

**CONTENT ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS:
APRIL 1999 TURKISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**

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Özet: Bu çalışmada, Türkiye’de Nisan 1999 yapılan genel seçimler öncesinde gazetelerde yayınlanan politik reklamların incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu çalışmada öncelikle, pazarlama tekniklerinin politikada uygulaması hakkında kısa bir giriş yapıldıktan sonra, teorik bilgiler verilmekte ve Türk siyasi yaşamında politik pazarlama ve Türkiye’deki politik pazarlama çalışmaları temel yönleriyle tartışılmaktadır. Türkçe literatürde politik pazarlama çalışmaları çok kısıtlıdır. Bu çalışma yazılı basında yer alan politik reklamlar ile ilgilidir. Bu çalışmada, 1999 genel seçimlerinden önce seçilmiş olan ulusal gazetelerdeki politik reklamlar hakkında içerik analizi yapılmıştır. Seçime yakın zamanda yayınlanan reklamların sayısındaki artışın, ayrıca fotoğraf, renk ve büyüklük özelliklerinin seçmen davranışlarını etkileyebileceği gözlenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: politik pazarlama, içerik analizi, politik reklam

Abstract: This article tries to analyze content of political advertisements in April 1999 Turkish parliamentary elections. After a brief introduction of application of marketing techniques in politics, theoretical background is reviewed. This essay discusses, in a basic outline, political marketing in the Turkish political life and political marketing studies in Turkey. There are very limited studies in the Turkish literature on political marketing activities. Moving beyond the theoretical arguments, empirical research is summarized. This article is concerned with the political advertising on the print media. A content analysis is made on political advertisements that are printed on selected newspapers before the 1999 general parliamentary elections. It is found that as frequency of advertisements increase towards the election date, the impact of advertisements on voters’ preferences will increase. Also, picture, color and size of advertisements are observed to be effective.

Key words: political marketing, content analysis, political advertisement

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1. INTRODUCTION

Political marketing is mainly “designed to influence people’s votes in elections. It is different from conventional marketing in that concepts are being sold as opposed to products and services” (Clemente, 1992). Political marketing involves “methods that are used to attract the necessary votes to win the elections by creating a difference between the adversary and the rivals using minimum tools” (Bongrad, 1992: 17).

Political marketing activities are carried through political campaigns. In the 1940s and 1950s political scientists have considered the impact of campaigns as limited, producing minor changes in voters’ preferences. By the late 1970s, there was a change in the attitude of political scientists and they started to consider what campaigns could accomplish. However, there is still a debate about the impact of campaigns.

The US presidential campaigns are the earliest campaigns known to have originated around the time of World War I. (Gegez, 1990; Johnson and Copeland, 1997; Treta and Friedenber, 1995) In the United Kingdom, political campaigns became important in the 1980’s with Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative Party. Thus, the political marketing activities in the United States are more developed than in the United Kingdom (Butler and Collins 1994; Johnson and Copeland, 1997; Kavanagh, 1995; Niffenegger, 1989; Treta and Friedenber 1995). Other countries also experience political marketing activities more recently.

Political campaigns have objectives such as creating a public image, increasing reputation of a party, introducing a political party and/or a candidate, informing party’s policy, attracting new members to a party, convincing people to accept certain ideas or beliefs or winning an election (Franklin 1994: 3-9; Renstrom and Rogers 1989: 131-134). The most common type of campaign in Turkey is the election campaign, which is the focus of this paper.

There is a gap in the Turkish literature concerning studies in political marketing. There appears to have been little academic research on political advertisements. Of these studies content analysis is also limited. The aim here is to make a content analysis of the advertisements of 1999 general elections in order to contribute to the political marketing literature in Turkey.

Content analysis of advertising is a useful way to understand political advertisements and their relation to election results. It enables researchers to collect data in a systematic fashion. Also, data collected at an earlier period can be compared with the data collected at some point in the future. (Stemler, 2001) For these reasons, a content analysis of print advertisements was conducted in order to obtain the basic information needed to analyze political advertisements of the political parties. In this study, the content of political advertisements given in six national newspapers for a period of 45 days prior to 1999 Turkish general elections is analyzed. To understand whether the political advertising is

effective, the findings about the content of party advertisements are related with the election results.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Studies on Political Campaign and Advertisement

Most of the studies on measuring the effects of political campaigns are conducted in the United States. These studies generally analyzed the effect of political campaigns in presidential or congressional elections. In these studies contradicting results were found. Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1995), Franklin (1991), Herrnson (1995), Holbrook (1994, 1996), Jacobson (1980,1987,1990) and Shaw (1999) support that campaign influences voters' preferences. On the other hand, other studies argue that campaigns have minimal impact on voters (Bartels, 1992, 1993, 1996; Campbell, Coverse, Miller and Stokes, 1960; Finkel, 1993; Key, 1956; Markus, 1992). Although there are strong arguments about campaign influence on voters' preferences, campaign effects are limited due to several reasons such as timing and the intensity of messages, characteristics of electorates, media, symmetry, pervasiveness, and information level.[†]

Political campaigns use political advertisements with the objective to persuade a group of citizens to vote for a particular candidate. (Tak, Kaid and Lee, 1997: 414) Political advertising is seen as the most powerful vehicle to inform about campaign messages since candidates have direct and complete control of those messages (Kaid, 1981; Kern, 1989). Political advertising can reach the audience (the voters) through different media like television, radio, magazines, newspapers, brochures and billboards.

Political advertisements that deal with the policies of the party or the candidate are called issue advertisements. The topics can be cost of living, unemployment, crime, taxes, government spending, energy supply, price of energy, interest rates, social security, welfare, etc. On the other hand, advertisements that emphasize the personal characteristics of the candidate or the political party leader are called image advertisements (Wetlye, 1991: 129)

Another group of advertisement that is used recently is negative advertisement (Ansolabehere, Iyengar, Simon and Valentino, 1994; Haddock and Zanna, 1997; Lin, 1996; Pinkleton, 1997). Negative political advertising gives negative information and picture about a candidate's opponent. The

[†] There many studies on influence of campaigns on voters such as Blumler and McLeod, 1974; Bunker, 1992; Crewe, Fox and Alt, 1977; Gelman and King, 1993; Hall, 1982; Harrop 1986, 1987; Hess, 1978; Lewis, 1990; Miller, 1991; Negrine, 1989; Newton, 1990; Pomper, 1975; Shaw 1999; Stevenson and Vavreck, 2000; Wetlye, 1991.

intended impact is to create a negative effect of the target and positive of the candidate.

2.2. Previous Research about Political Marketing In Turkey

There is limited literature on political marketing in Turkey. But several scholars need to be mentioned especially. Above all, Topuz and Tokgöz have important contributions to the political marketing literature.

Topuz (1991a) worked on political marketing in Turkey in terms of campaign studies. Furthermore, Topuz (1991b), in his edited book, has presented information about what has been done under political campaigns during the 1980s, especially in 1983 and 1987 elections. His book includes a content analysis on the political campaigns about 1983 and 1987 elections, information about advertising agencies that worked with different parties during their campaigns and a research on the political advertising of the Motherland Party (ANAP) in 1983 and 1987 elections.

Tokgöz (1979) examined communication tools especially media in political behavior and their effects on campaign. The studies on the effect of communication tools in political behavior have given two different results: 1) communication tools create political apathy; 2) communication tools increase politicization, political knowledge and interest.

Nebioğlu (1993) and Dalkıran (1995) had analyzed print media advertisements in 1991 general elections. Both Nebioğlu and Dalkıran focused on three major parties (DYP – True Path Party, ANAP- the Motherland Party, SHP- Socialist People's Party). Both have made a content analysis of advertisements using various variables such as frequency of advertisements, number of pages, number of words used, slogans and space used for pictures. While Nebioğlu included three (Milliyet, Cumhuriyet and Hürriyet) newspapers in her research, Dalkıran analyzed one newspaper (Hürriyet). These studies have presented that the number of political advertisements and the space they hold in newspapers are increasing in Turkey.

Limanlılar (1991) conducted a study to find out the important attributes of campaigns influencing voters' preferences. In his study, he found out that 38 percent of the sample considered the leader of a political party, 25 percent the party itself, 17 percent the party program and 6 percent the political campaigns as important factors that determined the choice of the voters.

Tan (1999) conducted a similar study on representatives of the Grand National Assembly and found the leader of the party as the most important factor like Limanlılar. The party program was at the second level, which was at the third in Limanlılar's study. Another important factor was found as the previous performance of a political party.

A similar research conducted on university students by Tan (1999) showed that the general party program and the previous performance of a

political party and the political consistency are important, respectively. This study also has shown how sample group of students ranks main features of parliamentary representatives: past performance of a party, political party program and personal attractiveness, respectively. (Tan 1999) Half of the students believe that political parties should continue campaigns even after elections.

In another similar research, Akdoğan and Tan (1999) conducted a study to find out the important factors in campaigns effecting voters' preferences.[‡] The results showed that 'selection of geographical zone' for campaign was perceived to be the most important factor in planning for a campaign. Except RP, all other party members believed that campaigns were unsuccessful. Most of the party members (the Motherland Party-ANAP, the True Path Party-DYP, the Democratic Left Party-DSP, the Republican People's Party-CHP) believed that the most important factor to vote for a party is the party leader. Representatives evaluated personal visits and public meetings as beneficial during campaigns.

Bayraktaroğlu (2002a) has done a conceptual study defining some marketing terms from a political marketing perspective. Bayraktaroğlu (2002a) has reviewed political marketing literature and grouped general properties of political marketing, as segmentation, targeting, positioning and marketing mix elements. Bayraktaroğlu (2002b) in another study analyzed the evolution of political marketing and connected this evolution with the evolution of marketing philosophies like production, selling and marketing orientations.

Aldemir and Bayraktaroğlu (2003) carried a research study that is intended to analyze if demographics of individual voters make a difference in their political party preference, conducted before 2002 General parliamentary elections. They found out that except education, all the other demographic variables examined (age, gender, occupation, personal income and perceived social class) affect the voting preference.

3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

3. 1. Research Objective

There are rare studies about print media influences on voters' preferences in the Turkish literature. The objective of this study is to analyze the relationship between newspaper advertisements of political parties and their success in the general election. It is aimed to find out whether frequency of advertisements, appearance of advertisements just before the elections, size and

[‡] Questionnaires were sent to 350 members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (total 550 members). From the returned questionnaires, 203 were capable of being assessed.

color of advertisements, type of letter (capital/small) used in advertisements and the type of advertisement (whether it is issue, negative, informative, etc.) have any relationship with the election results.

The results of this study are expected to give some hints about designing effective political newspaper advertisements. The study is limited to the advertisements found in six national newspapers and to a time horizon of 45 days. So, some party advertisements not appearing in these newspapers are not included in the findings and conclusions. Besides, the election results are not only affected from newspaper advertisements but also from meetings, publicity, outdoor advertisements, etc. Therefore the findings of this study cannot be generalized.

3.2. Methodology

This study used content analysis to compare differences in utilization of print media advertisements between the political parties during 1999 general elections. Content analysis has been defined as “a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding” (Krippendorff, 1980; Weber, 1990; Stemler, 2001). It is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context.

Content analysis depends on interpretation of a researcher; hence this technique also depends on creativeness of a researcher (Bilgin, 1995: 95). It is useful for examining trends and patterns in documents. The most common method in content analysis is doing a word-frequency count to determine about matters of importance. However, content analysis is more than word-frequency counts. “What makes the technique particularly rich and meaningful is its reliance on coding and categorizing the data.” (Stemler, 2001).

3.2.1. Variables of the Study

Repeated exposures increase the strength of stimulus-response associations and prevent decay of these associations in memory (Solomon, 2004: 84). Besides, repetition is important in perception. The higher the number of repetitions (unto a degree which is called adaptation), the higher the probability that the targeted audience perceives the message will be.

In addition, size and color of stimuli are important factors on perception. Hence, we can expect that the greater the size of the advertisement, there is a higher probability that the stimulus will be perceived. Color of a stimulus is another factor which can help targeted audience to perceive the stimulus better than the competitive ones. Therefore, colored advertisements are expected to have a more positive influence on perception rather than the black and white ones in a generally black and white color medium (in newspapers

which are used in this study to collect data). In addition, the execution style of the advertisements have an impact on the audience's attention and interest, thus on behavior (Kotler and Armstrong, 2004:499).

In summary, intensity, size and color and the execution style of advertisements are important in learning and perception, which can lead to certain behavior. This study uses the *number of advertisement and the number of days advertisements are published* to measure intensity. In addition, it can be predicted that increasing the frequency of advertising towards the election date might create a greater influence on targeted audience's voting behavior. Hence number of ads in March and April is used to see whether *timing of the ad* has any relationship with the voting behavior. Size of stimulus is measured in two different dependent variables: *size of the ads* and *size of the letters* used in the advertisements. The execution of the advertisements is another variable, which can have relationship with the voters' behavior.

Therefore, the dependent and independent variables of this study are:

Dependent variable: Actual voting behavior is the dependent variable and the 1999 general election results are used as a measure of this variable. The election results given in Table 1 make up the dependent variable. At the end of the content analysis, data about ten (DSP, MHP, FP, ANAP, DYP, CHP, BBP, ÖDP, DTP and BP) political parties that participated in the 1999 general elections is given. The other small parties gave no advertisements at all or they gave their advertisements in newspapers that were not included in our study.

Independent variables: Number of ads, number of days the advertisements are published, timing of the ads (named as 'number of ads towards the end of the campaign'), size of the ads, size of the letters and the execution of the advertisements (named as 'type of ads') make up the independent variables of this research.

Table-1 Results of the 1999 General Elections

POLITICAL PARTY	Number of Votes	%
Democratic Left Party: DSP	6.919.670	22,19
Nationalist Action Party: MHP	5.606.583	17,98

Virtue Party: FP	4.805.381	15,41
Motherland Party: ANAP	4.122.929	13,22
True Path Party: DYP	3.745.417	12,01
People's Republican Party: CHP	2.716.094	8,71
People's Democracy Party: HADEP	1.482.196	4,75
Grand Unity Party: BBP	456.353	1,46
Liberty and Solidarity Party- ÖDP	248.553	0,80
Democratic Turkey Party- DTP	179.871	0,58
Peace Party- BP	78.922	0,25
Others	822,527	2,64
TOTAL	31.184.496	100,0

Source: 1999 Genel Seçim Sonuçları (2004)
<http://www.kurtuluscephesi.org/secim02/195099.html>

3.2.2. Research Question

The research question is whether the number of days; the number of advertisements; the number of advertisements towards the end of the campaign; the size of the advertisements; the size of the letters and the type of advertisements have any significant relationship with voting behavior.

3.2.2. Sampling and Data Collection

In this study, a content analysis is made involving newspaper political advertisements of all the parties before April 1999 general parliamentary elections. For this analysis, six national Turkish daily newspapers with the highest sales volume and having different political ideologies hence targeting different audience were selected. The selected newspapers were Hürriyet, Türkiye, Sabah, Zaman, Milliyet, and Cumhuriyet.

The political advertisements in these selected six newspapers were analyzed from March 1st, 1999 through April 18th, 1999. The time period of 30 days proved to be sufficient to encompass the appearance of most advertisements during a campaign, particularly because newspaper advertising concentrates towards the end of a campaign.

Data search and analysis of advertisements from six newspapers is carried for a week in the National Library archives in Ankara by the authors.

3.3. Analysis of Data

The data collected from the selected newspapers are analyzed by grouping the independent variables in certain categories. Number of

advertisements and number of days the advertisements are published are counted by analyzing each newspaper selected. To measure number of advertisements towards the end of the campaign, the number of advertisements published by each party in the selected newspapers is counted in March and April, separately.

The size of the advertisements are grouped under 7 categories: 2 pages long, 1 page- long 0,75, 0,50, 0,375, 0,25, and 0,125 of a newspaper page. The size of the letters is analyzed under 2 categories: Big (capital) and small letters. The type of ads are grouped as issue; negative; issue and negative; asking for a vote; issue, negative and asking for a vote; informative; and reminder.

The data gathered from the advertisements that appeared in the selected six newspapers together with the 1999 general election results of the included political parties are transferred to SPSS 10.0 statistical computer program Correlation analysis is conducted to determine the relationship between dependent and independent variables. Besides, the data of the two authors of this study is compared to see the validity of the content analysis (Weber, 1990; Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2003:177). There were arguments about mostly the size of the ads and the execution style of the ads. These disputes were settled by putting more strict criteria on evaluation of the advertisements on these issues.

4. FINDINGS

The list of the political parties in the tables below is given with respect to the number of votes they received in the election.

4.1. Number of Days the Political Advertisements Are Published

Table 2 shows that ANAP, DYP and CHP were the first three parties respectively with the highest number of advertisements. Although, DSP, MHP and FP received highest number of votes in the elections, their advertisements are less than ANAP, DYP and CHP. BBP, ÖDP, DTP and BP have received few votes. These parties gave advertisements very seldom in a single newspaper.

The rightist parties MHP, FP, ANAP, and DYP, have not published any advertisements in the newspaper Cumhuriyet, which is known to be leftist. Besides, DSP and CHP did not publish their advertisements in newspapers Zaman and Türkiye, which are known to be conservative.

Table-2 Number of Days The Political Advertisements Are Published During March 1st, 1999 - April 18th, 1999

Political Party / Newspaper	DSP	MHP	FP	ANAP	DYP	CHP	BBP	ÖDP	DTP	BP

Milliyet	5	3	4	11	11	7	-	1	1	1
Hürriyet	5	6	4	11	5	6	-	-	-	1
Cumhuriyet	1	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	1
Zaman	-	5	3	8	3	-	-	-	-	-
Türkiye	-	2	3	11	10	-	4	-	-	-
Sabah	7	-	-	12	10	5	-	-	-	-
TOTAL DAYS	18	16	14	53	39	23	4	1	1	3

Correlation (Spearman) results show that there is a relationship (correlation coefficient of 0,543) between number of days political advertisements are published with success (number of votes) of the political parties at significance level of 0,053. This finding indicates that as the parties give their advertisements more frequently (with respect to number of days) in the election campaigns, they win higher number of votes.

4.2. Number of Advertisements Published By Parties

Table 3 shows that ANAP and DYP are the first two parties that had given the highest number of advertisements (n= 66; %=28 for each) although they are the fourth and the fifth parties in general elections, respectively. CHP had given the second highest number of advertisements although it is not very successful in attracting votes in the elections.

These parties are followed by CHP, DSP, MHP and FP, respectively. It can again be said that although DSP, MHP and FP received the highest number of votes in the election among the parties under investigation, the number of advertisements they have given were not the highest. However, the number of advertisements given by BBP, ÖDP, DTP and BP are the lowest compared to the rest of the political parties analyzed. Probably, the number of advertisements given by these four parties was insufficient to affect voters to prefer these parties.

When Table 2 and 3 are compared, it can be seen that number of advertisements given by ANAP, DYP, CHP, and BP is more than number of days analyzed. Thus, ANAP, DYP, CHP, and BP had given multiple advertisements in different pages of a newspaper in a single day.

In summary, the parties that gave the highest number of advertisements were not the most successful in the election results. In contrast, DSP, MHP, and FP, which gave less number of advertisements were more successful than the parties that gave the highest number of advertisements. Correlation (Spearman) results support this finding. No significant relationship is found between number of advertisements and success of parties (correlation coefficient=0,414; significance level= 0,117).

4.3. Number of Advertisements Published In March and April

As can be seen in Table 4, DSP, FP, BBP, ÖDP, DTP and BP did not give any advertisements in March. Therefore, these parties have the highest percentage of advertisements published in April. Meanwhile, ANAP and CHP are the two parties that gave more advertisements in March than they did in April. In contrast, DYP and MHP have the highest percentage of advertisements in April, respectively.

Giving advertisements in March and election results have negative (-0,582) but insignificant (0,209) relationship. On the other hand, publishing advertisements in April is somewhat significantly (0,081) correlated (correlation coefficient=0,479) with the success in the election.

4.4. Size of Advertisements

In Table 5, the size of the advertisements is given. ANAP is the only party that used two whole pages advertisements. 10 among 66 advertisements of ANAP advertisements were two pages long. ANAP has also given 20 advertisements that are one whole page. This was followed by 17 half a page advertisements. It can be said that ANAP has given importance to length/size of advertisements. Besides, 17 of 18 advertisements given by DSP were also one whole page. Almost half of the CHP advertisements (19 out of 41) were one whole page. BP used only 3 advertisements through out the election campaign (only in newspapers used in our study) all of which were one whole page. MHP, FP, and DYP generally used half a page long advertisements. When the total sizes of advertisements given by each party is examined, ANAP is the party that used the largest total size followed by CHP, DYP, DSP, MHP, and FP, respectively.

Correlation test gives no significant results between the size of the advertisement and the success of a party (correlation coefficient=0,426; significance level= 0,110).

Table-3 Number of Advertisements Published By Parties (March 1st, 1999 - April 18th, 1999)

NEWSPAPER / PARTY	DSP	MHP	FP	ANAP	DYP	CHP	BBP	ÖDP	DTP	BP	TOTAL (n)
Milliyet	5	3	4	12	25	13	-	-	-	1	63
Hürriyet	5	6	4	19	5	11	-	1	1	1	53
Cumhuriyet	1	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	1	10
Zaman	-	5	3	10	3	-	-	-	-	-	21
Türkiye	-	2	3	12	16	-	9	-	-	-	42
Sabah	7	-	-	13	17	9	-	-	-	-	46
TOTAL (n)	18	16	14	66	66	41	9	1	1	3	235
TOTAL (%)	7,66	6,81	5,96	28,09	28,09	17,45	3,83	0,43	0,43	1,28	100,03(*)

* Not having an exact 100% is due to the rounding off.

Table-4 Number of Advertisements Published (March 1st, 1999 - April 18th, 1999)

NEWSPAPER / PARTY	DSP		MHP		FP		ANAP		DYP		CHP		BBP		ÖDP		DTP		BP		
	M	A	M	A	M	A	M	A	M	A	M	A	M	A	M	A	M	A	M	A	
Milliyet	-	5	2	1	-	4	7	5	4	21	8	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hürriyet	-	5	3	3	-	4	11	7	1	4	7	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Cumhuriyet	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Zaman	-	-	2	3	-	3	5	5	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Türkiye	-	-	-	2	-	3	7	5	5	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sabah	-	7	-	-	-	-	8	5	5	12	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL (n)	-	18	7	9	-	14	38	27	16	50	28	13	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
TOTAL (%)	-	100	43,7	56,2	-	100	58,4	41,5	24,2	75,7	68,2	31,7	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100
			5	5			6	4	4	6	9	1									

* M=March; A=April

Table-5 Total Size of Advertisements (March 1st, 1999 - April 18th, 1999)

PARTY/ SIZE (page)	DSP		MHP		FP		ANAP		DYP		CHP		BBP		ÖDP		DTP		BP	
	n	S	n	S	n	S	n	S	n	S	n	S	n	S	n	S	n	S	n	S
2	-	-	-	-	10	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1	17	17	-	-	20	20	5	5	1	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
0,75	-	-	-	-	8	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
0,50	-	-	14	7	13	6,5	17	8,5	12	6	9	4,5	-	-	1	0,5	-	-	-	-
0,375	-	-	-	-	1	0,375	-	-	2	0,75	4	1,5	-	-	-	-	1	0,375	-	-
0,25	1	0,25	1	0,25	-	-	9	2,25	1	0,25	2	0,5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
0,125	-	-	1	0,125	-	-	2	0,25	46	5,75	7	0,875	9	1,125	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL (n)	18	17,25	16	7,38	14	6,875	66	57	66	17,75	41	26,375	9	1,125	1	0,5	1	0,375	3	3
TOTAL (%)		12,53		5,36		5,00		41,42		12,90		19,16		0,82		0,36		0,27		2,18

- n= Number of advertisements, S=Total area occupied by the given number of advertisements in the previous column

4.5. Color of Advertisements

The advertisements given by DSP, MHP, FP, ANAP, CHP, and DTP were all colored. BBP, ÖDP, and BP used only black and white advertisements (See Table 6). DYP was the only party that used both colored and black-and-white advertisements although the majority was colored. Since, the first four successful parties used only colored advertisements; it can be expected to have relationship between colored advertisements and success of parties. However, correlation coefficient has been found to be very low (0,093) and significance level is 0,421. In addition, there has been found a positive correlation between black and white advertisements and election results (correlation coefficient=0,954; significance level= 0,023). This means if parties gave more black and white advertisements, they would become more successful. This finding is contrary to the general knowledge that colored advertisements are more effective than black-and-white advertisements. Colored advertisements may be helpful in drawing the attention of readers but they may be insufficient to affect voters' preferences.

4.6. Size of Letters

As given in Table-7, FP, BBP, ÖDP, DTP and BP are the parties whose advertisements were written always in small letters. ANAP, DYP and MHP are the parties that generally used small letters. DSP and CHP were the parties that generally used capital letters. Neither small, nor capital letters are significantly correlated with success of the parties in general elections (correlation coefficientS=0,954; significance levelS= 0,023; correlation coefficientB=0,954; significance levelB= 0,023).

Table-6 Color of Advertisements (March 1st, 1999 - April 18th, 1999)

NEWSPAPER/ PARTY	DSP		MHP		FP		ANAP		DYP		CHP		BBP		ÖDP		DTP		BP		
	C	<u>B/</u> <u>W</u>	C	<u>B/</u> <u>W</u>	C	<u>B/</u> <u>W</u>	C	<u>B/</u> <u>W</u>	C	<u>B/</u> <u>W</u>	C	<u>B/</u> <u>W</u>	C	<u>B/</u> <u>W</u>	C	<u>B/</u> <u>W</u>	C	<u>B/</u> <u>W</u>	C	<u>B/</u> <u>W</u>	
Milliyet	5	-	3	-	4	-	12	-	9	16	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hürriyet	5	-	6	-	4	-	19	-	5	-	11	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
Cumhuriyet	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Zaman	-	-	5	-	3	-	10	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Türkiye	-	-	2	-	3	-	12	-	14	2	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sabah	7	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	13	4	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL (n)	18	-	16	-	14	-	66	-	44	22	41	-	-	9	-	1	1	-	-	-	3
TOTAL (%)	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	66,7	33,3	100	-	-	100	-	100	100	-	-	-	100

Source: This table has been established by the writers analyzing the advertisements of the parties (March 1st, 1999 - April 18th, 1999)

Table-7 Size of Letters (March 1st, 1999 - April 18th, 1999)

NEWSPAPER/ PARTY (*)	DSP		MHP		FP		ANAP		DYP		CHP		BBP		ÖDP		DTP		BP		
	S	B	S	B	S	B	S	B	S	B	S	B	S	B	S	B	S	B	S	B	
Milliyet	-	5	3	-	4	-	11	1	22	3	5	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Hürriyet	-	5	5	1	4	-	16	3	3	2	7	4	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-
Cumhuriyet	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Zaman	-	-	3	2	3	-	10	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Türkiye	-	-	2	-	3	-	12	-	16	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sabah	-	7	-	-	-	-	13	-	14	3	1	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL (n)	1	17	13	3	14	-	62	4	57	9	15	26	9	-	1	-	1	-	1	3	-
TOTAL (%)	5,6	94,4	81,3	18,7	100	-	93,9	6,1	86,4	13,6	36,6	63,4	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	3	-

* S= Small letter; B=Big, capital letter

Source: This table has been established by the writers analyzing the advertisements of the parties (March 1st, 1999 - April 18th, 1999)

4.7. Type of Advertisements

Type of advertisements is given in Table 8. DSP, BBP, BP are the parties that used only one type[§]. DSP asked for votes, BBP used reminder advertisements, while BP's advertisements were negative. Majority of the DYP and FP advertisements were issue oriented. Nearly half of the CHP advertisements were issue oriented and negative and one third of it was asking for a vote. More than 40% of ANAP advertisements were issue oriented, while nearly 40% of them were asking for a vote. The rest were either negative or issue oriented and negative. 31% of MHP advertisements were asking for a vote followed by issue and negative, informative type of advertisements, respectively. Only informative type of advertisements is found to be somewhat related to the success of parties in the election (correlation coefficient=0,823; significance level= 0,088).

[§] ÖDP and DTP also used one theme but this is not given since these parties had just a single advertisement.

Table-8 Type of Advertisements (March 1st, 1999 - April 18th, 1999)

ISSUE/ PARTY	DSP		MHP		FP		ANAP		DYP		CHP		BBP		ÖDP		DTP		BP			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Issue	-	-	3	18,75	12	85,71	29	43,94	63	95,45	7	17,07	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Negative	-	-	2	12,5	-	-	7	10,61	1	1,52	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	
Issue and negative	-	-	4	25,0	-	-	4	6,06	-	-	19	46,34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Asking for a vote	18	100	5	31,25	-	-	26	39,39	-	-	14	34,15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Issue, negative and asking for a vote	-	-	-	-	2	14,29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Informative	-	-	2	12,5	-	-	-	-	2	3,03	1	2,44	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	-	
Reminder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	100	1	100	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL (n)	18	100	16	100	14	100	66	100	66	100	41	100	9	100	9	100	1	100	1	100	3	100

Source: This table has been established by the writers analyzing the advertisements of the parties (March 1st, 1999 - April 18th, 1999)

5. CONCLUSION

Political marketing have started in the Turkish political system with multiparty politics in 1946. Yet until 1980's, political marketing has not developed. Especially, this might be due to the authoritarian regime and the strict control of radio and television channels by the state for many years. However, the development of political marketing in Turkey after 1983 is promising. Today, more and more parties work together with advertising agencies during their campaigns and use political advertising as a strategy to win elections. But still the academic studies are very limited.

Nebioğlu (1993) and Dalkıran (1995) had made a content analysis of print media advertisements in 1991 general parliamentary elections. This study has examined content of political advertisements in 1999 general parliamentary elections. In this content analysis data was drawn from the print media. These studies have presented that the number of political advertisements and the space they hold in newspapers are increasing in Turkey.

In addition, in this study, the content of the advertisements of each political party and the election results are compared to find out the effect of print advertisements on voters' preferences. First, the results have shown that ANAP, DYP and CHP were the first three parties respectively with the highest number of advertisements. However, DSP, MHP and FP received high number of votes in the elections, though their advertisements are less than ANAP, DYP and CHP. No significant relationship is found between number of advertisements and success of parties.

Second, BBP, ÖDP, DTP and BP receiving limited votes have given advertisements very seldom in a single newspaper. Third, regarding the size of the advertisements, ANAP is the only party that used two whole pages advertisements. In addition, 17 out of total 18 advertisements given by DSP were also one whole page. Almost half of the CHP advertisements were one whole page. It is found out that the size of advertisements given by the first three winner parties (DSP, MHP and FP) is smaller than those of ANAP, DYP and CHP. Thus, no direct relationship is found between the size of the advertisement and votes received.

Fourth, DSP and FP, which are the first and third winners of the election, gave all their advertisements in April. BBP, ÖDP, DTP and BP, which are the least successful parties, also gave their advertisements in April. Again we cannot say that there is any relationship between when the advertisements are given and the election results. Fifth, the first three parties' advertisements were all colored, and generally small lettered. It can be expected to have relationship between colored advertisements and success of parties, but not with the size of the letters. Sixth, DSP, with the highest number of votes in the election, have asked for vote in its advertisements. MHP, getting the second highest number of votes, had negative advertisements. Only informative type of

advertisements is found to be somewhat related to the success of parties in the election.

Generally it is considered that as frequency of political advertisements (the number of days advertisements are published) increase, probability of becoming successful in elections increase. Moreover, giving advertisements closer to election date was expected to have a positive influence on election outcomes. However, the findings of this study do not support this argument. Using black and white advertisements, rather than colored ones, and informative theme is influential on the election results. Negative advertisements are found to have neither positive, nor negative effect on the election results.

Nevertheless, the effect of some independent variables on the dependent variable cannot be proven. The findings cannot be generalized. The reason is that newspaper advertisements' influence on voters' preferences can not be separated from other instruments used in election campaigns such as public meetings, posters, television discussions, etc. However, the findings serve as a useful indication of political advertising activities in Turkey that could be further tested in the future and this research adds to the limited body of literature on political marketing in Turkey.

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