özkan, 2014, pp.353-354). Therefore, parties pay high importance to closing public meetings before the elections (Polat, 2015, p.492). In the General Election of June 7, 2015, President of the JDP Ahmet Davutoğlu held his closing public meetings in Antalya and Konya, President of the Republican People's Party (RPP) Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu in the 1st District of Istanbul, President of the Nationalist Movement Party (NMP) Devlet Bahçeli in Osmaniye and Adana, and Co-President of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) Figen Yüksekdağ in Van, and Co-President of the PDP Selahattin Demirtaş in Diyarbakır (www.hurriyet.com.tr).

Besides public meetings, another public relations activity is the meetings. During the meetings, parties can evaluate the public opinion and get an idea about the views of public on the practices of party (Budak & Budak, 2014, p.251). Accordingly, organizing meetings such as commemoration, celebration and wish merry holiday events can be considered as a public relations activity that can be used actively. Arrangement of special gatherings such as conferences and seminars can be another public relations activity. Also, attendance of party leaders/candidates in social events such as collective wedding events is an important public relations activity.

A press conference is organized in order to inform the public on an important issue, and when there are events that are expected to draw the attention of public such as a major opening, scientific meeting and groundbreaking ceremony. Also, existence of news misinterpreted in the public and media may require organizing a press conference (Tan, 2002a, p.72). Serving as a way of challenging the rival candidates, press conferences are actually the words and promises that politicians may not avoid keeping since they are open statements before the public. Such challenges hint to the rivals that

these are not ordinary promises but a threat and an opposition. Press conferences are also a method of communication towards large party organizations and may aim to reassure and support them, expect their support, and warn and inform them (Trent & Friedenbergl, 2000, pp.226-227, Cited by: Oktay, 2002, pp.167-168). Press releases are one of the most common methods used in public relations. Press releases must be clear and short. Each paragraph of the release should be newsworthy on its own and documents supporting the press release should be drafted (Bilgin, 2010, p.50).

Television, radio and newspaper conversations and interviews are activities that can be used as part of political public relations. Party leaders or candidates can use their personalities, knowledge, experience and charisma in order to influence the voters. Starting from what a leader or candidate says and how he says, to his voice, appearance, way of talking, sitting, standing up and body language of a leader or candidate, everything is a part of the message. Accordingly, television can present that message as a whole, while it is limited in case of newspapers and radio (Polat, 2015, pp.508-510). According to the study 'Perceptions of Voters on The Effects of Political Propaganda Instruments in Voting Behavior: Case Study of Isparta', there is a significant difference of perception in samples about the influence of television. While about 40% of decisive voters accept that television is influential on their political behaviors, a substantial part like 57% of floating voters stated they are influenced by television. It can be suggested that television shows this influence especially on floating voters (Baltacı & Eke, 2012, pp.125-126). Open sessions, debates and commentary shows on TV, election speeches, television news and newspaper articles and columns about the parties have a substantial influence on voting decision of the voters (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, p.77). After US and France, party leaders in Turkey started to take part in live open sessions as a guest. The cause celebre during the election of 1983 in Turkey was a series of debates where party leaders met at a live broadcast of TRT (Çankaya, 2015, p.178). During the show hosted by Hüsametlin Çelebi, three party leaders answered the questions asked by Çelebi and directed large masses of undecided voters to their political preferences (gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr). Besides television channels, newspapers can be considered as a means of running effective public relations activities. The purpose of public relations activities is not journalism but being featured by newspapers with a positive content. In this respect, since public relations departments are not in a position to intervene in newspapers, they naturally assume a duty to develop and maintain relationships with newspapers and journalists within certain principles (Avcı, 2015,

p.228). Radio channels cover even the smallest cities today. Politics-based shows in local radio channels can be more influential than similar shows in national radio channels. Because individuals and politicians who attend these shows in local radio channels are known closely by local people and these people are directly interested in voters and address to them personally and thus such shows can be expected to be more influential (Polat, 2015, pp.517-518). Therefore, it is thought that local radio channels and newspapers can be used as an effective way of promotion made by candidates.

Another element of public relations and publicity activities is phone calls and presentations. These include speeches made directly by political party candidates with the voters within a certain period of time allocated to them and/or use of certain number of predefined messages by means of various phone lines based on various voter groups (Tan, 2002a, p.69). Telephone communication has some disadvantages and advantages. According to the study conducted by Gerber and Green (2001, pp.80-81), the trial reported discoveries that a telephone call before the election did not improve turnout rates. Since it is possible that the telephone call bothered some individuals and made them somewhat less inclined to vote. Another disadvantage is telephone charges. Telephone devices and operations such as services and calls are chargeable and telephone communication is a more distant communication compared with door-to-door visits (Sezer, 2011, p.141).

Internet enables parties, candidates or party officials to make direct and instant communication by various ways such as social media networks (Twitter, Facebook, Periscope), personal websites, e-mail and even Whatsapp and chat rooms. This is an opportunity for the voters and creates an important advantage for the party and candidate as it reflects the image that the candidates are easily accessible (Polat, 2015, p.541). Internet also offers the opportunity to minimize election expenditures and bring the elector face-to-face with the electee. Also, those who want to win the election can convey their future plans and targets instantly on their websites, respond to the questions of voters online and develop an interactive election method (Özsoy, 2002, pp.229-230). Social media, on the other hand, differs from conventional media in many aspects (quality, accessibility, frequency, availability, directness, continuity etc.). Instead of one-way communication model of conventional media, it offers multi-directional (interactive) communication model. For example, viral effect of social networks is specific to social media and reflection of a message quickly on large masses through its

viral effect on social media is important on its own (Polat, 2015, p.554). In the event that politicians/parties are need to carry on admirably, they will then utilize it to activate grass roots, unite supporters thus fortify real social connection through virtual communication (Lees-Marshment, 2009, p.172). Many political campaigns are experienced through various applications such as Myspace, Youtube, Facebook, Second Life, Flickr, and Twitter etc. For example, MySpace and Youtube influences election campaigns in a simple but important way. At the same time, these social networks and video sharing websites offer certain benefits: They have the power to announce candidates to everyone with an increasingly low cost or without any cost at all. They offer a reasonable space for less known candidates to convey their messages. They make it possible to organize online campaigns for increasing grants and collecting volunteers (Akar, 2009, pp.179-180). In the 2012 Presidential Election, USA President Barack Obama gained over 90 million dollars of grants, over 1 million voter registrations, 45 million Facebook followers and 33 million Twitter followers. In the campaign of 2012, they used the slogan 'Don't be lame'. During the campaign, non-boring, sometimes funny and entertaining contents were offered for the voters and the campaign worked out very well (www.sosyalmedyakulubu.com.tr). According to the survey 'Consumer Barometer', where Google measures internet usage habits in 46 different countries, including Turkey, Turkey is ranked first worldwide in terms of social media usage with 92%. Facebook is the most frequently used social media platform with 93%, followed by Twitter (72%), Google+ (70%), and LinkedIn (33%). According to this report, most Internet users in Turkey go online every day. Users who are in 16-24 age range has the highest rate with 84% and it is 77% in 25-34 age range (www.consumerbarometer.com). In this respect, candidate websites and social media can be used actively in order to attract the interest of especially young voters in Turkey and direct them to a certain behavior.

2.3.4.4. Promotional Incentives

Promotional incentives consist of wide range of heterogeneous activities other than propaganda, advertising and public relations efforts, that are not performed continuously and do not have continuity (Tan, 2002a, p. 62). As a promotional element, advertising helps creating value in the market, creating distinguished brand product and supporting and developing quality, while promotional incentives allows for expansion

of market volume (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, p.79). Promotional incentives are a commonly used method in political marketing. These activities, which can be expressed as sales promotions under the product marketing, change shape in political marketing. In political marketing, they are called promotional incentives. Party flags, balloons, banners, badges, pennants, emblems, various gifts, treats and free concerts that are offered for voters depending on the distinctness of political product take a form (Polat, 2015, p.480). Promotional incentives are used as they function as an instrument that facilitates remembering in memory for the purposes of publicity (Avcı, 2015, p.259).

Some of the promotional incentives that can be used in political marketing include the following: presents such as desk calendar, desktop set, table lamp, pen, pencil case, lighter, coaster, calendar, wall clock, notepad, file folder, hat, T-shirt, work clothes, keychain, car smell and car sun shade (Avcı, 2015, p.259). The use of promotional incentives in communicating with the voters can be influential especially on the voters. At this point, political parties should take into consideration that unit price of distributed presents and gifts is not very high (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, p.80). However, it is undeniable that low and/or high cost efforts that can be made as an important means of persuasion are an important way of directing the perception of voters. Furthermore, flags, balloons, banners and pennants that are distributed to voters are promotional incentives that are suitable for use especially during the public meetings and opening of election offices.

Another effort, which can be considered as a promotional incentive, is events such as concerts and exhibitions. The most typical example of concerts as a promotional incentive was the election campaign of Young Party in 2002. Throughout the campaign, doner kebab and ayran were given to voters before the public meetings and concerts were organized right after the public meetings. These methods were used very effectively to attract people to the public meetings and the party took 7% of the votes despite it was a new party (Polat, 201, p.481). Exhibitions are used to introduce an organization, increase its prestige and inform the buyers (Budak & Budak, 2014, p.290). Therefore, organizing events such as free concerts and exhibitions can be used actively.

2.3.5. People in Politics

Any individual who comes into contact with your clients will make an impression, and that can have a significant impact -constructive or contrary- on consumer loyalty and the notoriety of your image rests in your kin's hands, they should, in this manner, be fittingly prepared, all around persuaded and have the right state of mind (www.cim.co.uk). In the context of political marketing, 'people' include everyone in a party organization from the lowest level party volunteer to the party leader. Party leader, organization staff of the party from all levels and all party volunteers within this spectrum are those who directly or indirectly contribute to the emergence of party's political product. Accordingly, advisors, internal or external party R&D personnel and individuals who provide ideas or service support can have an important influence on the perception of voters regarding the relevant political party or its service quality (Polat,2015, pp.500-501).

2.3.6. Process in Politics

The procedure of offering a service, and the conduct of the individuals who convey are urgent to client satisfaction. Issues such holding up times, the data given to clients and the accommodation of staff are all imperative to keep clients glad (www.cim.co.uk). In political marketing, process means the frame of flow from beginning to the end of political marketing activities that are run by a political party/candidate. That political marketing activities bring continuity rather than periodicity (not limited to election periods) requires dealing with process elements (party, candidate, party personnel, party sympathizers, party volunteers) more carefully in terms of political marketing activities (Polat, 2015, p.504). Political parties are required to implement an intensive campaign program during the election period and return to the routine process before and after the election period (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, p.85).

2.3.7. Physical Evidence in Politics

Physical evidences refer to tangible and visible aspect of service package, where service marketing can be controlled to a substantial degree. Physical evidences are an

important element of marketing mix that refers to the atmosphere and environmental conditions created in buying or fulfilling the service. The atmosphere and environmental conditions created may substantially influence the perception of consumer (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, p.82). In political marketing, emblems, logos, symbols and colors used by parties, party organizations (provincial and district organizations, youth branches, women's branch etc.), level of excitement and participation in party's public meetings, and election convoy can be considered as physical evidences. All these elements are the indicators and evidences of rendering service or demanding vote (Polat, 2015, p.499).



PART III

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

This part of the study covers election campaigns. Accordingly, it focuses on election campaign, preparation stage of election campaign, election campaign, campaign organization, and campaign evaluation activities.

3.1. Election Campaign

In all societies with a democratic tradition, the way to come to power to govern the public is to win the elections. In democratic governance approach, it has become a tradition to hold elections in an environment suitable for election processes and systems established by the political system and organize campaign activities in this process (Avcı, 2015, p.35). Election campaign can be defined as activities that are performed by political parties to offer their ideologies, programs or candidates to the liking of voters. These activities require a process. This process consists of all efforts that are made by political party and/or candidate for promotion, financing and organization in order to achieve the goals established at the beginning of campaign (Tan, 2002a, p.101). The campaigns that are evaluated by political players in a very large spectrum aim to influence the audience by means of developed techniques and ensure their participation for a specific purpose (Lilleker, 2013, p.67). Election campaigns fulfill a function to come to power, present knowledge and thoughts about social problems and future to the voters and make sure they are discussed, and to get the support of society. Functions of election campaigns can be listed as follows (Avcı, 2015, pp.38-39):

- Election campaigns ensure that all kinds of opinions are discussed and their differences are realized by the voters.
- Campaigns introduce new leaders to the public and pave the way for justification of them.
- Election campaigns connect voters with the political system, contribute to creation of a reconciliation environment, and mediate proliferation of democratic culture.
- Election campaigns introduce personal differences, qualities and styles of candidates to the voters and facilitate their preferences.

- Election campaigns also function as a kind of training. During the campaign, news media brings up basic problems of the country and enables the voters to learn those problems.
- Also, election campaigns aim to raise doubts in voters who support political rivals, and identify their own candidates and parties in a positive manner.

What functions in one campaign may not function in another. They can be anti- and pro-democracy in their implications, contingent upon an individual's perspective, and can utilize ideas not simply strategies (Lees-Marshment, 2009, p.178). Moreover, such distinctive nature of each election campaign require designing each campaign with a holistic approach in the relevant period. As a process of fixed-term activities, election campaigns should be designed and implemented in several main steps. According to Tan (2002a), election campaign consists of preparation stage, campaign stage and campaign organization. Oktay (2002) lists the stages of an election campaign as follows: research and preparation, planning, organization and strategy development, communication, and evaluation. Based on these studies, election campaigns are covered in four stages: (1) preparation for election campaign, (2) election campaign, (3) organization of election campaign, and (4) evaluation of election campaign.

3.2. Preparation for Election Campaign

It is important to prepare well for the election campaign and use the energy of political party within an organization (Tan, 2002a, p.105). Election campaigns are the periods when substantial expenditures are made to influence the voters. The most important thing to do for less cost, less effort, more effective use of time and more effective result is to make good preliminary preparations for the parties and candidates before elections. These preparations should be dealt with separately from the point of parties and candidates. From the point of parties, it is important to announce promises made in an organizational structure, promises made by candidates in a manner suitable for their own election districts, and locomotive teams/candidates who can realize these promises. From the point of candidates, it is also important to determine local demands, besides overall objectives (Özsoy, 2002, pp.201-204). The following issues should be taken into consideration during the preparation stage of an election campaign (secimler2011.blogcu.com):

- Collection of Incomplete Information: Results of previous elections, voter demographics, map of the region, primary problems of the region, findings of leading individuals in the region, names and contact details of village headmen, non-governmental organizations, media organizations, public institutions and organizations, professional organizations, chambers and trade unions
- Collecting the results of opinion researches,
- Identification of works and projects performed and not performed by the current mayor,
- Identification of Rival Candidates: Negative sides and determinant attributes of rival candidates and the type of competition with the rival candidates should be identified. In general, opposition leaders pursue a negative and aggressive policy. Candidates of ruling party, however, tell about their practices and defend the status quo. Based on this information, election strategy should be built on ‘the culture of compromise’.
- Identification of Slogans: The slogans that the candidate will use during the election campaign should be identified in the preparation stage. Slogans should feature differences, personality and agenda of the candidate compared with other candidates and should be catchy, short, comprehensible and plain.
- Preparation of Speech Texts: Since speech texts will be needed for use in various events during the election campaign, these texts should be drafted before the election campaign starts. It is necessary to prepare a curriculum vitae, letters to be sent to voters, press release for the announcement of candidacy, texts about problems of the region and solutions offers related to these problems, projects, promises, and separate speech texts that contain the demands of women, youth, children, people with disabilities, tradesmen and workers.

In the study, preparation stage is covered under three sub-headings: public opinion researches, identification of target voters and nomination of candidates. The framework that is established using public opinion researches is maintained with activities on identification of target audience. Political parties should identify the demands of voters and transmit suitable candidates or ideas to voters during the election period. In this respect, creation of the right political product constitutes the basis of

achieving success in the elections (Demirtaş & Özgül, 2011, p.17). Therefore, the last step of campaign preparation stage is about identification of candidates.

3.2.1. The Concept of Public Opinion and Opinion Researches

Public opinion is general judgment that develops within a certain time interval about a certain issue that concerns people (Kaleli, 2015, p.53). Public opinion is not a collective concept that is ready for being influenced and symbolizes communities who are ready to be diverted as desired. On the contrary, the concept of public opinion includes influencing communities of people who share a culture and a certain opinion and thought influenced with the elements of culture (Budak & Budak, 2014, p.18). In politics, public opinion refers to 'customer' in a sense. Votes may increase to the extent the admiration and appreciation of public is gained, but when the party defends ideas that are contrary to public opinion, this may have a negative impact on the votes (Kaleli, 2015, p.54).

It can be suggested that public opinion is measured by four mechanisms: letters and messages from citizens, public opinion researches, mass demonstrations, and election results. (Oktay, 2002, p.36). However, the most effective and comprehensive method in this measurement system is public opinion researches. Public opinion research is the method that is most valued by parties in practice in order to be acquainted with the public opinion (Avcı, 2015, p.176). Public opinion researches are conducted/produced in order to follow the direction of public opinion, the level of influence of political developments on the opinion and its change in terms of political marketing practices (Kaleli, 2015, p.55). Public opinion researches are field researches that are developed by governments, educational institutions, political parties and industrial organizations in order to learn opinions of people about certain issues. For example, these researches can be conducted in order to learn the reactions of consumers to a new product/service in the market and possible demands and to determine the market price or to estimate vote potential of a party in the elections (Budak & Budak, 2014, p.23). It is compulsory for parties to conduct public opinion researches before, during and after the election campaigns about general political state of affairs and current issues in the country and status of parties in the eye of voters in order to make an evaluation and develop policies accordingly (Avcı, 2015, p.176).

Thanks to public opinion researches, the information that will be used in preparation for the campaign is compiled and this information may be helpful in identification of actual problems of voters and perceptions of voters on politicians and political party as well as attitudes and reactions of voters (Tan, 2002a, p105). With its function to help decision-making in governance, public opinion research fulfills a duty to minimize uncertainty of information provided and therefore the risk of decisions to be made. The benefits that a public opinion research provide in marketing activities of a political party can be listed as follows (Çiftlikçi, 1996, p.75):

- It reveals the existence of marketing problems and the factors that create them.
- It minimizes the risk of decisions to be made, and ensures that such decisions are realistic.
- It ensures that political parties find out the needs and demands of voters and develop political products suitable for the public opinion.
- It aims to establish harmony between new political ideas and voters and current candidates and thus to increase total vote rate.
- It increases effectiveness in election campaign activities, finds out deficiencies and helps developing strategies accordingly.
- It provides information about preferences and expectations of voters about political products and directs technical research.
- It allows for saving marketing expenses by measuring effectiveness of marketing methods used and ensuring that the most suitable method is selected.

Although political opinion researches have positives, it is a controversial issue as it evokes an image about diverting opinions of the public (Tan, 2002a, p.106). In the 25th parliamentary election in Turkey, the publication and distribution through the written, oral and visual press and broadcast media of activities such as public surveys in a manner that can influence a citizen's vote, were prohibited in the ten days preceding election day (from 28 May 2015 to 6pm on Saturday 6 June 2015) according to the decision of the Supreme Electoral Council, dated 23.02.2015 and numbered 236, published in the Official Gazette (www.resmigazete.gov.tr). In this respect, especially the votes of undecided voters, which are called floating votes, can change until the day of election and any message that is given in media at this stage can influence the voters

(Kaleli, 2015, p.59). Therefore, potential of public opinion researches to influence especially floating votes should be taken into account.

Political parties and candidates that pay importance to public opinion research and properly use the information they obtain this way are undoubtedly more close to success than the parties and candidates that do not pay importance to public opinion research and use this information (Avcı, 2015, p.178). Therefore, parties and/or candidates should closely follow public opinion researches but should not ignore error rate of the results of these researches. In particular, when compared with actual election results, big differences between the data of survey companies indicate that researches have serious problems in terms of credibility and validity. If research results are published with error rates, no clear ranking is made, research results are headlined in the press and rate of answers of voters who are undecided or have no idea is shown in the chart, then public opinion researches can be considered as a research that is conducted based on scientific methods (Balçı & Ayhan, 2004, pp.161-162). Consequently, public opinion researches that are conducted during the election campaign provide data that will help political parties and candidates determine which parts of the program are sensitive in the public. Those who are responsible for the election campaign can identify the means and efforts they will use to determine which category they will attract, relieve and bring into doubt accordingly (Tan, 2002a, pp.108-109).

3.2.2. Determination of Target Voters

One of the most important activities that a political party to achieve in order to come into power or reach its targets is to determine its voter base consistent with the party's philosophy and define itself and its products depending on political preferences of its base (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.75). In political marketing, just like in marketing of products, the whole society should be selected as the target audience and all segments of the society should be addressed. If political parties present their product to a specific market segment and fail to convey it other segments of the society, this will be one of the main factors that limit their success. However, the most important point to consider is that demands and needs of each segment could be different (Gürbüz & İnal, 2004, p.62). When identifying main themes of expectations of voters, both general objectives and when necessary special objectives (such as certain professions and age ranges) of the campaign should be determined (Bongrand, 1992, p.51).

There are some differences between determination of voters and determination of product market. It is easier to obtain the information needed in segmentation and selection of product market. However, it is difficult to obtain the information that will group the voters. Also, while it is easy to adapt a product to demands, desires and expectations of consumers in the market, it is difficult to adapt political products. Political products are less tangible than products in marketing and their benefit cannot be measured easily (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.77). Therefore, the process of identification of target audience in terms of political marketing is a more challenging process. Voter segments are recognized based upon the segmentation strategy utilized and segmentation tries to distinguish regular characteristics. Once information have been assembled and prepared, and diverse groups have been distinguished, parties or candidates then pick which ones to concentrate on, or target. To burn through frequently limited election reserves speaking with each voter is less successful than concentrating on specific segments (Lees-Marshment, 2009, pp.77-78).

Target audience is grouped in different ways in different sources. The most essential is to recognize; conventional supporters, floating voters and strategic voters. Traditional supporters who, in the event that they vote, will bolster the hopeful/party however should be influenced to get out and really vote. Floating voters, a man who has not chose which approach to vote in an election, or one who does not reliably vote in favor of the same political party (www.oxforddictionaries.com). There is likewise the issue of strategic voting. A voter may relate to a party yet vote in favor of their next inclined party for strategic reasons or choose not to vote by any stretch of the imagination (Bannon, 2005, p.120). In their study, Baines, Worcester, Jarrett and Mortimore (2003:231) discussed behavioral segmentation and they pointed out that probably the most frequently identified type of voter in elections is the ‘floating voter’. Özkan (2014, pp.343-344) explains target groups under 4 main groups: formal target groups, informal target groups, social target groups and media. In this context, formal target groups are directly accessible groups, while informal target groups are the groups that are available in a certain place at a certain time. Social target groups consist of the young, elderly and women. Media is another target groups which is considered important. Political market, when taken as a whole, is an extremely big and complex structure; accordingly, it is possible to categorize the segmentation provided that the ‘common body’, which refers to all citizens and voters, is not forgotten (Polat, 2015, pp.330-343; Bongrand, 1992, p.71):

- Geographic Segmentation: Specific marketing strategic can be developed based on regions or streets in a city, which may lead to success in all regions.
- Demographic Segmentation: It is a market segmentation based on the young, first-time voters, elderly, gender, marital status, educational background, social class, and income level of voters.
- Segmentation by Occupational Groups: Different product packages and discourses can be developed depending on occupations of voters (farmer, merchant, executive, civil servant, housewife, student, self employed, worker etc.) and occupation is a factor that may substantially influence voting decisions of voters. For example, Demirel tried to reach more voters by intensively using the slogan ‘My worker, my villager, my craftsman’ (Benim işçim, benim köylüm, benim esnafım) and received majority of his votes from the farmers.
- Ethnic, Cultural or Religious Segmentation: Demands, needs and requests of voters who are members of a club or organization and attitudes of political parties/candidates towards these voter groups can substantially influence voter behaviors.

The goal of all political parties is to ‘come to power’. Political parties need to determine their target market, rivals and demands and needs of voters first in order to achieve this goal. Then product positioning should be made considering the image to be created in the minds of voters, the benefits to be highlighted, and products of the rivals in the selected target market (Yılmaz & Köse, 2012, p.230). Positioning is the process that tells the product offered by an entity for consumers in the selected market segment is suitable for them and will not fulfill the needs of other consumers (Odabaşı & Oyman, 2007, p.67). An effective positioning starts with differentiation in presentation of product. For example, new voters who are in the age group of 18 and older in each election period are an important source of uncertainty for the leader political party. Therefore, it is highly important to carry out researches on influencing these young and new voter groups and determining their trends in advance (Okumuş, 2007, p.165). The purpose of market positioning is to ensure that a product/service is perceived with a certain image in the mind of consumer and differentiated from similar products through the image created by means of marketing activities (Polat, 2015, p.365). A candidate or

party should take the following into consideration when positioning itself (İslamoğlu, 2002, pp.105-106):

- Since human memory is limited, the party or candidate should position itself based on catchy and striking values.
- People tend to selective attention, selective perception and retention towards the products or solutions that are offered to them. Therefore, exaggeration should be avoided and persuasion should be prioritized.
- People are not interested in issues that are not in their area of interest. Therefore, positioning should be made in connection with people's areas of interest.
- Positioning should be made based on simple and understandable concepts.
- Positioning should concentrate on new ideas.
- Sometimes it is useful to go back to an idea, which gave result in the past.
- Sometimes re-positioning could be necessary for parties.
- It should be considered that competitiveness is primarily in the mind of voters and there should be consistency between the ideas presented and practices.

Consequently, target voter groups are segmented depending on their various characteristics. It is important to identify target voters, because positioning is made depending on characteristics of target voters. The importance of positioning comes from identification of which features or benefits of the product/service to be subject to communication activities will be presented to the consumer in order to differentiate such product/service from its competitors and ensure that the product has a distinguishable position in the mind of consumer (www.halklailiskiler.com.tr). After the target voters is identified, the process of nomination of candidates, which is the last stage of preparation for the election campaign, begins. Political parties nominate their candidates in a way suitable for their target voters.

3.2.3. Nomination of Candidates

If adequate decisions are not taken in nomination of candidates and determination of election district and ranking, the entire campaign effort may come to nothing. It is possible for the political party to fail to achieve its goals if the candidates

who will shoulder the entire material and moral weight of campaign during the process of campaign do not have the characteristics expected by the target voters and the ability to communicate with the voters regardless of the method that is used to nominate them (Tan, 2002a, p.109). Throughout the campaign, the factor that enables the acceptance of a candidate is the talks he hold with people. Various means help creating the reputation of candidate, but the factor that enables adoption of a candidate is that the voter A who met the candidate tells this to voter B who did not meet the candidate (Bongrand, 1992, p.41). Candidates must develop images that are steady with their identities, foundations, and capabilities and these images likewise should coordinate the requirements of candidates' focus market. Once the candidate turns into the nominated, his assignment is to engage the broadest conceivable base of voters keeping in mind understanding the voter is troublesome, voter needs can be isolated into five zones to straightforwardness arranging, exploration, and investigation and on the grounds that the scope of voter needs is expansive, the candidate must fulfill those that are well on the way to yield the best number of votes (Newman, 1983, p.14):

- Issues and policies: These are the vital monetary, strategic, and social positions upheld by the hopefuls and also leadership attributes.
- Social groups: These are the stereo-types the candidates gain as an aftereffect of their relationship with different demographic, financial, social ethnic, and political-ideological sections of society.
- Candidate characteristics: These are the identity qualities considered normal for the candidate.
- Personal and current events: These are restrictive circumstances in the individual life of the candidate or in the nation that bring about the voter to change votes to another candidate.
- Nonspecific issues: These are any stands or occasions over the span of the campaign which bring about the voters to be more inspired by the candidate.

There are certain differences between evaluation and demand of candidates by the voters and evaluation and demand of candidates by the party. When making an evaluation, parties consider factors such as representing the party, taking the party into power and contributing to the success of party in power, and nominate candidates who can express demands and needs of different segments of the society and receive votes from all segments as a result (Divanoğlu, 2008, p.111). In this nomination process,

gender, education, profession and pressure groups of the candidates are an important factor. For example, parties can nominate certain number of female candidates to receive votes from women, workers' representatives and trade unionists to receive votes from workers or high-profile celebrities such as artists, athletes and scientists to arouse interest in the public (Tan, 2002a, p.43). Selecting candidates from individuals who are aware of primary needs of the district is a convenience for the voter in terms of control and practices. Having candidates from the local people will develop an understanding of bringing service more seriously to relevant district of nomination due to reasons that will require candidate to come face-to-face regularly with local people in all stages of life since his close relatives also live in that district (Özsoy, 2002, p.204).

The process of nominating the candidates is one of the most vital processes for political parties. The nature of this process also determines the nature of political party. Accordingly, there are three methods for nomination of candidates: Determination of the party decision, the vote of caucus and primary election (Aydın, 2007, pp.90-92). In the determination of the party decision, candidates are nominated by relevant committees of party headquarters. This is the most used method in Turkey. In the vote of caucus, candidates are nominated by individuals selected to certain positions set out in the party constitution, not by all members of the party in an election district. This method is also called organizational nomination. In primary election, all members in the election district or delegates selected from among them vote and the election is held under the management and control of election committees. Also, in this method, political parties are bound by the result of election (Yanık, 2007, pp.190-193). In the quota candidacy, a candidate is not included in the list of candidates that are nominated by other means but written on the ballot as a quota candidate without a sequence number (Özbudun, 1995, p.531).

Political parties nominate their candidates from among large number of people. In the election of June 7, 2015, the number of people who applied for nomination candidacy was 6,223 for the JDP (www.aljazeera.com.tr), 2,822 for the RPP (www.cumhuriyet.com.tr), 2,500 for the NMP (www.milliyet.com.tr), and 1,501 for the PDP (www.hurriyet.com.tr). Each party charges a different fee for application to nomination candidacy. For example, the JDP charged 5,000 TL for male applicants, 2,500 TL for female applicants but required no fee for the people with disabilities (www.aljazeera.com.tr). Accepting the applications at the party's headquarters, the RPP

charged 7,500 TL for applicants of quota candidacy, 5,000 TL for candidates of primary election, and 2,500 TL for women, people with disabilities and the young (www.gazetevatan.com). The NMP charged 2,500 TL as an application fee for applicants of parliament candidacy (www.milliyet.com.tr). For nomination candidacy, the PDP charged 2,500 TL for male applicants and 1,000 TL for women and under-27 applicants, but required no fee for the people with disabilities (www.gazetevatan.com).

Determination of those who are eligible to apply for nomination candidacy and to be elected as candidate is stipulated in the Political Parties Law and internal by-laws of the parties. Accordingly, provisions of the Political Parties Law pertaining to participation of political parties in elections and nomination of candidates should be taken into consideration (www.anayasa.gen.tr). The methods for nomination of candidates are regulated in the Political Parties Law (www.mevzuat.gov.tr). In this context, according to Article 37, 'Political parties may nominate the candidates from among those who apply for candidacy and whose candidacy is found eligible in the parliamentary general or by elections pursuant to one or several procedures and principles set out in their statutes under the principles of free, equal, secret vote open counting. Other than the determination of the party decision set out in statutes of parties, party's candidates are nominated under the management and control of election committees. The day when the candidates are nominated is established and announced by the Supreme Electoral Council as a date which is at least seventy five days before the date of general election. All political parties that will take part in the election will nominate their candidates in provinces and districts on the same date countrywide according to procedures set out in statutes of parties. Political parties can present 'central candidates' during the primary election on the condition that the number does not exceed 5% of the GNAT member whole number and that the party informs the Supreme Electoral Council about the city, election district and candidate order at least ten days before the date of the primary election. In places where there is no primary election, the right of political parties to determine their candidates by determination of the party decision or through one or more of the other means is reserved.'

Political parties set out their methods for nomination of candidates in their own party statutes. In the General Election of June 2016, the JDP nominated its candidates through determination of party decision. To that end, a tendency survey was conducted, opinions of the organization were received and public opinion researches were used;

and for the first time in this election, opinions of representatives of civil society and public about the candidates were received by holding an election in cities in addition to above-mentioned methods. Results of the election were submitted to the higher Committee together with the reports of sub-committee, and the higher committee which was led by Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu finalized the lists (www.aljazeera.com.tr). According to Article 124 of the by-law of the JDP, ‘the Party’s candidates to be nominated for general, partial, or interim parliamentary elections shall be identified and ranked from among candidates for nomination, who are to be determined through a preliminary review conducted as indicated in the last Paragraph of Article 123 of the By-laws, through use of one, or more, or all of the following methods together and at the same time depending upon the scale of election region in question or through use of either of these methods fully at country level: a) Preliminary Elections b) Organizational Roll Calls c) Central Roll Calls. The Central Decision and Administrative Committee shall resolve which of the said methods shall be used in which election regions and at which level’ (www.akparti.org.tr).

On the other hand, the RPP, in the General Election of June 2015, nominated its candidates by means of primary election and quota candidacy. Accordingly, 85% of candidate lists countrywide was nominated based on primary election, while remaining 15% was nominated with the determination of party decision and adopted the ‘zipper system’. This system allows the party to nominate quota candidates by the Party Headquarters in locations where the party will hold primary election. For example, in Adana, second and fifth place candidates were nominated by the Party Headquarters, while other places were determined as a result of primary election (www.aljazeera.com.tr). According to Article 58 of the party’s bylaw, ‘The methods for nomination of parliamentary candidates include primary election, candidate survey and determination of party decision. Primary election and candidate survey are primary methods. The Party Assembly decides which method will be used in which election district in nomination of candidates. The Party Assembly may allocate sufficient number of places based on the principles of Political Parties Law for the central candidacy in the list of candidates in an election district which is subjected to primary election or candidate survey. Implementation of methods: 1. Primary election is held with the participation of members of the party. 2. Candidate survey is held with the participation of delegates who are assigned to certain positions in the party. 3. In the determination of party decision, candidates are nominated by the Party Assembly. 4.

Primary election or candidate survey is held under judicial management and control. 5. Total number of candidates who will be nominated by means of determination of party decision may not exceed 15% of parliamentary candidates nominated by the party as submitted by the Headquarters to the Supreme Electoral Council. 6. Those who take part in primary election or candidate survey may not apply for central candidacy. 7. When nominating the candidates, the Party Assembly pays attention to representation of women, the young and the disabled in the GNAT. 8. In districts where the determination of party decision will apply in nomination of candidates, methods of tendency survey may be used' (partiiciegitim.chp.org.tr).

In the General Election of 2015, the NMP nominated its candidates through 'online tendency survey'. Party members voted online for individuals whom they want to see as candidates (www.radikal.com.tr). According to Article 89 of the party's bylaw, 'Parliamentary candidates of Nationalist Movement Party and their places in the lists are determined by means of implementation of one or several following methods all together or separately and according to applicable provisions of the Political Parties Law: a. Central candidacy; b. Determination of party decision; c. Organization survey; d. Primary election. The Central Executive Committee decides which procedure will be implemented in which election district' (www.mhp.org.tr).

The PDP, on the other hand, nominated its candidates with the determination of party decision. The Central Election Committee evaluated the applications and decided on candidates (www.radikal.com.tr). According to Article 48 of the party's bylaw, 'The party members who will be candidates at the General and Local elections are determined by means of primary election or determination of party decision where members or delegates will vote. The party headquarters decides on which procedures will be used. Procedures for primary election and determination of party decision are set out in the election regulation' (www.hdp.org.tr).

When the methods for nomination of candidates stipulated in the bylaws of four parties, it is seen that the methods are not that different from each other. In the General Election of June 2015, political party's headquarters and committees made the final decision on nomination methods at the JDP, NMP and PDP. The RPP, however, nominated its candidates by using the primary election and quota candidacy methods. Regardless of the method used for nomination of candidates, the preparation stage of election campaign ends with these activities and campaign begins.

3.3. Election Campaign Process

For parties, campaigns are a countdown process to gradually approach the big day when the levels of power and effectiveness and limits of the parties will be determined. In this respect, especially mass parties make great effort through the party leader, candidates and organizations in order to strengthen the partisan support, win floating voters, and change voting decision of the voters. Accordingly, means of mass media are used to feature political organizations and actors more in this period as part of their function to inform the public (Uslu, 2009, pp.1-2). With the determination of this process further in the course of time through the means of mass media, they are used more effectively for political aims. The ways to be pursued throughout the election campaign define how a political party will reach the targets it wants to achieve with the campaign. With these ways, the party obtain certain information on when, where and how to act (Tan, 2002a, pp.109-110).

Political campaign is the design of a communication process where rival candidates or parties aim to gain advantage by influencing attitudes and behaviors of the people. (Yaşın, 2006, p.633). If a political party is in the power alone and has fulfilled many of what it promised to voters in previous election, then it will not have many problems. However, if the political party has failed to fulfill the promises it made in previous election, then such party may go on the defensive to preserve its vote rate or force the opposition to go on the defensive by adopting an aggressive attitude. In general, opposition can start its campaign by attacking the weaknesses of ruling party and focus on problems of national economy. Then the political party adopts a positive style in the second stage and can promise a bright future and big benefits after coming into power (Tan, 2002a, p.110).

The election campaign consists of the targets of election campaign, image efforts, campaign format and the means to be used during the campaign (Tan, 2002a, pp.110-116). When preparing for the election campaign in this process, political parties should define their targets first. They need to make image efforts to achieve these targets because the concept of image is one of the basics of marketing communication and combination of knowledge and feelings about the party and/or candidate (www.siyasaliletisim.org). The campaign format is about the style to be used to reach the voters. Lastly, political parties and/or candidates use certain means during the campaign. Therefore, this study primarily discusses the objectives of election campaigns.

3.3.1. Objectives of Election Campaign

When the election campaign begins, the target of political party is absolutely to come into power and/or increase its votes. The purpose of candidates is to convey their opinions and thoughts, demonstrate their power by receiving a good rate of votes despite not winning the election or gain a position to negotiate with other political parties, become the first party by receiving majority of votes or come into power (Tan, 2002a, p.108). In this respect, objectives of the campaign should be evaluated based on the party as well as candidates. In terms of party, the objectives are generally based on the vote rate of party. Vote-based targets of the parties may include coming into power, increasing its votes or maintaining its vote rate. For example, in the General Election of June 2015, vote rate target of the JDP was to come into power with 55% of votes (www.takvim.com.tr), vote rate target of the PDP was to pass the election threshold with 10% (www.cumhuriyet.com.tr).

Also, it is especially important for parties to define realistic, achievable and clear targets depending on their conjuncture. If a political party aims at becoming the leading party, then it should list the sub-targets to achieve that. For example, these sub-targets may include creating the organization with local leaders consistent with the party's philosophy in all provinces and districts, becoming integrated and improving the conditions of efficiency by maintaining organizational information flow, solidarity and organizational development, surpassing the rivals by focusing on organizational growth, rising to intellectual and psychological leadership, becoming the leader party, and coming into power as a result (İslamoğlu, 2002, pp.43-44). According to Bongrand (1992, p.52), an election campaign should have three targets in terms of perception:

- To relieve the already existing voters: These voters should not be made feel that they are forgotten or disregarded.
- To attract floating voters: The party should try to attract floating voters.
- To raise doubt on supporters of the opposition: These voters should be brought into doubt for their voting preferences.

Campaign targets can be determined strategically by considering political tendencies and positions of voters in the target audience (Divanoğlu, 2007, pp.132-133):

- Maintaining Voter Loyalty: Political parties have to define strategies and targets that will maintain their voters who sympathize with the party in their

districts in order to be able to maintain their own existence and continue their activities. If the political party sets strategies towards its already existing voter base only, this would be a mistake. The party should maintain the sympathy of its loyal voters and get the approval of floating voters. Accordingly, they should run different election campaign based on that.

- **Winning Influencers of Public Opinion:** Political parties and candidates define strategy to win the support of individuals or groups who determine the public opinion. These individuals may consist of those who have earned reputation economically or with their profession.
- **Attracting Floating Voters:** This kind of voters can change the party they vote for during the political campaign. When preparing the election campaign, the party should persuade this type of voters, namely floating voters, to vote for the party.
- **Winning Party Changing Voters:** These voters are those who watch the events, whose tendency is not clear yet, and who can change direction. This type of voters may have doubts. During the election campaign, there should be messages and slogans to straighten them out.

In particular, influencing floating voters and make sure they decide on their votes is one of the primary targets of election campaigns. Success rate of parties which can attract floating voters can change in a minute in the election system (Üste et al., 2007, p.221). Therefore, a campaign which is run in line with realistic, achievable and clear campaign targets can be considered as key to success in terms of vote rates.

3.3.2. Image Efforts

Image is the reflection of a candidate, a party or a political product in the mind of people in target audience and how it is perceived, and it is highly important in terms of political marketing. Because marketing strategies mostly focus on the subject about the image which is expected to be created relating to the candidate/party in the mind of voters. Here, the purpose is to ensure that voter's expectations comply with the party/candidate or party/candidate profile matches with the one in the mind of voters and make sure that the party/candidate is acceptable for the voters (Polat, 2015, p.403). Image is not showing and telling people that you are not like what is in reality, but is a

tool that help you express who you are and what we can offer for others in an honest and sincere way (Tan, 2002a, p.113). Also, the leader should not make the mistake of relying solely on past achievements when developing an image. These achievements are already known by the voters and focusing on what is known means that there is nothing else to tell (İslamoğlu, 2002, p.120). At this point, the existence of politicians who have developed politically successful images in Turkey should be pointed out. After the one-party period, nicknames were created for political leaders as follows: ‘A person who is a supporter of people’ for Adnan Menderes; ‘Çoban Sülü’, ‘Barajlar Kralı’ and ‘Baba’ for Süleyman Demirel; ‘Hoca’ for Necmettin Erbakan; ‘Başbuğ’ for Alparslan Türkeş; ‘Karaoğlan’ for Bülent Ecevit; ‘Tonton’ for Turgut Özal; and ‘Bacı’ for Tansu Çiller. It is observed that these nicknames are more embraced by the people more than the names of said leaders (Polat, 2015, pp.406-408; Özkan, 2014, pp.45-46).

The way to change the attitude towards a candidate or a party is the change of image and the objective of many campaigns is generally change, correction and modification of image and making it positive. This objective and the time when efforts to achieve that will begin should be selected carefully (Bongrand, 1992, pp.52-53). If you want to change the image of a candidate, you should never create an image that is contrary to the actual image. It could be difficult to make people believe in an image which is exact opposite of the former image. This attitude may cause events which could result in problems in the foundation and structure of political party. Therefore, a smooth transition to the new image is needed and fundamental changes should be avoided (Tan, 2002a, p.113).

There is a deep connection between the image of a political party and the image of its leader. Therefore, the leader should develop an image consistent with the party as well as political product. This image includes colors, symbols, attitude, styles, words, images, slogans, nicknames etc. The decision on fundamental basis of leadership image should be based on researches. These researches may focus on three points:(1) What are the desires, demands and expectations of different voter groups?, (2) What is the order of priority of needs, demands, desires and expectations of various voter groups and do they differ by voter groups? (3) Which political parties and leaders are perceived differently and in which aspects? Such research makes a big contribution in shaping the image of leader and party's program (İslamoğlu, 2002, pp.119-121). Consequently,

image efforts that are structured and carried out correctly may provide efficiency in the campaign.

3.3.3. Type of Campaign

The type of campaign is above all a matter of sensitivity. The same type of campaign cannot be carried out in rural and urban areas and centers of the city. In particular, the intensity of campaign depends of regional conditions (Bongrand, 1992, p.72). The type of a campaign generally consists of three applications or their combination (Bongrand, 1992, pp.77-78):

- **Influencing the Voter:** The target audience may be influenced with the use of all tools depending on their importance starting from the announcement of candidates and first posters or first message. Originality of the campaign theme and quality of campaign slogan are other elements that influence the target audience. These influencing efforts may be carried out at the beginning of campaign or throughout the campaign in order to increase and accelerate the influence.
- **Showing the Power:** It is achieved with intensity and repetition in the use of tools. The function of this is to mobilize the audience and create a unity against rivals with a solid and confident feeling. However, frequent repetitions may bother after some time and create the feeling of rejection.
- **Attraction Effect:** It ensures that a candidate or a party is emotionally accepted by the target audience. This influence is generally achieved by means of news in communication channels that make something out of nothing by getting into the attraction of phenomenon.

In political campaigns, there are mainly two types of campaigns: Parties and/or candidates that prefer the Style of Coming into Power and Style of Challenging to Power take part in elections as ruling party or partner party. They use the advantages of being the ruling party and facilities of the state all the way. They always tell the voters about their successful policies. Parties and/or candidates that prefer the challenging style are mostly opposition parties or candidates. In this campaign style, they argue that an important transformation and change is absolutely needed and they are the only party or candidate who can achieve that. In the challenging style, offensive and aggressive

policies are pursued against the rivals, the call for change is expressed regularly and strongly and optimistic and bright promises are made for the future. In general, parties and candidates use both types of campaign in various circumstances and times and try to run the most suitable type of campaign (Trent & Friedenberg, 2000, pp.76-101, Cited by: Oktay, 2002, pp.145-148). In this respect, various means of mass media can be used in shaping the election campaigns. Since the voters will be reached through these means, a decision should be made on the style of messages, ideas and promises. Therefore, party leaders/candidates can determine their approach depending on the type of campaign.

3.3.4. Means to be Used during the Campaign

Political campaign is a management of process in a certain schedule with defined targets and the means to be used to achieve such defined targets (Yaşın, 2006, p.645). Since substantial part of political marketing activities is based on communication, the means of communication are needed most in this respect. The entire price, promotion and place process, especially political product, carries a message. Although the elements of promotion and place have more function in carrying the messages, all elements perform this function more or less. Here, the important thing is the select and use the most appropriate means of communication when defining the political mix strategies (Polat, 2015, p.505). In this context, detailed information on the means used is provided in part one.

The messages that are transmitted through the means of mass media are obtained on the channel that the voter watches or newspaper that the voter reads, but they are actually clearly undefined 'mail'. The most important limitation in the use of means of mass media is not the problems that arise out of their formats. The means of mass media have two main limitations. The first one is economic, and the other is ideological. Financial threshold refers to high cost of political organization today. State aids are distributed based on the percentage of representation in the assembly. In this respect, a new political discourse and social demand is not enough for a new political organization. At the same time, a new political formation should be financed. This situation creates an economic threshold which prevents the inclusion of demands of more disadvantageous social groups into the political system. Other threshold is

ideological. It is clear that the means of mass media act as if there were no social structures other than certain political movements and figures. It is not expected from the voters to develop an attitude towards political parties and candidates who fail to pass this threshold (Yaşın, 2006, pp.645-646). Therefore, it can be seen that there are big disadvantages in the use of means of mass media, especially for new political formations.

3.4. Organization of Election Campaign

It can be suggested that organization of campaign has an important place in the election campaign. The purpose of a well-organized campaign is to relieve political party or candidate from technical and financial problems and allow the party or candidate to spare their time to thinking and duties in political area. Political parties that are not well staffed, are deprived of equipments, have financial difficulties and do not have a nationwide organizational network are not expected to run a campaign at a very high level. Developments in the campaign organization have emerged in line with the need to run more complex campaigns and forced political parties to develop perfect organizations. Accordingly, there are five important elements in the organization of election campaign (Çiftlikçi, 1996, pp.224-228):

- **Campaign Management:** In the elections, campaign is managed by an officer or joint management who regularly talks with the management of political party or candidate and analyzes past and future activities. Campaign director is appointed by senior management or leader of the political party.
- **Campaign Headquarters:** Political party and/or candidates run their campaigns from the headquarters during the election campaign. Campaign headquarters could be a warehouse, unused garage, or an office rented for a certain period of time.
- **Segmentation of Field:** Just like in marketing, election districts are physically segmented based on various criteria and campaign workers and candidates are assigned accordingly. Thus, an effective control of activities is maintained during the campaign and problems are can be identified easily.
- **Monitoring of Rival:** It is necessary to be aware of efforts, programs and campaign organization of the candidates of rival political parties. In political

terms, information about rivals is very important. Candidates try to gain advantage by identifying important issues suggested by rivals, taking measures and modifying the campaign strategies.

- **Financing of Campaign:** It can be seen that political parties generally receive support from wide range of sources. These sources may include state fund, member contributions, financial contribution of candidates or contribution of various organizations and businessmen.

In the organization of campaign, there should be a political plan, organization should meet certain needs and increase strengths of leader/candidate (Sezer, 2011, p.53). These points, which need to be taken into account throughout the campaign, should be evaluated after the election campaign is over.

3.5. Evaluation of Election Campaign

Last stage of the election campaigns is the campaign evaluation process. Just like in marketing of product/service, an evaluation is also made in political marketing after the election campaign is over. In marketing, once plans are put into practice, control process should also begin. Whether or not the plan is functioning well and the reasons for success or failure cannot be known without management, control or performance evaluation (Mucuk, 2012, p.300). The information to be obtained as a result of such evaluation will be useful for post-campaign activities. The results are evaluated through the measurement of feedback to the messages to be conveyed to the public during the activities (Bilgin, 2010, pp.93-94). Election results and interpretation and evaluation of these results ensure that necessary lessons are taken for the next elections and campaign preparations are started all over again (Oktay, 2002, p.145). There are ten general qualities that should be taken into consideration when evaluating the activities performed throughout the campaign (Sezer, 2011, pp.47-48):

- **Inclusive:** Does it include all bases?
- **Objective:** Are the decisions based on situations and reasons?
- **Measurable (Limited):** Are financial goals and projects defined? Are certain duties assigned to certain people?

- Achievable: Are the targets realistically achievable? Do all members understand the plan and rules?
- Established: Is there a written plan? Are there suitable individuals to complete the plan?
- Responsible: Does the plan clearly allocate duties, regulate responsibilities and set days and deadlines?
- Dynamic: Is it flexible and adaptable to varying events that will be realized during the campaign?
- Victory-driven: Does the plan tell you how to win the victory? Is there an alternative to be followed in case of unexpected and unforeseen events?
- Functional: Are the campaign resources used effectively?
- Unique: Does the campaign program comply with your unique position? Does it target a certain voters of majority which will bring victory on the day of election?

When evaluating the campaign, these points should be taken into consideration in a realistic manner. Missing points and/or effectiveness of each activity during the campaign should be identified. In this context, development of evaluation reports for the next election period could also be useful. For example, Necdet Ünüvar, who was parliamentary candidate from the JDP in the General Election of June 2015, published the 'Activity Report of the General Election of 2015' (www.necdetunuvar.com.tr) in order to evaluate post-campaign activities. The report explains the level of utilization of political marketing mix elements used during the election campaign. The section 'lessons taken from the election' in the report lists what should be done in the future election campaigns. Thanks to reports to be developed after the election campaign, political parties and/or candidates can have the opportunity to summarize the activities they performed, and ensure memorability.

PART IV

EVALUATION OF POLITICAL PROMOTION MIX ELEMENTS IN TERMS OF ADANA PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES AND VOTERS

In the fourth part of the study, campaign activities of parliamentary candidates are examined based on certain indicators. Also, the findings that were obtained as a result of analysis of data collected from field research on utilization level of political promotion activities by candidates and the level of being influenced of voters from political promotion activities are explained in this part. This part also covers the research methodology and evaluations on the results of hypothesis tests.

4.1. Importance and Purpose of the Study

Today, parties/candidates intensively use political promotion activities to reach the voters during the election campaign. Thus, they develop their relationship with the voters and influence them. As a result of such interaction, parties/candidates maintain the votes of their existing voters and/or acquire the votes of floating voters. It is important that parties/candidates benefit from political promotion activities in an effective and efficient manner in this process which will result in favor of both sides. In this study, measurement of the utilization level of political promotion activities by candidates and the level of being influenced of voters from these activities is important for arrangement of campaign activities in the next election period. Due to such importance, main purpose of the study is to evaluate election campaign activities of Adana parliamentary candidates in the General Elections of June 7, 2015, under the political promotion mix elements, and present the reflections of these activities on the voters. In this context the sub-purposes are as follows:

1. To present campaign activities performed by the parliamentary candidates,
2. To determine political promotion mix elements used by parliamentary candidates during the campaign,

3. To determine the levels of being influenced by activities towards political promotion mix elements and present whether such levels differ in terms of demographic characteristics, political participation levels and commitment levels of voters.

Effectiveness and/or functionality of political promotion activities that are performed on voters can be anticipated by means of a field research conducted for this purpose. Therefore, it is thought that financial resources used for the purposes of political promotion activities create a framework to offer them at the right time, in the right place and through the right means. Through the performance of effective promotional activities, efficiency can be achieved with the perspective to shape both financial resources and voter decisions in the right direction. Also, relationship of candidates with the election district can be determined through the evaluation of campaign activities of candidates. Therefore, campaign activities and political promotion activities performed by the parliamentary candidates from Adana in the General Election of June 7, 2015, political promotion activities performed towards the voters as well as supporting means of propaganda, participation level, time of voting decision, and their commitment level are covered in this study.

4.2. Limitations of the Study

One of the limitations of the study is the size of population. Since it is impossible to reach all voters in terms of time and cost, quota sampling is conducted in the study. In order to present campaign activities of the candidates, judgmental sampling is conducted due to limitation of time and cost in this study.

4.3. Methodology

In the research methodology section, study population and sampling, research questions, research model and hypothesis, data collection method, and design of interview/questionnaire forms are covered.

4.3.1. Population and Sampling

On April 24, 2015, final candidate lists of political parties and list of independent candidates by election districts were announced on radio, television, Official Gazette and after the final candidate lists (Appendix-1) were determined, parliamentary candidates were identified in order to find out campaign activities and elements of political promotion mix used by the candidates.

Following the campaign activities of all parliamentary candidates is not possible in terms of time and cost. Due to such difficulties, the sampling frame was determined as the parliamentary candidates from Adana of the political parties represented as a group in the GNAT (JDP, RPP, NMP and PDP). Judgmental sampling was made with the selection of elements that are thought to be able to represent in line with the purpose of study. In judgmental sampling, researcher determines individuals to be included in the sample from among the audience that will represent the sample based on his own judgments (Gegez, 2015, p.267). Accordingly, it is assumed that there could be differences between the campaign activities of first-place candidates and candidates who are in the critical-place. It is considered that first-place candidates have higher possibility of being elected. Moreover the candidates who are in the critical place should make more effort and increase the vote rate of party in order to be elected. In this respect, General Election of 2011 was taken as basis in order to determine the candidate who is in the critical place. According to the vote rates received in the General Election of June 12, 2011, a total of 14 deputies were elected from the Adana province; 6 from the JDP, 4 from the RPP, 3 from the NMP, and 1 independent deputy. Accordingly, critical places of the parties were identified as follows: 7th place for the JDP, 5th place for the RPP, and 4th place for the NMP. When it comes to the PDP, which did not take part in the elections as a party before, there was an independent candidate who was elected in 2011 and suitable for the party's base. Therefore, 2nd place candidate of the PDP was determined as candidate in critical place. From among the first-place candidates of the parties whose campaign activities will be followed, due to difficulties in contacting the 1st place candidate of the JDP, the campaign of party's second-place candidate was followed. It was considered that there will not be a difference with the first-place candidate in terms of campaign since the odds for election of second-place candidate of the JDP in Adana was deemed high. Consequently, as part of examination of campaign activities of parliamentary candidates, the campaigns of 2nd and 7th place

candidates of the JDP, 1st and 5th place candidates of the RPP, 1st and 4th place candidates of the NMP, and 1st and 2nd place candidates of the PDP were followed. The campaigns of a total of eight (8) candidates, being 2 candidates from each political party, were examined.

In the field research which was conducted in order to determine the political promotion mix elements used by the parliamentary candidates from Adana in the General Election of June 7, 2015, the study population included Adana parliamentary candidates of political parties represented as a group in the GNAT (JDP, RPP, NMP and PDP). A census was conducted in order to reach all parliamentary candidates of the JDP, RPP, NMP and PDP from Adana. Therefore, there are a total of 56 parliamentary candidates, being 14 candidates from each party.

In the field research which was conducted to evaluate the reflection of political promotion mix elements on the voters, the sample included 1.477.328 people who were voters in Adana in the General Election of June 7, 2015. Since the size of sample is known, the formula $n = \frac{N(pq)Z^2}{(N-1)E^2 + (pq)Z^2}$ was used to determine the size of sample volume with a confidence interval of 95% and error rate of 5% (Nakip, 2006, p.236) and the result was 384. Since expansion of sample will increase reliability of research results, 500-people sample were determined. In this study, quota sampling which is the one of the methods of non-random sampling, was used. In the quota sampling, quotas are created based on certain characteristics of the sample (age, occupation, gender, level of education etc.) and relevant numbers of units are included in the sample from each quota. However, proportional distribution of the sample should be known in relation to these characteristics (Yükselen, 2013, p.56). In this context, proportional distribution of the sample was made based on the numbers of voters in 15 districts of Adana (www.yzk.gov.tr) and the vote rates received by these 4 parties in the districts of Adana in the General Election of June 7, 2015 (www.yzk.gov.tr). Accordingly, sampling distribution is shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Sampling Distribution

District	Number of Voters	Sampling Percentage	Number of Samples	JDP	RPP	NMP	PDP
Aladağ	12.399	0,84	4	2	1	1	0
Ceyhan	108.965	7,38	37	10	10	10	7
Çukurova	256.138	17,34	87	21	36	23	7
Feke	12.874	0,87	4	2	1	1	0
İmamoğlu	20.149	1,36	7	3	2	2	0
Karaisalı	15.942	1,08	5	3	0	2	0
Karataş	15.562	1,05	5	1	2	2	0
Kozan	89.987	6,09	31	14	7	10	0
Pozantı	14.517	0,98	5	2	1	2	0
Saimbeyli	11.410	0,77	4	2	1	1	0
Sarıçam	92.082	6,23	31	12	5	12	2
Seyhan	529.658	35,85	179	48	58	33	40
Tufanbeyli	13.067	0,89	4	1	1	2	0
Yumurtalık	13.408	0,91	5	2	1	2	0
Yüreğir	271.170	18,36	92	32	23	18	19
TOTAL	1.477.328	100	500	155	149	121	75

4.3.2. Research Questions

In order to present the campaign activities of Adana parliamentary candidates in the General Election of June 7, 2015, the campaigns of 8 parliamentary candidates were followed. The research questions that were prepared for this purpose are as follows:

Q1: How are the election office activities arranged as part of the campaign activities of candidates?

Q2: What are the claims used by the candidates during the campaign?

Q3: What is the profile of participants in the campaign activities of candidates?

When examining the structuring of election office activities, the focus was on the number of election offices and when and where the election offices are opened. In order to reveal the used claims by candidates during the campaign, the findings that

were obtained from public meeting, meeting, visit and election office opening speeches as well as semi-structured interviews. The profile of participants in campaign activities of candidates was evaluated in terms of their age and gender.

4.3.3. Research Model and Hypotheses

In this study the candidates' utilization of political promotion related activities were determined. Also, the voters' levels of being influenced by these activities were explained. Primarily, in this study it has been planned to compare between usage of political promotion activities by candidates and perception of voters' for these activities. Then the level of significance that candidates and voters attach to political promotion activities discussed. Finally, the hypotheses are developed based on demographic characteristics, the levels of being influenced by political promotion, political participation levels, and commitment levels of voters. The hypotheses, which are developed to present whether the levels of being influenced by activities towards political promotion differ in terms of demographic characteristics, political participation levels and commitment levels of voters', are as follows:

H1: There is a significant difference between age of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion.

H2: There is a significant difference between gender of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion.

H3: There is a significant difference between marital status of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion.

H4: There is a significant difference between education level of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion.

H5: There is a significant difference between political participation levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion.

H6: There is a significant difference between commitment levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion.

4.3.4. Data Collection

Data are generally collected from primary and secondary resources. Primary data consist of the data collected when researcher needs data for the study purpose. Secondary data consist of the data collected by other individuals and/or organizations for any purpose other than the purpose of study (Yükselen, 2013, pp.47-49). In this context, primary data were collected. In this study, qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were used.

In order to find out the campaign activities performed by the parliamentary candidates, qualitative data were collected using the participant observation and semi-structured interview methods. Also, in order to determine the elements of political promotion mix elements used by candidates in the campaign, face-to-face questionnaire was applied with the candidates between April 24 and June 6.

In order to determine the levels of being influenced by activities towards political promotion mix elements and present whether such levels differ in terms of demographic characteristics, political participation levels and commitment levels of voters face-to-face questionnaire was used. The questionnaire was applied between June 8 and 21 in order to not distract the interest of voters on the subject since the election was held on June 7.

4.3.5. Interview/Questionnaire Design

As part of the design of interview/questionnaire forms, the design of interview form and design of questionnaire forms are covered.

4.3.5.1. Interview Design

An interview form was designed as part of the semi-structured interview that was made in order to find out the claims used by parliamentary candidates in the campaign. The interview form includes open-ended questions. In general, the questions that were asked to parliamentary candidates are as follows:

- What are the elements you consider to put forward in your election campaign?
- How do you evaluate the election atmosphere?

- How do you evaluate the voter profile in Adana?
- What do you think of the future of your party in Adana?

However, the flow of interview was shaped with various side questions or sub-questions depending on the course of interview.

4.3.5.2. Questionnaire Design

As part of the design of questionnaire forms, the design of political candidates' questionnaire and voters' questionnaire are covered.

4.3.5.2.1. Political Candidates' Questionnaire

The political candidates' questionnaire (Appendix-2) was used to measure the utilization level of political promotion mix elements used by candidates in their election campaigns and their significance levels, supporting means of propaganda, campaign targets, and demographic characteristics. The questions used in the questionnaire form were designed based on the literature. The references used for developing the questionnaire are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Design of Political Candidates' Questionnaire

		Number of Variables	References
Elements of Political Promotion Mix and Importance Rates	Advertising	13	Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, p.33; Divanoğlu, 2007, p.113; İşcan, 2013, p.48; Marshment, 2009, p.168; Demirtaş, 2010, p.150.
	Propaganda	4	Tan, 2002, p.61; Divanoğlu, 2007, p.114; Bowler & Farrel, 2011, p.671; Lees-Marshment, 2009, p.127.
	Public Relations	11	Tan, 2002, pp.62-79; Divanoğlu, 2007, pp.115-118; adapted from Lees-Marshment, 2009, pp.183-184.
	Promotional Incentives	3	Budak & Budak, 2014, p.291; adapted from Tan, 2002, p.62.
Supporting Means of Propaganda	Election Song(s), Election Slogan(s)	2 (Questions)	Özsoy, 2002, p.208.
Target	Campaign Target	4	Adapted from Bowler & Farrel, 2011, p.670.
Demographic Characteristics	Age, Gender, Marital Status, Education Level, Occupation	5 (Questions)	

The political candidates' questionnaire includes a total of 10 questions to measure the utilization level of political promotion mix elements used by political candidates in their election campaigns and their significance levels, supporting means of propaganda, campaign targets, and demographic characteristics. The first question of political candidates' questionnaire was asked with the 5-point Likert scale consisting of 31 statements to determine the utilization level of political promotion mix elements used by the candidates. In the second question, ordinal scale was used in order to determine significance level of elements of political promotion mix elements in relation

to campaigns of candidates. Third and fourth questions of the questionnaire are two-option questions to measure whether the candidates use election songs and election slogans, which are the supporting means of propaganda. In the fifth question, ordinal scale was used in order to determine campaign targets of candidates. Other questions were designed to determine demographic characteristics of candidates, namely age, gender, marital status, education level and occupation.

4.3.5.2.2. Voters' Questionnaire

The voters' questionnaire (Appendix-3) was used to measure the level of being influenced by political promotion their significance levels, supporting means of propaganda, political participation level, time of voting decision, commitment level and demographic characteristics of voters. The questions used in the questionnaire form were designed based on the literature. The references used for developing the questionnaire are shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Design of Voters' Questionnaire

		Number of Variables	References
Elements of Political Promotion Mix and Importance Rates	Advertising	13	Kocabaş & Elden, 2002, p.33; Divanoğlu, 2007, p.113; İşcan, 2013, p.48; Marshment, 2009, p.168; Demirtaş, 2010, p.150.
	Propaganda	4	Tan, 2002:61; Divanoğlu, 2007, p.114; Bowler & Farrel, 2011, p.671; Lees-Marshment, 2009, p.127.
	Public Relations	11	Adapted from Tan, 2002, pp.62-79; Divanoğlu, 2007, pp.115-118; Lees-Marshment, 2009, pp.183-184.
	Promotional Incentives	3	Adapted from Budak & Budak, 2014, p.291; Tan, 2002, p.62.
Supporting Means of Propaganda	Election Song(s), Election Slogan(s)	2 (Question)	Özsoy, 2002, p.208.
Participation	Political Participation Levels of Voters	5	Adapted from Demirtaş, 2010, p.292.
Time	Time of Voting Decision	5	Adapted from Demirtaş, 2010, p.291.
Commitment	Commitment Levels of Voters	3	Adapted from Demirtaş, 2010, p.293.
Demographic Characteristics	Age, Gender, Marital Status, Education Level, Occupation	5 (Question)	

The voters' questionnaire includes a total of 12 questions to measure the level of being influenced by political promotion used in the election campaigns, their significance levels, supporting means of propaganda, political participation level, time of voting decision, commitment level and demographic characteristics of voters. The first question of voters' questionnaire was asked with the 5-point Likert scale consisting of 31 statements to determine the level of being influenced by political promotion. In the second question, ordinal scale was used in order to determine significance level of political promotion mix elements used by the candidates. The third and fourth questions of the questionnaire are two-option questions, which include an evaluation on election songs and slogans as supporting means of propaganda used by candidates. In the fifth question, 5-point Likert Scale was used to determine political participation level of voters. The sixth question is a multiple-choice question to determine time of voting decision of voters. In the seventh question, 5-point Likert Scale was used to determine the commitment level of voters. Other questions were designed to determine demographic characteristics of voters, namely age, gender, marital status, education level and occupation.

4.4. Analyses and Results

The findings obtained as a result of the research were analyzed in line with the purpose of study. To that end, statistical analyses were used. In this section, hypotheses of the study are tested.

4.4.1. Analysis of Research Questions and Findings

Research questions are divided sub-statements of the research problem. Research question includes statements that present each narrowed and concretized part of the problem (Yükselen, 2013, p.17). In this context, research questions are answered in this section. First question of the research is as follows:

Q1: How are the election office activities arranged as part of the campaign activities of candidates?

In order to answer first question of the research, data were collected on the number of election offices of parliamentary candidates and when and where these

offices were opened. The openings of election offices of candidates were arranged upon the information of party members, youth and women's branches and district organizations of the party by the party's provincial/district directorates. Other parliamentary candidates, provincial/district organizations of the party and party members, members of the local press, non-governmental organizations, headmen, association representatives and members attended the openings of election offices of 2nd place candidate of the JDP, 1st place candidate of the RPP, and 4th place candidate of NMP. Election offices of the PDP were opened by district organizations in the name of party, not candidates. Individuals and representatives attended the openings of the PDP's election offices. From among the campaign activities followed, no invited opening was made for the election offices of 7th place candidate of the JDP, 5th place candidate of the RPP, and 1st place candidate of the NMP, but it was observed that election offices were made available for use by the voters. In this context, information on election offices of parliamentary candidates is shown in Table 4.

Table 4
Data on Election Offices of Parliamentary Candidates

	JDP		RPP		NMP		PDP	
	2 nd Place	7 th Place	1 st Place	5 th Place	1 st Place	4 th Place	1 st Place	2 nd Place
Candidates								
Number of Election Offices	4	2	2	1	1	2	6	
When and Where is the Election Office Opened?	in Reşatbey on 02.05.2015 in Karaisalı on 15.05.2015 in Kışla on 24.05.201 and in Sarıçam on 25.05.2015	in Ceyhan on 09.05.2015, in Turhan Cemal Beriker Bulvarı on 12.05.2015.	in Ziyapaşa on 12.04.2015, and in Sarıçam on 27.05.2015.	in Ulus Caddesi on 06.04.2015.	in Yüreğir on 20.05.2015.	in Kenan Evren on 02.05.2015, and in Sarıçam on 23.05.2015.	in Ceyhan on 05.05.2015, in Yeşilyurt on 09.05.2015, in Çamlıbel and Başak Mahallesi on 10.05.2015, in Yenidoğan Mahallesi on 12.05.2015, in Barajyolu on 13.05.2015 (Women's Election Office), and in Haydaroğlu on 14.05.2015.	

The number of election offices and when and where the election offices are opened, which constitute the data on election offices of candidates follows is as indicated in the table. It is found that 5th place candidate of the RPP opened the election office the earliest. The first candidates who opened their election offices after the nomination of final candidates are the 2nd place candidate of the JDP and 4th place candidate of the NMP. In terms of timing, most of the election offices were opened in May. However, when it is considered based on parties, the RPP's parliamentary candidates started running their election office activities in their period of candidacy nomination. Besides, candidates other than 5th place candidate of the RPP and 1st place candidate of the NMP opened more than one election offices. When considered in terms of candidates, the 2nd place candidate of the JDP, who has highest number of election offices, opened 4 election offices. It was observed that the candidate opened election offices on the main street and at locations easily accessible to voters. The 7th place candidate of the JDP has a total of two election offices; one in the Centrum and one in the district. Election office of the candidate in the Centrum was opened on the main street. The 1st place candidate of the RPP opened a total of 2 election offices. The location of candidate's election office in Seyhan is a densely populated place. Election office of the 5th place candidate of the RPP is easily accessible despite it is not located on the main street. Election office of the 1st place candidate of the NMP was opened on the main street in Yüreğir. It is considered that election offices of the 4th place candidate of the NMP are at central location made transportation of voters easy. It was observed that the PDP opened election offices in the name of party on streets where the voters are highly likely to vote for the party. The party's women election office was opened at a location where university students are highly populated and is available for easy transportation.

When the election office activities that were followed throughout the election campaign are examined, it was observed that the JDP, RPP and NMP run candidate-based campaigns. The PDP, however, adopted a different strategy in its election campaign. Accordingly, the PDP opened party-based election office as well as election office for women. It was also observed that there were flyers and brochures of other parliamentary candidates of the party available in all election offices of the parties. Consequently, it was observed that election office activities of first-place and critical-place candidates of parties differentiated on the basis of parties, not candidates. This means that election office activities of first-place and critical-place candidates of a party

were not different from each other. However, election office activities of the parties were different from each other.

The second research question that was used in the study to find out claims of candidates is as follows:

Q2. What are the claims used by the candidates during the campaign?

Regarding the answer to the second research question, participant observation method was used and semi-structured interviews were conducted with candidates during public meetings, meetings and/or shopkeeper visits and election office openings. Findings are analyzed accordingly qualitative content analysis method.

Qualitative content analysis aims to identify main messages, connotations of a given written, oral and / or visual material. The method contains several steps, which would be summed up as: (1) processing the qualitative data gathered, (2) coding and identification of main themes, (3) definition and interpretation of the findings (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2006, p.92).

Accordingly above-described steps, qualitative data gathered to respond the ‘question 2’ is analyzed through following steps:

1. All interviews (8) and candidate speeches were recorded and recordings were transcribed into texts.
2. Texts were coded basing on some keywords (unemployment, education, health, transportation, immigration, women rights, inequalities, etc.).
3. Codes were classified under larger themes, such as activities, problems, terror, and social rights and issues depending on the theme the most focused by the interviewed candidate. Some keywords would be considered under both activities and problems theme depending on the political party of the candidate (i.e. Candidates of the NMP focused on the problems in health sector while those of JDP focused on the developments in healthcare system).
4. Findings were compared on two basis: similarities / differences among candidates and similarities / differences among parties. Interviews and speeches of candidates are thus assessed to make some overall comments on the main claims of the campaigns pursued by each candidate.

Field notes were taken during observation and those notes were assessed on the basis of main physical features of the campaign organization, such as organization of the place, use of music, slogans, campaign songs, etc.

Findings of this part of the study are elaborated as follows:

Candidate-based public meetings refer to small-scale public meetings where only candidates make a speech, differently from public meetings that are organized with the participation of party leader and arranged as a feast. The activities that were followed under the study are shown in Table 5.

Table 5
Attended Public meetings, Meetings/Shopkeeper Visits and Election Office Openings

Participant Observation	JDP		RPP		NMP		PDP	
	2 nd Place	7 th Place	1 st Place	5 th Place	1 st Place	4 th Place	1 st Place	2 nd Place
Public meetings	-	-	-	-	09.05.2015 Tellidere		-	-
Meetings and/or Shopkeeper Visits	15.02.2015 Karaisalı and 27.05.2015 Yüreğir	19.05.2015 Seyhan and 21.05.2015 Ceyhan	13.05.2015 ADAMOB Met. and 14.05.2015 Kürkçüler	17.05.2015 Aladağ and 20.05.2015 Yüreğir	16.05.2015 Yumurtalık	23.05.2015 Ceyhan	13.05.2015 ADAMOB Met. and 31.05.2015 Köklüce	06.05.2015 Cand. Met. and 30.05.2015 Mutlu
Opening of Elec. Offices	15.05.2015 Karaisalı	-	12.04.2015 Seyhan	-	-	23.05.2015 Sarıçam	13.05.2015 Seyhan	-

Public meetings, meetings and/or shopkeeper visits and election office openings were followed by means of participation observation method. In this context, only the NMP's candidates organized a public meeting. NMP's candidates are introduced in the Tellidere public meeting, which was organized by the NMP's District Directorate on May 9, 2015. The 1st place candidate of the NMP said that the party's leader is also from Adana and 'It's now the time to make our leader the prime minister'. The candidate also stated that 'Everyone should ask for votes for our party starting from your neighbors in order to realize our projects and embrace our country' and asked for votes for the party in general, instead of announcing all projects detailed in the party's declaration of election. The candidate used the slogan 'Adana is walking with us', by localizing the

party's general slogan. The 4th place candidate who took the floor in the same public meeting made statements about the current issues and criticized the ruling party. All parliamentary candidates, provincial director, head of women's branch and headmen attended public meeting. It was observed that party's election songs and slogans were used during the public meeting.

Another activity for which participant observation method is used was meetings and/or shopkeeper visits. These activities, which were organized during election campaign of candidates, were attended two times in the Centrum and nearby districts with the permission of candidates. The activities that were followed are listed below:

The shopkeeper visit in Eđence Village of Karaisalı and village meetings in Hacılı, K r kl  and Bekirli that were organized by 2nd place candidate of the JDP on May 15, 2015, were attended. During the meetings, the candidate informed the voters by telling about the practices of her party and the problems in Turkey before 2002. She told that the term 'Past Turkey' should be told to first-time voters and they should realize the practices of her party for Turkey. She expressed that her party is trying to distribute equal service and equal rights for 13 years. She underlined that in order to maintain stability, her party should win the elections on June 7. After her speech, only this candidate listened to the problems of voters individually and took notes about the issues. Afterwards, the textile plant visits in Y ređir on May 27, 2015, were attended with the candidate. The candidate told about the practices of her party since 2002. Differently from village meetings, the newspaper 'Old Turkey - Turkey in the 90s', which was issued by the party, was distributed to workers. The candidate especially underlined health transformation and headscarf issue based on the news featured on this newspaper consisting of newspaper headlines in the past. Besides, the candidate underlined the importance of voting.

The shopkeeper visits and house meetings, organized by 7th place candidate of the JDP on May 19, 2015, were attended in Seyhan. Members of the women's branch accompanied the shopkeeper visits. During the shopkeeper visits, problems of the shopkeeper were heard, and the candidate underlined that these problems will be solved. The shopkeepers were asked for support in the General Election of June 7, 2015. During the house meeting, the candidate told his background and the duties he performed in the party. The candidate said, 'The characteristic of our party is that it is one of us. That's our difference. The nation votes by putting its hand on the heart and seeing the

deficiencies. We are the servant of nation, we work for the nation.’ The candidate expressed general practices of the party, underlined the improvements in health transformation and transportation, pointed out the secularism issue, and criticized opposition parties. The candidate used general slogan of the party, saying ‘We say one state, one nation, one flag. We’re stronger together. We’re a stronger Turkey together.’ On May 21, 2015, Keresteciler Sitesi visit and street meetings were attended together with the candidate. In Keresteciler Sitesi, the candidate introduced himself one by one to the shopkeepers and asked for their support. During the meeting, he paid attention to party members especially about the complaints toward of district management. During the expression of these complaints, the candidate said that the problems would be solved after the election and there could be misunderstandings. It was observed that the candidate tried to reconcile the voters/members who have hard feelings with the party. During the street meeting, the candidate explained his background and practices of his party in areas of health, transportation, education, economy, etc.

On May 13, 2015, the panel 'Adana Elects Its Future', organized by the Union of Academic Professional Chambers of Adana (ADAMOB), was attended together with the RPP's first-place candidate. During the panel, the candidate discussed local problems in Adana and offered solutions for these problems. The candidate said that Adana was a leading industrial city in the past but today it is poor with high unemployment. She also expressed that Adana does not receive a share from public investments, its people immigrate and lets in unqualified immigrants. Adana is ranked 62nd in gender apartheid and women in Adana are in a desperate situation. As a solution to that problem, the candidate stated that the number of women should be higher in all areas of life, and women should be active and have a say. The candidate also underlined that problems in education, energy and democracy will exist no longer after his party comes into power. The candidate also mentioned about election bulletin and general projects of the party. She recommended lobbying work at the assembly and that she will open a contact office for the Adana voters to reach her. On May 14, 2015, the meetings were attended with the candidate in Dağcı, Yürekli, Müminli and Göztepe streets of Kürkçüler. During the meetings, the candidate addressed to the voter as ‘kinsmen’. The candidate stated that education and transportation problems of the voters will be solved if the party comes into power. She also wanted from the voters to visit voters door by door and ask for support for the party until June 7, 2015. Also, the candidate highlighted

the promises in the party's declaration of election, saying ‘The price of fuel will be 1,5 lira for farmers’, ‘A premium will be granted to the retired in both religious holidays’.

On May 17, 2015, shopkeeper visit in Aladağ district and Meydan and Madenli village meetings were attended with the 5th place candidate of the RPP. During the shopkeeper visit, the candidate asked for the support of voters and said that he will give his best if the party comes into power after the election. Flyers and brochures of the party and candidate were distributed to voters. The candidate stated that he will welcome all voter and find solutions for problems if he is elected as the deputy. On May 20, 2015, shopkeeper visit in Yüreğir was attended with the candidate. Before the shopkeeper visit, he looked at the local election results of the district. The shopkeeper visits were short and the candidate just introduced himself and asked for support for his party. More time was spared for the coffeeshop visits on the street, and the candidate explained the rises in pensions and minimum wages as part of promises of the party in the declaration of election.

On May 16, 2015, shopkeeper visits in Yumurtalık were attended with the 1st place candidate of the NMP. Those who accompanied the visit included Adana Metropolitan Mayor, Provincial Director, Provincial Council Committee, Yumurtalık District Director and Mayor, Provincial Women's Branch and some deputies. During the shopkeeper visits, candidates listened to the problems of shopkeepers and told the promises included in the party's declaration of election. The candidate, during his conversations with the shopkeepers, expressed general promises of his party, such as ‘Minimum wage will be 1.400 TL and no tax will be charged on minimum wage’, ‘No deduction will be made on pensions’.

On May 23, 2015, the meeting that was organized at Ceyhan Teacher’s Lodge was attended with the 4th place candidate of the NMP. Adana Metropolitan Mayor, some parliamentary candidates, headmen, representatives of non-governmental organizations, President of Chamber of Agriculture, President of the Chamber of Commerce, President of Commodity Exchange, New Ceyhan Tradesmen Guarantee Credit Cooperative President, General Director of ASKİ (Adana Water and Sewerage Administration), department heads of Adana Metropolitan Municipality, branch managers, some City Council members and party executives attended the meeting. During his speech, the candidate discussed education and terrorism issues. Regarding the education, the candidate told the promises related to education in the party's

declaration of election, saying ‘The focus will be on vocational education’. Also, the candidate said that his priority is the youth, saying ‘If you invest in the youth, then you’ll win the future’. The candidate also discussed local problems, stating that the problems in Adana are getting bigger. He also said that he would create solutions for all problems if his party comes into power after the elections.

During the panel ‘Adana Elects Its Future’, organized by ADAMOB on May 13, 2015, the 1st place candidate of the PDP told the problems of Adana by using local claims. During the meeting, the candidate said, ‘In order to examine urban problems of Adana, it is necessary to evaluate the place of Adana in Turkey’s capitalism, its importance in terms of capital formation regime’. The candidate said that participative and democratic local administration approach lacks and energy is not used efficiently in Adana, and presented solutions for these problems. The candidate also expressed that Adana has problems like poverty, unplanned urbanization, occupational accidents, unemployment, no receiving the share it deserves from central budget, and infrastructure problems. On May 31, 2015, the meeting in Köklüce Village was attended with the candidate. Some parliamentary candidates, executives from the General Headquarters and members of local media attended the meeting as well. The candidate started his speech by introducing himself and continued by criticizing the ruling party. The candidate told the importance for his party to pass the threshold, and asked for ‘strategic vote’ of the voters.

On May 6, 2015, the candidate meeting of the 2nd place candidate of the PDP was attended. The first three place parliamentary candidates of the party attended the meeting as well. She introduced her party's parliamentary candidates from Adana, and how the candidates were nominated. The candidate said that a primary election should be held as a method of nomination, but since his party in a structuring process, the party could not hold such primary election. The candidate said, ‘We absolutely will not form a coalition with the ruling party. Have no doubt about that. Our agenda is not coalition, but passing the election threshold’. Thus, the candidate expressed the campaign target of the party. She also discussed the election threshold, resolution process and language problems. On May 30, 2015, the meeting in Mutlu Village was attended with the candidate. She summarized what they have done as a party during the election and what they demand as a party. The candidate underlined women's rights, violence against women, pension rights of women, and woman should have rights in the society. The

candidate focused on the issue of different languages, and especially pointed out that they value to the pluralist democracy.

The participant observation method was used at the openings of election offices for the claims used by candidates during the campaign. During the opening of election offices, it was aimed to determine whether the speeches of candidates are from local to general or from general to local. The election office openings that were attended are listed below:

The opening of election office in Karaisalı was attended with the 2nd place parliamentary candidate of the JDP. Provincial/district directors, head of women's district branch and party members attended the opening of election office. The candidate told the practices of all candidates as part of field efforts, described Turkey before 2001-2002, and then the services that the party has offered for 13 years. The candidate also stated that the voters who will vote for the first time in the June election have grown up under the governance of her party, parents should tell their children the times before and after that period, and the problems experienced in the 1980s. 'The only thing that our party does is to give back to people what it gets from the people. With the gathering of individuals who want to serve with the understanding of 'serving people is serving God', Turkey got service that it has never witnessed until today. She highlighted the importance of voting. The candidate told the practices of the party in areas of health, education, transportation and so on, and use a general claims.

Central election office of the 1st place candidate of the RPP was opened on April 12, 2015. The wife of party's leader, party's provincial/district administrators, parliamentary candidates, members of Association of Business Women (İŞKAD), presidents of associations, headmen, associations of the handicapped, unions, and retired citizens attended the opening. The candidate said 'I'll work for you', 'We'll make the RPP the first party in Adana', 'This is a team play, so we'll work non-stop all together until June 8'. During the opening, general election songs of the RPP were played. It was observed that the candidate used the party's general slogan when addressing to the voters.

The election office opening of 4th place parliamentary candidate of the NMP in Sarıçam was attended on May 23, 2015. Sarıçam Mayor, party's district director, head of women's branch, parliamentary candidates for nomination, and the candidate's wife

attended the opening. The candidate criticized the ruling party in Turkey and used a negative claims. The candidate expressed the promises in the party's declaration of election, saying '700 TL of wage will be given for those who need', 'Minimum living allowance will be applied in the taxation of income of shopkeepers'. The candidate also explained the promises of party relating to problems in areas of education, unemployment, health, cost of living, pensions, corruption, economy and agriculture. The candidate stated that his party should come into power for the solution of problems in the country. The candidate concluded his speech saying 'Walk with Us Adana, Walk with Us Turkey'.

The opening of the PDP Women's Election Office was attended on May 13, 2015. All parliamentary candidates of the party from Adana, party's provincial organization members, and non-governmental organizations attended the opening of election office. The 2nd place candidate of the PDP said the PDP is a women's party, half of its candidates are women and the party has a declaration of election on women. The candidate also stated that all candidates of the party will make effort to stop the femicide and violence against women and ensure that those who are tried on this issue will not benefit from the unjust provocation. Besides, the candidate told that women's unemployment will be decreased and women's employment rate will increase. The candidate also explained the declaration of election on women. The candidate also criticized the ruling party during the speech.

Speeches of candidates and semi-structured interviews conducted with the candidates are elaborated accordingly content analysis method as it is above-described. Similarities and differences of the content in terms of the context in which the keywords were applied by the candidates are grouped under four main themes: 'activities', 'problems', 'terror' and 'social rights'. Essential findings of this analysis are below-presented and supported by prominent examples.

When the speeches of candidates and the messages they gave to the voters during the openings of election offices are examined, it was observed that there were some differences in terms of content. The candidate of the JDP underlined the party's practices and her own qualifications, while the RPP's candidate pointed out her desire to become the first party in Adana and Turkey. On the other hand, the NMP's candidate highlighted the general problems of Turkey in his speeches. The PDP, however, expressed its desire to pass the threshold. Moreover it was observed that the candidate

of the JDP conveyed messages in terms of campaign and her own qualifications, while the candidates of other parties conveyed messages based on the campaign only.

Lastly, semi-structured interviews were made with the parliamentary candidates who were followed throughout the election campaign. As stated above, four questions were asked to the candidates and the answers of candidates were subjected to a general evaluation. Some parliamentary candidates brought the practices of their party into the forefront, while others stated that they want to highlight their desire to come into power, the leadership factor, and the promises specified in the party's declaration of election. All candidates said that they find the election atmosphere as positive, exciting and stirring. The parliamentary candidates who were asked about the voter profile in Adana said that voters tend to vote for four parties, there is a pluralist voter profile, and there are voters from all languages, identities and religions. Besides, they stated that rural voters pay attention to friendly relations, while urban voters make their voting decisions on their own. Regarding the last question of semi-structured interview, some candidates stated that they will come into power, while others said that their party will increase its vote rate, and some said their party will pass the election threshold. When evaluated in general, it was observed that election office activities of first-place and critical-place candidates of parties differentiated on the basis of parties, not candidates. This means that claims of first-place and critical-place candidates of a party was not different from each other. However, claims of the candidates of parties are based on different aspects. Candidates of the JDP emphasized their practices in general, while candidates of the RPP and NMP established their claims based on promises and problems. On the other hand, the PDP candidates, underlined the desire to achieve the campaign target in their speeches which were drafted based on the problems.

The third question on the profile of voters who participate in election campaigns is as follows:

Q3. What is the profile of participants in the campaign activities of candidates?

The voter profile was observed to answer the third question. Although the general voter profile during the meetings that were organized by parliamentary candidates was from all age ranges, majority of the voters were between the age range of 36-45. The profiles of voters who participated in activities of candidates during the campaign are shown in Table 6.

Table 6
Profiles of Participants in Campaign Activities of Candidates

	Candidates	Participation in Meeting	Voter Profile
JDP	2 nd Place	Meetings and shopkeeper visits in Karaisalı on 15.05.2015 and Textile plants meeting in Yüreğir on 27.05.2015	In Karaisalı, majority of participants were male voters who are 46 years old and older. In Yüreğir, majority of participants were female voters between 18-35 years of age.
	7 th Place	Shopkeeper visit and house meeting in Seyhan on May 19, 2015, and site visit and street meetings in Ceyhan Keresteciler on May 21, 2015	In Seyhan, majority of voters was in the age range of 36-45. In Keresteciler Sitesi, Ceyhan, majority of voters was male and in the age range of 36-45. In the street meetings, there were male voters between 45-55 years of age and older and female voters in the age range of 18-35.
RPP	1 st Place	ADAMOB Meeting on May 13, 2015, and Kürkçüler Village meeting on May 14, 2015	There were participation from all age groups and genders in the ADAMOB meeting. In Kürkçüler, majority of voters was male and in the age range of 36-45.
	5 th Place	Shopkeeper visit and village meetings in Aladağ on May 17, 2015, and shopkeeper visit in Yüreğir on May 20, 2015	In Aladağ, majority of participants were male voters who are between 45-55 years of age and older. In Yüreğir, majority of participants were male voters in the age range of 36-45.
NMP	1 st Place	Public meeting in Tellidere on May 9, 2015, and shopkeeper visit in Yumurtalık on May 16, 2015	In Tellidere, majority of participants was male voters aged 18 and older. In Yumurtalık, majority of participants was male voters aged between 36-45.
	4 th Place	Public meetings in Tellidere on May 9, 2015, and Ceyhan Teacher's House Headmen Meeting on May 23, 2015	In Tellidere, majority of participants was male voters aged 18 and older. In Ceyhan, there were female and male participants aged between 46-55 and older.
PDP	1 st Place	ADAMOB meeting on May 13, 2015, and Köklüce Village meeting on May 31, 2015	There were participation from all age groups and genders in the ADAMOB meeting. In Köklüce, majority of participants were male voters aged between 36-45.
	2 nd Place	Candidates' Meeting on May 6, 2015, and Mutlu Village meeting on May 30, 2015	During the candidates' meeting, the majority was male voters aged between 36-45. In Mutlu, the majority was female voters aged between 46-55.

As seen in Table 6, there was a difference in terms of ages of participants during the openings of election offices. However, the difference of age range was due to the location where the meeting was held. Therefore, the difference was not related to the candidates or parties, but the nature of meetings. On the other hand, during the openings of some election offices of female parliamentary candidates, it was normally observed that majority of participants was women voters. It was also observed that participating voters are those who do not feel any time pressure in their workplace.

Consequently, it can be stated that the election process campaign activities and claims of parliamentary candidates were different on the basis of parties, not first-place and critical-place candidates. It was observed that election office of each candidate was equipped with party flags, flyers of other candidates of the party, as well as brochures and posters of the party. Also, during the activities which were followed through participant observation (public meetings, meeting/shopkeeper visits, openings of election offices), it was observed that catalogues/introductory books containing election declarations of parties as well as badges, pens, key holders, coffee etc. were distributed to the participating voters.

During the activities, some candidates used general slogan of their party, while others used these slogans by adapting them to local statements. The candidates determined the subject of meetings depending on voter profile. In many meetings/visits, unemployment, transportation and infrastructure problems in Adana were emphasized. The parties tried to bring forward the promises of their parties as solutions. Besides, candidates also said that voters can easily contact them after the elections. Consequently, candidates used different claims in order to reach the voters and tell election promises of their parties. Also, the profile of participants differed in terms of nature of meetings.

4.4.2. Analysis of Candidates' Questionnaire and Findings

The findings on demographic characteristics of parliamentary candidates, their utilization level of political promotion, their levels of significance, supporting means of propaganda and campaign targets of the candidates are evaluated in this section. A census was conducted in order to reach all parliamentary candidates of the JDP, RPP, NMP and PDP from Adana. Therefore, there are a total of 56 parliamentary candidates,

being 14 candidates from each party. But it was reached to 52 people of candidates. Demographic characteristics of parliamentary candidates are shown in Table 7.

Table 7
Demographic Characteristics of Parliamentary Candidates

Demographic Characteristics	N	Percentage (%)
Gender		
Female	15	28,8
Male	37	71,2
Marital Status		
Married	46	88,5
Single	6	11,5
Age		
Between 18- 35	6	11,5
Between 36- 45	17	32,7
Between 46- 55	21	40,4
Between 56- 65	8	15,4
Education Level		
High school graduate and lower	3	5,8
Bachelor's degree	28	53,8
Master's degree	12	23,1
PhD degree	9	17,8
Occupation		
Qualified self-employment	34	65,4
Merchant/Industrialist/Shopkeeper	4	7,7
Civil servant	9	17,3
Other	5	9,6

As seen in Table 7, gender, marital status, age, education level and occupation of parliamentary candidates are evaluated under the demographic characteristics. About 29% of parliamentary candidates who participated in this study are women, while remaining 71% are men. Also, 88.5% of parliamentary candidates are married, while 11.5% are single. About 40% of parliamentary candidates who participated in this study are aged between 46-55, about 54% of them are university graduates. Lastly, about 65% of parliamentary candidates are qualified self-employed people, 17% were civil servant before their candidacy, 8% are merchant/industrialist/shopkeeper, and remaining 10% are engaged in other occupations.

Data on the utilization levels of political promotion mix elements by parliamentary candidates is shown in Table 8.

Table 8
The Utilization Levels of Political Promotion Mix Elements by Parliamentary Candidates

Political Promotion Mix Elements	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Extremely
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Newspaper Advertisements	9 (17,3)	8 (15,4)	11 (21,2)	13 (25,0)	11 (21,2)
Magazine Advertisements	16 (30,8)	14 (26,9)	11 (21,2)	7 (13,5)	4 (7,7)
Radio Advertisements	4 (7,7)	10 (19,2)	7 (13,5)	22 (42,3)	9 (17,3)
TV Advertisements	4 (7,7)	11 (21,2)	2 (3,8)	13 (25,0)	22 (42,3)
Cinema Advertisements	13 (25,0)	12 (23,1)	14 (26,9)	11 (21,2)	2 (3,8)
Online Advertisements	1 (1,9)	3 (5,8)	6 (11,5)	16 (30,8)	26 (50,0)
Wall Advertisements	2 (3,8)	5 (9,6)	3 (5,8)	18 (34,6)	24 (46,2)
Bill-board ads and Posters	6 (11,5)	3 (5,8)	3 (5,8)	15 (28,8)	25 (48,1)
Vehicle Advertisements	4 (7,7)	7 (13,5)	4 (7,7)	19 (36,5)	18 (34,6)
Delivery of Introductory Document by Mail	8 (15,4)	11 (21,2)	11 (21,2)	10 (19,2)	12 (23,1)
Flyers, Brochures	2 (3,8)	4 (7,7)	9 (17,3)	16 (30,8)	21 (40,4)
Catalogue/Introductory Book	10 (19,2)	6 (11,5)	14 (26,9)	16 (30,8)	6 (11,5)
Introductory Film	10 (19,2)	10 (19,2)	11 (21,2)	13 (25,0)	8 (15,4)
Flags/Balloons/Banners/Pennants	4 (7,7)	7 (13,5)	10 (19,2)	17 (32,7)	14 (26,9)
Mobile Messages	7 (13,5)	6 (11,5)	5 (9,6)	19 (36,5)	15 (28,8)
E-mail Messages	6 (11,5)	13 (25,0)	10 (19,2)	13 (25,0)	10 (19,2)
Door-to-door Voter Visits	-(-)	4 (7,7)	4 (7,7)	15 (28,8)	29 (55,8)
Canvassing with election office visitors	-(-)	3 (5,8)	5 (9,6)	15 (28,8)	29 (55,8)
Phone calls and presentations	3 (5,8)	7 (13,5)	19 (36,5)	10 (19,2)	13 (25,0)
Organization of meetings, such as commemoration, celebration, wishing merry holiday, etc.	-(-)	2 (3,8)	12 (23,1)	23 (44,2)	15 (28,8)
Organization of special meetings such as conferences and seminars, etc.	1 (1,9)	7 (13,5)	8 (15,4)	22 (42,3)	14 (26,9)
Attending Social Events	-(-)	- (-)	3 (5,8)	22 (42,3)	27 (51,9)
Public meetings	1 (1,9)	-(-)	10 (19,2)	19 (36,5)	22 (42,3)
Organizing press releases and press conferences	2 (3,8)	1 (1,9)	8 (15,4)	19 (36,5)	22 (42,3)
TV News, Debates and Interviews	2 (3,8)	2 (3,8)	3 (5,8)	21 (40,4)	24 (46,2)
Radio News, Conversations and Interviews	3 (5,8)	3 (5,8)	5 (9,6)	25 (48,1)	16 (30,8)
Newspaper articles, Conversations and Interviews	1 (1,9)	3 (5,8)	2 (3,8)	24 (46,2)	22 (42,3)
Candidate Website	4 (7,7)	2 (3,8)	9 (17,3)	13 (25,0)	24 (46,2)
Use of Social Media	-(-)	1 (1,9)	3 (5,8)	11 (21,2)	37 (71,2)
Gifts such as Badge, Pen, Key holder, Coffee etc.	11 (21,2)	12 (23,1)	6 (11,5)	14 (26,9)	9 (17,3)
Organizing events such as free concerts, exhibitions etc.	7 (13,5)	10 (19,2)	14 (26,9)	10 (19,2)	11 (21,2)

Table 8 shows that parliamentary candidates performed activities related to the political promotion mix at different levels. Parliamentary candidates said that they use the following activities above average: 94.2% attending social events, 92.3% social media (Facebook, Twitter etc.), 88.5% newspaper articles, interviews and conversations, 86.5% TV news, debates and interviews, 84.6% door-to-door voter visits, 84.6% canvassing with election office visitors, 80.8% online advertisements, and 80.8% wall advertisements. 21 of the activities on the political promotion took a value above 50% and used above average by the parliamentary candidates. On the contrary, it was observed that 57.7% and 48.1% of parliamentary candidates never use or use at a very low level the magazine advertisements and cinema advertisements, respectively. Also, the activity which is used most at a moderate level by parliamentary candidates is phone calls and presentations.

Parliamentary candidates who participated in this study were asked to grade the first 5 political promotion mix related activities that they see important for their campaign. Table 9 shows the level of significance that the candidates attach to political promotion in their campaign and their total score with weighted scores.

Table 9

Importance Rates of Political Promotion Mix Elements (Candidate)

	Sig. 1	Sig. 2	Sig. 3	Sig. 4	Sig. 5	Score*
Political Promotion Mix Elements	N	N	N	N	N	
Newspaper Advertisements	2	2	3	2	-	6,2
Magazine Advertisements	-	-	1	-	-	0,6
Radio Advertisements	3	-	4	1	5	6,8
TV Advertisements	3	1	2	6	1	7,6
Cinema Advertisements	-	-	-	-	1	0,2
Online Advertisements	1	1	2	3	1	4,4
Wall Advertisements	3	3	1	3	3	7,8
Bill-board ads and Posters	-	1	-	5	4	3,6
Vehicle Advertisements	3	1	2	-	2	5,4
Delivery of Introductory Document by Mail	2	-	1	-	2	3,0
Flyers, Brochures	3	7	1	-	-	9,2
Catalogue / Introductory Book	-	1	-	1	-	1,2
Introductory Film	-	-	1	-	-	0,6
Flags/Balloons/Banners/Pennants	-	1	1	-	1	1,6
Mobile Messages	-	2	3	2	1	4,4
E-mail Messages	-	1	-	1	-	1,2
Door-to-door Voter Visits	14	8	3	3	2	23,8
Canvassing with election office visitors	2	10	4	1	2	13,2
Phone calls and presentations	-	1	3	-	1	2,8
Organization of meetings, such as Commemoration, celebration, wishing merry holiday, etc.	-	1	2	6	1	4,6
Organization of special meetings such as conferences and seminars, etc.	1	2	2	2	3	5,2
Attending Social Events	-	1	10	4	2	8,8
Public meetings	1	1	2	2	4	4,6
Organizing press releases and press conferences	-	-	-	1	2	0,8
TV News, Debates and Interviews	4	1	2	2	2	7,2
Radio News, Conversations and Interviews	-	-	-	2	2	1,2
Newspaper articles, Conversations and Interviews	-	-	-	1	3	1,0
Candidate Website	-	1	-	1	-	0,4
Use of Social Media	10	5	2	2	7	17,4
Gifts such as Badge, Pen, Key holder Coffee etc.	-	-	-	1	-	0,4

*Score=[(Significance1x5)+(Significance2x4)+(Significance3x3)+(Significance4x2)+(Significance5x1)/]

It is seen that door-to-door voter visits are important at 1st level for about 27% of parliamentary candidates, and the use of social media is important at 1st level for about 19% of candidates in their campaigns. Organizing events such as free concerts and

exhibitions was not ranked in the first 5 by any parliamentary candidate. In terms of total scores, it was found that the candidates pay highest importance to the door-to-door voter visits. The activity which is considered significant in the second place is the use of social media, and third important activity is canvassing with the voters at the party's offices.

Table 10 shows the results obtained on the personal election song and slogans of the parliamentary candidates as supporting means of propaganda.

Table 10
Election Songs and Election Slogans

	Yes, there's.		No, there isn't.	
	N	%	N	%
Do you have any personal election song that you use during the election period?	5	9,6	47	90,4
Do you have any personal slogan(s) that you use during the election period?	34	65,4	18	34,6

Only 9.6% of 52 parliamentary candidates who participated in the study said that they have a personal election song in the election period. These candidates posted their election songs as a video clip on YouTube. When you view the election songs, it is observed that two candidates used their personal slogans in the songs. The video of a candidate has a content introducing the candidate, rather than being an election song. Other 47 candidates stated that they do not have a personal election song and they use general election song of the party. Also, 65.4% of parliamentary candidates have their own personal slogans. Table 11 shows the personal slogans of the candidates that were used in the election period.

Table 11
The Slogans Used by Parliamentary Candidates

Rank	Slogans Used
1	'The Youth is Excited' (Gençliğe HeyeCAN Geldi)
2	'The Tall Man' (Uzun Adam)
3	'The Youth Will Come' (Gençlik GELECEK)
4	'This Land Is All Of Ours' (Bu Toprak Hepimizin)
5	'Our Elif' (Bizim Elif)
6	'We'll Succeed Together, We'll Walk Together' (Birlikte Başaracağız, Birlikte Yürüyeceğiz)
7	'For A Bright Future' (Aydınlık Bir Gelecek İçin)
8	'We've Left Our Mark, Now We'll Have Our Word' (İzimiz Var Artık Sözümüzde Olacak)
9	'Come On! It's In Your Hands' (Haydi, Fırsat Elinizde)
10	'Doctor of People' (Halkın Doktoru)
11	'Mark, My Brother' (Yaz Kardeşim)
12	'We've A Word to Say' (Söyleyecek Sözümüz Var)
13	'Let's Make the Change All Together' (Hep Birlikte Değişime İmza Atalım)
14	'Primary Election Is A Must' (Olmazsa Olmazım Önseçim)
15	'Pride of Adana' (Adana'nın Gururu)
16	'For a Clean Future; You Need a Clean Past!' (Temiz Gelecek İçin; Temiz Geçmiş Gerekli!)
17	'Adana, Walk With Yörük Ali' (Yörük Ali ile Yürü Adana)
18	'One of You' and 'First State Then Nation' ('İçinizden Biri' & 'Önce Devlet Sonra Millet')
19	'Government for My Country, Demet for Adana' (Ülkeme Devlet, Adana'ya Demet)
20	'Benevolent Son of Adana' (Adana'nın Hayırlı Evladı)
21	'Believe in Youth' (Gençliğe İnan)
22	'My Principle is My Country First' (Benim İlkem Önce Ülkem)
23	'Your Generation, Your Youth, Your Future' and 'Yörük Girl Neslihan' ('Senin Neslin, Senin Gençliğın, Senin Geleceğın' & 'Yörük Kızı Neslihan')
24	'Breath of Youth, Voice of Nation' (Gençliğin Nefesi Milletın Sesi)
25	'Women's Hand in the Assembly' (Mecliste Kadın Eli)
26	'Our Past is the Guarantee of Our Future' (Geçmişimiz Geleceğimizin Teminatıdır)
27	'Everyone to Use the Language of Peace in this Country' and 'For No Child Named 'Peace' to be Called as 'War' in this Country' (Bu Ülkede Herkes 'Barış Dili' Kullanacak' & 'Bu Ülkede 'Barış' İsminde Hiçbir Çocuk 'Savaş' İsmiyle Çağrılmasın Diye')
28	'Let's Get Together, Let's Be Friends' (Gelin Bir Olalım Can Olalım)
29	'Our New Life Project Will Free Everyone' (Yeni Yaşam Projemiz Herkesi Özgürleştirecektir)
30	'It's Time' (Vakti Geldi)
31	'Woman of Anatolia, Girl of Anatolia, One of You to Understand You Best' (Anadolu Kadını, Anadolu Kızı, Sizi En İyi Anlayabilecek Sizden Biri)
32	'Leading City Adana; Leading in Industry, Leading in Agriculture, Leading in Art, Leading in Tourism' (Öncü Şehir Adana, Sanayide Öncü Şehir, Tarımda Öncü Şehir, Sanatta Öncü Şehir, Turizmde Öncü Şehir)
33	'From the Labor, for the Labor' (Emeğin İçinden, Emek İçin)

One of the parliamentary candidates said that he has a slogan but he cannot remember it. Also, some of the parliamentary candidates have more than one slogans

they use. On the other hand, it was observed that nine parliamentary candidates continued using the slogans they used in their period of nomination candidacy. Eight parliamentary candidates selected slogans that evoke their names.

Table 12 shows the level of significance that parliamentary candidates attach to campaign targets and their points with weighted scores.

Table 12
Campaign Targets of Parliamentary Candidates

	Sig. 1	Sig. 2	Sig. 3	Sig. 4	Sig. 5	Score*
Targets	N	N	N	N	N	
To maximize the voter turnout	6	19	13	12	2	34,2
To maximize the vote rate of your party	44	6	2	-	-	50,0
To be elected as deputy	1	8	14	28	1	27,2
To prevent other parties from receiving votes from your voters	1	18	21	12	-	32,8
Other	-	1	2	-	10	4,0

*Score= $[(\text{Significance1} \times 5) + (\text{Significance2} \times 4) + (\text{Significance3} \times 3) + (\text{Significance4} \times 2) + (\text{Significance5} \times 1)] / 5$

As seen in Table 12, the most important campaign target of the parliamentary candidates is to maximize the vote rate of their parties. The second important campaign target is to maximize the voter turnout. The third important campaign target is to prevent other parties from receiving votes from their own voters. The target which is considered the least important is other purposes specified by the candidates. In this context, one person did not specify the content of his target, while other 12 did. The targets stated by the participants include the following: to receive votes from voters of other parties (2 candidates), to represent the city at best, to make sure the party win more deputies in the province, to attract people to politics, to create solutions for the problems of province, to tell the party to voters, to strengthen the party organization, to introduce their own program and principles (2 candidates), to make sure the party conduct proper activities, and to spread party's principles.

4.4.3. Analysis of Voters' Questionnaire and Findings

This section evaluates the level of being influenced by political promotion used in the election campaigns, their significance levels, supporting means of propaganda, political participation level, time of voting decision, commitment level and

demographic characteristics of voters. Demographic characteristics of voters are shown in Table 13.

Table 13
Demographic Characteristics of Voters

Demographic Characteristics	N	Percentage (%)
Gender		
Female	234	46,8
Male	266	53,2
Marital Status		
Married	298	59,6
Single	202	40,4
Age		
Between 18-35	204	40,8
Between 36-45	132	26,4
Between 46-55	81	16,2
Between 56-65	52	10,4
66 and older	31	6,2
Education Level		
Primary school graduate	119	23,8
Secondary school graduate	89	17,8
High school graduate	164	32,8
Bachelor's degree	120	24,0
Master's degree or PhD degree	8	1,6
Occupation		
Qualified self-employment	62	12,4
Merchant/Industrialist/Shopkeeper	68	13,6
Civil servant	44	8,8
Worker	73	14,6
Retired	48	9,6
Housewife	118	23,6
Unemployed	38	7,6
Student	49	9,8

As seen in Table 13, gender, marital status, age, education level and occupation of voters are evaluated under the demographic characteristics. About 47% of participant voters of the study are women, while remaining 53% are men. Also, about 60% of the voters are married, while 40% are single. About 41% of participant voters are aged between 18-35, while about 33% are high school graduates. Lastly, about 24% of the voters who participated in this study are housewives, 15% are workers, and 14% are merchant/industrialist/shopkeeper.

A reliability analysis was made on advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives as elements of political promotion mix. The results of reliability analysis are shown in Table 14.

Table 14
Results of Reliability Analysis

Political Promotion Mix Elements	Cronbach's Alpha
Advertising	.926
Propaganda	.801
Public Relations	.890
Promotional Incentives	.800

Accordingly, total Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of political promotion is .863. Alpha coefficients of advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives are reflectively as follows: .926; .801; .890 and .800. Having an Alpha coefficient between $.80 < a < 1.00$ indicates that the scale is highly reliable (Akgül & Çelik, 2003, p.435). In this respect, it can be suggested that the data set is highly reliable.

The data on voters' levels of being influenced by political promotion mix elements are shown in Table 15.

Table 15
The Levels of Being Influenced by Political Promotion Mix Elements

Political Promotion Mix Elements	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Extremely
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Newspaper Advertisements	117 (23,4)	112 (22,4)	95 (19,0)	123 (24,6)	53 (10,6)
Magazine Advertisements	145 (29,0)	134 (26,8)	106 (21,2)	86 (17,2)	29 (5,8)
Radio Advertisements	133 (26,6)	126 (25,2)	102 (20,4)	100 (20,0)	39 (7,8)
TV Advertisements	60 (12,0)	92 (18,4)	105 (21,0)	149 (29,8)	94 (18,8)
Cinema Advertisements	155 (31,0)	110 (22,0)	103 (20,6)	100 (20,0)	32 (6,4)
Online Advertisements	136 (27,2)	95 (19,0)	105 (21,0)	121 (24,2)	43 (8,6)
Wall Advertisements	134 (26,8)	102 (20,4)	119 (23,8)	108 (21,6)	37 (7,4)
Bill-board ads and Posters	123 (24,6)	101 (20,2)	121 (24,2)	114 (22,8)	41 (8,2)
Vehicle Advertisements	132 (26,4)	96 (19,2)	117 (23,4)	117 (23,4)	38 (7,6)
Delivery of Introductory Document by Mail	126 (25,2)	100 (20,0)	99 (19,8)	118 (23,6)	57 (11,4)
Flyers, Brochures	113 (22,6)	108 (21,6)	123 (24,6)	116 (23,2)	40 (8,0)
Catalogue / Introductory Book	121 (24,2)	124 (24,8)	111 (22,2)	111 (22,2)	33 (6,6)
Introductory Film	121 (24,2)	117 (23,4)	97 (19,4)	117 (23,4)	48 (9,6)
Flags/Balloons/Banners/Pennants	110 (22,0)	106 (21,2)	132 (26,4)	112 (22,4)	40 (8,0)
Mobile Messages	158 (31,6)	103 (20,6)	108 (21,6)	92 (18,4)	39 (7,8)
E-mail Messages	184 (36,8)	123 (24,6)	92 (18,4)	68 (13,6)	33 (6,6)
Door-to-door Voter Visits	81 (16,2)	76 (15,2)	102 (20,4)	162 (32,4)	79(15,8)
Canvassing with election office visitors	78 (15,6)	86 (17,2)	95 (19,0)	153 (30,6)	88(17,6)
Phone calls and presentations	131 (26,2)	99 (19,8)	102 (20,4)	126 (25,2)	42(8,4)
Organization of meetings, such as Commemoration, celebration, wishing merry holiday, etc.	77 (15,4)	99 (19,8)	107 (21,4)	151 (30,2)	66(13,2)
Organization of special meetings such as conferences and seminars	80 (16,0)	93 (18,6)	101 (20,2)	157 (31,4)	69(13,8)
Attending Social Events	69 (13,8)	73 (14,6)	109 (21,8)	171 (34,2)	78(15,6)
Public meetings	65 (13,0)	53 (10,6)	98 (19,6)	179 (35,8)	105(21,0)
Organizing press releases and press conferences	75 (15,0)	77 (15,4)	102 (20,4)	153 (30,6)	93(18,6)
TV News, Debates and Interviews	48 (9,6)	61 (12,2)	123 (24,6)	174 (34,8)	94(18,8)
Radio News, Conversations and Interviews	102 (20,4)	125 (25,0)	108 (21,6)	121 (24,2)	44(8,8)
Newspaper articles, Conversations and Interviews	86 (17,2)	110 (22,0)	112 (22,4)	140 (28,0)	52(10,4)
Candidate Website	150 (30,0)	119 (23,8)	122 (24,4)	80 (16,0)	29(5,8)
Use of Social Media	104 (20,8)	88 (17,6)	102 (20,4)	139 (27,8)	67(13,4)
Gifts such as Badge, Pen, Key holder, Coffee etc.	144 (28,8)	107 (21,4)	112 (22,4)	85 (17,0)	52(10,4)
Organizing events such as free concerts, exhibitions	121 (24,2)	89 (17,8)	103 (20,6)	110 (22,0)	77(15,4)

Table 15 shows that the voters are influenced at different levels from all activities related to the political promotion mix elements. Voters said they are influenced from the following activities above average: 56.8% from public meetings, 53.6% TV news, debates and interviews, 49.8% from attendance of candidates in social events, 49.2% from organization of press release and press conference by candidates, and 48.6% from television advertisements. The voters are influenced above average from 2 of the activities related to political promotion mix with a value above 50%. However, 21 of the activities on the political promotion mix took a value above 50% and used at above average by the parliamentary candidates. On the other hand, the voters said that they are not influenced or influenced at a very low level from the following activities: 61.4% from mobile messages, 55.8% from magazine advertisements, 53.8% from websites of candidates, 53% from cinema advertisements, 52.2% from flags/balloons/banners/pennants, 51.8% from radio advertisements, 50.2% from gifts such as badge, key holder, coffee etc. Accordingly, cinema and magazine advertisements which are not used or used at a very low level by parliamentary candidates do not influence the voters as well. However, voters are not influenced too much from phone messages and candidates website, which are used above average by candidates with a value above 65%.

The voters who participated in this study were asked to grade the first 5 political promotion mix related activities that they see important for the candidates. Table 16 shows the activities that voters consider important in relation to political promotion, and their total points with weighted scores.

Table 16
Importance Rates of Political Promotion Mix Elements (Voter)

	Sig. 1	Sig. 2	Sig. 3	Sig. 4	Sig. 5	Score*
Political Promotion Mix Elements	N	N	N	N	N	
Newspaper Advertisements	37	27	26	28	20	89,4
Magazine Advertisements	7	24	11	8	17	39,4
Radio Advertisements	8	12	25	13	7	39,2
TV Advertisements	84	39	28	36	13	149,0
Cinema Advertisements	21	7	10	9	11	38,4
Online Advertisements	21	28	17	10	18	61,2
Wall Advertisements	11	22	21	10	13	47,8
Bill-board ads and Posters	12	18	16	12	15	43,8
Vehicle Advertisements	5	7	18	17	8	29,8
Delivery of Introductory Document by Mail	30	28	24	27	23	82,2
Flyers, Brochures	5	11	18	20	13	35,2
Catalogue / Introductory Book	1	10	9	10	10	20,4
Introductory Film	7	10	8	14	12	27,8
Flags/Balloons/Banners/Pennants	6	8	11	16	16	28,6
Mobile Messages	9	12	8	12	14	31,0
E-mail Messages	7	11	5	5	4	21,6
Door-to-door Voter Visits	23	25	24	20	29	71,2
Canvassing with election office visitors	13	23	13	25	20	53,2
Phone calls and presentations	11	8	17	9	23	35,8
Organization of meetings, such as Commemoration, celebration, wishing merry holiday, etc.	6	13	9	26	20	36,2
Organization of special meetings such as conferences and seminars, etc.	3	7	32	17	21	38,8
Attending Social Events	9	24	16	23	20	51,0
Public meetings	58	23	36	34	28	117,2
Organizing press releases and press conferences	16	19	19	23	13	54,4
TV News, Debates and Interviews	17	23	24	17	34	63,4
Radio News, Conversations and Interviews	3	7	4	9	9	16,4
Newspaper articles, Conversations and Interviews	10	12	8	11	15	31,8
Candidate Website	1	3	3	3	3	7,0
Use of Social Media	23	9	16	14	14	48,2
Gifts such as Badge, Pen, Key holder Coffee etc.	1	19	9	10	9	27,4
Organizing events such as free concerts, exhibitions etc.	37	13	11	9	20	61,6

*Score=[(Significance1x5)+(Significance2x4)+(Significance3x3)+(Significance4x2)+(Significance5x1)/5]

It is found that television advertisements are of primary importance for 17% of voters and public meetings for 12% of voters. In terms of total score, the voters consider television advertisements as the most important. To voters, the second most important activity is public meetings, while the third most important is newspaper advertisements.

However, candidates consider door-to-door visits, social media, and canvassing with voters at election office as the most important activities. Therefore, it is seen that perceptions of voters and candidates do not match in terms of level of significance. On the other hand, the use of website, which is considered important by candidates at a very low level, is not also considered important by the voters.

Table 17 shows the evaluation of voters on the election songs and election slogans as supporting means of propaganda.

Table 17
Evaluations on Election Songs and Slogans

	Yes, they're influential.		No, they're not influential.	
	N	%	N	%
What are your opinions about the election song(s) used by political parties and candidates during the election period?	198	39,6	302	60,4
What are your opinions about the slogan(s) used by political parties and candidates during the election period?	225	45,0	275	55,0

39.6% of voters think that election songs used by political parties and candidates during the election period are influential. 60.4% of voters think that they are not influential. Only 13 of 198 voters who gave the answer 'Yes, they're influential' stated that they remember the election songs. On the other hand, 55% of voters who participated in the study said that the slogans used by parties and candidates are not influential. 221 of 225 voters who gave the answer 'Yes, they're influential' wrote the slogans they remembered. In total, they remembered 65 slogans. 57 of 65 slogans that were remembered by voters are general slogans of the parties. The most remembered two slogans are 'We Applaud as a Nation' (Milletçe Alkışlıyoruz) and 'They Talk, JDP Does' (Onlar Konuşur AK Parti Yapar).

Data on political participation levels of voters are shown in Table 18.

Table 18
Participation Levels of Voters in Political Activities

Political Participation	Percentage (%)						Mean	Std.Deviation
	None	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Always			
I attend the public meetings of the party that I support in elections.	37,6	12,0	14,0	10,4	26,0	2,75	1,65	
I visit election offices of the party that I support.	63,0	10,4	9,0	7,6	10,0	1,91	1,39	
I work as a volunteer for the party that I support in elections.	67,8	10,0	7,0	6,6	8,6	1,78	1,32	
I attend meetings of the party that I support.	64,0	11,2	7,6	9,0	8,2	1,86	1,34	
I attend house and workplace visits of the candidates of the party that I support.	72,2	8,4	5,6	7,0	6,8	1,68	1,25	

As seen in Table 18, participation levels of voters in political activities are very low. About 38% of the voters stated that they never attended the public meetings of the party they support. However, compared with other participation activities, the level of participation in public meetings as an environment where excitement and commitment consolidates among the voters is relatively higher. The percentage of those who said that they have never worked as a volunteer for the political party they support is about 68%, while 64% of participants never attended the meetings of the party. About 72% of the voters said that they never attended house and workplace visits of the candidates of the party they support. The participation level to house and workplace visits of the candidates they support is at the lowest level compared with other participation activities. Therefore, when the answers of participant voters to all statements are considered, the average of five statements in question is $[(2,75+1,91+1,78+1,86+1,68)/5=2]$ two. Therefore, it is concluded that voters rarely attend political activities.

Data on voting decision time of voters is shown in Table 19.

Table 19
Time of Voting Decision

	N	%
I made my decision in a year or more than 1 year before the election.	384	76,8
I made my decision 5 months before the election.	51	10,2
I made my decision 1 month before the election.	25	5,0
I made my decision on the day of election.	25	5,0
I made my decision 1 week before the election.	15	3,0

76.8% of voters made their voting decision in a year or more than 1 year before the election. 23.2% of voters made their voting decision during the election campaign.

Data on commitment levels of voters are shown in Table 20.

Table 20
Commitment Levels of Voters

Commitment Level	Percentage (%)					Mean	Std. Deviation
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree		
I'd prefer voting for the same party.	10,6	11,8	10,8	15,0	51,8	3,86	1,43
I trust in the political party that I voted for.	6,6	5,8	10,8	20,8	56,0	4,14	1,22
I have enough knowledge about the political party and candidates that I support.	8,2	7,0	19,4	21,8	43,6	3,86	1,28

As seen in Table 20, a considerable part of voters, about 52%, prefer voting for the same party. The 56% of voters reported that they extremely trust their political party. Also, about 44% of voters have extreme knowledge about the political party and candidates they support. Therefore, when the answers of voters to all statements are considered, the average of three statements in question is about $[(3,86+4,14+3,86)/3=3,95]$ four. As a result, it was concluded that commitment levels of voters are high.

4.4.4. Hypothesis Testing

The six hypotheses, which were developed in relation to levels of being influenced by political promotion in line with the purpose and scope of the research, are tested in this section. In the study, the Kolmogorov–Smirnov (KS) test was made to see whether the data matches with normal distribution. Table 21 shows the results of normality test.

Table 21
Results of Normality Test

Political Promotion Mix Elements	Kolmogorov-Smirnov Z	Significance Level (P)
Advertising	0,046	0,014*
Propaganda	0,081	0,000*
Public Relations	0,049	0,006*
Promotional Incentives	0,081	0,000*

*p-value < 0,05

According to the results of K-S test conducted on the elements of political promotion mix, it is concluded that all elements of political promotion mix do not show a normal distribution [Significance Level (P) < Table value ($\alpha=0,05$)]. Moreover the assumption of normal distribution (P=0,027; K-S=0,043) does not exist for political promotion as well. According to this result, non-parametric tests must be used. In cases where variables do not have a normal distribution, from among the non-parametric tests, the independent two-sample t-test (*Mann Whitney U*) was used in the comparison of two groups; and the K Independent Samples Test (*Kruskal Wallis H*) was used in the comparison of more than two groups. Accordingly, the k independent sample test was made in order to test the H1. In this context, the obtained data are shown in Table 22.

Table 22
Difference between Age and the Levels of Being Influenced by Political Promotion

	Age										Chi-Square (χ^2)	Sig. (P)
	Between 18-35		Between 36-45		Between 46-55		Between 56-64		65 and older			
	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank		
Pol. Pro.	204	277,3	132	267,4	81	210,3	52	219,7	31	159,0	29,89	0,000*
Ad.**	204	277,1	132	269,8	81	213,6	52	210,3	31	157,0	31,57	0,000*
Prop.***	204	263,5	132	264,3	81	209,8	52	245,7	31	220,6	10,78	0,029*
PR.****	204	271,5	132	262,9	81	218,0	52	234,6	31	170,7	19,49	0,001*
Pro. Inc.*****	204	275,9	132	260,5	81	234,0	52	210,3	31	151,2	26,91	0,000*

*p-value < 0,05; **Advertising; ***Propaganda; ****Public Relations; *****Promotional Incentives

As seen in Table 22, there is a statistically significant difference in terms of mean ranks. So there is a difference between age of voters and their levels of being influenced by the political promotion. Therefore, H1 was accepted. Accordingly, the voters who are aged between 18-35 said that they are influenced more from the elements of political promotion compared with others. Those who have the lowest mean rank are the voters who are 65 and older. Also, there is a statistically significant difference between the age of voters and their levels of being influenced by advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives. In terms of mean ranks, those who stated that they are influenced from advertising, public relations and promotional incentives at the highest level are aged between 18-35. On the other hand, voters who are aged 65 and older are influenced from advertising, public relations and promotional incentives at the lowest level. The levels of being influenced of voters by advertising and promotional incentives decrease as their age increases. Therefore, the campaigns with a target audience consisting of young and middle age people may be needed to focus on advertising and promotional incentives more. The voter group whose levels of being influenced by the propaganda activities are at the highest level are the voters aged

between 36-45. Voters who are aged between 46-55 stated that they are influenced from propaganda activities at the lowest level.

In order to test the difference between the gender of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion (H2), the Independent Two Sample T Test (Mann Whitney U Test) was made. In this context, the obtained data are shown in Table 23.

Table 23
Difference between Gender and the Levels of Being Influenced by Political Promotion

	Gender				Chi-Square (χ^2)	Sig. (P)
	Female		Male			
	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank		
Political Promotion	234	237,4	266	262,0	28048,5	0,057
Advertising	234	240,4	266	259,4	28762,5	0,143
Propaganda	234	238,0	266	261,5	28204,5	0,069
Public Relations	234	234,4	266	264,7	27355,0	0,019*
Promotional Incentives	234	251,1	266	250,0	30991,5	0,935

* p-value < 0,05

As seen in Table 23, there is no statistically significant difference in terms of mean ranks. So there is a difference between gender of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion. Therefore, H2 was rejected. However, there is a statistically significant difference between the gender of voters and their levels of being influenced by public relations activities. Accordingly, in terms of mean ranks, men are influenced more from the public relations activities than women.

In order to test the difference between the marital status of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion (H3), the Independent Two Sample T Test (Mann Whitney U Test) was made. In this context, the obtained data are shown in Table 24.

Table 24

Difference between Marital Status and the Levels of Being Influenced by Political Promotion

	Marital Status				Chi-Square (χ^2)	Sig. (P)
	Married		Single			
	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank		
Political Promotion	298	233,2	202	276,0	24941,0	0,001*
Advertising	298	234,8	202	273,7	25415,5	0,003*
Propaganda	298	238,5	202	268,2	26524,5	0,024*
Public Relations	298	236,6	202	271,1	25944,5	0,009*
Promotional Incentives	298	233,6	202	275,4	25069,5	0,001*

* p-value < 0,05

As seen in Table 24, there is a statistically significant difference in terms of mean ranks. So there is a difference between marital status of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion. Therefore, H₃ was accepted. Accordingly, single voters said that they are influenced more from political promotion than married voters. Also, there is a statistically significant difference between the marital status of voters and their levels of being influenced by advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives. Accordingly, in terms of mean ranks, single voters are influenced more from advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives.

In order to test the difference between the education levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion (H₄), the K Independent Samples Test (*Kruskal Wallis H*) was made. In this context, the obtained data are shown in Table 25.

Table 25
Difference between Educational Background and the Levels of Being Influenced by Political Promotion

	Level of Education										Chi-Square (χ^2)	Sig. (P)
	Primary School		Secondary School		High School		University		Master/PhD			
	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank		
Pol. Pro.	119	225,3	89	258,4	164	241,2	120	281,7	8	261,4	10,20	0,037*
Ad**	119	229,2	89	257,3	164	242,6	120	274,5	8	293,5	7,30	0,121
Prop***	119	229,1	89	269,9	164	245,1	120	266,2	8	227,7	6,12	0,190
PR****	119	227,4	89	252,2	164	247,5	120	278,3	8	219,2	7,95	0,093
Pro. Inc.*****	119	214,0	89	266,8	164	235,4	120	291,6	8	304,2	21,52	0,000*

*p-value < 0,05; **Advertising; ***Propaganda; ****Public Relations; *****Promotional Incentives

As seen in Table 25, there is a statistically significant difference in terms of mean ranks. So there is a difference between education levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion. Therefore, H4 was accepted. Accordingly, university graduates said that they are influenced more from political promotion compared with others. Those who have the lowest rate of mean rank are primary school graduates. Also, there is a statistically significant difference between education levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by promotional incentives. Accordingly, voters who have master or PhD degree stated that they are influenced more from promotional incentives compared with others. Also, those who stated that they are influenced at the lowest level from these incentives are again primary school graduates.

In order to test the difference between the political participation levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion (H5), the K Independent Samples Test (*Kruskal Wallis H*) was made. In this context, the obtained data are shown in Table 26.

Table 26
Difference between Political Participation Levels and the Levels of Being Influenced by Political Promotion

	Political Participation Level										Chi-Square (χ^2)	Sig. (P)
	None		Rarely		Sometimes		Frequently		Always			
	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank		
Pol. Pro.	235	233,3	136	254,4	61	251,3	38	297,9	30	305,7	11,89	0,018*
Ad**	235	236,1	136	262,2	61	245,4	38	277,6	30	286,0	6,44	0,168
Prop***	235	243,6	136	237,7	61	255,1	38	298,2	30	292,2	8,37	0,079
PR****	235	236,3	136	245,2	61	254,2	38	300,8	30	314,4	12,98	0,011*
Pro. Inc.*****	235	226,9	136	257,3	61	254,5	38	314,5	30	315,2	20,25	0,000*

*p-value < 0,05 **Advertising; ***Propaganda; ****Public Relations; *****Promotional Incentives

As seen in Table 26, there is a statistically significant difference between political participation levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion used by the candidates. Accordingly, the H5 was accepted. Voters who always participate in activities are influenced more from political promotion. Also, there is a statistically significant difference between political participation levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by promotional incentives and public relations activities. When the mean ranks are considered, voters are influenced more from the public relations as their level of participation in activities increases. Compared with others, voters who always participate in activities are influenced more from promotional incentives. In terms of public relations and promotional incentives, voters who have no level of participation are influenced from these activities at the lowest level. Therefore, by increasing the political participation level, the level of being influenced by public relations and promotional incentives may be increased. Similarly, the level of being influenced by political promotion may be increased by increasing their level of participation.

In order to test the difference between the commitment levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion (H6), the K Independent Samples Test (*Kruskal Wallis H*) was made. In this context, the obtained data are shown in Table 27.

Table 27
Difference between Commitment Levels and the Levels of Being Influenced by Political Promotion

	Commitment Level										Chi-Square (χ^2)	Sig. (P)
	Strongly disagree		Disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Agree		Strongly agree			
	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank	N	Mean Rank		
Pol. Pro.	22	228,4	33	160,9	95	221,6	143	250,6	207	280,3	25,84	0,000*
Ad**	22	227,4	33	177,2	95	219,0	143	238,2	207	287,6	28,31	0,000*
Prop***	22	237,5	33	167,0	95	231,6	143	260,2	207	267,2	16,38	0,003*
PR****	22	224,5	33	143,6	95	224,8	143	265,6	207	271,6	27,82	0,000*
Pro. Inc*****	22	250,2	33	172,8	95	239,1	143	257,6	207	263,2	12,21	0,016*

* p-value < 0,05; **Advertising; ***Propaganda; ****Public Relations; *****Promotional Incentives

As seen in Table 27, there is a statistically significant difference between political commitment levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion used by the candidates. Therefore, H6 was accepted. Compared with others, voters who have extreme level of commitment expressed that their level of being influenced by political promotion is higher. Also, there is a statistically significant difference between commitment levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by activities related to advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives. When the mean ranks are considered, it was concluded that voters who have extreme level of commitment are more influenced from advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives. The group that is influenced from advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives at the lowest level are those whose level of commitment is very low.

PART V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The marketing science is used in order to make sure products, services, ideas, organizations and non-profit establishments achieve their purposes. Political marketing utilizes marketing mix elements (7P) that are designed based on demands and needs of political parties and candidates as well as voters. Main purpose of political marketing is to make sure political parties and candidates achieve their targets with the right elements and with the least cost. Effective use of political marketing by political parties and candidates during the election campaigns ensures that the voters are informed and influenced. Political parties/candidates heavily use political promotion activities in order to reach voters especially during the election campaign. Candidates who benefit from these activities maintain the votes of their existing voters and/or gain the votes of floating voters. Also, candidates can ensure announcement of their own qualities and principles by using these activities effectively. In this respect, candidates are required to benefit from political promotion activities in an effective and efficient manner. In this process, which would end up in favor of both sides, determination of level of influence of voters from political promotion activities is important for the design of next election campaign. Due to such importance, main purpose of the study is to evaluate election campaign activities of Adana parliamentary candidates in the General Elections of June 7, 2015, under the political promotion mix elements, and present the reflections of these activities on the voters. In this context the sub-purposes are as follows:

1. To present campaign activities performed by the parliamentary candidates,
2. To determine political promotion mix elements used by parliamentary candidates during the campaign,
3. To determine the levels of being influenced by activities towards political promotion mix elements and present whether such levels differ in terms of demographic characteristics, political participation levels and commitment levels of voters.

Different research designs were used for the sub-purposes of the research. Accordingly, the study consists of three dimensions:

As part of examination of campaign activities of parliamentary candidates of Adana, from among the political parties represented as a group in the GNAT (JDP, RPP, NMP and PDP) the campaigns of 2nd and 7th place candidates of the JDP, 1st and 5th place candidates of the RPP, 1st and 4th place candidates of the NMP, and 1st and 2nd place candidates of the PDP were followed. The campaigns of a total of eight (8) candidates, 2 candidates being from each political party, were examined judgmentally. Three research questions were asked in order to present campaign activities performed by the parliamentary candidates. The research questions were developed to make comparisons based on election office activities, used claims, and profile of participants.

In order to answer first question of the research, which is related to election office activities, data were collected on the number of election offices and when and where these offices were opened. It is found that 5th place candidate of the RPP opened the election office the earliest. The first candidates who opened their election offices after the nomination of final candidates are the 2nd place candidate of the JDP and 4th place candidate of the NMP. Besides, candidates other than 5th place candidate of the RPP and 1st place candidate of the NMP opened more than one election offices. When considered in terms of candidates, the 2nd place candidate of the JDP, who has highest number of election offices, opened 4 election offices. The PDP, however, opened election offices in the name of party, not candidates. In terms of timing, most of the election offices were opened in May. When election offices are evaluated in terms of their location, it was observed that they were opened on the main streets and at locations easily accessible to voters. Consequently, election office activities of first-place and critical-place candidates of a party are not different from each other. However, election office activities of the parties were different from each other. It is normal that election office activities of parties whose election campaign targets would be different from each other are based on different aspects.

Regarding the answer to the second research question, which is related to the claims used, participant observation method was used and semi-structured interviews were applied with candidates during public meetings, meetings and/or shopkeeper visits and election office openings. When the speeches of candidates and the messages they conveyed to the voters during the activities followed through the participant observation method are examined, it was observed that there were some differences in terms of content. The candidate of the JDP underlined the party's practices and his own

qualifications, while the RPP's candidate pointed out his desire to become the first party in Adana and Turkey. On the other hand, the NMP's candidate highlighted the general problems of Turkey in his speeches. The PDP, however, expressed its desire to pass the threshold. Accordingly, it was observed that the candidate of the JDP conveyed messages in terms of campaign and his own qualifications, while the candidates of other parties conveyed messages based on the campaign only. When semi-structured interviews made with candidates are evaluated in general, it was observed that used claims of first-place and critical-place candidates of parties differentiated on the basis of parties, not candidates. This means that claims of first-place and critical-place candidates of a party was not different from each other. However, claims of the candidates of parties are based on different aspects. Candidates of the JDP emphasized their practices in general, while candidates of the RPP and NMP established their claims based on promises and problems. The PDP, on the other hand, underlined the desire to achieve the campaign target in its speeches which were drafted based on the problems.

In order to answer the third question, which was developed to determine participant profile of the study, age and gender of the participants were considered as basis. It was observed that there are differences in terms of age. However, the difference of age range was due to the location where the meeting was held. Therefore, the difference was not related to the candidates or parties, but the nature of meetings.

A census was applied in order to reach all parliamentary candidates from Adana of the JDP, RPP, NMP and PDP, which are represented as a group in the GNAT, to determine the political promotion mix elements used by the candidates during the campaign. According to the results obtained using the face-to-face questionnaire method, 21 of the activities on the political promotion mix took a value above 50% and used at above average by the parliamentary candidates. The candidates stated that they mostly used attending social events, social media, newspaper articles, conversations and interviews, television news, debates and interviews, and door-to-door voter visits. According to the results of the study conducted by Divanoğlu (2007:183) on deputies, the level of utilization of attending local television shows, social events and the use of local media advertisements is very high. In this respect, results of the study are similar.

Parliamentary candidates who participated in the study were asked to grade the first 5 political promotion mix related activities that they see important for their campaign. Accordingly, the most important activity for parliamentary candidates is

door-to-door voter visits. The second most important activity is social media usage. Other activities that are deemed important are canvassing with election office visitors, flyers and brochures and, lastly attending social events.

Results of the study show that the most important campaign target of the parliamentary candidates is to maximize the vote rate of their parties. The second important campaign target is to maximize the voter turnout. The third important campaign target is to prevent other parties from receiving votes from their own voters. The fourth important campaign target is to be elected as deputy, while the least important target is other targets. In the study conducted by Bowler and Farrel (2011, p.670) on the member of European Parliament, it was found that the first important target is maximize the vote for the party. Others are maximizing voter turnout, maximizing personal vote, and preventing another party from getting votes. Therefore, it is seen that the first two targets of the candidates are the same in both studies. In this respect, candidates should use the political promotion mix elements that are most suitable for their campaign targets and convey the message of their party/themselves to the voters.

Additionally, face-to-face questionnaires were applied with 500 people who were selected using the quota sampling, in order to determine the levels of being influenced by activities towards political promotion mix elements and present whether such level differs in terms of demographic characteristics, political participation levels and commitment levels of voters.

According to results of the study, it is concluded that voters are influenced from all activities related to political promotion at different levels. The voters stated that they are influenced above average from 2 of the activities related to political promotion mix with a value above 50%. These activities are public meetings and, television news, debates and interviews. However, 21 of the activities on the political promotion took a value above 50% and used above average by the parliamentary candidates. On the other hand, the voters reflected that they are not influenced or influenced at a very low level from mobile messages, magazine advertisements, websites of candidates, cinema advertisements, flags/balloons/banners/pennants, radio advertisements, gifts such as badge, key holder, coffee etc. with a percentage above 50%. Accordingly, cinema and magazine advertisements which are not used or used at a very low level by parliamentary candidates do not influence the voters as well. On the other hand, the

activity of attending social events, which is used above average by about 94% of candidates, is the activity that influences about 50% of voters above average. The candidates use the public meetings in the 9th place as an activity of political promotion, while public meetings come in the 1st place for the voters. It should be considered that public meetings are organized like a power play during the election campaign and create excitement and enthusiasm among the voters. In this respect, candidates should benefit more from the public meetings. Candidates use social media and newspaper articles, conversations and interviews in the 2nd and 3rd place, while voters are influenced from these elements in the 9th and 10th place. In addition to these activities, candidates should use television news, debates and interviews, press release and press conferences more effectively.

When the activities of political promotion that are important for the voters are evaluated in terms of their total score, they stated that television advertisements, public meetings and newspaper advertisements are of the highest importance. However, candidates consider door-to-door visits, social media, and canvassing with voters at election office as the most important activities. Therefore, it is seen that perceptions of voters and candidates do not match in terms of level of significance. In order to avoid this conflict, candidates should make preparations before the election campaign and use more the activities which influence the voters. Similarly, in the study conducted by Demirtaş (2010, pp.199-200) on voters in the İzmir province, political promotion activities that the voters consider important were TV debate with political leaders on TV, TV advertisements, public meetings, advertisements on newspapers and magazines, and lastly home and workplace visits. Also, as a result of the study conducted by Tura (2006, p.141) on students at Karadeniz Technical University, it was found that political promotion activities that the voters consider important were TV debates, TV news about political parties and their leaders, and TV advertisements of political parties. Accordingly, television and newspaper advertisements which the candidates do not use much during the election campaign should be used more effectively by the candidates.

Majority of voters who participated in the study think that the election songs and slogans that political parties and candidates use during the election period are not influential. The voters who think that these elements are influential remember the general songs and slogans of the parties. It was observed that personal election songs and slogans used by the parliamentary candidates during the election campaign are not

memorable. Also, most of the candidates do not have any personal election song. In this respect, it is normal for voters to not remember the songs of candidates. However, although majority of candidates have their own election slogans, it was found that the voters do not remember these slogans. Therefore, it can be suggested that candidates are not effective in spreading their own slogans. In the study 'Using of the Music in Political Communication: The Effects of Songs on Voters in 2011 General Elections', conducted by Tanyıldızı (2012, p.106), it was found that election songs are remembered and memorized by a great majority of the voters. In the study conducted by Doğan and Göker (2010, pp.176-177), entitled 'Voter Preference in Local Election (Sample of Elazığ Voters in 29 March Local Election)', it was concluded that the election songs that the parties use in their election campaign influence political preference of the voters. The difference between these studies may be due to the fact that this study has a candidate-based framework because most of the voters remembered the general slogans.

It was found that the political participation levels of voters who participated in this study are very low. However, compared with other participation activities, the level of participation in public meetings as an environment where excitement and commitment consolidates among the voters is relatively higher. The participation level of voters in house and workplace visits of the candidates they support is at the lowest level compared with other participation activities. In the study conducted by Demirtaş (2010, p.185), it was observed that the participation levels of voters in political activities is very low and voters rarely participate in these activities. In the study conducted by İnal, Polat, Gürbüz and Akın (2003, p.57) on the effectiveness of political advertising tools, the activities that voters participate are mostly public meetings, election office visits, and house, workplace and coffee house meetings. Therefore, it is observed that voters participate mostly in public meetings as a political activity.

Most of the voters who participated in the study make their voting decision in a year and more than 1 year before the elections. Similarly, in the study conducted by Demirtaş (2010, p.173) and Yılmaz (2012, p.115), a great majority of voters make their voting decision in a year. Therefore, candidates should heavily use the elements of political promotion mix activities not only during the election campaign, but carry it out as a process.

It was concluded that commitment levels of voters who participated in this study are high. Most of the voters significantly prefer voting for the same party. Also, more

than half of the voters significantly trust in the political party they vote for. However, 15% of voters who participated in this study do not have enough information about the political party and candidates they support. In order to reach these voters and acquire them, candidates should use the right elements of political promotion mix.

The six hypotheses, which were developed in relation to level of being influenced by political promotion in line with the purpose of research, were tested. Since the elements of political promotion mix do not show normal distribution, non-parametric tests were used. The difference between demographic characteristics of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion is examined. The differences were observed in terms of age, marital status and level of education. Regarding the difference between age of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion, the voters aged between 18 and 35 stated that they are influenced more from political promotion compared with others. Voters who are aged 65 and older are influenced lesser than others. The level of being influenced by advertising and promotional incentives decreases as their age increases. Therefore, the campaigns with a target audience consisting of young and middle age people are needed to focus on advertising and promotional incentives more. In the study conducted by Yılmaz (2014, pp.172-174) on trends related to political marketing practices, it was also found that there are significant differences between age and the levels of being influenced by political promotion.

There is no statistically significant difference between gender of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion. In the study conducted by İşcan (2013, p.116) on the influence of promotion activities on voter behavior, no difference was also found between the gender and the influence of elements of political promotion mix on the voter's preference. Similarly, in the study conducted by Çatlı (2011, p.90) on the perception of political promotion activities, no significant correlation was found between the gender of voters and their level of being influenced by political promotion. However, there is a statistical difference between the gender of voters and their level of being influenced by public relations activities. Accordingly, in terms of mean ranks, men are influenced more from the public relations activities than women.

There is a statistically significant difference between marital status of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion. Accordingly, single voters said that they are influenced more from political promotion than married voters. Also, there

is a statistically significant difference between the marital status of voters and their levels of being influenced by advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives. Accordingly, in terms of mean ranks, single voters are influenced more from advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives than married voters. In this respect, candidates who will focus on the young population as their target audience in the election campaign should take this difference into consideration.

There is a statistically significant difference between education levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion. Accordingly, university graduates constitute the group which is influenced most from the elements of political promotion, while primary school graduates are influenced at the lowest level. Also, there is a statistically significant difference between education levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by the promotional incentives. Accordingly, voters who have master's/PhD degree stated that they are influenced more from promotional incentives compared with others. Those who stated that they are influenced at the lowest level from these incentives are primary school graduates.

There is a statistically significant difference between political participation levels and the levels of being influenced by political promotion. Voters who always participate in activities are influenced more from political promotion, while those who never participate are influenced the least. Also, there is a statistically significant difference between political participation levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by promotional incentives and public relations activities. Those who are more influenced from public relations and promotional incentives are the voters who always and frequently participate in political activities. Therefore, candidates, by increasing the level of participation of voters in political activities, may also increase their level of being influenced by political promotion.

There is also statistically significant difference between political commitment levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by political promotion used by the candidates. Compared with others, voters who have extreme level of commitment expressed that their level of being influenced by political promotion is higher. Also, there is a statistically significant difference between commitment levels of voters and their levels of being influenced by activities related to advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives. The voters who have extreme level of political commitment are more influenced from the advertising, propaganda, public relations and

promotional incentives. On the other hand, the group that is influenced from advertising, propaganda, public relations and promotional incentives at the lowest level are those whose level of commitment is very low. Therefore it is important to create and develop commitment among voters.

As a result H1, H3, H4, H5 and H6 were accepted, while H2 was rejected. In general, it can be concluded that young voters are influenced more from the elements of political promotion mix. Also, it is observed that voters are influenced more from the political promotion as their participation and commitment level increases. In this context, it is important to increase the political participation level of voters in activities as well as their commitment level. However, it was observed in this study that although commitment level of voters in the Adana province is high, their level of participation in political activities is low.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

List of Final Parliamentary Candidates from Adana for General Election of June 7, 2015

Place No.	Justice and Development Party	Republican People's Party	Nationalist Movement Party	Peoples' Democratic Party
1	Necdet Ünüvar	Elif Doğan Türkmen	Mevlüt Karakaya	Rıdvan Turan
2	Fatma Güldemet Sarı	Zülfikar İnönü Tümer	Muharrem Varlı	Meral Danış Beştaş
3	Sadullah Kısacık	İbrahim Özdiş	Seyfettin Yılmaz	Vedat Özkan
4	Talip Küçükcan	Aydın Uslupehlivan	Abdulkadir Yuvalı	Beyhan Günyeli
5	Mehmet Şükrü Erdinç	Mustafa Kemal Özkan	Ali Aydın	Tugay Bek
6	Esra Yalvaç	Müzeyyen Şevkin	Ali Demir	Hatice Kavran
7	Mehmet Can	Rıza Mete	Demet Çardak	Barış Karabıyık
8	Mustafa Çalışkan	Ahmet Adıgüzel	Sinan Gül	Feride Peynirci
9	Asuman Tekin	Abdullah Sedat Doğan	Mehmet Ali Arslan	İsmail Başaran
10	Kasım Pamuk	Rukiye Çinkılıç	Adem Gündoğan	Nefise Balyemez
11	Mehmet Faruk Bozkurt	Kemal Derin	Neslihan Uzun	Reşit Ertaş
12	Ramazan Demir	Mustafa Bilgilioğlu	İsa Ayanoglu	Kader Duman
13	Mehmet Ay	Yüksel Karaaslan	Ayla Emrahoğlu	Hıdır Koluman
14	Hasan Berzan Toprak	Mehmet Şuyun	Burak Yiğenoğlu	Feyruze Gümüş

Appendix 2
Political Candidates' Questionnaire

Place:

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

Dear parliamentary candidate,

An M.A. Thesis, entitled 'Analysis of Political Promotion Mix Elements in Electoral Campaigns Used by Parliamentary Candidates: The Case of Adana', is being written. In this respect, the study will be conducted with sincere answers of you, valuable candidates, and the results will be used for scientific purposes only and your personal details will be kept private.

Thank you for your valuable time.

Assist. Prof. Dr.Dilek PENPECE

dpenpece@adanabtu.edu.tr

Graduate student: Burcu UĞAR

burcuugar@hotmail.com

Q.1. Please specify your utilization level of the following elements (**1: Not at all, 2: Slightly, 3: Moderately, 4: Very, 5: Extremely**).

Political Promotion Mix Elements	1	2	3	4	5
Newspaper Advertisements					
Magazine Advertisements					
Radio Advertisements					
TV Advertisements					
Cinema Advertisements					
Online Advertisements					
Wall Advertisements					
Bill-board ads and Posters					
Vehicle Advertisements					
Delivery of introductory document by mail (letter with the candidate's signature etc.)					
Flyers, Brochures					
Catalogue / Introductory Book					
Introductory film (cinevision)					
Flags/Balloons/Banners/Pennants					
Mobile messages					

(1: Not at all, 2: Slightly, 3: Moderately, 4: Very, 5: Extremely).

Political Promotion Mix Elements	1	2	3	4	5
E-mail messages					
Door-to-door voter visits					
Canvassing with election office visitors					
Phone calls and presentations					
Organization of meetings, such as Commemoration, celebration, wishing merry holiday					
Organization of special meetings such as conferences and seminars					
Attending social events					
Public meetings					
Organizing press releases and press conferences					
TV news, debates and interviews					
Radio news, conversations and interviews					
Newspaper articles, conversations and interviews					
Candidate website					
Use of social media (Facebook, Twitter etc.)					
Gifts such as Badge, Pen, Key holder, Coffee etc.					
Organizing events such as free concerts, exhibitions etc.					

Q.2. Please specify the level of significance of following activities for your campaign.

1: List them from 1 to 5, where 1 means ‘the most important’. (Please specify the first 5 activities that are important to only you.)

Political Promotion Mix Elements	Order of Priority
Newspaper Advertisements	
Magazine Advertisements	
Radio Advertisements	
TV Advertisements	
Cinema Advertisements	
Online Advertisements	
Wall Advertisements	
Bill-board ads and Posters	
Vehicle Advertisements	
Delivery of introductory document by mail (letter with the candidate's signature etc.)	
Flyers, Brochures	
Catalogue / Introductory Book	
Introductory film (cinevision)	
Flags/Balloons/Banners/Pennants	
Mobile messages	
E-mail messages	
Door-to-door voter visits	
Canvassing with election office visitors	
Phone calls and presentations	

1: List them from 1 to 5, where 1 means 'the most important'. (Please specify the first 5 activities that are important to only you.)

Political Promotion Mix Elements	Order of Priority
Organization of meetings, such as Commemoration, celebration, wishing merry holiday	
Organization of special meetings such as conferences and seminars	
Attending social events	
Public meetings	
Organizing press releases and press conferences	
TV news, debates and interviews	
Radio news, conversations and interviews	
Newspaper articles, conversations and interviews	
Candidate website	
Use of Social media (Facebook, Twitter etc.)	
Gifts such as Badge, Pen, Key holder, Coffee etc.	
Organizing events such as free concerts, exhibitions etc.	

Q.3. Do you have any **personal election song** that you use during the election period?

Yes, there is.

No, there isn't.

Q.4. Do you have any **personal slogan(s)** that you use during the election period?

(If your answer is YES, please specify the slogan(s) you use.)

Yes, there is:

No, there isn't.

Q.5. Thinking of your election campaign, please specify the level of importance of following campaign targets. **1: List them from 1 to 5, where 1 means 'the most important'.**

	Order of Priority
To maximize the voter turnout.	
To maximize the vote rate of your party.	
To be elected as deputy.	
To prevent other parties from receiving votes from your voters.	
Other (specify):.....	

Q.6. Your Age:

25-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66 and older

Q.7. Your Gender:

Female Male

Q.8. Marital Status:

- Married Single

Q.9. Your Level of Education:

- Primary School Secondary School High School University
 Master PhD

Q.10. Your occupation before being elected as deputy:

- Qualified self-employment
 Merchant – Industrialist - Shopkeeper
 Civil servant
 Worker
 Retired
 Other (Please specify.)



Appendix 3
Voters' Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

Dear voter,

An M.A. Thesis, entitled ‘Analysis of Political Promotion Mix Elements in Electoral Campaigns Used by Parliamentary Candidates: The Case of Adana’, is being written. In this respect, the study will be conducted with sincere answers of you, valuable voters, and the results will be used for scientific purposes only.

Thank you for your valuable time.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Dilek PENPECE

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Q.1. Please specify your level of influence from the following activities of the candidates you vote for (**1: Not at all, 2: Slightly, 3: Moderately, 4: Very, 5: Extremely**).

Political Promotion Mix Elements	1	2	3	4	5
Newspaper Advertisements					
Magazine Advertisements					
Radio Advertisements					
TV Advertisements					
Cinema Advertisements					
Online Advertisements					
Wall Advertisements					
Bill-board ads and Posters					
Vehicle advertisements					
Delivery of introductory document by mail (letter with the candidate's signature etc.)					
Flyers, Brochures					
Catalogue / Introductory Book					
Introductory film (cinevision)					
Flags/Balloons/Banners/Pennants					
Mobile messages					
E-mail messages					
Door-to-door voter visits					
Canvassing with election office visitors					

(1: Not at all, 2: Slightly, 3: Moderately, 4: Very, 5: Extremely).

Political Promotion Mix Elements	1	2	3	4	5
Phone calls and presentations					
Organization of meetings, such as Commemoration, celebration, wishing merry holiday					
Organization of special meetings such as conferences and seminars					
Attending social events					
Public meetings					
Organizing press releases and press conferences					
TV news, debates and interviews					
Radio news, conversations and interviews					
Newspaper articles, conversations and interviews					
Candidate website					
Use of social media (Facebook, Twitter etc.)					
Gifts such as Badge, Pen, Key holder, Coffee etc.					
Organizing events such as free concerts, exhibitions etc.					

Q.2. What do you think it will be possible for a candidate to win the elections if such candidate pays attention to which of the following activities? **1: List them from 1 to 5, where 1 means 'the most important'. (Please specify the first 5 activities that are important to only you.)**

Political Promotion Mix Elements	Order of Priority
Newspaper advertisements	
Magazine advertisements	
Radio advertisements	
TV advertisements	
Cinema advertisements	
Online advertisements	
Wall advertisements	
Bill-board ads and Posters	
Vehicle advertisements	
Delivery of introductory document by mail (letter with the candidate's signature etc.)	
Flyers, Brochures	
Catalogue / Introductory Book	
Introductory film (cinevision)	
Flags/Balloons/Banners/Pennants	
Mobile messages	
E-mail messages	
Door-to-door voter visits	
Canvassing with election office visitors	
Phone calls and presentations	

1: List them from 1 to 5, where 1 means 'the most important'. (Please specify the first 5 activities that are important to only you.)

Political Promotion Mix Elements	Order of Priority
Organization of meetings, such as Commemoration, celebration, wishing merry holiday	
Organization of special meetings such as conferences and seminars	
Attending social events	
Public meetings	
Organizing press releases and press conferences	
TV news, debates and interviews	
Radio news, conversations and interviews	
Newspaper articles, conversations and interviews	
Candidate website	
Use of social media (Facebook, Twitter etc.)	
Gifts such as Badge, Pen, Key holder, Coffee etc.	
Organizing events such as free concerts, exhibitions etc.	

Q.3. What are your opinions about the election song(s) used by candidates during the election period? **(If your answer is YES, please specify the things you remember about the song(s): rhythm, music, lyrics, title etc.)**

Yes, they're:.....

No, they're not.

Q.4.What are your opinions about the election slogan(s) used by candidates during the election period? **(If your answer is YES, please specify the slogan(s) you remember.)**

Yes, they're:.....

No, they're not.

Q.5.Please specify your level of agreement on following statements **(1: None, 2: Rarely, 3: Sometimes, 4: Frequently, 5: Always).**

	1	2	3	4	5
I attend the public meetings of the party that I support in elections.					
I visit election offices of the party that I support.					
I work as a volunteer for the party that I support in elections.					
I attend meetings of the party that I support.					
I attend house and workplace visits of the candidates of the party that I support.					

Q.6. When do you make your final decision to vote for a political party? **(Please mark a single option)**

- I made my decision in a year or more than 1 year before the election.
- I made my decision 5 months before the election.
- I made my decision 1 month before the election.
- I made my decision 1 week before the election.
- I made my decision on the day of election.

Q.7. Please specify your opinions on the following statements by marking the numbers in the given scale **(1: Strongly disagree, 2: Disagree, 3: Neither agree nor disagree, 4: Agree, 5: Strongly agree).**

	1	2	3	4	5
I'd prefer voting for the same party.					
I trust in the political party that I voted for.					
I have enough knowledge about the political party and candidates that I support.					

Q.8. Your Age:

- 18-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66 and older

Q.9. Your Gender:

- Female Male

Q.10. Marital Status:

- Married Single

Q.11. Your Level of Education:

- Primary School Secondary School High School University
- Master PhD

Q.12. Occupation:

- Qualified self-employment
- Merchant - Industrialist - Shopkeeper
- Civil servant
- Worker
- Retired
- Housewife
- Unemployed
- Other (Please specify.)

BIOGRAPHY

Burcu UĞAR was born on October 26th, 1987 in Adana. She graduated from Gündoğdu College in 2004. In 2010 she completed her bachelor's degree in International Relationship at Çağ University. In 2013 she began her master's degree in Entrepreneurship from Adana Science and Technology University. She is looking forward to beginning work on a PhD in the coming year.

