POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING IN THE ÖZAL PERIOD:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE 1983 GENERAL ELECTION

Doğukan Hazar KÖSEOĞLU

May 2019

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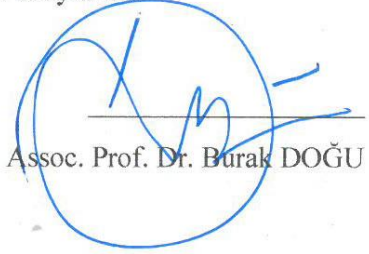
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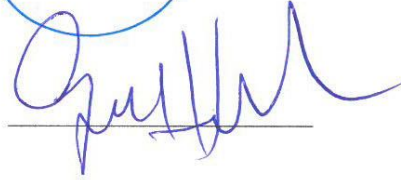
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Türkiye genç ve gelişmekte olan bir ülkedir. Demokratikleşme sürecinde bir çok aşamadan geçmiştir. Türkiye sürekli olarak engeller ile karşılaşmış ve sabit bir politika uygulayamamıştır. Çoklu partiye geçişten sonra, demokratik yapı tekrar tekrar darbeler ile sekteye uğramış ve yeni politik atılımlar kalıcı olamamıştır. Anavatan Partisi (ANAP), 1980 yılındaki darbeden sonra ortaya çıkmış olan partilerden birisidir. 1983 yılında yapılan seçim için kurulan Anavatan Partisi, farklı yaklaşımı ve bakış açısı ile yeni bir siyasi oluşum sergilemiştir. Bu yeni oluşumun temelini atarak halkın büyük bir kısmını etkileyen kişi Turgut Özal, bu seçimde başarılı olmuştur. Bu başarının kazanılmasında modern iletişim teknikleri büyük bir rol oynamıştır.

İletişim kavramı kendini her alanda göstermektedir. Politik iletişim açısından bakıldığında, kitlelere ulaşmada reklamcılık büyük bir rol oynamaktadır. ABD politik iletişimin başarı ile uygulandığı örneklerden biridir. Amerikan siyasetinde kullanılan reklam teknikleri, Özal'ın seçim kampanyası için bir model oluşturmuştur. Özellikle, kullanılmış olan seçim afişleri ve seçim teknikleri, geleneksel siyasi propagandadan farklı bir etki yaratmıştır. Tüm bu gelişmeler çerçevesinde, bu tezde 1983 Özal döneminin seçim afişlerini yorumlanması amaçlanmıştır.

Çalışmada öncelikle Türkiye'nin 1983 seçimlerinden önceki durumu ele alınmıştır. Ardından politik reklamcılık ve politik iletişim hakkında bilgi verilmektedir. Daha sonra, ANAP'ın kuruluşu, politika ve seçim kampanyaları ortaya konmuş ve değerlendirilmiştir. Bu çalışmada tez, makale, kitap, broşür ve afiş gibi kaynaklardan yararlanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Turgut Özal Dönemi, 1983 Türkiye Seçimleri, Kampanya Posterleri, Medya, Siyasal İletişim, ANAP.

Political Campaigning in the Özal Period: An Analysis of the 1983 General Election

Köseoğlu, Doğukan Hazar

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Turkey is a young and developing country. It has passed through many stages in its democratic structure. Turkey has faced obstacles continuously and has not been able to follow a permanent policy. Since its transition to multi-party life, its democratic structure has been repeatedly broken down by coups and every new political initiative has ended with instability. The Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi, ANAP) is one of the developing parties in the 1980 coup environment. ANAP which had been established for the 1983 elections, exhibited a new political formation with its different approach and perspective. Turgut Özal, who laid the foundation for this new formation and could address more than one part of the public, succeeded. Modern communication techniques played a great role in this success.

The notion of communication has shown itself in every field. In the context of political communication, advertising in particular has played a major role in addressing the masses. USA is a successful example in political communication. The advertising techniques used in American politics provided a model for Özal's election campaign. Especially the election posters and techniques used produced a different effect from the customary political propaganda. In the framework of all these developments, the purpose of this thesis is to interpret the election posters of 1983 Özal period.

In this study, Turkey's status before the 1983 elections is discussed. Subsequently, information about political advertising and political communication is given. Thereafter the establishment, policy and election campaign of the ANAP are discussed. Sources such as thesis, articles, books and brochures and posters are used in this study.

Key Words: Turgut Özal Period, 1983 Turkish Elections, Campaign Posters, Media, Political Communication, ANAP.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANAP: Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party)

BTP: Büyük Türkiye Partisi (Great Turkey Party)

CHP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)

DYP: Doğru Yol Partisi (True Path Party)

HP: Halkçı Parti (Populist Party)

IMKB: İstanbul Menkul Kıymetler Borsası (Istanbul Stock Exchange Market)

KIT: Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüsü (State Economic Enterprise)

MDP: Milliyetçi Demokrasi Partisi (Nationalist Democracy Party)

MGK: Milli Güvenlik Kurulu (National Security Council)

TBMM: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Grand National Assembly of Turkey)

TRT: Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation)

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Politics is as old as the history of governors and rulers. With the discovery of the printing press, the influence of written history on communication and therefore social life gained a different weight. In the context of the relationship between governments and rulers, yesterday and today, the phenomenon of democracy has been at the center of politics with election campaigns. Political communication began with the birth of politics, as a necessity for its ideological practices. Politics was founded to be a social science in the 19th century.

Mass media have made political structures an important element in politics. Political events with social content are a phenomenon rather than an event. In this context, political advertising is an indispensable element in mass media with an important place in politics, journalism, public opinion and participation in political processes. One of the most important tools of political communication is posters that contribute to the development of visual publicity. Posters ensure that messages are delivered visually and symbolically to large human communities.

In this study, the effects of newspapers, radio, television and new media are examined in the creation of this process, along with the political communication process. For Turgut Özal's period, it examines how persuasion and success achieved by political activities are affected by mass media.

1983 elections represented a first in Turkey from the point of view of political communication. In 1983, election campaigns were run which had not been implemented before, and innovations were made in mass communication. In particular, the visual media used for Turgut Özal's election campaign were a first in this field. The election strategies used in America had great importance in the successful introduction of a party participating in the elections for the first time.

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ANAP also use of an advertising company for its election strategies and propaganda was another first in the field of political communication in Turkey. Through these innovations, ANAP achieved unexpected success in the 1983 elections.

The aim of this study is to analyze political advertising during the 1983 general elections and to interpret the election posters of the 1983 Özal period. Materials such as Özal's introductory video in the context of the election strategy of the ANAP and the open forum made in TRT were examined for this purpose. In addition, theses, articles and books on the subject were used. Nine posters that were printed and distributed for the election campaign were also interpreted. The limitations of the study are the use of previous studies such as thesis, books, and articles about the 1983 elections. Accordingly, certain sources could be used in the preparation of the thesis.

This study, which addresses all these developments, consists of three chapters. In the first part of the study, political communication is defined; in this context, the history of political communication is mentioned and the role of communication in politics and its impact on propaganda are discussed. Subsequently, the subject of political communication is examined, as well as political communication and political advertising, political campaign communication with its effects on voters' candidate perceptions and their effects on voter preferences and behaviors. The subject of political communication and media is discussed with the role of media in political communication. In the second part of the study, Turkey's political situation before the 1983 election is evaluated and information provided on how the election took place, the formation of new parties in this framework, and the structure and general characteristics of the ANAP, Nationalist Democracy Party (Milliyetçi Demokrasi Partisi, MDP), and Populist Party (Halkçı Parti, HP). In the third part of the study, the methodology of the study is explained and the ANAP's political campaigns, strategies, and techniques in the 1983 elections are discussed. In conclusion, an entire study is evaluated. In writing this study many written and visual resources were used. This thesis is thought to have a complementary quality in the related literature.

CHAPTER 2

2.1. Drawing the Framework for Political Communication

Studies on the concept of political communication emerged in the early 20th century. But, this concept was not an invention of the 20th century, as its foundation dates back to Aristotle's and Plato's works in ancient Greece, as a cross-disciplinary field of study it began to emerge in the 1950s. Political communication is considered as a common point in political science and communication in social sciences. The concept of political communication was first of all evaluated as a process in which the effects of the interaction of citizens and political institutions are discussed (Kenterelidou, 2005; p. 4).

Politics is a multifaceted phenomenon with two important facets, power and influence. Politics is also a decision-making process for laws that determine the distribution of social rights. This holds true whether decisions are made by an arbitrary dictator or by a representative body of elected delegates (Romarheim, 2005; p. 2). Political communication is often seen as a political exchange of information and ideas.

Politics has been one of the most important social institutions in the development of society in the historical process. Political structures are education, economy, family, media, culture, and religion. Therefore, a society without politics is not conceivable. Politics is an institution which directly concerns individuals' private and public lives. When Aristotle said "man is a political animal," he was referring to this reality. This also reflects the inability of individuals to survive alone, causing them to live together in society. At the same time, it explains the establishment of societies and social rules, emphasizing that coexistence can take a place within the framework of certain rules and political power relations (Akarçay, 2009; p. 73).

2.1.1. Political Communication in the Historical Development

There have been different definitions of political communication. Political communication has been generally defined as information given by political party administrators or the state authorities to the public and their perception by society (Gönenç, 2007; p. 89). Political communication is an interdisciplinary academic field consisting of research into the relations between political and communication processes (Mutlu, 2008; p. 257).

According to Uslu, political communication can be described as "one or two-way communication by a political opinion or body, through the use of advertising propaganda and public relations techniques to ensure the public's trust and support of the political system which actively makes efforts" (Uslu, 1996; p. 790).

According to Ünal Erzen (2009), in order to maintain the existence of the political system in a society, it is necessary that the beliefs, rules, tendencies and behavioral patterns of political values are transferred and adapted to the participants in the political society. Propaganda is been possible only if the individuals who have newly joined the political system become actors who can play a role in the system as "political people". In this case, individuals become "political people" who are ready to play a role in the political system with political socialization. In this process, individual learn the values, rules, beliefs, tendencies, and behaviors of the political system; they are taught what to do and what role to play.

In another definition related to political communication, it is stated that three different groups provide different ideas and thoughts. One of these groups is politicians and the other is public opinion. The third group between those are journalists. In this context, the voice of the public is transmitted by journalists with news, reports, and comments, and affects the political process (Giemza, 2014; p. 165).

However, political communication has as long a history as society itself. For centuries, in social relations rulers have tried various ways to emphasize and reinforce their success. All of these methods were activities carried out to convince

the rulers to manage the governed and to manage the governing position. Undoubtedly, the development of mass media and conveyance of these tools to a large number of people deeply affected the methods of communication, persuasion, management and the methods used (Sandıkçıoğlu, et al. 2012; p. 3).

In the historical process, election campaigns and the process of political communication have taken new forms due to developments and technological innovations. The means of communication and relationships with the voters who formed the target audience of political parties and candidates have been reshaped for this reason.

In systems where the political power is determined through elections and the right to vote, widespread from the 18th century to the present day, there are general election campaigns which each country has carried out in accordance with its own conditions and possibilities. In recent years, developments in communication, transportation means, mass communication tools and the widespread use of the internet have been gaining speed along with globalization. At both the individual and the organizational level, there is intensified use of the political communication process, and the relationship and communication between the candidates in this framework have also taken on a new dimension (Güven, 2017; p. 176).

In the historical process, although studies on political communication date back to the 18th century, the first political communication studies using the mass media in the modern sense coincided with a period just before the second world war. The close relationship between politics and political communication was established after the modern democracies were rebuilt after the Second World War. In rebuilding democracies, the need arose for a scientific redefinition of public opinion, in order to understand society's thinking patterns, belief systems, response and ways of resisting. In response to this need, political communication took on a new form by using the techniques and methods of the science of politics and communication (Canbey, 2009; p. 35). After the Second World War, it is considered that the applications of political communication and the events that have taken place have been the result of competition between television newspapers and radio (Sandıkçıoğlu, et al. 2012; p. 16).

In the post-World War II period, political communication activities as a professional field were first realized in the USA. As a result of the extension of the political communication activities to the political field and election campaigns, it started to spread all over the world, especially with developments in the mass media and transportation technologies. In the modern era, the first political communication activities were done via conventional or traditional media. In this framework, although the propaganda had been primarily through the printed press, especially through daily newspapers, the effectiveness of the newspaper had limited due to its specific features (reading skills, purchasing power, access possibilities, etc.) (Güven, 2017; p. 177).

2.1.2.The Role of Communication in Politics

The concepts of politics and communication have become two concepts that are not separated. The impact of mass media on reaching the masses and the ability of the leaders to communicate messages have made communication essential for politics. Studies on communication have shown that there are 3rd main characteristics of communication. The first feature of communication is that it requires human activity. Second, communication requires that the communicator and the receiver must agree on a common meaning of the message. Finally, communication is symbolic. Symbols are gestures, facial expressions, sounds, letters, numbers and words (Canbey, 2009; p. 34).

Communication had influenced the political process in the democratic and pluralist political systems by means of the development of public demands, cheap and easy to use means of communication and the communication's individualization of the concept. Thus, the functions of ensuring the participation of large masses, who are important in political public relations, in national or local decisions, introducing, recognizing and promoting beliefs are performed through communication channels (Özkan, 2003; p. 8). Political communication is a single or bidirectional communication effort by a political opinion or organ, taking advantage of advertising, propaganda and public relations techniques according to the requirements of the time and circumstances, in order to gain power by gaining the support and trust of the community (Divanoğlu, 2017; p. 411).

Political communication's topmost organ in a country is the topmost leader of that country. In general, how the messages are prepared and what they cover is determined by consultants and experts, and given to the leaders. However, the methods and techniques by which these messages are delivered to the target audiences are also important. Here, mass media has been gaining importance. In all countries there have been mass media, especially radio and television channels, which have been in the hands of the rulers, depending on the form of government, to announce political messages to the masses. This is significant for leaders because privately owned means of communication do not have an obligation to communicate the messages of the state (Sandıkçıoğlu, et al. 2012; p. 80). The actors in the political scene should have been communicating to the masses to establish dominance over society, because the political process is a communication process at the same time. It is not possible to send a message to the target groups without communicating. Social conflicts are organized by communicating within the political process and all the active processes which aim at obtaining and retaining political power are maintained by using communication techniques (Kılıçaslan, 2008; p. 8).

When these definitions are evaluated in general terms, it can be seen that political communication covers not only political power but also all areas related to politics. Political communication is an interactive process for the transfer of knowledge through the media between politicians and voters. In this interaction, information is transmitted from politicians downward to voters. Political communication processes are generally evaluated by production, application and impact titles. Accordingly, the design of political communication strategies is the first step of the process. The second step is the implementation of the designed strategies in the selection process. The final step is the simultaneous measurement of the campaign and the impact of political communication at the end of the campaign (Çağlar and Özkır, 2015; p. 7).

2.1.3. Political Communication and Public Opinion

Public opinion had appeared first in the historical conditions of Eighteenth century Europe. The social interaction which begun in the coffee shops and halls of London and Paris, the largest cities of Eighteenth century Europe, laid the groundwork for

criticism of the society which was the first example of public opinion in today's sense. The fact that public opinion did not emerge before is due to various social and political reasons (Atabek, 2003).

Legitimate government in modern liberal democratic states ideally represents, reflects and responds to public opinion. However, there are various opinions about what constitutes public opinion. The notion of public opinion is generally considered as a representation of the will of the people, anything that acts or expresses within the scope of the public. People come together for public criticism and discussion about state practices. Thus, they have the opportunity to reflect their ideas as public opinion. As a result of the negotiations and criticisms, some ideas emerge with the support of society. These are then considered valid if they gain the consent of others within the community, promoting consensus and cohesion, rather than fragmentation (Savigny, 2002; p. 2).

Public opinion expresses the general judgment or common ideas about a certain matter which concerns the public. In the formation of public opinion, minorities play a decisive part and are accepted by the majority who see themselves as political force. Public opinion plays an important role in taking political decisions at the national, regional or international level, and in the democratic as well as oppressive regimes (Divanoğlu, 2017; p. 406). In democracies, communication is the spokesman of public opinion. Thus, it acts as a bridge between the governed and the governing. It does so by informing people through the media (Özer, 2014; p. 173).

Politicians choose and shape the messages they want to convey to the public. However, there is very little control for changing the environment. Politicians become public prisoners when they become sensitive to public research. These politicians allow the public to dominate the policy-making and decision-making process. Therefore, the public should be carefully monitored by politicians (McNair, 2012; p. 35).

The importance of public opinion in political systems has been evaluated within the context of mass communication and political system relations. The rapid increase in population, the resulting complexity of social structures, the increase in the pressure

of the public opinion and the use of new communication tools and techniques in the political process have been increasing (Özkan, 2003; p. 7).

One of the most important communication factors which affect voter preference is public opinion surveys. Walton describes the politicians, journalists and pulse surveyors, and the public as three actors who legitimately to give their opinion on politics, and the contradictory discourses of these three actors in the political arena. Wolton naturally has addressed the conflicts and conflicts experienced in this process and sees it as a requirement of political communication (Canbey, 2009; p. 41).

2.1.4. Political Communication and Propaganda

Propaganda has been defined as the inclusion of a message or agenda to stimulate a perception and trigger an emotion. Propaganda is now considered as a manipulative approach. However, it has been a historically neutral and descriptive term. The most commonly used methods for communicating propaganda messages have been including pictures, cartoons, posters, brochures, movies, radio shows, TV shows and websites (Hijab et al. 2018; p. 6).

Political communication and propaganda have been conceptually mixed and used interchangeably from time to time. Propaganda is a unilateral and highly intense way of communicating messages with an authoritarian style. Political parties or political leaders aim not at the discussion, but at the adoption and dissemination of their own ideas, views and policies. The preferred language in political propaganda is different from political communication. In political propaganda, messages are intended to create dreams, and propaganda takes all its power and function from its language (Göksu, 2014; p. 59).

From the historical point of view until the 1950s, propaganda-based election strategies, which had been dominant until then, rapidly turned into political campaigns within the logic of political communication. However, propaganda was shaped by campaigns produced through selection strategies and tactics, from candidates to parties, from ideology to belief. One of the reasons for these changes was the rapid development and diversification of communication technologies. The

second was advances in the advertising sector, which has seen a rapid development trend (Balcı, 2007; p. 74).

One of the most effective ways of examining propaganda has been to treat it as a communication process. Propaganda is a conscious manipulation aimed at influencing individuals and controlling the behavior of individuals. Through hypothesis, during propaganda, a persuasion process is guided by the emotions of the individual and can be influenced by exciting messages in the audience, newspapers, radio or television within the audience. In other discourses, messages which work on the primitive feelings are the defined hatreds and traditional hostilities of the audience. Political propaganda includes "techniques to influence what government, party, management, and pressure groups use to change public attitudes in parallel" (Atabek, 2003).

The purpose of propaganda and political communication is the same, that of creating public opinion and providing support. The methods and techniques used in propaganda are also used in political communication, but there is a difference in style. The features used in propaganda are also used in political communication, such as trust of the source, making the audience ready to receive messages, talking about the majority, round numbers instead of exact numbers, moving from known common points, repeating messages and using mass media to reach large masses. The language used in propaganda is different and about creating "dreams". Propaganda uses the language of the base to send its messages (Kılıçaslan, 2008).

In the modern era, the media has been become the most important propaganda tool. A large number of media organizations, with the financial support of political powers, have become mass media which makes propaganda for elections. The capitalists, who are another powerful entity, have transformed various communication tools into a propaganda device for the dissemination of the ideas and opinions they want to society and steering the public in a specific direction. The manipulations of the media have changed many people's minds, causing the voters to doubt their thoughts (Göksu, 2014; p. 81).

2.2. Political Campaigning

Çankaya (2008) argues that as a particular type of political communication, political advertising has been the main instrument of political power struggles in the modern world, from the creation and conduct of this communication to the preparation of political messages, the preparation of political messages in accordance with modern advertising strategies and techniques, and the payment of money in the media. In the light of the fact that advertising is marketing communication, it can be said that political advertising is a communication technique for solving the problems of politics; for this reason, political advertising has been often referred to in terms of political marketing.

The political communication activities that were concentrated during election periods included modern marketing and advertising methods, and created new areas of political marketing and political advertising (Özer, 2014; p. 177). Political advertising, commercial advertisements at the cinema, on television and radio, open air and press advertising have been used to reach target audiences with political messages. In the process of political communication, politicians make political advertisements for the candidate, leader or political party using the methods and techniques of direct advertising during election periods, as they want to get results in the fastest way (Göksu, 2014; p. 57).

If political advertising is defined as a communication process between political parties, candidates and voters, it would be better understood that political marketing is one of the most important pillars of political communication. Political advertising has been considered as an important political communication tool which was needed with the spread of democracy and the transition to an information society. Informing the voters through political marketing has also increased political participation. By attracting the attention of the mass society gives importance to the problems of the country (Canbey, 2009; p. 47).

The field of activity of political advertising shows variance according to the period. However, political advertising is distinct from commercial advertising at certain points. These points have been given as (Özkan, 2003; p. 6):

1. The product which is the subject of advertising is a good or service, but a person, organization or philosophy.

2. The duration of the implementation of political advertising is short-term and finite, in contrast to commercial advertising.

3. Since winning an election is tied to a certain date, and the "buyers" are then not able to change their minds, the moral rules regarding misleading opinions or claims are quite flexible.

2.2.1. Organization and Political Campaign Communication

One of the most important factors affecting voting behavior is the political campaigns carried out by the party. These campaigns must be carried out in a strategic process. The campaign consists of planned activities intended to change the voting behavior of the voter in favor of the candidate or the party. The preparation and organization of political campaigns have become a necessity for political parties or candidates to reach more voters, to introduce the political candidate and gain power (Divanoğlu, 2017; p. 400). The main point of an election campaign is the promises made by the parties to voters. In addition to the promises made by the parties as an institution, there are promises made by the candidates according to the characteristics of their electoral districts and the demands of their voters. These are not separate and contradictory elements but complementary points (Vural and Bat, 2009; p. 2748).

Opinions explaining the emergence of political campaign activities by the development of mass media have been very common. These arguments have suggested that political campaigns are persuasive communication campaigns like advertising and public relations. In addition to this, political candidates or parties need to have this job done by professionals, as political campaign work takes a lot of time and requires special expertise. These include a wide range of specialized services, including professional services, advertising, strategy development, and public opinion surveys (Sandıkçıoğlu, 2012; p. 125).

Election campaigns are important for politicians to do their work. Campaigns not only let voters make decisions but also vote and participate in the campaign. It also allows the discussion of views and the differences seen by voters. Campaigns also promote the legitimacy of the leaders by introducing them (Aktaş, 2004; p. 43).

2.2.2. Promotional Communication Campaigns for Persuasion

Persuasion is a key for promotional political campaigns. Uztuğ (2003) argues that communication through political election campaigns creates a link between the purposes of the candidates and the behavior of the electorate, and serves as a bridge between the hopes of the voters and the activities of the candidates. In election campaigns, different forms of political communication are applied to stakeholders in different fields and to each stakeholder group. The most appropriate communication channel must be selected based on the characteristics of the stakeholder groups and the purpose of the communication (Strömbäck and Kiousis, 2014; p. 113). Kalender (2005) has explained the purpose of political election campaigns in three terms. These are information, persuasion, and public mobilization. Participants and candidates in electoral campaigns communicate their positions on political issues through election campaigns with all the information they may need in order to choose their performance. This information is intended to persuade voters to vote on their own initiative. Apart from voting, they also aim to get voters to support campaigns for the party or the candidate and mobilize them to convince those around them to vote in the same way. In addition to voting, voters are expected to support campaigns for a party or candidate.

The campaign content of the parties in government and the campaign content of the opposition parties often have different characters. This is structurally related to the position of the parties. But the political communication processes and the approach of the advertising agency determine whether the parties confront the voters with a subject-oriented or leader-oriented campaign. It has been seen that political parties have tried both methods and at times they used both simultaneously (Çağlar and Özkır, 2015; p. 8).

2.2.3. Political Campaign Creative Strategy

During elections, voters are exposed to messages about the philosophies, ideas and electoral processes of various political parties and candidates. This communication process between the electorate and the candidate is made possible by the election policy campaigns (Ezegwu et al., 2015; p. 5).

Campaign communication concerns both the long-term planning strategy and the activities of opposing parties and the short-term impact of the media. Though the parties' campaign activities and communication have a strategy, there may be some unexpected events outside the campaign. In some cases these events lead to negative effects and sometimes they create new opportunities. In both cases, unexpected events can cause stress, even if they are short-term. It is important in these cases that the campaign strategies are flexible enough to deal with unwanted incidents outside the planning. This explains why the communication strategy during a campaign may change (Strömbäck and Kiousis, 2014; p. 114).

There are many different elements in political communication campaigns. Among these, posters, songs, slogans, television discussions, content shared on social media, leader's performance, television advertising, newspaper adverts, face to face communication, street decorations and party promises had permanent when they may integrate with the candidate. The fact that these elements of the political communication processes have developed in a certain political culture and pass from one generation to another shows that the elements of political communication actually have dynamic content which can survive and have a more comprehensive cultural depth (Çağlar and Özkır, 2015; p. 8).

Campaign design starts with the conceptual evaluation of the opportunities and obstacles and by what means to reach target groups. Instead of reaching large audiences, campaign designers may choose to address a specific part of the community. The subdivision of the population during the election has two important strategic advantages. The first is that it increases the efficiency of the group when the group to be selected has been reached as planned. The second is that it increases the

effectiveness when the message content, shape, style and channels have been adapted to the characteristics and capabilities of the subgroups (Atkin and Rice, 2013; p. 5).

2.2.4. Effects on Voter Preferences and Behaviors

The voter has been defined as a consumer who evaluates the issues and votes for the party most in line with their individual policy preferences. In order for a political party to have power or achieve its goals, it has to identify its electoral base and define its policies and product according to the preferences of that base (Divanoğlu, 2017; p. 404).

The most important tool for candidates to influence voters is one-to-one dialogue. Using only mass and campaign media may create the feeling that the electorate has been ignored. However, by reaching all segments of the society by creating a sense of trust can mobilize the voters and the party base (Gökçe, 2004; p. 132). A candidate or party may not have the expectation of winning the election. In this case, the purpose is to spread the ideas, to promote the voice of the electorate, and to relate to the people who might support it in the next elections. Therefore, the candidate or political parties must determine their targets and strategies accordingly before entering the elections (Aktaş, 2004; p. 43).

In political campaign communications voters are exposed to many messages through various media. The integrated communication approach focuses on "one voice" in communication. This means that the same message in all communication programs and communication media is processed and monitored in parallel with the determined brand identity-campaign axis. The messages received by voters must be consistent. During a campaign, voters may be exposed to advertisements, news, direct mail, campaign volunteers on the street or at home. To provide the intended "strong and united" identity, there must be consistency and synergy in creative style, messages and visual uniformity throughout to enhance the effectiveness of the campaign (Uztuğ, 2004).

Candidates have generally used two communication channels. One has been the traditional methods in which the party members and their volunteers reached out

directly in meetings or campaigns and present their basic policies. The second one is more modern and low-priced indirect methods such as sending letters, brochures, text messages and e-mails to voters to explain candidates' policies. The studies conducted on this subject show that communication directly with the listeners has more effect on getting citizens to vote than the indirect methods (Johann et al. p. 264).

Political advertising can be impactful in changing voter behavior. Especially negative political advertising video is strong not only in terms of remembering and evaluating the image of the candidate but also in terms of voter preferences. While supporters of a particular candidate who are exposed to advertising messages are increasingly determined to support their candidate, people in opposition parties become increasingly opposed. In other words, polarization in voter's opinions increases (Balcı, 2006; p. 144).

2.3. Political Communication and the Media

Media is actually a plural word originating from Latin. The singular is "medium". The word medium means "intermediate" and "middle". The word "media" for audiovisual and print media has been used in English to describe mass media (Gönenç, 2004; p. 34). The mass media, especially in the 20th century, has been intensely involved in people's lives and has become one of the important dynamics of social change. Today, rapidly evolving technology is changing and developing mass media. Mass media has been effective in all aspects of life and it has made democracy and political participation an indispensable element. With the mass media, cultural products, thoughts, and information at every level have been communicated to a massive population of citizens as never before in history. In this context, mass communication has become an indispensable part of democratic society and the development of its members. The communication of political issues with mass media tools has led to the broader public becoming interested in, aware of and knowledgeable about the political system, which has in turn affected voting behaviour, so that the forms of political participation, and democracy have become more meaningful and functional (Dilber, 2012; p. 84).

Media and politics have been considered as institutions that serve the public. They are held responsible for public conscience in the rule of law governed by a democratic political regime. Therefore, these two institutional structures act for society. These two institutions, naturally inevitably in a dialectical relation, may be examined with each other in terms of their interaction in the social system (Gençalioğlu, 2011; p. 260). Citizens can participate in the interpretation of events through the media, and thus they can conduct attitudes that affect their political preferences. In this context, developments in communication technologies have led to the possibility of taking the opinions of the public on political decisions, and thus the first steps towards electronic democracy (Özer, 2014; p. 179).

The media has been defined as an intermediary between political actors and the audience. The communication is two-sided, meaning that messages from political actors are not just transmitted to the audience or target group, but at the same time the messages of the audience are transmitted to political actors, either directly or through journalists who take their pulse. In this sense, the function of the media here has been evaluated as two-sided. Media, however, have their own agenda and in order to get space in newspapers, television, and radio it is necessary to have good relations with the editors, journalists, and reporters. For this reason, campaign organizers often develop a strategy to publicize campaign messages for public relations (Sharlamanov and Jovanoski, 2014; p. 275). The media today has not been acting as a channel, a conduit, but at the same time has been taking messages as political communication, maturing them, reinterpreting them, and in some cases greatly affecting parties, political actors and audiences. Depending on the content of political communication, issues have sometimes been brought to the agenda and discussed in public. In other words, the media has undertaken the task of "agenda-setting" (Aziz, 2007; p. 52).

When the dimensions of communication technologies are considered, it is now known that individuals are now largely informed about mass media. The mass media tools have been about national and international political systems, practices and functions. The diversity of mass media is one of the tools of widespread use. Recently, individuals have been able to follow the agenda by any means they choose from these media institutions within their financial means. The fact that individuals

who are illiterate can also be informed about events through television rather than newspapers, has been another feature supporting the participation of individuals in political life. In this way, non-educated citizens have been informed about political events and have been able participate in political life (Hülür, 2006; p. 118).

Media organizations, newspapers, radio, and television have an important role in informing society, as well as informing social consensus and interaction. The first known examples of mass media were newspapers. Radio and television were the mass media that emerged after the election (Kundakçı, 2011; p. 295).

2.3.1. Press (Newspaper)

One of the most important features that distinguish newspaper from radio and television is the persistence of journalism. One can read the same news again in the newspaper even after time has passed (Dilber, 2012; p. 86). In many countries newspapers have played a very important role in bringing the news and events of the near and distant past or the present day, focusing the public's attention on the country's main issues and increasing the readers' general level of culture. In democratic societies, newspapers have been known as the fortress of freedom, a tool for collecting news of the day, providing a public service (Özkan, 2003; p. 9).

Since the management of written media (newspapers and magazines) is usually in the hands of a private enterprise it is difficult, if not impossible, to use these communication channels for political purposes directly. The politics of newspapers and magazines may be the subject of political or even economic interests of persons or groups owning these newspapers and magazines (Aziz, 2007; p. 53). If ownership of newspapers had passed into the hands of people, the possibility of working to appeal to society interests would have increased. Within democratic systems, every social or pressure group uses newspapers to influence the public in terms of their own ideas, opinions, and interests. For this reason, newspapers sometimes might give manipulative news which expresses not the truth but the modified truth (Gönenç, 2002; p. 154).

When newspaper publications have been generally evaluated, it has been found that this tool is more important in the decision processes of people who have a high level of interest in political campaigns and issues, who are late decision makers, who read newspapers more frequently, who are highly educated and have middle income levels (Kalender, 2003; p. 36). Some items to be considered about the press have been identified. These are as follows (O'Day, 2007; p. 36):

1. A short election cycle makes mass media quite effective. In cases where the cost is limited, the message to be transmitted may be delivered by mass media.

2. In press relations, which are a full-time job, candidates need a press secretary throughout the process. Medium and large-scale campaigns should include a person who is responsible for promotion.

3. Candidates who have short periods of time to communicate their messages should use this time in the most effective way by adhering to the message they want to give.

4. Candidates should get the necessary training and try to use the press in the most correct way by practicing what they want to convey.

2.3.2. Other Print Media

All the tools which have been used in writing and printing techniques are included in this group. Print media or media institutions have been widely used tools or methods in that they allow access to massive amounts of people and vary in cost relative to paper and print type. In election campaigns, newspapers have been seen as one of the most important channels for political advertisements. In the contemporary sense, newspapers are a commercial enterprise within a capitalist and market economy as a social institution. The decision on what is and what is not news according to the broadcasting policies of journalist organizations has been a guiding perspective of politics and society (Göksu, 2014; p. 73).

Fliers (brochures or handbills), as a means of promotion, are often used by party organizations. They may highlight the future actions of the party or reveal negative aspects of the competing party or candidate. Fliers can be printed easily and give the candidate a chance to reach voters at any time, and in particular to intervene in their competitors' campaigns (Balcı, 2006; p. 162). They can be defined as small print

pieces with plenty of pictures. The most useful facet of fliers is that they can be prepared under the control of the organization in content, printing, and distribution, and in the best way to serve their purpose (Özkan, 2003; p. 10).

Posters have been defined as the most important tool in printed media tools. The poster, which forms an emotional bond between the voter and the candidate or the party, consists of visual symbols such as photographs, emblems, logos that represent the candidate or party, and prominent and catchy words or phrases that represent the key facts on which the political campaign is based (Eroğlu Yalın, 2006; p. 175).

Posters are a cheap and easy way to convey candidates' messages to the public. The messages written on the banners are expressed in short and exact words in the form of slogans. It has been important that they are impactful and easy to read, with large-size letters (Özkan, 2003; p. 1).

2.3.3. Radio and Television

Radio can be used as a tool of communication in discussing and highlighting political issues such as politicians, elections and public policy. Political radio programs have the effect of enhancing party sensitivity and increasing the participation and orientation of the people in political events (Dilber, 2012; p. 87-88). In recent research, television has been seen as the most effective tool of political communication. In a survey on the degree of attention attracted to the political content of mass media, television has attracted the most attention from voters, while magazines have attracted the least attention. According to the same research, political party representatives also stated that televisions are the most effective media tools for changing voters' perspective (Safaz, 2011; p. 21). With television advertisements, not only voters who are interested in politics or who are political party/candidate supporters, but also those who are not interested in politics or who are opposed to politics can also be reached. The political party or candidate has the opportunity to express himself/herself by participating in party programs including future goals, past practices, television advertisements, tone of voice, gestures, body language, clothes selection, etc. At the same time, if they answer questions, they may have the chance to resolve negative impressions. It should be noted that television lacks the

reciprocity of bidirectional/face-to-face communication. Since messages are a commercial communication tool, they are transferred to a limited audience. For this reason, more emphasis has been given to image creation and presentation in the political sense on television (Eroğlu Yalın, 2006; p. 174-175).

2.3.4. The Internet

Political communication, which is an integral part of politics, citizenship and media, has been becoming more complex in terms of content, while it has been facilitating the use and development of communication technologies (İnan and Pekün, 2009; p. 1). With the widespread use of new communication technologies (internet, mobile phones, etc.), the dominance of radio and television in the field of political communication has continued to weaken. Especially in the US, it has been seen that new media environments have been used more for political campaign. In addition to this, new technologies offer some opportunities (IP TV, Mobile TV, Web TV, etc.) as well as threats to radio and television broadcasting, in the convergence of media environments (Safaz, 2011; p. 21).

The social networking opportunities provided by new communication technologies via the Internet have promoted the rapid spread of ideological thinking in election campaigns and allow people to influence each other on social networking sites. This has a great effect especially on "floating votes". As a matter of fact, in some elections, the floating votes, which are considered as the votes of the unstable voters, can determine the result. In this case, it may be both easier and faster to persuade voters to vote in unstable voter choice with communication technologies (Vural and Bat, 2009; p. 2753).

Political parties can use the internet for many purposes. They can introduce party regulations and programs through the Internet, determine the priorities and sensitivities of the party, and offer ideology, world views, and approaches to national problems and solutions. One of the biggest advantages of the internet which has been supposed to be complementary to other activities in political campaigns, is that it has allows reaching a very wide audience with messages at low cost. In addition, video clips have been extremely helpful in communicating with voters through interactive

chat rooms, direct conversations with viewers. The internet does not organize volunteers during the elections, but to presents candidates' messages without the filtering of other mass media (Dilber, 2012; p. 91).

The main actors placing content on the Internet and broadcasting it to the masses have been the political organizations and mechanisms of the state, especially the presidency, parliament, prime ministry, ministries, political parties and non-governmental organizations, which are the main actors of the political system as evaluated in the classical approach. The basic strategy for website usage in politics on the internet is to provide accurate, up-to-date, reliable and comprehensive information quickly and widely. The website is also used for policy making and feedback on established policies. All of these factors can be combined with dynamic websites. Static websites which promote only the party program and ideology for party members and supporters, are no longer valid (Erdal, 2004; p. 1).

CHAPTER 3

3.1. The 1980 Military Coup and the Aftermath

Following the 27 May military coup in 1960, governments had been calling for savings because of the economic problems of the country, while trying to gain votes in elections due through economic growth with high employment and public investments. Although governments aimed at growth, economic hardships continued and unemployment increased and these unemployed groups had joined the ranks of the radical right or left (Eştürk, 2006; p. 28).

The 1970s were politically and economically very troubled. In 1979 the attacks increased and spread to famous people. The murder of Milliyet Newspaper Editor-in-Chief and Abdi İpekçi was with hatred in all dormitories, and many organizations wrote messages and declarations of their sorrow. The main opposition party started a new government and early elections debate, which the opposition party expected to meet with hope. But other than the avoidance of anarchy, the economic problems had not been eliminated, giving the government unsuccessful image (Berk, 2015; p. 7). These difficulties brought about a new political and socio-economic crisis. As a result of the great damage to both the masses and the capital class, a new economic program was needed in the country. This mission was given to Turgut Özal, who left his mark on Turkish economic policies after 1980 (Köksal, 2006; p. 51).

The measures known as 24 January 1980 decisions can be listed as follows (Ögeç, Köşkeroğlu, and Shahsuvarov, 2008; p. 7):

- Adoption of an export-oriented industrialization model instead of an import substitution model for the domestic market.

- Adopting a realistic exchange rate policy rather than an increased exchange rate, and avoiding radical devaluation to achieve this.

- Determination of interest rates by market supply and demand.

- Use of limited credit policy with high interest as a tool to control domestic demand and inflation.

- Removal of price controls as much as possible and ensuring that prices are determined by demand.

- Removal or reduction of subsidies for basic goods produced by the public sector, so that prices for these goods rose considerably.

- Reforming the state economic enterprises by rescuing these institutions from being unprofitable employment warehouses.

- Restricting public spending and ensuring a balanced budget through comprehensive tax reform.

- Taking new measures to encourage foreign capital, while opening up some production areas in state monopolies to domestic and foreign capital.

There were many reasons for the 24 January decisions, which is considered an essential transformation in Turkey's economy in 1980. In the late 1970s, shortages had been caused by the lack of supply in the economy and the continuous increase in the budget deficits due to populist policies, the expansionary monetary policies and trying to keep the economy alive. In short order, Turkey was seen as a country that had a tendency to crisis, ever-increasing inflation, inadequate labor force quality and could not fully achieve social peace, but that changed its industrialization policies and preferred export-based industrialization. Considering the current conditions, it has been understood that the negatives in the economy were caused not only by the financial system but also social, political and structural factors. Therefore, the stabilization policies implemented are not related only to the financial sector but also to institutional and structural areas (Doruk and Yavuz, 2018; p. 2241).

These developments were accompanied by a crisis caused by the inevitable increase of right and left terror and the failure by the National Assembly to change the laws, including measures related to the armed forces. The efforts of Süleyman Demirel's minority government in this regard were insufficient and no solution was found for

the ongoing terrorism. On 1 January 1980, the Turkish Armed Forces sent a letter of warning to President Fahri Korutürk due to economic problems and widespread acts of violence. In a sense, this reminder was a signal of September 12th (Eştürk, 2006; p. 29). After the distresses experienced in many areas in the 1970s, in the 1980s a crisis of presidential elections was added to the political, economic, social and security crises (Akıncı, 2013; p. 41).

One of the biggest reasons for the crisis in Turkey in the 1980s was shortages of capital accumulation due to the contraction of the world economy in the early 1970s. As a result of this situation, there had been a general decrease in profit rates. Another major reason was the growing state spending on education, health, and welfare (Erdoğan, 2008; p. 73). The most permanent and deep effect was the September 12 coup. The army, which seized power on 12 September 1980, shut down all political parties, ended their activities, took some political party leaders into custody and prohibited them from doing politics. Thus, the period of the National Security Council (Milli Güvenlik Kurulu, MGK), began and democratic life was seriously injured (Çiçek and Artunay, 2018; p. 32).

Among the main causes of the 1980 military coup were political instability, social turmoil, Turkey's strategic importance, and inflation. The group of commanders who carried out the September 12 coup called themselves the National Security Council. The council was composed of General Chief of Staff Kenan Evren, Land Forces Commander Nurettin Ersin, Air Force Commander Tahsin Şahinkaya, Naval Forces Commander Admiral Nejat Tümer and Gendarme General Commander Sedat Celasun. The National Security Council announced the rules and orders on Turkish state television on 12 September 1980 at 04:00 (Şahin, 2016; p. 285).

In a statement issued by the Council, it charged the government bodies for failing to process them, silencing constitutional institutions, failing to ensure the unity and solidarity of the political parties to save the state, and not taking the necessary measures in time. It has been remarked that abnormal ideologies had been dominating educational institutions instead of Kemalism, increasing the activities of destructive and divisive circles (Yalçın et al. 2012; p. 627).

The period of 1980-1983 has been called the period of military dictatorship. Under the state of military dictatorship, as soon as the military had taken political power, it ended the assets of parliament and government, stopped the activities of political parties and then closed them formally. Political leaders were banned from the closed parties and various unions were closed down. More importantly, a new constitution was prepared in order to make radical changes in the legal-political superstructure (Özçelik, 2010; p. 82).

The results of the coup were as follows (Kırkpınar, 2009; p. 125):

• 650,000 people were detained.

• 1,683,000 people were registered.

• 98,404 people were tried for membership in organizations.

• 210,000 people were prosecuted.

• 7000 people stood trial for capital crimes.

• 517 people were sentenced to death.

• 50 people executed by hanging.

• 171 people died from torture.

• 299 people died in prison.

• 43 people committed suicide.

• 14 people died on hunger strike.

• 95 people died in fighting.

• 16 people were shot when attempting to escape.

• 300 people died with suspicion.

• 71,000 people were tried under articles 141, 142 and 163 of the Turkish Criminal Code.

• 14,000 people were removed from citizenship.

• 30,000 people went abroad as political refugees.

• 937 movies were banned as unsuitable.

• 23,677 activities of organizations.

• 4,000 years of imprisonment was requested for 400 journalists.

• 40 tons of newspapers and magazines were burned.

The most remarkable development of the coup term was the end of all terrorist incidents. While the bombs exploded in 23 different areas of Ankara on September

11, not one exploded on September 12. Therefore, the right and left press approached the coup positively. People who had been fed up with terrorism and instability were positive about the coup (Akıncı, 2013; p. 42).

The National Security Commission had taken the first step for political restructuring in October 1981 and appointed an advisory council to draft the new constitution. In the meantime, a law was enacted and all political parties were dissolved and all the assets of the parties, including their archives, were confiscated. On 11 September 1980, political party members who had been parliamentary members, and political party executives at all levels declared verbal and written in accordance with their approach and holding meetings with regard to Turkey's past or future political or legal structure had been forbidden by the National Security Council on 2 June 1981 (Gök, 2008; p. 57).

3.1.1. The Establishment of New Political Parties

In order to improve the environment, the 1982 Constitution was created and the power was transferred to civilians (Çiçek and Artunay, 2018; p. 32). After the September 12th coup, a consultative council of 160 people had been formed. The Advisory Council constituted the Constituent Assembly together with the National Security Council. A commission was formed under the chairmanship of Professor Orhan Aldıkaçtı to prepare the constitution. The draft was reviewed by the council after its preparation. The draft imposed substantial restrictions on fundamental rights and raised the sanctity of the state rather than the individual's freedom. The constitution, which was submitted to the public vote on 7 November 1982, was approved with 91.5% of the votes (Zariç, 2011; p. 38). On April 24, 1983, political activities were permitted with report no. 76. From this date onwards, meetings were allowed to hold to establish a political party (Aşık, 2018; p. 72).

Kenan Evren's negative attitude regarding the number limitation in the establishment of political parties and the absence of a coalition from the election results has been considered as an expression of a certain sensitivity in this regard. He had remarked that just as in the United States there should have been only two parties and power should change hands between the two parties In Turkey. The election set the

threshold as 10% by his own demand and remarked that this had been a conscious attitude to block coalition governments (Şahin, 2016; 293).

On May 16, 1983, Milliyetçi Demokrasi Partisi (MDP) was established after the 19-month non-party period. Then on 20 May 1983, Anavatan Partisi (ANAP), Halkçı Parti (HP), and Büyük Türkiye Partisi (BTP) were established. In May, June, July 1983, and after 1983 general election many consecutive parties were established. These parties were Sosyal Demokrasi Partisi (6 June 1983), Yüce Görev Partisi (6 June 1983), Yeni Doğuş Partisi (20 June 1983), Doğru Yol Partisi (23 June 1983), Yeni Düzen Partisi (1 July 1983), Fazilet Partisi (4 July 1983), Cumhuriyetçi Muhafazakâr Parti (7 July 1983), Bizim Parti (8 July 1983), Refah Partisi (18 July 1983), Türkiye Huzur Partisi (22 July 1983), Bayrak Partisi (29 July 1983) and Islahatçı Demokrasi Partisi (24 March 1984). The return to democracy in Turkey was accompanied by what has been considered as big party inflation (Belhan, 2005; p. 54). Another party in the center-right was the ANAP. Turgut Özal, who was the party leader, had entered politics by relying on the provisional article 4 of the Constitution (Çavuşoğlu, 2009; p. 170).

3.1.2. 1983 General Election

The 1982 Constitution and its subsequent political parties had introduced certain restrictions. It was almost impossible to find a politician in the process of returning to the civilian regime. The 1982 Constitution had made it possible to supervise political life by introducing provisions to continue the authority of the force that carried out 12 September on the new regime. Although the belief was that democracy was restarted with the referendum, it was soon understood that this was a guided democracy (Berk, 2015; p. 182). Although it was seen as an important step towards civilization, the fact that the founders of the political parties were voted by the National Security Council was considered as an indicator of democratization status. The development of civil society was reflected in the return of the soldiers to their barracks, the increase of the powers of local administrations, the emphasis on liberal values and the civilian personality of Turgut Özal, who was considered to be one of the important actors in the process of returning to democracy, yet limited to the military (Çiçek and Artunay, 2018; p. 32).

From one point of view the September 12 intervention was seen as a necessary movement to prevent the division of the country by some sectors. According to some people, it introduced fascism. But the most important point was that in the first elections after the coup, people reflected their belief and preference in democracy (Zariç, 2011; p. 54).

During the transition to democracy, some studies were carried out on the organization of voters. In this context, the new political parties' law was enacted and some rules were adopted for the elections to be held. These rules included (Eştürk, 2006; p. 39):

• The dissolved parties' leaders and members would not be able to defend their party.
• Newly established parties would not be able to make critical or laudatory statements about the dissolved parties.
• The National Security Council, the President and the actions of Commander of Authoritarianism would not be the subject of discussion and criticism.

In order for the new parties to participate in the elections in 1983, 30 constituent members had to be approved by the National Security Council. The National Security Council ruled that ANAP, MDP, and HP would enter the November 6, 1983 elections. However, the True Path Party, (Doğru Yol Partisi, DYP) could not participate in the 6 November 1983 general election as it failed to meet this requirement (Çavuşoğlu, 2010; p. 28). According to the election law passed in 1983, the parties had to exceed the 10% threshold. The aim was to prevent small parties from taking a decisive role in coalitions. Ultimately only three parties were allowed to participate in the elections (Partal, 2017; p. 2).

The three parties who participated in the elections identified their principles and defined their political promises in their programs. In terms of the aims and principles of the parties' general promises, HP emphasized the participant, effective and democratic planning and was based on the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet

Halk Partisi, CHP) program. The primary emphasis of the MDP referred to Atatürk's nationalism and the spirit and philosophy of 12 September. The ANAP focused on issues such as social welfare and equal opportunity, accelerating economic development and broadening prosperity. Examining the economic policies and economic structure promises of the parties, it can be seen that the common promise was the same with some small differences. These promises were the elimination of unemployment and the acceleration of economic development (Şahin, 2016; p. 303).

On 6 November 1983, the Turkish people went to the polls for a general election 6 years after the preceding one. The participation rate was 92.3%. The three parties exceeded the 10% threshold. However, with MDP and HP in some provinces couldn't excess 10% of the election barrage. The winner of the election was ANAP (Erkmen, 2018; p. 1237).

In the 1983 elections, ANAP won 45.1% of the votes in its first parliamentary elections and became one of the first parties to take place in front of the other two parties (Kiriş, 2012; p. 28). HP received 30.5% and MDP received 23.3% of the votes. According to this result, the ANAP was been the ruling party in the 400-seat parliament (Aşık, 2018; p. 73).

3.1.3. 1983 Elections and the Foundation of the Motherland Party

Özal had to resign both from the Deputy Prime Minister's Office and the State Ministry of the Economy before entering the establishment of the party, and then started work to establish own his party (Eştürk, 2006; p. 41). The ANAP was founded on May 20, 1983 by Turgut Özal, a bureaucrat who was in favor of supporting modern society with conservative values. The party, which stated that it was not the heir of any party before 1980, claimed that it represented the four tendencies of traditional Sunni Islamic conservatism, nationalism, economic liberalism and social democracy (Kalaycıoğlu, 2002; p. 45).

Özal knew both the bureaucracy and the private sector very well and had established good relations with the sector and international organizations. Özal's versatility also played an important role in shaping and implementing his policies. Özal always

thought that the bureaucracy slowed things down, that it was conservative, devoid of creativity, and not functional. Besides, Özal had found the bureaucracy passive and formed a unique structure acting as a private sector in foreign policy (Akçay, 2016b; p. 46).

Özal's party, the ANAP, in its own words combined the three tendencies of the right, and this situation gave the party a philosophical character. While the ANAP combined the most qualified elements of the dissolved parties, it was not the continuation of any of them. Politically, the ANAP was conservative like the AP, tied to tradition like the MSP, nationalist like the MHP, and believed in social justice like the social democrats. In order to alleviate the tense environment of the pre-impact and lower the partitions between the facades, Özal decided on the symbol of the party as the merging of the right hand and left hand. The meaning of this symbol was that the party was open to all political fronts and that all differences could be represented in the political system without the need for anarchy. The party logo was a map of Turkey in a honeycomb form. It symbolized Özal's aim of a hard-working and productive Turkey (Şener ve Çolak, 2015; p. 405).

The ANAP had a different party view and a citizen-oriented party image. The main principles of the party were that the citizen comes first in the state, and the state was for the nation. In this way, it adopted a different approach by bringing a small state understanding to the forefront of the individual, as opposed to the traditional strong, authoritarian state. The concept of the small state is the role that the neo-liberal movement, which started to be influential in the world in the 1980s, favored for the state (Eştürk, 2006; p. 42).

The ANAP, in contrast to other parties, adopted liberalism in the economy. It stated in its program that the intervention of the state should be minimized and that this would create a more efficient and harmonious economic structure faster. Turgut Özal defined the duty of the state only as organizing and directing, and followed a path that Turkish politics was not accustomed to. Özal also gave agriculture a different priority than other parties. He emphasized the importance of agriculture and the production and marketing parts of agriculture. This liberal and libertarian attitude adopted by Özal immediately after the military administration was accepted by the

public. He had was quickly rewarded with high votes and this popularity continued for a long time (Gök, 2008; p. 79).

Believing that the existence of religious communities and groups was a necessity of democracy, Özal claimed that freedom of thought would be meaningless without freedom of religion and conscience. He considered religious organizations in the same context as other non-governmental organizations. In this sense, Özal's perspective on religious groups and communities can be seen as a radical change from the Kemalist tradition. The activities of the religious groups in the Özal period had expanded. Many activities which were previously hidden came into the open, and the religious community had begun to appear in economic, political and social fields (Köksal, 2006; p. 75).

The ANAP had not been established as a continuation of any political party, but was a first in Turkish political history in terms of bringing its different thoughts and opinions under a program and a roof. The ANAP was a young, innovative and libertarian party that adopted the philosophy of service instead of fighting. The ANAP, the only political party in Turkish history that succeeded in coming to power in the first election after it was founded, was able to leave the power it had taken over from a revolutionist administration to another civil power without causing a revolution (Belhan, 2005; p. 76).

The ANAP had been planned to go to 43 provinces and 85 districts, to organize open-air meetings in 10 provinces and to give speeches in 16 provinces and 1 district with two election buses that were introduced to the press in front of the party headquarters in Ankara. The buses had a computer, a videocassette player, and a platform to talk on. They also had a special work desk and bed for the chairman, 43 person capacity and were announced as costing 30 million lire each (Aşık, 2018; p. 76).

3.1.4. The 1983 Elections and the Foundation of the Nationalist Democracy Party

The Nationalist Democracy Party (Milliyetçi Demokrasi Partisi, MDP) was founded on May 16, 1983 by Turgut Sunalp in the process of reopening the democratic administration process after the 1980 coup d'etat. It was the first of the newly formed political parties after September 12, 1980. The high number of votes in favor of adoption of the new constitution was interpreted sign of electoral confidence. Bülent Ulusu had started working towards this, but could not achieve the desired level of communication with the politicians. Turgut Sunalp had not contacted the old politicians and started to form a party (Yalçın, 2018; p. 467). The MDP was established with Turgut Sunalp Ahmet İhsan Kırımlı, Ali Bozer, Musa Öğün, Namık Kemal Şentürk, and Abdurrahman Güler as the founding members. It is interesting to note that the Minister of Interior Affairs Çetiner, referred to the party during the delivery of the documents as part our party (Çölük, 2018; p. 43).

President Turgut Sunalp remarked that he purposed to completely eliminate anarchy and terror, destroy destructive external influences, to fight against all the regimes and movements prohibited in the constitution, and to maintain the a peaceful environment that came with September 12. The MDP argued that the main problems of the country were unemployment, inflation, insufficient social security, unbalanced income distribution, low productivity in agriculture, especially in agriculture, backwardness, lack of infrastructure, rapid population growth, inadequate education and health, scattered settlement and irregular urbanization, and bureaucracy (Berk, 2015; p. 92).

When looking at the founding members in general, it can be seen that there were a large number of deputies of the former Justice Party (Adalet Partisi, AP). Turgut Sunalp's meeting with these people had been made possible by Bülent Uluslu's list. The common characteristics of these deputies was that they had been opposed to Süleyman Demirel. Many had not been nominated in the 1977 elections, or were nominated from places that could not be elected. However, if they had been nominated and elected, they would not be able to be a founding member under the political ban. On the other hand, they had the chance to enter politics due to their

opposition to Süleyman Demirel. Another common feature of these people was that they believed in the free market economy (Çölük, 2018; p. 46).

The MDP's economic policy aimed at reconciling the central state structure with a liberal economy. The party defined the main objective of economic policy as providing rapid and balanced development for the nation's welfare and happiness and bringing the country to the level of the advanced countries in a reasonable time. For continuous, rapid and balanced development, they favored linking economic activities to the private enterprise and private property system, as well as taking the necessary measures for a dominant free market economy (Şahin, 2016; p. 298). While working on general election, Turgut Sunalp stated that a partial amnesty had been granted and that they were considering an amnesty to be used by prisoners of fate. In addition to this, he also stressed that they would not be able to forgive publications and movements that shook morals in the country. He also had stated that they would issue a press amnesty. Among the election promises was the MDP's suggestion that it would shorten military service if it were the sole ruler (Yalçın, 2018; p. 470).

3.1.5. The 1983 Elections and The Foundation of The Populist Party

The Populist Party (Halkçı Parti, HP) was founded on 20 May 1984 under the chairmanship of Necdet Calp, who was the undersecretary of the Prime Ministry. The party was founded in an effort to become a classic Social Democratic Party (Arslan and Çağlayandereli, 2006; p. 6). The idea of the establishment of the party had come from Engin Aydın.

Engin Aydın was known as one of the feverish young people of the 1970s, devoted to the CHP during his student years. After September 12, in Ankara, he had the idea of forming a new party on the left. Journalist Aytekin Yıldız and Engin Aydın, Dr. Turhan Temuçin, Lawyer and Author Günseli Özkaya, Retired General Şerafettin Uğur and Lawyer Ümit Teoman agreed on this, and made up the core team for the new party. Most of them had been trained in the CHP's Youth and Women's Sections (Berk, 2015; p. 108). They appealed to Necdet Calp to be the party president.

The HP confirmed its commitment to the principles of Atatürk as it started its party program. It defined its social principles as social justice, social security, a commitment to libertarian parliamentary democracy, a focus on statism, trying to raise the quality of life of workers and elevating their dignity (Halkçı Parti Programı, 1983; p. 1)

The Populist Party adopted the mixed economy model, which focused on statism in economic development. It proposed to improve the state's economic, social and cultural development, especially the development of industry and agriculture at the homeland level in a balanced and harmonious way, by using the resources of the country in the most efficient way. It stated that public and private sectors should be in cooperation for the realization of economic development, and that the contribution of the public to the reaching the planned target would be large. The rapid development of the economy, the elimination of regional imbalance, the importance of foreign relations, the equitable distribution of national income, the increase in the purchasing power of people with low incomes and the elimination of unemployment were the other items in the economic program of the HP (Şahin, 2016; p. 297).

3.2. The Özal Governments in 1983 and 1987

The ANAP won the election by 45.1%, despite the opposition of Kenan Evren, who was the leader of the command team, and the opposition of the party leader. The fact that the ANAP won the election pleased the general public because it was a civilian and legitimate government, and there was hope for the country's future. The essential reasons for this was the existence of liberals, social democrats, conservatives and nationalists in the ANAP. The party represented the center right by maintaining the Democratic Party's liberal-conservative political tradition (Ayaz, 2015; p. 328).

However, it can be said that Özal had a foreign policy with a view to liberalism in the field of the economy. Because when liberalism has been analyzed in the field of economics, it has been seen that it is a more useful ideology in terms of administrations. In this sense, although liberalism is a political ideology based on individual freedoms and human rights, it has paved the way for significant

developments in the field of economics. In general, liberal-minded leaders have a broad perspective on issues such as freedom of expression, civil rights, freedom of belief, free trade and freedom of the press. Therefore, they can stay in administrations for a long time and do well in elections (Daban, 2017; p. 85).

Özal's political philosophy was based on a person-centered and liberal-conservative understanding. In this sense, Özal narrowed the field of activity of the state especially in Turkish modernization, and tried to put the individual at the center of change and development. For this purpose, he saw politics as a right of everyone who was in politics in order to serve the nation, not as a profession which was monopolized by some groups. With this new political approach, Özal carried Kemalism's modernization flag with the "stepping into a new era" slogan. He tried to emphasize the competitive individual and the spirit of entrepreneurship on the one hand, and the religious and traditional values of conservatism on the other (Oral and Erdoğan, 2014; p. 39).

Özal's essential focus was on correcting the country's economy and developing good relations with different countries, starting with neighbors. In this respect, Özal was instrumental in starting the process of distancing the political and security issues of Turkish foreign policy from its traditional approach (Ertosun, 2016; p. 52). Özal's government contributed to the development of Turkey's foreign trade and economic development as well as reducing the risk of political disagreements and conflicts. Thus, Özal established good economic relations with many countries such as Iran, Iraq, USA and Pakistan. He worked for foreign trade and economic relations to improve Turkey's place in world politics. The studies were an important milestone in the transformation process of Turkey's Customs Union. He did not see his relations with the west as a temporary target. He also wanted to make the west a part of the political system. For Özal such relationships were a way to strengthen Turkey's hand in the west, and bring about integration that would provide economic improvements. In this way Turkey would serve as a bridge between east and west. This made it important to become a full member of the community, and Özal put full membership as a goal and considered it a requirement of westernization (Akçay, 2016b; p. 47).

The most striking feature of this period were the attempts to make the market economy operational in the spirit of the 24 January decisions. There were radical changes from previous policies. These changes were: supporting exports with changes in the exchange system, flexible and realistic exchange rate applications, establishment of Istanbul Stock Exchange Market (İstanbul Menkul Kıymetler Borsası, IMKB), removal of price controls, import bans and removal of quotas, arrangements for ensuring that State Economic Enterprise (SEEs, Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüsü, KİT), operate according to market conditions, customization efforts, encouraging industrial and service investments through open industrialization policies and making foreign investments more attractive (Erdoğan, 2008; p. 152).

Özal designed a training model based on the individual and taking national conservative values into consideration. Individuals who were liberal, free-thinking and would take part in the management of the country in the coming years, formed one of the most important features in Özal's education policies. People who were knowledgeable, free, democratic and with a wide view of the world, who could interpret and use the information, and who could do science would create obstacles to pointless conflicts and contribute to the development of the country. Özal believed that individuals with these characteristics could only be formed through education (Ayaz, 2015; p. 330).

Özal followed an unconventional path a systematic manner, in which he was opposing to the traditional populist practices of the time in his actions between 1980-1982 and 1983-1987. During this period, partisanship was reduced to its lowest level, and SEEs hikes were made in a timely manner, increasing workers' and civil servants' salaries which had fallen behind inflation. In the Özal period, base prices were not used as a means of making political premiums, state facilities were used heavily for substructure investments, some powers of central administration were transferred to local governments, bureaucracy was cut and protectionism significantly reduced (İzmirli, Gökbunar and Özer, 2014; p. 249).

CHAPTER 4

4.1 Methodology

The units of analysis in this study are posters, screenshots taken from television programs and slogans prepared for the ANAP and its leader Turgut Özal in the 1983 elections. In accordance with the purpose of the study, these data were examined and interpreted in terms of political communication. Thus, the messages given during the election process were evaluated. Various posters and video images were examined and interpreted in relation to the subject of the study. When selecting these posters, the best way to reflect the political and economic situation of the period was taken into consideration documentation and historical research methods were used in the study.

The literature review has been two-fold. The first was general browsing of the literature and archives, while in the second phase the researcher engaged in detail with the selected material. The documentation research and historical research methods were adopted as the methodology of this study. Document browsing is defined as the data collection technique from records and documents. It is a method known as literature or literature review, which is followed in almost every study (Karasar, 2018; p. 231). The scans are photographs, films, recordings, audio and video recorders, CDs, various tools, materials such as buildings and sculptures, all kinds of letters, reports, books, encyclopedias, writings and drawings about the events, official and private papers and statistics, records, memoirs, and life history records (Karasar, 2018; p. 229). In historical research, the researcher tries to understand as accurately as possible what was happening at that time and to explain why (Büyüköztürk, Çakmak, Akgün, Karadeniz and Demirel, 2018; p. 21). Thus, relevant documents of the period were read, and answers were found to the question of what happened in the past.

4.2. The 1983 ANAP Election Campaign

The concept of economic liberalism, which marked the period after 1980 and was called Özalism, dominated the market logic in politics as in the economic field. In this regard, it has been remarked that it changed the way of politics and accordingly the election campaigns (Akyüz and Kazaz, 2015; p. 212). A modern breakthrough took place with the introduction of advertising organizations and political marketing practices in the election of November 6, 1983. With this breakthrough, public opinion surveys were conducted to determine what the electorate wanted. In addition to this, audio and video cassettes and image creation studies by professionals were used as political marketing methods of the parties (Keresteci, 2006; p. 46).

In the general election held in 1983, it was of great importance that the party leaders introduce themselves to the electorate. For this reason the ANAP was attentive to political campaigns for public meetings, which would enable them to communicate directly with the electorate masses and to announce their promises (Kalçık, 2013; p. 135).

The ANAP, which aimed at absolute power, started with building a big party headquarters on Kennedy Street. There was no activity at the party during the establishment period. For this reason, Secretary-General Mustafa Tasar, Halil Sıvgın and Veysel Atasoy kept all the lights all night in the headquarters to show that the party was active day and night. They worked nonstop to multiply the number of members of the party. This was successful and after a while the headquarters became quite crowded (Belhan, 2005; p. 106).

In the 1983 elections, parties started to conduct their work on the basis of agencies. Man Agency, which handled the ANAP's election campaign, had been founded by Eli Acıman. Man Agency is known as Turkey's first school of advertising (Gençtürk, 2005; p. 115). The agency has served as a cultural bridge between politics and society.

The main people involved in the campaign run by the Man Agency were Vice President Mesut Yilmaz of Anap, Man Agency founding president Eli Acıman and Ege Ernart, Selim Egeli, Faruk Atasoy, and Vural Sözer. Throughout the campaign, the Man Agency not only planned the ANAP's communication strategy, but also handled its creative implementation. The agency also served as a political communications consultant. The Agency took care of all the details, from preparing Özal for television press appearances, to the speech text and the style of clothing that he held in front of the screen (Kalçık, 2013; p. 134). Acıman adapted his advertising knowledge to a political party's advertising campaign. For the 1983 general election, Man Agency made advertising campaigns and the emblem of the ANAP (Akçay, 2016a; p. 34).

Fig 1. Emblem of the Motherland Party

Source: Anayurt Journal, http://www.anayurtgazetesi.com/haber/Anavatan-Partisi-eski-logosuna-donuyor/226655 (Retrived on April 9, 2019).

The ANAP ran an American-style election campaign but they did not give an exact figure on advertising spending. ANAP prepared three videos for the election campaign. The first video was on the reasons and principles of the establishment of the party, the second showed Özal's interview by journalist Mehmet Barlas, and the third video was about Özal's personality and biography (Belhan, 2005; p. 109).

The leaders of the Motherland Party declared that they would focus on the principle of social justice in the party's publicity campaign. They explained the campaign as follows:

"We are well known to the public for our conservatism and market economy beliefs from the three principles that form the essence of our Party program. Following a three-year successful 24 January stabilization program, it was time to establish rapid growth and social justice. We attach importance to introducing ourselves to the public"(Berk, 2015; p. 103).

4.3. Strategies in the Political Communication Campaign of the ANAP in the 1983 General Election

The most important feature of the ANAP is that it was established to reach a predetermined economic program. Propaganda for this program, which was intended improve the welfare of society and especially income distribution, was carried out with great skill. The "middle-income" statement was the backbone of party propaganda. It argued that the biggest problem was the inflation of the middle income which constituted a large part of the society and that the ANAP, which supported social justice, could find a solution (Belhan, 2005; p. 102).

Man Agency built the communication strategy of the party on two basic elements. Since the ANAP entered as an unrecognized party in the 1983 elections, the first strategy was to introduce the ANAP and Özal. The second strategy was to draw attention to the problems of the country. They then explained how to would solve these problems if they won the elections (Kalçık, 2013; p. 129).

The ANAP commissioned Man Agency for campaign consultancy, but the campaign strategy was prepared by Turgut Özal, Adnan Kahveci, Mesut Yılmaz, and the agency. The agency conducted preliminary research to answer the question of what the Turkish people want. This research contributed to the scientification of politics according to the research data, and the campaign was based on a specific main theme. This theme was the continuation of peace and trust, empowerment of the public, stopping inflation, resolving the housing problem and minimizing

bureaucracy. Throughout the campaign, new topics were addressed in daily advertisements. A total of 23 newspaper ads were prepared by the agency. 12 of them were published before the statutory propaganda period and 11 of them were published in the statutory propaganda period (Taşçıoğlu, 2009; p. 279).

The ANAP's 1983 party program consisted of thirty five items, with 5 main topics: the ANAP and Basic Understanding, Economic Policies, Social Policy, and Public Administration and Foreign Policy. 35 different topics were included from health policies to youth policies, infrastructure investments, housing services, culture/art and industry. When the overall program is examined, it is seen that ANAP's party program consists of general goals and expressions rather than big promises. However, statements and promises that would attract the reaction of the military administration were largely lacking (Tomakin, 2014; p. 84).

The ANAP focused on 3 important issues in preparing the party program. With these three points they tried to reach all the citizens. These important points were as follows:
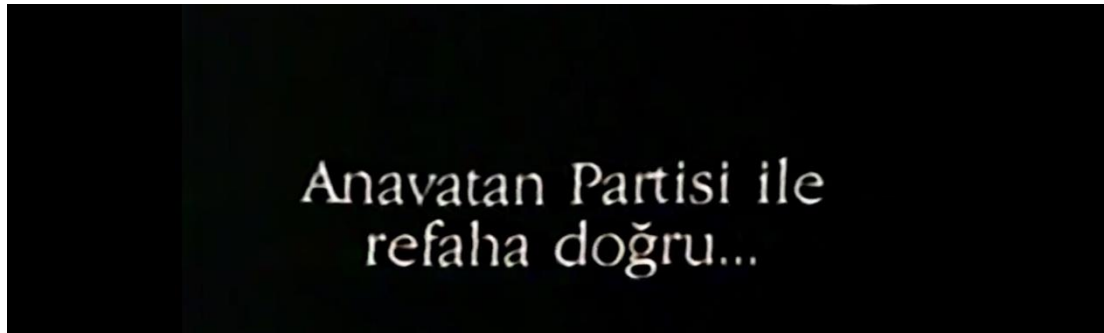
Fig 2. On Youtube channel, Prosperity is with the Motherland Party...
Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UjBb8nUfBeA&t=1420s, (Retrived on April 10, 2019).

1. The ANAP was defined as a nationalist conservative party. Özal remarked that they depended on education, culture, and traditions. He stated that they were respectful to national and spiritual values and wanted these values to be supported. He also said that they believed that this opinion was accepted among the citizens in Turkey.

2. Second, they expressed the economic view of the ANAP. They wanted a competitive economic system in Turkey. They also requested the support of free enterprise. With free competition, they hoped to gather citizens around them. They defined free competition as a way to provide cheap and quality goods and services to the citizen.

3. Finally, Özal said that they believed in social justice. He asserted that they were rational and not social justice dreamers, and that the way to settle social issues was to solve economic issues. He remarked that if social problems could not be solved, the cost of living would increase and thus would cause inflation. He said that social justice could be achieved by strengthening the middle class, and that society would not collapse if the middle class were stronger. He emphasized that he had only told the truth and had promised to keep to it. He also had underlined that the nation was tired of politicians who do not keep their word.

The election strategy of Man Agency and the ANAP was based on Turgut Özal. In other words, a star strategy was used. Özal's speaking speed was studied and close relations were established with journalists. The party followed a systematic political communication. The effectiveness of the campaign was increased by the format and professionalism of the program (Duman and İpekşen, 2013; p. 127-128). Man Agency, responsible for the ANAP's campaign, implemented the American model in the elections and represented the leader as a star. The communication strategy was based on Özal and used him everywhere as a party representative. In this respect, Özal, was integrated with the party and always at the forefront in posters, radio, television, and newspaper advertising. In parallel with the strategic communication plan, the essential problems in which the country was involved were pointed out, and Özal was shown as the person who would solve these problems, with the ANAP as the party (Kalçık, 2013; p. 129-130).

Selim Egeli carried out the advertising work for the ANAP. He had studied the activities of Kennedy and Reagan and worked on television, and gave importance to the economy. As a result of long and detailed researches, Egeli decided to conduct advertising as follows (Belhan, 2005; p. 105):

1. Since the ANAP was known as Özal's party, all the TV conversations would be with Özal.

2. The party program would be explained in language that the public would understand.

3. Although the time given on the screen was too short, Özal would not speak very quickly.

4. No one would complain during the election campaign.

The ANAP dealt with economic, social, and party issues in its advertising. The party emblem, which introduced the party, was highlighted, and the promises of ANAP leader Turgut Özal were emphasized. The basic statements used for Turgut Özal and his party were as follows (Tokgöz 1991 from Balcı, 2006; p. 144):

"Architect of the Economy Özal's party."

"Özal's party is going to rid of the government of the bureaucracy mindset which has not helped you, but has held you back."

"If you're longing for a home to lay your head, you plan to build a house and you're wondering where the money will come from, vote for Özal's party."

An important aspect of these elections in terms of political communication was the confrontation of party leaders on television and discussing party programs for the first time before the elections. This open session on TRT television takes its place in political history as the first use of television for political communication in Turkey (Demir, 2018; p. 98-99). On 22 October 1983 the three political party leaders were invited to the television program. The performance of the leaders was evaluated in the press after the open session was over. In his evaluation made by Cumhuriyet newspaper, it was remarked that Özal took care to use figures and statistics throughout the statement and tried to emphasize that they were different from the other two parties. In addition, it was remarked that Özal was comfortable and calm but could not provide the discussion platform he wanted, that he used child and woman motifs, that he recovered late against Necdet Calp's sudden reaction about the bridge sale, and that he gave frequent messages to his audience (Berk, 2015; p.

162). As seen in Figure 2, when we look at the image of the program, it is seen that a black background was chosen for Özal. However, that other party presidents used flowers as a background.

Fig 3. Open Session on TRT, Turgut Özal "I can sell the bridges".
Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RulfOEmftwU, (Retrieved on May 10, 2019).

Özal was named as the most touring person in the election period. At public meetings, he usually started with a tranquil style and finished the same way. He had always had a moderate air. Özal, who showed his conciliatory political style at meetings, wanted to show that he ws no just another combative and irreconcilable politician. Public meetings held in an environment where the pressures of the 12 September administration were felt was more enthusiastic and crowded than the competing parties, thanks to the extraordinary efforts of the provincial organizations (Kalçık, 2013; p. 137).

Several analyses have been carried out on why the ANAP achieved such a successful result in the elections. One of these analyses was made by Nilüfer Göle. According to Göle, there were three main reasons why the ANAP won the elections. These reasons have been described as follows (Tomakin, 2014; p. 88):

- First of all, the ANAP had adopted a conciliatory political style instead of a fight. The main cause of the September 12 events was student demonstrations. It approached the fights between the students by establishing a dialog. Thus, it prevented the movement from sliding into radical ideologies. Research has shown that this was very positive for voters.

- ANAP emphasized pragmatic values rather than ideological values. Research has shown that voters value performance-based policies such as roads, bridges, dams, tax rebates, and municipal services more than ideological stance.

- Finally, the ANAP tried to form a synthesis between liberal values and conservative Islamist values and defined its party along these lines. Those who consider themselves as modern conservatives can be described as Islamist engineers. These Islamist engineers synthesized a conservative approach to the family, individual and society with a rational understanding derived from engineering, especially in the economy.

4.4. Objectives of the ANAP Political Communication in the 1983 General Election

Özal used his natural communication skills and he also solved the negative aspects of his physique with his likeability. His posture in front of the camera was taken from imported books to consider attending meetings and television appearances. Özal's speech speed was studied, and when it was revealed that he covered most of his face with gestures, he was given a pen. At the same time, the pen created and image of the public account-book, work, writing and documents. Turgut Özal's charismatic and easygoing personality benefited Man Agency during the campaign. While other parties were taking out a different TV ad every day, they only had to show Özal (Topuz, 1991; p. 24-25, Gökçe, 2004; p. 62).

In order to establish close relations between the party and the press, meetings with the press were organized at regular intervals. Thus, in the framework of the star strategy followed during the campaign's execution, the party name in advertising was associated with the general president. At the same time, the party always tried to create a strong leader image in the radio and speeches, open sessions programs and press conferences. Throughout the campaign, the emphasis was always placed on the leader, and thus Özal was positioned in front of the party (Taşçıoğlu, 2009; p. 280).

The program of propaganda tours of the ANAP, which would begin on 16 October, was announced on October 12th. The leader of the Party, Turgut Özal, had spoken throughout the election campaign in 13 cities and held rallies in 44 provinces and 2 counties. The ANAP election campaign started with the Erzurum rally on 16 October and ended with the last Istanbul rally 2 day before 1983 general election on 4 November 1983 (Berk, 2015; p. 160).

Within the election campaign, the ANAP purposed to travel around the country. On 16 October 1983 it held its first large public rallies. The first stage of the election covered the eastern provinces and firstly he had gone to Erzincan. Özal continued his travels in major cities such as Erzurum, Ağrı, Van, Bitlis, Siirt, Batman, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Adana and Mersin in the east, southeast and Mediterranean regions. Özal traveled half of the country in one week and met with a large number of voters. After this trip, Özal started the second stage of the public meetings. On this trip, he went to a significant part of the western and Black Sea provinces. Özal explained on the West German Radio that he traveled 14 thousand kilometers during the campaign and visited 44 cities, and described himself as the most traveled person in his country (Kalçık, 2013; p. 136).

Özal met the citizens in Eskişehir and Bursa on 24 October 1983 in the second stage of the election campaign. In his speeches there, Özal said that they would give great importance to industrialization, that their goal was to reach the level of industrialization of modern and developed countries, and that this was the basis for producing competitive products in world markets. Özal, referring to HP party leader Necdet Calp said that "the mentality that opposes the construction of the bridge opposes the sale of today". On 25 October 1983, he had talked about the sale of the

bridge at the coffee houses in the Aegean and said: "Our goal is to mobilize the savings of our people, our workers. "Come to my dear worker, I sell to you the income of the bridge which has opened and is profitable, instead of cheating on you" (Berk, 2015; p. 163).

Among the basic definitions used for Turgut Özal and the ANAP was "Özal's party" and "the architect of the economy of Özal's party". The social and economic aspects of what ANAP had to want to do was often accompanied by the term "Özal's Party". The basis of this lies in the integration of Turgut Özal with the party platform. In all of the ANAP ads, solutions to the problems of the public were suggested, with the basic slogan "finishing the job" (Tokgöz, 1991; p.18).

ANAP tried to guide voters through slogans, including; "Give your vote to the Motherland Party!", "Give your vote to Özal's Party!". "Citizens, Turkey has no problem that cannot be solved. The only thing you need to do is choose a knowledgeable, skillful, practical, rational administration" (Tokgöz, 1991; p. 19).

Fig 4. Promotion Video of ANAP. Towards Prosperity with ANAP.
Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UjBb8nUfBeA, (Retrieved on May 10, 2019).

The following texts were used to get votes:

"If you don't want to see the days of scarcity and shortages and queues again, vote for the party of Özal, architect of abundance - the Motherland party."

Especially in the 70s in the 80s, there was a devaluation in Turkey. Due to the resulting economic problems, basic necessities such as bread and oil were rationed. This text points that these problems decreased in the period when Özal was the Minister of Economy, and hinted the bad old days would return if Özal did not win the election.

"Housewives! If you want to be rescued from endless inflation, give your vote to the Özal's party, who broke the back of expensive prices and got the economy under control. Give your vote to the Motherland party."

They paid attention to women by addressing housewives. This text likewise focused on economic conditions.

"Unemployed friend! The state has the power to open up employment for you. The only thing missing, and the state's first duty, is to open new opportunities for the unemployed. Give your vote to Özal's Party, give your vote to the Motherland party. All the means of the state will be used to open up employment for you."

Here unemployment was emphasized. It emphasized that the only person who could prevent unemployment was Özal. It was assured that Özal would open new business fields by all the means of the state.

"Citizen! Believe in the hereafter, but here in the world, if you're longing for a home to lay your head, you plan to build a house and you're wondering where the money will come from, vote for Özal's party, vote for the Motherland Party."

In this text the attention was on inadequate and expensive housing. It was emphasized that Özal should be chosen for the construction of planned housing.

"Citizen! Believe in the hereafter, but here in the world…" addressed the subject of faith.

"Farmer Brother! If you are selling your product but you cannot get your money from the state, it is not lack of money, it is lack of accountability. Give your vote to "the bookkeeper" the Özal Party, give your vote to the Motherland party."

This pointed out that the state could not achieve the balance of production and consumption and therefore farmers had difficulty. It stated that Özal should be given the vote in order to maintain the balance of production and consumption.

"Fellow countryman! No other country in the world has a saying May Allah save us from officialdom. It is a pity for the administration of the nation and a sin for the people. Laws which encourage the official to take a bribe and look at the citizen with suspicion will be removed. Özal will expel the bureaucratic mentality, which does not have the support of the citizens. Vote for Özal's party, the Motherland Party. "

This text addresses the irregularity of bureaucratic structures and the public perception it. It says that a popular bureaucracy will be created if Özal is elected, and criticizes the encouragement of civil servants to take bribes. It promises changes in laws.

"Citizen! The mother of Anarchy is hunger and unemployment. If you believe that economic prosperity will eliminate anarchy, vote for the economic mentality. Vote for Özal's party, the Motherland party."

This says that desperation resulting from hunger and unemployment caused anarchy and that economic prosperity would prevent the emergence of anarchy. For this reason, votes should go to Özal's Party. Here, the emphasis is Turkey's political and social chaos in the past, with the economy given as the root cause.

"Friends! In the November 6 elections, the fate of the country will be entrusted to the people you choose for 5 years. Our votes are a blessing. Let's not waste it. Let's use

it rightly. Let the new democratic period begin, let Turgut Özal take responsibility for the prosperity of the people. Let's vote for the Motherland Party."

This text says emphasizes the next five year term and the sacredness of the vote. In order to guarantee the future, the votes should go to Özal.

The ANAP election campaign drew attention to the economic problems experienced by the citizens and made promises to improve them. It also gave importance to women. It pointed out the problems in politics and bureaucracy and said that the party stands with the citizen. It was emphasized that Özal was the one who will find solutions to all these problems, and that all these promises could be kept if the ANAP party won.

ANAP's policy towards the east and southeast problem was a different approach for the party. Özal saw the east and southeast problem not as a political issue but from an economic point of view. He argued that the problem stemmed from the regional differences. For the first time in the history of the republic, the ANAP said that by applying a special policy to the east and southeast, its objective was to reduce the economic and social development differences with other regions. In this respect, these eastern and south-eastern regions were among the priority regions in development. Özal stated that they would take special measures to encourage investment in the region in line with the objectives set out in the election declaration, and prioritize infrastructure, education and health services. In addition, he said that high salaries and housing would be provided to managers and officers working in these regions (Kalçık, 2013; p. 136). Özal, who understood mass psychology well, did not fail to address even the smallest community he passed through wherever he went during the campaign. Özal had tried to create the impression that he was one of the people at every opportunity by joking with people and telling jokes. He always tried to show that he was one of the people and took even the smallest opportunities to win a vote (Belhan, 2005; p. 107).

Özal and his team, who held many enthusiastic rallies before the elections, had two of the biggest rallies in Kütahya and Samsun on the last stop on the Black Sea. The biggest rally (election race) was on October 4 in Saraçhane Square in Istanbul. To

make the rally interesting, the ANAP distributed 15,000 packages of 150 grams honey during election campaigns. Özal addressed an enthusiastic crowd (Kalçık, 2013; p. 136).

4.5. Techniques of The Political Campaign

The ANAP, which was founded in 1983, won the election with the advertisements published in various newspapers. Political advertising had come to the forefront and gained a significant place in political life. Thus, other political parties also realized the importance of political advertising and continued to run election campaigns together with agencies in election campaigns (Özkan, 2003; p. 24).

All interviews of Özal were recorded by Man Agency. As in the Star Strategy concept, the Ghost Writer concept was included in the ANAP campaigns. Man Agency applied these two tactics and used the three basic elements of ANAP (Topuz, 1991; p. 27-28):

1. To benefit from one's characteristics. To use the style of writing and speech appropriate to Turgut Özal.
2. Always use clear and easy to understand Turkish in advertisements.
3. Never make long sentences. Write each sentence in paragraph length.

Man Agency was the first to use videocassettes in an election campaign. Interviews of Turgut Özal by journalist Mehmet Barlas were recorded, as were campaign trips. These videocassettes were replicated and 2,500 of them distributed to ANAP's district organizations. These videos were shown especially in villages and small towns. During the trips Özal had made to these places, the people who had seen the tapes asked Özal questions (Gökçe, 2004; p. 62).

Özal successfully carried out advertising and propaganda activities and was always before society with words of harmony, love, unity, and solidarity. When he had clamped his two hands over his head, he gave an ANAP salute and emphasized the need for cohesion and reconciliation (Belhan, 2005; p. 111).

Fig 5. ANAP Salute

Source: Ozal.edu.tr and haberciniz webpages, http://haberciniz.biz/foto-galeri-siyasi-gundeme-damga-vuran-isaretler-23587-p33.htm, (Retrieved on 12 May 2019).

Throughout the campaign Özal would stop his convoy and chat conversations with small groups of people he met on the way. During his travels Özal visited the public markets in the provinces he was in and talked to the tradesmen and people to learn of their problems. During his trips he did not neglect to take the members of the press with him. He also told West German Radio that he had wandered neighborhoods in all the cities he went to during his campaign, saluted and waved by car, made many short conversations and contacted many people. Thus he explained the importance he gave to these trips (Kalçık, 2013; p. 138).
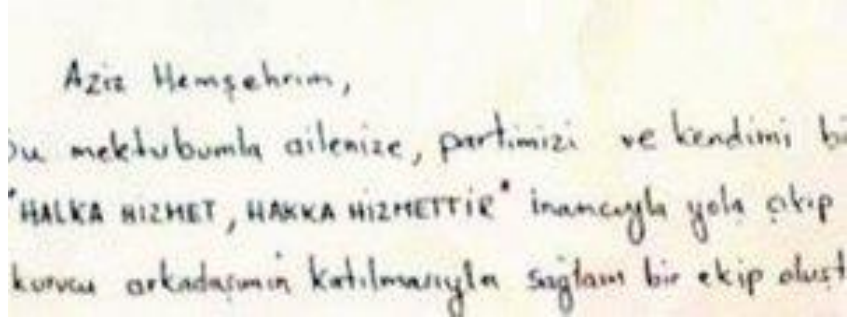
This is considered one of the first election campaigns to use advertising to inform the electorate of the party's thinking, and so one of the first political advertising campaigns to mediate between the electorate and the political party. Ersin Salman has said that the campaign of Manajans and ANAP for this campaign was one of the most successful political campaigns in Turkish history (Akçay, 2016a; p. 35). In

advertisements published prior to the statutory propaganda period, one or two-sentence part of the party program was included with the party emblem. In the statutory propaganda phase, advertisements of different size and content were included with the first. Advertising stated that problems could be solved with the right economic steps, and these steps was explained in plain language (Taşçıoğlu, 2009; p. 280).
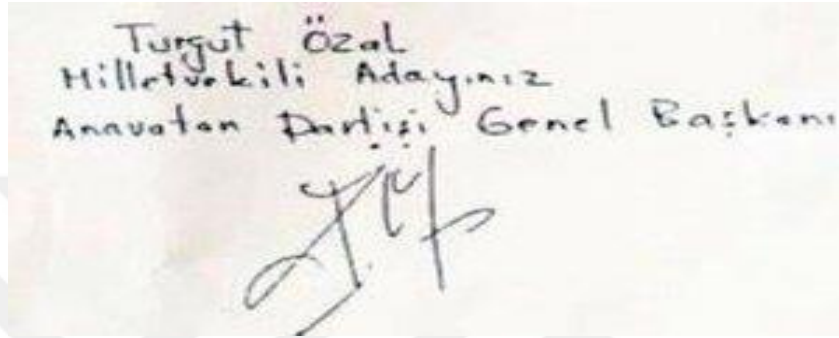
Fig 6. November 6 and… You (Kalçık, 2013; p. 326).

Özal addressed the citizen under the headline "November 6, and ...You", referring to the election. In this advertising, which he addressed to the public, he mentioned the coup and the economic troubles experienced. He said that the country should make its choice regarding the solution to these problems. In the statement of the party, Turgut Özal's picture and official signature at the end gained attention.

Fig 7. Introduction Of The Letter (Donat, 2018).

Fig 8. Özal's Signature (Donat, 2018).

"With this letter, I would like to introduce our family, our party and myself a little more... As you all know, we have started the ANAP with the belief of "Halka hizmet, hakka hizmettir" Serving the people, serving right way (their rights, godness, faith, justly). I was born in Malatya in 1927, my father was an officer and my mother was a teacher. I was educated in the schools of our state and have served in various government services. During hard times, I quit my job and ran for the state office. Democracy is a virtuous and exalted form of governance in which a child from a modest family can rise to the most important government posts. Our party is competing in "service", in "promises".

"Our main promise to the nation is to work with enthusiasm and without giving up. Please know that I am interested in your smallest concerns as a citizen. If you give us the power and authority, we will continue to work enthusiastically to solve the problems of you and the whole country. Affairs of the state are things we know well. We have the very well-trained successful and dynamic staff to carry out the work. If we come back to work as before Turkey will become the country of wealth. If we are together, if you give us the power and authority, our problems will be reduced, and

unemployment, bureaucracy and housing issues will be solved. The situation of the workers, civil servants, tradesmen, farmers and retirees that we call middle income will be improved. Turkey is a big country. Its resources are rich, people are industrious. Our only deficiency is intelligent, functional, capable management. It is in your hands and in your will to choose such an administration. We believe in your common sense and trust you. We will continue on our way to increasing our courage and without changing our direction, without misinterpreting our intention to serve. As I end my letter, I wish you and your family health and happiness. Goodbye and I entrust you to Allah.

On 6 November 1983 Özal wrote a handwritten letter addressed to the public. He stated his purpose in the first part of the letter, to better introduce the party and himself. Then he declared that his principles were to serve both the people and God, and that the ANAP was established for this purpose. Thereafter Turgut Özal introduced himself. He said that he was born in Malatya and was the son of a civil servant family. The purpose of this was to show that he was a man of the people. He stated that he had performed his duty as a civil servant but was also able to serve in the upper echelons of the state despite his being only a civil servant, say that even an ordinary person could take part in state administration. He said that the party was competing in service and not in promises. He was promised to work with enthusiasm and said that if the people would give their vote to the ANAP, Turkey would become to be a wealthy country. By saying that issues such as unemployment, bureaucracy and housing problem would end, he once again touched on Turkey's overall problems. Then he said that the Turkish nation was hardworking and Turkey rich in resources. After that he added that he trusted that the Turkish people would make the right choice with their vote. Turgut Özal ended his letter with his good wishes.

The election advertising published in Milliyet newspaper said (Köse, 2014): "Give With A Spoon Take Back With A Scoop." "Citizen! There is no problem that cannot be solved in Turkey." "Give Your Vote to the ANAP", and "We Will Solve the Housing Problem.

Fig 9. Give With a Spoon, Take Back with a Scoop (Kalçık, 2013; p. 324).

This party statement said that the situation of the worker, the officer and the pensioner had not changed, and that taxes had increased by three times. Therefore people were experiencing problems in their expenses and income. The salary increases had not been enough for the cost of living. For this reason it said that people should vote for the ANAP in order to raise the standard of living of the people who were aggrieved.

Orta direğin hali ortada!

Fig 10. The Condition of the Middle Class is Obvious (Kalçık, 2013; p. 323).

In this party declaration, it was noted that the situation of the worker, the officer, and the pensioner and the farmer had not changed, and that the ANAP would prevent economic struggle and inflation. It said that the problems of investors, tradesmen and farmers would end with the investment of the state.

Fig 11. It's Nice to not be Afraid of the Street (Cıngı, 2015; p.29).

In this party statement, headlined " It's nice to not be afraid of the street", the public's grievances due to anarchy and terror were discussed. It mentioned the curfews and problems experienced by people on the street ın the past. It said that the ANAP would strengthen the economy, provide support to the citizens and build confidence in the government to solve these problems.

Söylemesi kolay...

"Kimse
işsiz
kalmayacak."

Seçimlerden seçimlere çok söy-
lendi ama, hiçbir işe yaramadı bu
sözler.

Söylendiği kadar kolay olsaydı,
bugün, milyonlarca insan kapı kapı
dolaşıp iş aramazdı.

Bugünün Türkiye'sinde, kimi
işsizliğe çarçabuk çare bulamam
söyleniz hayalcidir.

İşsizlik bir doğrumdur. Yılların
birikimidir. Çözümü, kararlılık ister,
sabır ister. Basari ister.

Anavatan Partisi, işsizlik soru-
nuna çözümü temelden getirecektir.

Nasıl?

Türkiye'yi kalkındırarak.
İşsizliğin tek temelden çözüm
yolu, Türkiye'nin kalkınma hızını

hızla artırmaktır.
Türkiye'nin kalkınma hızı,
şöyle artar:
Tasarruf özendirilir.
Tasarruf, yatırımları yönlen-
dirilir.
Devletin elindeki kavruklar,
kısa sürede üretime geçecek alan-
larda, verimli hale gelir.
Var olan yatırımlar, tam kapa-
siteyle çalışır hale getirilir.
İhracat teşvik edilir. Ürünlere
yeni dış pazarlar yaratılır.
Yabancı sermaye, yatırım
kolaylıkları sağlanır.
El sanatları desteklenir, yay-
gınlaştırılır.
Bütün iş gücünden yararla-
nacak iş alanları açılır.
Türkiye kalkındıkça önce,

işsizliğin büyümesi durur. Giderek
yok olur.
Anavatan Partisi, Türkiye'yi, iş-
sizliği bertaraf edecek kalkınma
hızına ulaştırmaya çalışacaktır.

ANAVATAN
PARTİSİ

Vatandaş,
Türkiye'nin çözümleyecek hiçbir
meselesi yoktur.
Yapacağımız tek şey,
bilgili, becerikli, iş bitirecek,
akıllı bir idareyi işbaşına
getirmektir.
Hiç an önce çabanın ve
hali ettiğin kazanacağın bir için
olmasını istiyorsan,
oysa
işsizliği çözmeyi planlamış,
programlamış, uygulamaya hazır
Özal'ın partisine ver.
Oyunu
Anavatan Partisi'ne ver.

Fig 12. No One Will be Unemployed (Kalçık, 2013; p. 326).

This party statement said that no one would be unemployed, and this promise was offered to the general public. It stated that solving this problem was not as easy as it had been and that the same problem was experienced today. It noted that there were people who said that there was no cure for unemployment, but that the ANAP could find a solution, and that this would be possible with the increase in Turkey's pace of development. It said that savings would be transformed into investments, existing investments made operational, investor confidence raised, and the power in the house should be opened as a new business area. It said that this would take place with the ANAP, that there was no issue in Turkey that could not be resolved, and emphasized that voters should vote for the ANAP.

Fig 13. A Stone is Heavy in its Place (Kalçık, 2013; p. 325).

In this party statement, Özal said that he had wanted to reduce the migration by increasing job opportunities in east and southeast. He noted that to find a job to make a living citizens were forced to leave their birthplace in Turkey and live in a distant city. He declared that the citizens would no longer need to do this, and the gates of business would be opened to the east and southeast. For this, he said that projects that would exploit natural resources would be created, half-finished projects would be completed and tax exemptions would be given to investors. He also said that services such as health, road, education, water, and electricity would be provided and trade with the neighboring countries would be strengthened.

Fig 14. We Will Solve the Housing Problem (Kalçık, 2013; p. 325).

This party declaration repeated that the housing shortage would be solved. It said that this question was not been as easy as had been stated, but it would be solved with the ANAP. It argued that the problem was rooted in money and so the lack of parity was the basis of the housing shortage. In order to solve the housing problem, it was declared that the Housing Fund would be established with taxes collected from the public.

Fig 15. His Excellency the Regulation (Kalçık, 2013; p. 323).

This said that the public had to wait for hours for signatures and that procedures such as stamps and remittances were entangled in legislation and this situation harmed the public. The ANAP promised that the bureaucracy would disappear. It aimed to eliminate the distrust between the state and the people, to make daily life less chaotic, to increase the standard of living of civil servants, and to make transactions easier.

Özal made 10 minute speeches for 7 days during 30 October - 5 November. The topics to be mentioned on television were selected in parallel with the topics on the posters. Özal reiterated the 5 topics identified by the public opinion survey. The advertisement explained every topic within 10 minutes in simple terms that everyone could understand. During the 7 days that Özal was on television a total of 80

minutes. He pointed out the problems of the people most troubled and completed his speech by explaining the solution proposals in the party program (Kalçık, 2013; p. 141).

In his speeches on TV Özal had a calm and persuasive style. While trying to attract all the lightning over Turgut Sunalp, he tried to get the support of the military administration. The ANAP was able to influence the left-wing sections of the population with the image of an oppressed party. However, during the election publicity it was forbidden to ask Özal about the event of banker (Belhan, 2005; p. 108).

Along with the 1983 election campaigns, not only formal but also structural changes started in Turkish political life. Advertising agencies were involved in party campaign activities by combining advertising and propaganda techniques and applied large scale communication techniques and campaign budgets to the political process. In the 1983 elections, advertisers who scientifically prepared political campaigns demonstrated how the path could be opened to a political party through the effective use of political advertising. It enabled political parties to reach awareness and effectiveness which could take many years without the support of a professional agency (Keresteci, 2006; p. 72).

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

The notion of political communication which came into being with the emergence of the democracy and the right to vote of the masses has been treated in studies since the 18th century. Political communication has been very important to reach out to the masses, to gain the trust of the public and to gain power. Political communication has been very necessary for expressing the problems of society and for conveying the solutions to the public. In this regard, politicians have benefitted from mass media to reach every part of the public. The correct use of political communication techniques has been a major factor for politicians in achieving the desired purpose. Politicians have used various techniques, the most important of which are mass communication tools which have been increasing their efficiency as technology develops. It is an irreplaceable feature as a means of propaganda, especially for the introduction of parties and individuals, reaching large masses, and carrying out effective political campaigns. Through promotional campaigns carried out by the parties, the public have the knowledge to evaluate all the possibilities in the election process. The ideas of individuals can change with knowledge acquired through this process. Thus, political managers can change the political situation of the country by affecting the public.

The politicians reach out to the public through propaganda, whether mass media or ralllies (election races, meeting voters). The politicians who want to attract large masses to their side in order to have the majority of votes can impose their opinions by means of propaganda. Propaganda is very important for reaching out to the public and influencing large masses and it has been actively used by all politicians. Propaganda, especially when supported by financial and organizations, has been transformed into a demonstration of power.

Another communication tool which has been important in political communication is advertising. Politicians who know they can reach the desired results by using the right advertisements presented to the right audience, are aware of advertising's importance. These politicians reach the masses in the fastest way and get a return by using mass communication tools such as cinema, television, radio, and press. A new era started through the new election process after the coups that Turkey experienced in the '80s, during the democratization process. A lot of parties were established in this new era. When three parties were struggling for the power, it was obvious how important the election campaigns and propaganda were. The 1983 election was important for Turkey in many respects. The most important reason for this is that election campaign was conducted in a way which had not been done before. Turkey had not seen such an election campaign and propaganda form since moving to a multiparty system. Due to being a party which had not been known previously and was established for the first time, the ANAP, which started from scratch, had made a lot of changes in its promotion stage. In particular, Özal's communiation of his promises through posters, appearing in every communication channel and gaining the trust of the public in places where they could be reached in person, were been important factors in winning the election of 1983.

The reforms can be summarized as follows:
- It was the first time an advertising agency was used for an election campaign.
-The systems implemented in America were used for the campaign.
-Visual media was kept in the forefront, and the attempt was made to reach every part of the public through the technology of the time.
-For the first time, help from foreign experts and books was used to increase the visual impact of a party leader.
-The leaders of the parties running in the elections for the first time participated in on open forum on television.
-For the first time, a party took promotional videos and sent these videos to the presidents of other provinces.
-Özal's speeches were given a place on television and radio at certain times and the speeches were synched with the posters.

All the reforms listed above were important because they enabled the emergence of guidance in the development of Turkey's politics. It was inevitable that the politicians who followed Özal were influenced by this development and reforms.

As the results of the 1983 election period show, it can be said that the ANAP's election campaigns and preferred policies were successful in terms of political communication.

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