THE USE OF RHETORICAL FIGURES IN POLITICAL MARKETING IN TURKEY

MBA Thesis

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Istanbul, June 2005
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İstanbul, June 2005
Political marketing is an exciting and a challenging subject. I have learned a great deal about both politics and marketing during the process of preparing this MBA thesis. This study would not have been possible without Assist. Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Koç, my supervisor from whom I have learned extensively. Thus, I wish to express my sincere indebtedness to him for his close interest, valuable supervision, guidance, and endless support throughout this study. His contributions during the processes for the initiation of the research through the establishment of the research rationale and the topic; the finding and analysis of resources; the design, implementation, data collection analysis, and the interpretation of the primary research was certainly beyond the call of duty.

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Ayşe İlgün
SUMMARY

This study aims to explore the slogans of political parties as marketing communications message from the perspective of rhetorical figures. Marketing is not one of those concepts which have been traditionally associated with politics and political activities. Political marketing can be defined as “seeking to establish, maintain and enhance long-term voter relationships at a profit for society and political parties, so that the objectives of the individual political actors and organizations involved are met. This is done by mutual exchange and fulfilment of promises” (Henneberg, 1996). Politics is normally associated with ideas and ideologies. Political parties rely on a body of core ideas that have been subscribed to by a significant number of members of the electorate which have been employed to distinguish themselves from their opponents and to gain support from their electorate. The real battle among political parties has been waged for the votes of the undecided, those without ideological predilections. However, according to the normative view this battle does not involve marketing. The political activity is mainly associated with politics, but marketing activity is usually associated with selling and salesmanship.

One of the key points of a successful political marketing strategy is focusing on ‘the development of a product’ i.e., a leader, candidate, party, the speeches, campaigns and the slogans which voters may perceive as relevant to their needs and expectations. As the relationship between a political party and its target market is established through marketing communications, the use of words in these marketing communications, their sounds and the way slogans is worded may determine the effectiveness of the perceptibility and persuasibility of the marketing communications messages of the political party. In the slogans rhetoric figures should be use appropriately in order to convey the right messages to voter. The figures of speech or rhetorical figures, as they are commonly, referred have significant potential in terms perception and persuasion. The content of political persuasion is intrinsically more complex, and emotionally more charged than the commercial persuasion of advertising. Although analyzing political rhetoric is more difficult than analyzing ads, it's also more important. A comprehensive analysis of the figures of speech is significant for the understanding of political marketing as through the use of political
rhetoric, political parties can present their messages, including their slogans by using rhetorical figures, to their target audience, i.e., their electorate.

In this study, through an analysis of the slogans of major parties which participated in Turkey 2002 national elections, it is established that through a variety of figures of speech have been used, Turkish parties generally do not resort to the use of figures of speech and the messages that are created by these figures as much as one would have expected. The results of this study support not only the structure and importance of communication provided by slogans in political marketing, but also the significance of knowing the electorate’s attributes in order to attain the best results.


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1. INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter seeks to explain the rationale underpinning this study before mentioning the methodology and the sources of data. In addition both expected benefits and limits of this study are described. Finally, the structure of the study is analyzed.

1.1 The Title of the Study

The use of rhetorical figures in political marketing in Turkey

1.2 The Scope of the Study

The scope of this research study covers political marketing and specifically, the marketing communications in political marketing. The slogans of political parties are analyzed from a rhetorical figures perspective.

1.3 Purpose and Research Rationale

Political marketing is the process by which political candidates and their ideas are directed at voters in order to satisfy their potential needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question. The aim of this process is satisfying the voters' needs and wants and the key issue is "the right message". As Kotler (1999) states, "campaigning for office always has had a marketing orientation. A survey of 200 political consultants, conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press in 1997-1998, indicates that quality of the campaign message was a top factor in winning an election along with money and extent of partnership in a district". Candidates, to be successful, have to understand their markets-the voters and their basic needs and aspirations and the constituencies they represent or seek to represent, in addition to this they have to be aware of the importance of finding the right message. Finding the right message and conveying this message to the target audience, a huge and professional campaign, which necessitates a large amount of money, is essential. Political marketing is a major growth industry affecting virtually every citizen and institution. For instance, in the USA 1992 election, in excess of $550 million was spent on electing a president, a doubling in presidential campaign spending since 1980. That same year, all candidates for congressional
seats, both House and Senate, spent nearly $630 million. In the 1996 presidential election, more than $894 million was spent (Kotler, 1999). An assessment of these figures would reveal that the allocated budget for elections has been increasing in the course of time. For that reason, it is important for the political parties to ensure that such a huge financial investment is used in the right way and helps them achieve the expected effect on the target audience. Therefore, conveying their ideology to the voters by using some tools such as effective slogans is important for them. In perception and learning which are essential for the decision making (choosing the party), reinforcement is very important which is done by rhetorical figures in slogans. The aim of this study is to investigate the use of rhetorical figures in political marketing by analyzing the results of the 2002 National Election in Turkey.

1.4 Methodology

This is an initial exploratory study to gain insights into the rhetoric of communication in Turkish political marketing. An inductive research methodology has been chosen due to the newness of research topic in this field in Turkey. The field study is based on the meta analysis of the slogans of parties which participated in the 2002 national elections. The meta or content analysis has been from the perspective of the use of rhetorical figures such as irony, metaphor, hyperbole, alliteration...etc.

1.5 Sources of Data

This study encompasses a broad review of the literature in marketing, politics and political marketing. However, the academic interest in the topic was triggered by McQuarrie and Mick’s (1996) article on advertising rhetoric. Based on the understanding and insight gained from this secondary research a content analysis of party slogans was made to complement the study with primary research.

1.6 Benefits Expected from the Thesis

As this is an exploratory research it descriptively demonstrates the political marketing scene in Turkey. The research provides a basis for further future research in the fields of political marketing and the use of rhetorics in any field of marketing communications.
1.7 Limitations of the Thesis

As mentioned above this research comprises a meta analysis of the slogans of political parties which participated in the 2002 national elections in Turkey. Had there not been time and resource constraints, the research could have been expended to include earlier elections in Turkey to make comparisons and to demonstrate trends and developments. Additionally the primary research could have been supported through triangulation by designing and implementing surveys, in depth interviews and focus group studies with the target audience and key informant interviews with authorities and experts in the field.

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

Political marketing is a newly developed and remarkable research discipline in recent years. Even as there has been increasing acceptance of the existence and role of marketing in the political arena, there has also been much discussion as to the applicability of its concepts and models. Political rhetoric is the study of the way political parties present their messages to voters in national elections. Therefore, the awareness of the concept, ‘rhetoric’, is crucial for the study of political marketing, since it establishes the basic theories of persuasion, and this thesis will explore the significance of rhetoric, and as expected the common figures of speech with a case study about using rhetoric and the place of perception and learning in political marketing.

In the second chapter, political marketing and related terms are defined in order to provide a clear understanding of the points which will be employed throughout the argument, like political marketplace, marketing applied to political campaigns, political marketing mix and political marketing expenses. In political marketing mix section, four P’s of marketing will be evaluated from the political marketing perspective. In the third chapter, the peculiarities of political marketing will be emphasized both as “structural” characteristics such as nature of the product, the organization, and the market, and the “process” characteristics that define, develop and deliver value.
In the forth and fifth chapters, perception and learning in political marketing will be examined. The perception of a slogan depends on the interpretation of the political message through the sensory system of the people for which the message is targeted. Consequently, the senses have a great importance in perception process. As voters gain experience in voting parties, they learn not only which parties, candidates they support and do not support, but also the features they like most in particular parties, candidates. Moreover in the sixth chapter, the significance, history and the well-known figures of speech applied in political arena are examined. Besides, in the last section of this chapter, sixty slogans from 2002 elections will be analyzed according to the figures of speech that are explained in the previous sections. Eventually, in the conclusion part, the whole argument is interpreted from a personal point of view in the light of all these discussions.
2. POLITICAL MARKETING

2.0 Overview

This chapter seeks to explain the definition and the theoretical background to the political marketing in order to understand the difference between the political exchange process and the economic exchange process. Then, the political marketplace and marketing applied to political campaigns will be defined. The political mix in means of product, price, place and promotion and the political marketing expenses will be discussed.

2.1 Theoretical Background to Political Marketing

Marketing has extended its reach from its beginnings in consumer goods marketing to a wide range of activities where human beings seek mutually beneficial exchanges. Political marketing can be defined as “seeking to establish, maintain and enhance long-term voter relationships at a profit for society and political parties, so that the objectives of the individual political actors and organizations involved are met. This is done by mutual exchange and fulfillment of promises” (Henneberg, 1996). Voters seek to exchange their votes for sound government representation. Marketing has previously been applied to political campaigns in the US, e.g. Eisenhower’s use of direct mail in the early 1950s, and in the UK, e.g. Thatcher’s use of the Saatchi and Saatchi advertising agency to manage her party’s election campaigns (Scammell 1994) and in Turkey, e.g. Suleyman Demirel use of Cenajans advertising agency to manage his party’s election campaigns. There has been an increasing use of marketing methods in political campaigns over the latter part of the twentieth century (Smith and Saunders 1990; Wring 1999).

Political marketing, as the subject of academic discipline, is infant, new and developing. As a separate discipline within marketing, it has yet to establish its reputation. There are not many substantive writings on the topic and in fact appears that marketing academics have yet to accept political marketing as a distinct area of its own right. Nevertheless, simply because something has not been documented, it does not mean that it does not exist. Political campaigning in one form or another has been in existence since the ancient Greeks who
devised a system for the effective government of Athens (Baines et al., 1999). Then, as now, techniques for communication with the electorate were employed. Political scientists have long documented the changes in electoral campaigning from a descriptive perspective. However, marketing’s prescriptive premise allows the electoral campaigning scholar further insights into how to manage campaigns in the future, and it is from this standpoint — facilitated through the collection of empirical data from political consultants and party executives and managers.

As mentioned above, political marketing is a new discipline, for example from the American campaign management literature as a result of the need by US politicians to market themselves to their publics. The rise of the political consultant has been attributed, in part, to the decline of the political party bosses, the need for funding to be gained through large numbers of voter contributions (arising itself as a result of the funding scandals of the early seventies), and the changing nature of communication technology throughout the last few decades of this century. Previous definitions of the political marketing concept have stressed the exchange process arising between voters and candidates (Kotler, 1982), and the use of the marketing mix to promote political parties (O’Leary and Iredale, 1976); together with the use of opinion research and environmental analysis (Wring, 1997). Lock and Harris (1996) suggest that political marketing is concerned with the positioning process. In the marketing, therefore the political marketing concept would appear to be the use of certain marketing techniques to promote political parties, but by no means all, since are not regaled with definitions suggesting the use of competitive analysis, the use of portfolio models for strategic analysis and the use of brand management techniques. Nevertheless, this is not because these aspects of marketing are not appropriate. It is simply the case that as an academic discipline, political marketing academics have not yet documented what is happening in the political marketplace and the way in which this differs from traditional marketing, and traditional political science models of electoral campaigning in action.

As the definitions of political marketing are concerned, the development of marketing for political campaigning should reflect the market’s structural characteristics. However, the lack
of a generally accepted definition of political marketing suggests that these characteristics are probably not yet fully recognized. A number of authors have proposed definitions. For instance Shama (1975) originally defined political marketing as “the process by which political candidates and their ideas are directed at voters in order to satisfy their potential needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question”. Later definitions of political marketing transform the meaning to incorporate: the process of lobbying (Lock and Harris 1996); a long-term societal objective (Henneberg 1997); a focus on competition, opinion research and environmental analysis (Wring 1997) and an international and organizational perspective (Baines 2001). The figure below shows the process of political marketing by comparing the processes of economic and political exchange. In the light of all these definitions and explanations, the figure can be understood straightforwardly.

One problem with these definitions is that, although they may describe the process of marketing, they describe less well the need for a marketing orientation in the political organization. They also tend to under-emphasize the part played by ‘front-line’ (usually local) marketers in the campaigning process. It may, therefore, be more beneficial to look at a multi-part definition that incorporates both process and orientation. Thus, political marketing is the means by which the political organization (Baines et al., 1999):
• communicates its messages, targeted or untargeted, directly or indirectly, to its supporters and other electors.
• develops credibility and trust with supporters, other electors and other external sources to enable them to raise finances and to develop, and maintain, local and national management structures.
• interacts with and responds to supporters, influencers, legislators, competitors, and the general public in the development and adaptation of policies and strategies.
• delivers to all stakeholders, by means of diverse media, the level of information, advice and leadership expected and/or required in a social-democratic state.
• provides training, information resources and campaign material for candidates, agents, marketers and/or other local party activists.
• attempts to influence and encourage voters, the media and other important influencers to support their organization’s candidates and/or to refrain from supporting the competition.

The latter definition is less sympathetic with product-led definitions. It includes less tangible, and previously unrecognized, factors such as credibility and influence, whereas, the previous definitions related more to traditional consumer goods marketing.

Current definitions, and work surrounding the concept of political marketing, fail to fully embrace the differences between political and commercial marketing (Lock and Harris, 1996; Egan, 1999), and fail to recognize the differences in political marketing between countries (Baines et al., 1999). There is a clear lack of empirical data on the strategic nature of political marketing since most of the limited work in this area is theoretical. There are clear differences between campaign practice in the UK, USA and Australia, as there are between campaign practice in Sweden, Germany and France. There is a need for a definition which recognizes the difference between campaign practices across cultures, yet still retains enough detail to put across the nature of the political marketing phenomenon. This definition also needs to be driven by what is actually happening in campaigns, in other words, such a definition really
needs to come from the political marketing practitioners themselves, rather than from observers who seek to superimpose a marketing model in its entirety, regardless of the inherent differences.

Having defined political marketing with some concrete examples, it is better to analyze political marketing with its some features in details in order to deduce the topic properly. Firstly, political marketplace and political campaigns then based on the above initial explanations on political marketing, a much deeper insight into the topic can be gained by analyzing the 4P’s of political marketing, after that because political marketing expenses have a crucial importance for political marketing, it should mentioned as well.

2.2 Political Marketplace

Marketing strategy lies at the heart of political success because it compels a campaign to put together, in a relatively short period of time, a forceful organization that mobilizes support and generates a winning coalition of disparate and sometimes conflicting groups (Kotler, 1999).

Around three decades ago, candidates at the local and state levels, were likely to face homogeneous and cohesive constituencies. Such constituencies allowed candidates to articulate broad and diffuse themes and to concentrate on projecting positive, charming, and reassuring personalities. In recent years, however, political arena have become more heterogeneous, contentious, and fragmented. Voters are likely to issue oriented as well as attuned to candidates’ personal qualities. Agreements that once characterized small-scale politics have been supplanted by single-issue politics, widely divergent opinions and preferences, and tremendous diversity in lifestyles, motivations, and interests (Maarek, 1995).

Organizing a political campaign historically involved building coalitions of voters, constituencies, and financial donors. Coalition building presupposed a spirit of compromise, adjustment, and acceptance of even marginal gains in the short run in the expectation that major gains would occur over the long haul. The rise of single-issue causes and constituencies and the growing force of special interest groups now require candidates to carefully map out
the universe of opinion, emotion, and interest and to skillfully tailor appeals to different voter segments and target groups.

Electoral district and therefore political campaigns differ widely among each other. A candidate in a small district dominated by single-issue politics, for example, faces the choice of either running as the champion of a single-issue group or running as a rebel or reformer who seeks to mobilize new voter segments that are less ideological or more middle of the road. The fact that only a minority of the electorate in any given electoral district bothers to cast ballots, in typical elections, raises the possibility for reformers to use new issues, causes, and appeals to mobilize new groups of voters. Research on voter turnout and citizen dissatisfaction with politics and government suggests that candidates could profitably learn from the attitudes of voters in their districts and the desire for empowerment that usually propels citizens, however disappointed with or even alienated from the electoral process they might be.

Besides the growing prominence of money in political campaigns, another notable development is the growing use of negative advertising against opponents. A result of raising large amounts of campaign funds, negative ads, whether paid for by a candidate’s own organization or the party organization, can cripple candidate’s opponent, regardless of the candidate’s merit or appeal (O’Shaughnessy, 1990). The injection of negative personal attacks on candidates also means that candidates subject to such attacks have to spend as much time in answering the attacks as they do in articulating and advancing ideas and issues.

2.3 Marketing Applied to Political Campaigns

Political marketing shares much in common with marketing in the business world. In business marketing, sellers dispatch goods, services, and communication (i.e. advertising) to the market, and in return, money (consumer purchases), information (consumer research), and customer loyalty are perceived. In campaigns, candidates dispatch promises, favors, policy preferences, and personalities to a set of voters in exchange for their votes, voluntary efforts, or contributions. Candidates seek to develop personalities not unlike the images that manufacturers project for their products (Kotler, 1999). Candidates in district dominated by
parties seek to approval of the party organization, which is not unlike the company image that businesses project. Candidates enter primary elections that are analogous to market tests for commercial products and services.

Despite the similarities, there are several areas of significant difference between candidates and political campaigns, on the other hand, and product development campaigns in the commercial world, on the other. The political arena usually is highly charged with beliefs and emotions, as well as conflict and partisanship that rarely characterize the consumer’s choice of commercial products. At the same time, although sharp beliefs and emotions stir political activists, activists generally constitute a small minority of the electorate. For most citizens, politics appears to be something to be avoided much of the time, and this avoidance can easily be misinterpreted as the low salience that politics appears to possess among the broad public. Because citizens typically invest little time in politics (and so lack detailed information about candidates, parties and issues), politicians and first-time political candidates alike generally enjoy only limited visibility in the public mind.

A key challenge for a first-time candidate especially is to build an appealing image and message and then capture high-level visibility. Another challenge is to deal with the high-intensity politics of the activists and also, at the same time, transform the low salience or low-intensity politics of typical citizens into more engaged politics that makes electoral participants out of more and more citizens.

Yet another challenge for most candidates, despite the inroads of single-issue politics, is to build coalitions of disparate voting segments and blocs—individuals, groups, and organizations. Building coalitions in the campaign world is not unlike the technical partnership that computer companies’ form with other companies or that manufacturers form with suppliers and distributors; they are similar to the joint marketing alliances of for-profit firms such as Coca-Cola and Philip Morris with cultural organizations such as museums and performing arts organizations.
In the political campaigns also the crucial role of political messages can not be rejected. The message “your rationale for running and the most compelling reason why voters should vote for you and not for the opposition” must be communicated in all campaign activities (Faucheux, 1994 as cited in Kinsey, 1991). Consultants overwhelmingly believe that it is the strength of the candidate’s message that makes the difference between winning and losing. A recent survey of 200 political consultants (PEW RESEARCH CENTER, 1998) found that consultants view the quality of the candidate’s message as more important than the amount of money available to the campaign, the partisan makeup of district, and the candidate’s abilities as a campaigner. By a margin of three to one, consultants “think that weak message is a bigger barrier to electoral success than weak campaigner.”

Winning in most political elections requires convincing more than half of those voting to vote for your candidate. This often requires persuasion, “an activity or process in which a communicator attempts to induce a change in the belief, attitude, or behavior of another person or group of persons through the transmission of a message” (Perloff, 1993). Research is used for developing persuasive messages and understanding how to send them.

However, a more sophisticated understanding of political marketing and persuasive messages requires consultants to gain “access to the voter’s subjectivity” (Gopoian and Brown, 1988). Having access to the voter’s subjectivity means having a deep understanding of the voter’s point of view and information that allows the creation of a powerful messages to strike a responsive chord when communicating with voters.

Once a message is developed, it must received by voters. Many media consultants advocate an often followed theory of campaigning-redundancy works. “Keep the message local and simple, and say it to as many voters as possible and as many times as possible. When you think you’ve said it enough, say it again” (Wachob and Kennedy, 1997). From this perspective, repetition is thought to be the “secret to success”. This view of redundancy-repetition is an unbounded good-represents a folk belief in the business. As some studies show (Becker and Doolittle, 1975), there is a repetition threshold in audiences; after so many
repetitions, the intended effect washes out and might even boomerang, causing an adverse effect for a given audience member.

From an academic perspective, repetition and redundancy are achieved within and across channels of communication. Practitioners’ view of these ideas is similar to the “convergence” view mentioned by Chaffee (1982): “convergence occurs when different channels provide the same or overlapping messages”.

Consultants do not rely on one medium to get their messages out. Political consultants believe in a mixed communication approach to campaigning the use of multiple channels of communication.

2.4 The Political Marketing Mix

In order to obtain clarity and order in the presentation of the various tools used in political marketing and to illustrate analogies with mainstream marketing, classic division of marketing mix into, product, price, place and promotion (Kotler 1981) has been adopted.

2.4.1 Product

The main condition for an exchange is the existence of an “offering”, i.e., something that is valued by a recipient (i.e. a voter or citizen) and “produced” by a supplier (i.e. political party or candidate). Wring (1997) points out three key aspects of the political marketing product: party image, image of leader and policy commitments (manifesto). Different groups of voters are susceptible to the appeals of these key elements in varying degrees (Worcester 1987, 1991). There is an agreement, however that the common feature of media election coverage is an increase in using appeals based on promotion of image at the expense of issues (Biocca 1991, Franklin 1994). Moreover, there is also growing emphasis of the importance of leader image, e.g. Foley (1993), Crewe and King (1994), which is the reason for the personalization of politics as described by Swanson and Mancini (1996). In a further development, the product concept in political marketing is related to the (brand) of candidates (Kavanagh, 1995; Kotler and Kotler, 1999; Smith, 2001; Lloyd, 2003). Candidate characteristics are the ‘cues’ that
voters assess when considering their voting decision (Sniderman et al., 1991; Popkin, 1994). Contrasting with this, Butler and Collins (1999) as well as others (Reid, 1988; Wring, 2002) stress the multi-component nature of the political product. They argue that it is linked to the political candidate and the party itself, as well as the underlying ideology. Each of the elements of a political product are interrelated and can therefore be offered (and managed) separately, a fact that pollsters noted relatively early on (Worcester, 1996). Butler and Collins (1999) also stress the alterable characteristics of the political offer: it can be changed in the post purchase (i.e. delivery) situation. This is taken up by Lees-Marshment (2001) who also posits a more behaviorally-oriented understanding of the political product: it compromises the activities of all relevant actors in a party. Brennan (2003) links different elements of the political product to underlying benefit and value systems and shoes the dynamic interaction of these with voters of differing loyalty and/or voting experience.

2.4.2 Place (Distribution)

Wring (1997) points out that a network at first level is at the heart of a placement strategy. Local electioneering takes the form of traditional activities such as canvassing and leafleting and “getting the vote out” on the polling day (Kavanagh 1970, Denver and Hands 1992). In the marketing era of modern campaigns it is more important to identify and contact potential supporters than to persuade them (Wring 1997). The distribution of the candidate (as a product surrogate) through speaking events, rallies, etc. (Henneberg, 2002). The distribution function is concerned with the conditions regarding the availability of the exchange offer (the political “product” as described above) to the exchange partner. This function has two aspects, namely the campaign delivery and the offering delivery. The campaign delivery function provides the primary exchange partner, the electorate, with access to all relevant elements of the political “product”. This includes, for example, the distribution of information concerning crucial political on important agenda points “placing” the candidates in the right channels (i.e. TV ads or canvassing, party conferences pr chat shows), making sure that the distribution medium fits the ideological umbrella, etc. The complexity of this function is expected to increase with the arrival of new media (i.e. e-campaigning, WebTV).
The offering delivery aspect of the distribution function refers to the “fulfillment” of political promises (Harrop, 1990; Palmer, 2002). This function comes into play when a political party or candidate has the political and legal means to fulfill their promises, i.e. when they are in governing position. Wortmann (1989) stresses the ambiguous character of this service delivery due to its natural characteristics of a “public good”. As services are “co-created”, i.e. the electorate and the executive powers are enacting and inscribing policies together in a participatory fashion, coordination and monitoring of this offering delivery in crucial for the success of this function. The issue is further complicated as the actual delivery of the political product, i.e. how policies are enacted in the social reality, constitutes part of the “product” expectations by the voters. Many important variables regarding the delivery function that influence the success of the implementation or services are as a result outside the party’s/government’s power.

2.4.3 Price (Cost)

Although some scholars discount the pricing element of political marketing mix, e.g. Farrell (1996), others, e.g. Niffenegger (1990) Wring (1997), justify the relevance of price as its constituents comprise voter’s feelings of national, economic and psychological hope or insecurity. Discussing the price aspect of voting behavior, Wring points out two aspects, one resulting from negative campaigning which are designed to build voters’ fear, and the other resulting from the voter’s “feel good factor”. Also Reid (1988) sees votes as a psychological purchase and draws parallels between voting and buying.

Pricing as well as costs constitute somewhat of a problem to political marketing theorists (Wortmann, 1989) and remain the most elusive political instrument. It is of essential importance in economic exchanges where the price of an offering usually constitutes the main sacrifice that a customer has to make in order to realize the value of an offering. Some suggest that there exist no equivalent to an economical price in political exchange (Farrell and Wortmann, 1989). Wring (2002), using a concept developed by Niffenegger (1989), perceives the price as a psychological construct, i.e. to refer to voters’ “feeling of national, economic and psychological hope or insecurity”. Reid (1988) and Egan (1999) provide similar
considerations. How this understanding is linked to the political exchange and how it could be managed independently of the “product” characteristics as a part of a political offering remains a bit unclear.

The cost function in political marketing refers to the management of actual and perceived attitudinal and behavioral barriers on the part of voter. This suggest redefining “price” as an element of “costs or sacrifices” (Henneberg, 2002). Inhibitions, i.e. caused by opportunity cost considerations, can prevent voters from realizing their goals. Therefore, facilitating the political exchange process in terms of cost implies for the political party to minimize the opportunity costs of voters’ decision-making process as well as of the electoral act itself. In addition, it can also mean improving the benefits from political involvement and the voting process as a symbolic act as well as from the participatory elements of enacting policies. Understood in these general terms, campaign management can try to reduce the necessary (monetary and non-monetary) efforts for voters to process political information, from opinions, evaluate alternatives, and participate in political discourse.

2.4.4 Promotion (Communication)

The promotion, or commonly referred as marketing communications, plays a crucial role in political marketing mix. It comprises various elements and techniques such as advertising, public relations, direct mail, and pseudo-events, personnel selling (i.e. discussions with union leaders), sales promotion (promises) planned to gain publicity and attention. According to Newman (1994) the four influential areas of innovation in technology, computers, television and direct mail have directly influenced the way the campaigns are run. Some of the applications of technological advances include database marketing, fund-raising and polling and enable the candidates to go directly to the voter. Moreover, political marketers are provided with new opportunities because of computer video and Internet development, e.g. with the possibilities of new types of advertising or direct mailing (Dean and Croft 1997) and also with new challenges connected with the development of digital television and reaching target voters. There are some ways to reach the target voters like;
2.4.4.1 Advertising

Consultants believe that a candidate generally should spend most of his or her campaign funds on television advertising (Perloff and Kinsey, 1992). This assumes that the campaign is large enough to even consider the use of television. Televised advertising has become important because it reaches the voters and at the same time the party or candidates fully controls the message (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha 1995). Contrary to popular belief that political ads are solely concerned with image (Baines, Harris and Lewis, 2002), it has been found that most of political advertising is concentrated on issues or contains issue based information. Although there are contradictory theories on the effects of political advertising, most researchers agree that it acts mostly to reinforce the existing image (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha 1995; Scammell 1995; Kavanagh 1995).

2.4.4.2 Debates and Pseudo-Events

Televised debates are increasingly regarded as the capstone of the election campaign (Maarek 1995), even though there is no evidence that they can dramatically change the outcome of the campaign (Newman 1994). Although criticized from the stand that they are mostly based on projecting the right image and not discussing policy differences (Nimmo 1970), debates, like other pseudo-events, are meant to look spontaneous but in fact are carefully staged and continue to attract the attention of the media and gain publicity for the political players.

2.4.4.3 Direct mail

Direct mail is chosen by political marketers because of the ability to be personalized and flexible. Each recipient can be targeted, not only by name and address but also by the messages to which he or she is most likely to respond. So this creates the sense of personal contact. Several authors stress the growing role of direct mail in the contemporary political marketing mix (Newman, 1994; Maarek, 1995). It is used to pretest the market, personalize and concentrate the message, raise funds, promote issues and candidates and recruit volunteers. Harrop (1990) argues that the real potential of direct mail is that it offers the opportunity to personalize one’s basic message so as to convince voters that a party which can campaign so efficiently might actually be up to the job of running the country.
2.4.4.4 The Use of Free media

Wring (1997) notes the diminishing role of advertising in favor of free media publicity which is most frequently connected with public relations designed to attract favorable media attention. Greater importance of free media publicity is also acknowledged by both voting public and media strategists. News management is perhaps the most visible area of contrast between mainstream and political marketing. In political communications staffs are deluged on a daily basis by journalists and need to answer highly sensitive questions; but free media strategies are not only concerned with defensive news management activities. (Franklin, 1994)

But as important as paid and free media can be to a candidate’s message, their importance increase dramatically when the message is reinforced through both forms of mass communication. Making sure that a common message is received by the voters through both forms of mass communication dramatically increases the potential impact of each. So as in some many other circumstances, the whole of political communication is greater than sum of its parts.

2.5 Political Marketing Expenses

Political marketing is a major growth industry affecting virtually every citizen and institution. In the 1992 election, in excess of $550 million was spent on electing a president, a doubling in presidential campaign spending since 1980. That same year, all candidates for congressional seats, both House and Senate, spent nearly $630 million. In the 1996 presidential election, more than $894 million was spent (Kotler, 1999).

According to Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1995), campaign spending in the United States grew fifteen-fold since 1952 from $140 million to nearly $2 billion in 1988. (Syzybillo et al., 1976). It is said that less than 5 percent of campaign expenditures in 1952 were devoted to radio and television time. By 1972, 15 percent of campaign expenditures were for broadcasting. By 1988, about 20 percent of nearly $2 billion went to purchase airtime. If the salaries of media consultants and advertising production costs are added, at least 40 percent of campaign dollars
are spent on media expenditures in 1988 (Devlin, 1997). Dwight Eisenhower's campaign in 1956 was the first presidential campaign which relied heavily on political television commercials. After the election, "Truman, referring to the effects of political advertising . . . commented that it was the first time in 148 years that a president had been elected without carrying a Congress with him." (Ansolabehere et al., 1995).

While campaign spending is skyrocketing, more and more dollars are seeking after fewer and fewer voters. In the presidential election of 1996, voter turnout dipped to 49%, the lowest turnout as a proportion of eligible voters since 1924. Turnout in local and state elections often falls between one fifth and one third of eligible voters.

Campaigning for office always has had a marketing orientation. A survey of 200 political consultants, conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press in 1997-1998, indicates that quality of the campaign message was a top factor in winning an election along with money and extent of partnership in a district (Kotler, 1999).

Candidates, to be successful, have to understand their markets—the voters and their basic needs and aspirations and the constituencies they represent or seek to represent.

Marketing orientation means that candidates recognize the nature of the exchange process when they ask voters for their votes and candidates have to view their campaigns from the point of view of the voters, constituencies, and financial donors, the consumers in political campaigns. If a candidate can make promises that match with the voters' needs and can deliver on some of these promises once in office, then the candidate ultimately will increase voter satisfaction, the sense of responsiveness of political institutions, and public satisfaction with the candidate. Finally, it can be said that all the political marketing expenses must be made in order to attract and satisfy the voters by realizing their needs and wants. Actually this must be the initial goal of the candidates and parties.
3. THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL MARKETING

3.0 Overview

This chapter seeks to explain the structural and process characteristics of political marketing in order to understand the nature political marketing. The structural characteristics of political marketing can be analyzed based on the political product, the political organization and, the political market. The process characteristics can be analyzed based on value-defining, value-developing, and value-delivering.

3.1 An Introduction to the Characteristics of Political Marketing

Political marketing includes both “structural” characteristics such as nature of the product, the organization, and the market, and the “process” characteristics that define, develop and deliver value. By drawing out these characteristics and examining them for marketing implications, the campaigner is better equipped to conceptualize the environment and develop appropriate strategies (Butler and Collins, 1999).

When characterizing other marketing “industries”, writers have focused on the most heuristically useful features for addressing management problems. For example, the emphasis on the product will be familiar to students of services marketing; Shostack (1977) and others conventionally stress intangibility, perishability, heterogeneity, and inseparability to differentiate service products. In the not-for-profit field, Blois (1987) suggests that the characteristics of the organization are the most insightful. In public sector marketing, the nature of the citizen as consumer and other peculiarities of the market are brought to the fore (Walsh, 1995). However, it can be argued that the weakness in these approaches is their singular emphasis on one factor or another. Here, all of these factors are drawn as the structural characteristics.

In regard to the most appropriate way of understanding marketing processes, delineating the actual political or electoral process of a democracy is not necessarily the most advantageous. Attempting to capture peculiar process aspects of politics that would be of concern to
marketing observers and practitioners in "going to market" so, bringing some model from the marketing arena to bear on politics is more apt to offer the type of insights sought by campaign managers. Many process models are available. Marketers conventionally perceive their domain in terms of the market research process, buyer behavior processes, planning processes, new product development processes, and the like. Furthermore, Murray and O'Driscoll (1996), for example, have sought to explain marketing in organizations in terms of the four core processes. A set of three broad marketing processes are used to analyze the political context: value-defining processes, value-developing processes, and value-delivering processes (Webster, 1997). The concept of value underpins the process dimension of the model. In going to market, the value proposition—the reason to buy—must be defined, developed and delivered. Indeed, the process dimension here resonates with the systems theory approach often found in political science (Easton, 1981). The outcome is the development of a generic and more robust model of the features that characterize political marketing.

3.2 The Structural Characteristics of Political Marketing

The structural characteristics of political marketing can be analyzed based on the political product, the political organization and, the political market.

3.2.1 The Political Product

The marketing traits of the product are considered in three parts: the multicomponent (person/party/ideology) nature of the offer, the significant degree of loyalty involved, ends the fact that it is mutable, i.e., it can be changed or transformed in the post election setting.

There are some marketing strategies related to the political product characteristics. One strategic implication for marketing arising from product characteristics is that appeals to the electorate based on rational presentation of single issues are unlikely to succeed in the long term. Market segmentation and positioning must be cognizant of the congruence among the candidates, the party, and the message. People are judged by their policies, and policies are judged by the people who put them forward. Strategists should attempt to "brand" policies and ideas and build barriers to entry so as to "own" important issues.
The significance of very loyal supporters underlines the importance of winning first-time voters because people’s first electoral choices tend to be enduring. Furthermore, loyalty enables strategies that follow a “brand extension” approach such as coattailing in multimember constituencies (Butler and Collins, 1999).

In regard to the problem of post purchase mutability, the appeasement of dissatisfied (former) supporters usually is addressed by a strategy of pointing to the achievement of greater objectives through compromising on lesser issues. Marketing communications should stress continuity principle and past record rather than dramatic changes in direction.

3.2.1.1 Person/Party/Ideology

In the context of political elections, the product or offer is made up of several distinct components that usually (although not necessarily) are indivisible. These are candidate, the political party, and the ideology. Nominating candidates calls into question issues such as their competence and resources, their past records and promises for the future, and their degrees of autonomy given the need to adhere to the party line. Confusion and even contradiction among the components of the offer is a pronounced trait in this context. For example, a voter might support the only candidate of his or her preferred party despite not having any confidence in the candidate personally. Similarly, a voter might support a candidate’s stance on an important local issue despite not having his or her political party to win power on a national basis.

One marketing implication of this multicomponent offer is that the components cannot be offered separately. This situation results in particularly complex trade offs of costs and benefits. As Bean (1993) shows in comparative analysis of electoral influences in Australia and New Zealand, practitioners need to be alert to the contrasting features of particular electorates. New Zealand voters, for example, give greater salience to the image of the party leader than do their counterparts in Australia. So the political product is the party leader.
3.2.1.2 Loyalty

Another part of the political product is the significant degree of loyalty involved. Political parties and candidates command an extraordinary level of loyalty. A dominant feature of Western European politics is continuity of support, despite growing evidence of electoral volatility (Heath, et al., 1986; Lane, 1993). Voter loyalty is especially marked in first-order elections such as national parliamentary elections (Reif, 1985). In second-order elections such as those to local councils or to the European Parliament, a greater degree of volatility exists. Similarly, by election and midterm votes often are protests, rejecting some aspect of one party’s record rather than stating loyalty to another.

For campaign managers, a high degree of loyalty allows parties or candidates certain flexibility, thereby constituting a barrier to entry to new parties and groups. Some electoral arrangements (e.g., the primaries in the United States) and preferential voting system (e.g., the majority of European Union member states) permit loyalty to be expressed both to the party and to particular candidates. In these contexts, campaign managers can accommodate a more diverse set of loyalties (Reif, 1985).

3.2.1.3 Mutability

A property of political marketing is that the “purchase” is alterable even in the post purchase setting. Unlike the situations in the United States, it is quite common in many democracies for parties that compete vigorously during elections to enter coalitions. Although in many cases pacts are formed prior to elections, some voters would not have supported a particular party or candidate had they known the post election outcome (Niffenegger, 1989). Also, the coalition can signify a failure to win outright by one party but can be a successful outcome for another party whose objective had been to win only enough seats to influence power.

A number of implications for marketing arise; the credibility of the parties involved in coalescing is questioned, as might be the entire political process. The political party involved might be subject to charges of bad faith. Political parties must address the problem of being
honest with their supporters before the election and of appeasing them after the election and coalition. Essentially, difficulties may arise from asserting distinct policies during a campaign and then compromising on them after the election. The potential for devaluation of the political process and for cynicism arising out of this type of situation is largely depend on cultural and traditional factors (Butler and Collins, 1999).

3.2.2 The Political Organization

Political organizations are considered to be those intending to win positions in public office through the election process. Distinctive marketing characteristics include their resource bases, the importance of amateurs and volunteers, and the perception of professional political marketing within the organization (O’Shaughnessy, 1990).

There are some marketing strategies related to the political organization characteristics. After the acquisition of resources, the management and balancing of finances and people is the central administrative tasks of the political party. Resources deployment, as in any organization, demands clarity of purpose in the first instance. The organization must be clear in its strategic campaign directions and the activities necessary for the achievement of its objectives because these are the determinants of the relative importance and roles of the core resources.

Volunteers are likely to have a certain sense of loyalty, not just to a party in abstract terms but also to a particular candidate or senior figure. It is sensible to target these influential people first to aid diffusion of the market orientation and generating a “trickle down” effect. Negative perceptions of marketing can be not necessarily unethical or unworkable (Nimmo, 1970). The ethical dimension certainly is the more difficult issue, so there is some merit in showing the benefits of marketing techniques in the shorter term. For example, cases of electoral successes clearly facilitated by professional marketing research and communications will help to persuade activists of the value of a marketing approach.
3.2.2.1 Resource Base

Political parties, like other organizations, have very varied resource bases. In the political market, such resources may derive from a charismatic leader, easy access to public attention, skillful staff, and historic capital. But as Ware (1996) puts it, “at the risk of some oversimplification, it can be argued that there are two main “generalized” resources that can be used in an election campaign namely money and labor. To a surprisingly large extent, they are not interchangeable”

The relative reliance of parties on these two major resources varies from market to market because of regulation. In the United States, for example, the relatively liberal laws on campaign expenditures and lower reliance on mass party membership compared to that in Europe have made money the key resource. In other candidate-centered markets (e.g. Ireland), money also is important. It is probable that, given the increase in significance of computers, polling, and direct mailing, money is likely to increase in significance relative to labor (Butler and Collins, 1999).

Skilled staffs at headquarters and in the field are an important resource for most parties, but the largest numbers by far are the volunteer workers. One problem with this resource with this resource is finding something engaging to do between election campaigns. Many commentators have seen the decline in mass party membership as a problem for democracy. On the other hand, public participation in single-issue pressure groups is increasing. Internet – based communications may enable new forms of instant information flows between political institutions and citizens (Harris, 2001). As an organizational characteristic, however, the change in the balance of party resources probably matches the substitution of labor intensive marketing by capital-intensive marketing political marketing. The implications for management consequently emphasize the need to keep abreast of changing business information technologies.
3.2.2.2 Amateurism and Volunteers

Most political marketing activity takes place at local levels. Party activism is developed over several years of committee meetings, constituency panels, canvassing during elections, and the like. In such circumstances, technical advice often is seen as supportive rather than as crucial to the process of decision making. Thus, at the core of political marketing, there is the propensity to value the nonexpert. The high status afforded the committed amateur in many societies traditionally has been reflected in political organization.

In common with many other not-for-profit organizations, political parties and groups at all levels rely heavily on a volunteer workforce and often on a volunteer management team. Electoral marketing cannot be completely divorced from the ongoing political marketing undertaken by incumbents and opposition alike. The necessity, especially in the United States, to attract money continuously to pay for past and future campaigns has led to retention of permanent marketing professionals by individuals and parties. Volunteers are more likely to be reduced to carrying out low-level tasks at the instruction of the professionals than participating in local policy-level discussion and debate. It is likely, however, that this reliance will decline in the coming years. Certainly, in political circles in the United States, "the phenomenon of political marketing has led to the demise of the volunteer" (O'Shaughnessy, 1990) and to the rise of political consultant. Marginalized volunteers might be easier to control in terms of their activities, but their enthusiasm might be more readily dissipated.

3.2.2.3 The Negative Perception of Marketing

Given the nature of political party organizations, the reasons for membership, the historical traditions, and the amateur and volunteer status of participants, it is not altogether surprising that marketing is perceived in a negative manner at grassroots level in many countries. However, the United States, because of its commercial history and strong commitment to market forces, might be relatively more open to overt marketing practices in politics. Broadly, a common attitude is of marketing as unethical and trivializing. According to Smith and Saunders (1990) the fear exists that politicians might increasingly focus on narrow short-term
issues just because they are popular, with the result that matters of greater substance become hostage to fortune. However, many anxieties expressed about political marketing are felt by Harrop (1990) to be based on exaggerated assessments of their impacts.

The perceived devaluation of the integrity of the political process mitigates against the employment of marketing terminology, even though the well-supported political campaign might be founded on sound marketing principles and techniques. Members of nonprofit organizations such as charities hold similarly adverse views of marketing. This arises from a belief that they know what is best for their customer. A similar conviction might dissuade political party members from a marketing orientation (Niffenegger, 1989).

3.2.3 The Political Market

The electorate constitutes a political market. Of significance to marketing are the following characteristics of the electoral marketplace: civil and legal regulations and restrictions abound, the vote is a forceful social and ideological affirmation, and there exists a “counterconsumer” in the electorate.

There are also some marketing strategies related to the political marketing characteristics. The value of strategic qualitative information becomes evident when dealing with the electorate. Regulations, values, and perceptions must be understood in such an ideologically charged situation to ensure compatibility between the offer and the “core values” of the supporters. The development of a credible position for the electorate requires an extraordinary empathy, which necessitates top-quality feedback through both formal and informal channels on a continuous basis. The counterconsumer is a particular problem for the political marketer, who might need to ensure that other aspects of the campaign are instrumental in limiting the political damage that this group can cause.

3.2.3.1 Regulations and Restrictions

To understand the political market in any country, the analyst must focus on the regulatory environment. The political context involves a particularly higher level of regulations and
restrictions. For obvious reasons, the governance of a democracy requires that a minimum extent of equity be applied and be transparent. Such views are manifested in advertising and campaign spending restrictions (Niffenegger, 1989). For example, in spending, most democratic states have restrictions on candidates' budgets to prevent the outright "purchasing" of votes. The emphasis is not so much on the content of the communication as on the absolute amount of the expenditure. In most commercial market contexts, these would be independent. So, whereas in the United States a candidate can buy any time on television, in most markets the amount of time on television is restricted. Indeed, in some places, such time is confined to publicly provided space for political broadcasts. Such are the reasons for politicians opening garden fetes, announcing plowing championship winners in rural communities, they are staged events masquerading as news so as to be presented on news programs.

The implications of such restrictions for campaign strategies are that innovative ways of promoting candidates are critical. Where exposure cannot be bought outright, it must be cleverly manufactured. The danger, of course, is the trivialization of the candidate and the party.

3.2.3.2 Social and Ideological Affirmation

In democratic communities, the election is seen as a cornerstone of civil society. For the vast majority of people likes of South Africa, the significance of the franchise far outweighs immediate considerations of particular policies and personalities. The importance of elections is reflected in the ways in which they are conducted. The legal requirements are strict; state institutions are involved and are affected both by the process and outcome. In marketing terms, this feature suggests that campaigns must be carried on with dignity and that political institutions must be treated with respect. The paradox remains that campaigns that should be dignified are characterized in part by triviality. Given this, only a thorough understanding of the electorate-its culture, values, and expectations-will enable the marketer to avoid counterproductive gaffes.
More than most other consumption activity, the vote is an act of social affirmation. The major social cleavages in society are expressed in elections. For instance, in Belgium the vote reflects the identity and language issue before matters of unemployment, the economy, and the like. Most political communications tend to affirm existing commitments. The prior assumptions of the electorate restrict the marketing maneuverability of the parties (Harrop, 1990).

Marketing implications include the problems associated with addressing new issues. This is especially the case if such issues are seen to challenge the long established axioms of party support. In addition, the importance of social affirmation adds weight to the objective of "getting the vote out" that is, ensuring that the traditional supporters do actually get to the polling stations.

3.2.3.3 The Counterconsumer

A phenomenon not experienced in other marketing context is the counterconsumer. Within the electorate might be a group that is not merely interested in its preferred winning an election but possibly more (or only) interested in preventing another candidate from taking office. This objective is pursued through negative communications during the campaign and through the process of tactical voting. The counterconsumer's vote is motivated by a desire to prevent a particular outcome rather than to support the candidate in whose favor the vote is cast.

The consequence of this characteristic is the need for marketers to understand election and voting procedures so that a defensive stance can be planned (Niffenegger, 1989). The competition in this scenario is not just from voters choosing opposing parties or candidates but also from those a vested interest in a candidate losing.

3.3 The Process Characteristics of Political Marketing

The tendency toward themes rather than issues reflects the attention paid to style rather than differences. In elections, communications often steer toward similarities rather than differences. For example, Smith (1989) stresses the importance of speechwriters focusing on
problems rather than on the more divisive solutions. Although not wishing to trivialize further much of what passes for political debate, the strategy lesson is that presentation must be given its due weight. Elections might not be decided by the pitch of a minister’s voice or by the color of the backdrop at a party conference (Harrop, 1990), but it is important not to devalue completely the importance of subliminal and nonrational elements in voting behavior.

The different rules and standards relating to political advertising force marketers to use news programs to convey their messages. In relation to television coverage, the smart word often is more likely to be edited in than is the smart idea, hence the calculated use of sound bites in speeches. A program of photo opportunities, briefings, speeches, and the like is necessary to make news of intrinsically promotional activities.

The marketing strategy of election campaigning must be cognizant of the lessons derived from polling data. If the product appears to be experiencing consumer resistance, then it might need to be repositioned in quick order (Newton, 1990).

Because the critical decision forum for most political markets is the election, the resources of the organization must be focused on success at that point. Whatever the effect on the ongoing running of a political office, this requires the ongoing analysis of the impact of nonelectoral decisions and activities on the ultimate decision point.

3.3.1 Value-Defining Processes

Value-defining processes enable the assessment of the organization and its electorate’s concerns. They include the process of establishing or affirming core values and of aggregating competing claims to those values and delineating limited numbers of options.

3.3.1.1 Establishment of Core Values

The value-defining process seldom is started from scratch. New political parties often are formed by dissatisfied elements from within existing entities. For both new and old parties, however, it is important to establish, renew, and refine core values. Politics is essentially about
reconciling claims for state action that are quintessentially competitive. Therefore, parties must appeal to the electorate by values are about class, religion, or ethnic identity. Some political markets are defined by reference to other fundamental social cleavages that owe their origin to major historic discontinuities such as war, new state formation, and cataclysmic economic events. The process of defining these core values might involve charismatic leadership, although as Weber's famous topology suggests, tradition or rational procedures might be the more enduring.

Core values do not need to be very specifically delineated. Indeed, the content of policy might appear to nonpartisan observers to contradict core values. It is important, however, that a party's supporters see continuity as well as change. The implication for successful management is the need to reconcile central identities with market realities. The correct market response will depend on the party's strategic analysis (Collins and Butler, 1996). The more narrow and specific the core values of a party, the more challenged it will be as circumstances change.

3.3.1.2 Value Aggregation

All political parties must attract sufficient supporters to remain viable. In some markets, the status of "political party" and the right to compete are dependent on achieving a threshold of support. If the core values of the party resonate with significant sections of the electorate, then there inevitably will be conflict of interest within the organization as well as with other parties. For example, a party whose core values revolve around religion or language usually will need to reconcile the interest of farmers and consumers or of employers and employees. The larger the market share a party seeks, the more complex the processes of articulation. In most cases, values are articulated in a continuous cycle of informal discussion, position papers, conferences, and party meetings (Niffenegger, 1989). As in other businesses, the process will display a range of openness, hierarchy, and trust. Political parties are, however, seldom able to achieve level of discipline that business firms regard as normal. These process characteristics are to an extent governed by the organization feature highlighted earlier.
Such processes of aggregation have implications for procedures of inclusion. It will be critical for managers and administration to follow the rules of the organization, encouraged wide participation, and establish consensus.

### 3.3.1.3 Leaders and Candidates

The process of value definition is crucially influenced by the selection of candidates and leaders. In effect, like other businesses, parties are in large part a reflection of their full-time “employees”. Most important is this corp of people on which the party will draw to fill state Office if the occasion arises. Broadly speaking in parliamentary systems, this is the membership of the legislature. Elsewhere, it is those in elected public offices.

Candidate selection is a part of the value-developing process. Thus, for example, the values of women, racial minorities, and various social classes have become more distinctively defined as parties have adjusted to recruitment-to-office procedures. Because this part of the value-defining process is so significant, party strategists have concentrated on adjusting it to reflect marketing imperatives. This can cause friction in organizations with structured dependence on amateurs and volunteers.

### 3.3.2 Value-Developing Processes

Value-developing processes enable the creation of positions and policies to meet the concerns articulated and aggregated in the definition stage (Nimmo, 1970). The particular process issues that distinguish politics include the specification of voter choice, the communication standards and style of electoral competition, and the extra-ordinary level of attention from the media and the public.

#### 3.3.2.1 Specification of Choice

The characteristics identified in this analysis of political marketing are part of a continuous process. Nevertheless, it is useful to regard the specification of choice as a stage after value
defining. In these terms, it involves the development or policy positions or, at least, clear parameters for discussion or compromise. Like other businesses, parties seek to attract customers through the claims that they make about their offers (Newton, 1990). Most commercial organizations, notwithstanding worker councils and employee share ownership schemes, are not as inherently democratic as political parties. The open articulation of opinions at conferences and the full range of rational and charismatic approaches make for a rich experience that rarely in seen in other context. Parties are not simply responsive in this process. Their ability to manage market expectations or to set the policy agenda depends greatly on their market position in terms of size, the demography of their support, and skill.

Implications for parties are ironic. On the one hand, it is at this stage that most media attention is focused, so statements must be seen as newsworthy and innovative (Crewe, 1990). On the other hand, policy needs to be couched in a rhetoric that maximizes its appeal to the party's supporters and the wider electorate.

3.3.2.2 The Communication Standards and the Style

Politics is largely concerned with processing of ideas. Elections are one mechanism through which some people’s ideas come to prevail over those of others. It is unusual for substantive debates to be the main focus of political marketing. Three decades ago in the United States, Nimmo (1970) noted that “election campaigns are fought not ‘on the issues’ but (rather) on the themes” the purpose of which is to “simplify complex public issues into brief, clear, recognizable statements to the advantage of candidate”. Ronald Reagan garnered much support in U.S. presidential elections by dwelling on themes-appealing to the masses with a broad focus, symbolism and emotiveness, rather than with the specific positions and programs that are followed only by the “political nation.” Identifiable symbols, ceremony, and rhetoric would appear to be of more benefit in vote-catching terms than would the development and explanation of policies. Many political “debates” on television are merely shows in which rehearsed set pieces are proffered in fear of making a blunder. The same type of insubstantial statements appears in the print media, but only the editors of quality newspapers produce
verbatim reports of political texts in their entirety as opposed to sound bites.” Newton (1990) reports that the ratings of news and current affairs programs fall during elections as people “react against the deluge of election coverage.”

Advertising standards in political marketing differ significantly from those in other contexts. The practice of negative advertising is unique to politics, with the relatively tame comparative advertising being the nearest commercial equivalent (O’Shauhnessy, 1990). The facility to engage in disparaging communications even at deeply personal levels, and often by anonymous surrogates, is not uncommon in politics. The capacity to generate anxieties, doubts, and fears is augmented by the brevity of television spots and news coverage sound bites that do not allow time for qualification or defense.

The inherent conflict is that whereas more political information is delivered faster to more people than ever before through the instant mass media, the political content of such information and reporting tends to be sensationalized, personalized, and trivialized. Most countries attempt some control of political advertising and communications. In some instances, broadcast time is made available according to agreed formulas, and in others, budgetary limits are set. Such restrictions would be intolerable in commercial marketing. The marketing implication of this increasing emphasis on style is that presentation is critical; in fact, repetitive references to manifestos and policies are much less important (Reid, 1998).

3.3.2.3 Media Attention and Political Polls

The attention paid to political and electoral issues, especially during elections, is unrivaled in any other marketing setting. In particular, television coverage of politics and elections is influential. Even outside of the electoral context, the ongoing coverage of political events and processes-leading to the notion of the “permanent campaign”—provides opportunities unknown in other businesses.
Of particular interest to marketing professionals is the actual influence of such coverage on the electorate. It is difficult to disentangle the media's influence from that of education, religion and the like. The same message can be received and interpreted by different people in different ways (Newton, 1990). At a minimum, however, there is a broad acceptance of the agenda-influencing power of the mass media in political terms. Although the quantity of coverage is significant, the television medium, from which most people now get their political information, is one of semiconcentration by the audience (Denver, 1989). Thus, the danger lies in the simplistic reporting of short news items.

Unlike most market research reports, political polls are continuous and subject to wide and intense debate. Polls are now conducted and published within hours during elections. Their immediacy precludes great depth of information, but fundamental attitudes and preferences can be addressed. Polls cover current voting intentions, perceptions of party leaders, government performance, current issues, and much more. They also differ from other marketing research because they are available to the marketer as well as to the "manufacturer".

The publishing of polls and the subsequent debate influence several aspects of the political process (Crewe, 1990); party morale and policy formation may be acutely affected as well. Party activists and policy makers tend to be surrounded by people holding similar political views, so external polls provide a source of relatively reliable information.

The implication for marketing of media attention is the necessity to develop media expertise that focuses on photo opportunities, set-up walkabouts, and situations flattering to the candidate masquerading as "news". Also of major consequence for political marketing is the provision of information in late polls that enables voters to practice tactical voting.

3.3.3 Value-Delivering Processes

When the political offer has been defined and developed in terms of the value proposition, it ultimately must be delivered (Harris, 2001). The distinctive characteristics of politics that
affect the delivery of political offers include the Office-policy dichotomy, the periodic nature of elections, and the employment of tactical voting procedures in the market.

3.3.3.1 Office-Policy Dichotomy

By their success in elections, parties are able to fulfill the expectations that they represent in two ways: They may be able to advance their particular policy priorities or to enjoy the rewards of Office. Clearly, both may be achieved, but the second usually is less openly pursued. In party systems (e.g. that in Britain), where two major parties compete for the monopoly of government power, head-to-head, Office, and policy rewards are hard to distinguish. In most political systems (e.g. that in Turkey), however, either power is dispersed among various institutions, such as the residency, courts, and legislature, or it generally is wielded by a coalition of parties. Delivering policy goals might be less straightforward than placing party supporters in government, administrative, or quasi-administrative positions. Legal, constitutional, and practical considerations might set limits on a “to the victor goes to spoils” approach. Many parties’ core values, however, revolve around ensuring that more of their ethnic, linguistic, gender or other groups are placed in positions of authority.

3.3.3.2 Periodic Market

A characteristic of the political marketing process that differentiates the context markedly is the periodic nature of elections. Whereas most markets operate on an ongoing basis, the importance of the election to the power, standing, and success of political market participants is critical. Notwithstanding the varying temporal nature of other markets (e.g. stock markets operate in minute time frames, major construction projects have cycles of many years), the importance of the win-lose dimension of a single election in many political markets has enormous consequences. Political careers and futures might be wholly dependent in single voting outcomes. Voting patterns do not just reflect current attitudes about parties and candidates. Because the vote is periodic, it becomes the prime opportunity for direct communication by the citizen to the party (Smith and Saunders, 1990). In some instances, the electorate’s strong sense of loyalty to a party or candidate might enable forgiveness for past
broken promises. In other cases, elections are an opportunity for the public to punish past transgressions.

The implications of the periodic nature of political elections are that all competition ultimately is focused on the election, so regardless of whatever happened in the past, the party or candidate needs to be in good standing come decision time.

3.3.3.3 Tactical Voting

The process of tactical voting differentiates electoral marketing from other contexts. It is analogous to a negative purchase. Tactical voting occurs when voters vote for a candidate other than their favored one so as to defeat their least favored candidate. Measuring the extent or outcomes of tactical voting is difficult, but there is evidence that it has become more common in recent years (Denver, 1990). Encouraging tactical voting might form an important part of the local marketing plan. This market operation does not exist in other commercial markets. The marketer here must understand the complexities involved and analyze polling data for possible signals in this regard (Smith, 1989). The implication for the marketer is that this situation demands subtle and precise targeting of political effort. The difficulty is that planning might require supporters behaving a counterintuitive manner by acting on marketing criteria rather than on ideological criteria.
4. PERCEPTION IN POLITICAL MESSAGES

4.0 Overview

This chapter seeks to describe the relation between the perception and political marketing. At first the process of perception from the view of psychology and then how important the perception in voting behavior is discussed by explaining how voters position the parties in their minds.

4.1 Perception and Political Marketing

One of the key elements of a successful political marketing strategy is the development of a product i.e., leader, candidate, party, and the slogans, the speeches and campaigns that voters may perceive as relevant to their needs and expectations. The way a slogan is worded may determine its ability to be perceived and learnt by the target audience (Chisnall, 1994). The perception of a slogan depends on the interpretation of the political message through the sensory system of the people for which the message is targeted. For this reason senses have a significant influence in perception process. The senses are stimulated by unexpected or unusual objects or events; in the predictable routine of everyday life, an individual tends to seek variety and change. External stimuli or sensory inputs can be received on a number of channels. The inputs picked up by our five senses are the raw data that begin the perceptual process. For example, sensory data emanating from the external environment (i.e., hearing a candidate’s message on the radio) can generate internal sensory experience.

Perception has been defined as the process of sensing, selecting, and interpreting of marketing stimuli by the target audience, in this case the voters (Solomon, 2004).

Like computers, people undergo stages of information processing in which stimuli are input and stored. Unlike computers, we do not passively process whatever information happens to be presented. In the first place, only a very small number of the stimuli in our environment are ever noticed. Of these, we attend to an even smaller number. The individual, who is
influenced by his or her unique biases, needs, and experiences, interprets the meaning of a stimulus.

There appears to be three basic functions of perception:

- Sensing a stimulus in the external world. Transferring the data from external world to sensory register, for example, the voter realizes different slogans.
- Selecting and attending to certain stimuli and not others. Transferring the data from sensory register to short-term memory, for example, the voter selects just one party’s slogan.
- Interpreting the stimuli and giving them “meaning”. Transferring the data from short-term memory to long-term memory, for example, the voter starts to build an idea about the party, good or bad.

Most people rely on the five senses to bridge the gap between the external world and their mental worlds. Our sensory receptors are our organs—eyes, ears, mouth, nose, and skin—that receive inputs from the environment. The senses tend to be used in combination and for instance, to convey experiences from seeing (slogans), hearing (party songs); together these senses contribute to perception.

Also personal factors modify the effect of the various physical stimuli (slogans) that influence perception. “Behind every act of perceiving is the individual’s past history of experience. Previous experience has built up a relatively stable cognitive organization within the individual which determines the meaning of a particular percept” (Chisnall, 1994)

The “span of apprehension” limits the number of objects or concepts to which an individual may pay attention and comprehend at any one time. In addition to being selective, attention is also dynamic: people are continually being bombarded with stimuli of different kinds, and they do not as a rule concentrate for long on the impact made by one stimulus. People tend to switch their attention elsewhere, and the original stimulus soon loses its effect, unless it is represented in some attractive way.
Empirical studies have indicated that there are wide personal differences in the span apprehension, and that this varies in an individual according to the nature of the events and slogans, the personal significance that these may have, and the period of time during which they are under review. Voters, for instance, are exposed to a wide range of messages and slogans from candidates and parties. Some of them will be dismissed as having no personal interests; the party or candidate characteristics do not offer any benefits that a voter is seeking at that time. Of those messages and slogans that are accepted, only a limited number of concepts about parties and candidates are likely to be comprehended and become part of the cognitive map of an individual voter. Attention, therefore, is selectively given, so mere exposure, or by no means guarantees that a particular slogan has actually been perceived.

In other words, perception is subjective; voters tend to interpret information according to their existing beliefs and general dispositions. Slogans and messages may be distorted or intensified by taking these beliefs and general dispositions into consideration while offering new things to make them fit in with existing predispositions and value systems.

Political marketing communications are subject to selective and distorted perception before being assimilated by voters. Also, the same messages may be interpreted quite differently by individual voters, although within defined social and cultural group reactions may be expected. Members of a particular culture tend to form similar cognitive system that directs the social actions of the individual. People may differ quite strongly from one another about an event they witnessed, or in their assessment of the value of a candidate or party. "There are no impartial facts. Data do not have a logic of their own that results in the same cognitions for all people."

Perceived differences in parties may not necessarily depend on intrinsic qualities; voters evaluate parties or candidates according to the background of their experiences, expectations, and associations. It is a personal interpretation of the information about a specific party or candidate which has been successful in attaining a level of significance in a particular voter’s mind.
4.2 The Process of Perception

There are three stages of perception, exposure, attention and interpretation, which make up the process of perception. The figure below shows these three stages.

![Perception Process Diagram]

The first stage of perception process is exposure; which occurs when a stimulus comes within the range of someone's sensory receptors. Exposure to a stimulus either occurs or it does not. Consumers' interest in and involvement with the stimulus is reflected in the level of attention they devote to it (Assael, 1995). Consumers concentrate on some stimuli, are unaware of others, and even go out of their way to ignore some message. With information exposure, a consumer's sensory organs are activated by a stimulus (Chisnall, 1995). Consumers will pick and choose the stimuli they are exposed to. A voter, in an election period, is more likely to look for slogans rather than other ads on billboards.
One characteristic of consumer information processing in the exposure stage is its selectivity. Through a process of selective exposure, consumers actively choose whether or not to expose themselves to information.

Once a consumer is exposed to information, whether or not he or she goes beyond mere exposure to actively attend to and focus on the stimulus is determined by a number of factors. One determinant of whether or not stimulus is actually detected is its intensity. The lowest level at which a stimulus can be detected fifty percent of the time is called absolute threshold (Mowen, 1993). A slogan on a highway billboard might be impressive but if the print is too small it becomes ineffective.

Most marketers are concerned with creating messages above consumers' threshold so they will be noticed. Ironically, a good number of voters appear to believe that many messages and slogans are designed to be perceived unconsciously, or blow the threshold of recognition. Another word for threshold is limen, and stimuli that fall below the limen are termed subliminal. Subliminal perception occurs when the stimulus is below the level of the consumer's awareness. Subliminal perception is a topic that has captivated the public for more than 40 years, despite the fact that there is no proof that this process has any effect on consumer behavior (Solomon, 2004).

Closely related to the concepts of threshold is that of adaptation. Adaptation is a process in which an individual is repeated experience with a stimulus. The adaptation level is the amount or level of the stimulus to which the consumer has become accustomed. It is reference point to which changes in the stimulus are compared (Kardes, 2002). The concept that consumers become adapted to stimuli has implications for both product and advertising strategies. Voters become adapted to a certain look, style and message. In order to keep candidate and party communications fresh, marketers should attempt to vary them periodically for adapting them into situation (Mowen, 1993).

The second stage of the perception process is attention; refers to the extent to which processing activity is devoted to a particular stimulus. Attention can be activated either
voluntarily or involuntarily. Voluntary attention involves the consumer in actively searching out information in order to achieve some type of goal. A major aspect of voluntary attention is selectivity. Through selective attention consumers identify the stimuli on which they will focus attention, based upon whether or not it matches their goals. When reading a newspaper, the voter will be on the lookout to find the news or messages that deals with the party he or she is supported. If the marketing communication is not perceived as matching a goal, the consumer will tend not to focus attention on it. This is a major problem for advertisers on television and radio. Consumers may be exposed to the message but simply decide not to attend to the information contained in the communication.

In addition to voluntary attention, attention can be placed upon a stimulus involuntarily. Involuntary attention occurs when a consumer is exposed something surprising, novel, threatening or unexpected. Such stimuli result in an automatic response in which the person turns toward and allocates attention to it. This response, which the consumer cannot consciously control, is called orientation reflex.

With both voluntary and involuntary attention, cognitive capacity is allocated to the stimulus. When the individual attends to the information, he or she will reveal physiological arousal. The arousal may result in an increase in blood pressure, a change in brain wave patterns, a quickening of breathing, a slight sweating of the hands, and dilation of the pupils, among other things (Assael, 1995).

The third stage in the process of perception is interpretation. During and after attention to a stimulus, the consumer attempts to gain an understanding of what it is and how he or she should react to it. In this interpretation phase, people retrieve from long-term memory information pertinent to the stimulus. In addition, expectancies regarding what the stimulus “should be like” are retrieved from long-term memory and used to help interpret it (Kardes, 2002). The personal tendencies and biases of the consumer also influence the interpretation of the stimulus. Through the interpretation process, consumers arrive at an understanding of what the stimulus is.
One problem for marketers is that consumers may interpret the same stimulus differentially. Like the differences in interpretation can be found in cross-cultural marketing, differences in the meaning of colors can be found throughout the world.

Although the principles of perceptual organization are applied unconsciously, the interpretive process occurs, at least in some instances, consciously. That is, when attempting to comprehend and understand the nature of a stimulus, consumers may be aware that they are engaged in the task. In high-involvement situations in particular; consumers will actively analyze the stimulus.

4.3 Perceptual Positioning

A stimulus often is interpreted in the light of what already known about a candidate or leader and the characteristics of the party. Perceptions of a party compromise both its functional attributes (characteristics) and symbolic attributes (image).

One technique that a marketer determines a party actually stands in the minds of voters is to ask them what attributes are important to them, how they feel other parties rate on these attributes. This information can be used to construct a perceptual map, which is a vivid way to paint a picture of where the parties and candidates/leaders are located in voters’ minds. In figure 4.2 the perceptual positioning of political parties in Turkey is shown on a continuum.

Figure 4.2 Party positioning (Çarkoğlu, A., Ergüder, Ü., Kalaycıoğlu E., (2002), Türkiye Seçmen Eğilimleri Araştırması, Frekans Araştırma Şirketi)
A positioning strategy is a fundamental part of a party’s marketing effort as it uses elements of the marketing mix (product, price, place, and promotion) in order to influence the voter’s interpretation of its meaning. As a tool of a positioning strategy, slogan which is consciously and indirectly used has essential roles in the positioning of the parties. For example “Emek, Barış, Demokrasi, Kardeşlik için DEHAP” (For, Labor, Peace, Democracy, Brotherhood DEHAP) slogan imposes voters indirectly that DEHAP is a left wing party without using the word left. Since without perception a voter cannot interpret the message, it is important for the marketing strategy to make the voters perceive their party as they intend. The voter perceives the ideology behind the party through the slogans. Therefore, slogans are important tools in the perception of the position of the party. Finally parties have the ability to make the voters think about themselves as they want.
5. THE LEARNING PROCESS AND POLITICAL MARKETING

5.0 Overview

This chapter seeks to explain the process of learning by explaining both the behavioral learning theories (classical conditioning and instrumental conditioning) and cognitive learning theory (observational learning) in order to indicate the place of it in the voting behavior. Also, the role of memory and its systems are discussed to complete the learning theory.

5.1 The Theory of Learning

Learning can be defined as a change in behavior occurring as a result of past experience. As voters gain experience in voting parties, they learn not only which parties, candidates they support and do not support, but also the features they like most in particular parties, candidates. Then they adjust their future behavior based on past experience (Assael, 1995).

From the earliest years, everyone is involved in the process of learning; this is likely to become more formal and sophisticated, until, at least, the stage of maturity. It occurs most intensively in childhood, and “falls off rapidly with old age”.

Many marketers realize that long-standing, learned connections between parties and memories are a potent way to build and keep party loyalty. Learning is a relatively permanent change in behavior caused by experience. The learner needs to have experience directly; voter can also learn by observing events that affect others (Kardes, 2002). Voters learn even they are not trying. Voters recognize many candidate and party names and can hum many party jingles, for example, even for parties they do not support. This casual, unintentional acquisition of knowledge is known as incidental learning.

Learning is an ongoing process. Our knowledge about the world is being revised constantly as we are exposed to the new stimuli and receive ongoing feedback that allows us to modify our behavior when we find ourselves in similar situations at a later time. The concept of learning covers a lot of ground, ranging from a voter’s simple association between a stimulus such as a party logo and a response to a complex series of cognitive activities (Solomon, 2004).
Psychologists who study learning have advanced several theories to explain the learning process. These theories range from those focusing on simple stimulus-response connections (behavioral theories) to perspective those regard consumers as complex-problem solvers who learn abstract rules and concepts by observing others (cognitive theories) (Chisnall, 1995). Understanding these theories is important to marketers as well.

5.2 Behavioral Learning Theories

Behavioral learning theories assume that learning takes place as the result of responses to external events. Psychologists who subscribe to this viewpoint do not focus on internal thought processes. Instead, they approach the mind as a "black box" and emphasize the observable aspects of behavior, as shown in figure below (Solomon, 2004). The observable aspects consist of things that go into the box (the stimuli or events perceived from the outside world) and things that come out of the box (the responses, or reactions to these stimuli).

![Figure 5.1 Behavioral Learning process](https://example.com/figure5_1.jpg)

This view is represented by two major approaches to learning: classical conditioning and instrumental conditioning. According to this perspective, people's experiences are shaped by the feedback they receive as they go through life. Similarly, voters respond to parties, candidates, leaders, slogans, messages and other marketing stimuli based on the learned connections they have formed over time (Mowen, 1993). People also learn that actions they take result in rewards and punishments, and the feedback influences the way they will respond in similar situations in the future. Voters who receive what they need and expected from a
party or candidate will be more likely to support them in the future but those who are disappointed about their choice will not be likely to vote them again.

### 5.2.2 Classical Conditioning

Classical conditioning occurs when a stimulus that elicits a response as paired with another stimulus that initially does not elicit a response on its own. Over time, this second stimulus causes a similar response because it is associated with the first stimulus. Pavlov, a Russian physiologist doing research on digestion in animals, first demonstrated this phenomenon in dogs (Solomon, 2004).

Pavlov induced classically conditioned learning by pairing a neutral stimulus (a bell) with a stimulus known to cause a salivation response in dogs (he squirted dried meat powder into their mouths). The powder was an unconditioned stimulus (UCS) because it was naturally capable of causing the response. Over time, the bell became a conditioned stimulus (CS); it did not initially cause salivation, but the dogs learned to associate the bell with the meat powder and began to salivate at the sound of the bell only. The drooling of these canine consumers because of a sound, now linked to feeding time, was a conditioned response (CR).

In the context of political marketing, the most important element of classical conditioning is repetition. Conditioning effects are more likely to occur after the conditioned (CS) and unconditioned (UCS) stimuli have been paired a number of times. Repeated exposures increase the strength of stimulus-response associations and prevent the decay of the association in memory (Assael, 1995).

Many political marketing campaigns consist of slogans and messages that have been repeated so many times those they are etched to voter’s mind. Conditioning will not occur or will take longer if the CS is only occasionally paired with the UCS. One result of this lack of association may be extinction, which occurs when the effects of prior conditioning are reduced and finally disappear. This can occur, for example when a party or a candidate is overexposed in political arena so that its original allure is lost.
5.2.3 Instrumental Conditioning

Instrumental conditioning, also known as operant conditioning, occurs as the individual learns to perform behaviors that produce positive outcomes and to avoid those that yield negative outcomes. Instrumental conditioning requires the development of a link between a stimulus and response. However, the individual determines the response that provides the greatest satisfaction. That is, no previous stimulus-response connection is required; response is within the conscious control of the individual. In classical conditioning, the unconditioned stimulus is already linked to a response; response is automatic or involuntary (Assael, 1995). This learning process is most closely associated with the psychologist B.F. Skinner, who demonstrated the effects of instrumental conditioning by teaching pigeons and other animals to dance, to play Ping-Pong, and perform other activities by systematically rewarding them for desired behavior (Solomon, 2004).

Although classical conditioning and instrumental conditioning come from the same basis, they separate at one point. Whereas responses in classical conditioning are involuntary and fairly simple, those in instrumental conditioning are made deliberately to obtain a goal and may be more complex. (Mowen, 1993) The desired behavior may be learned over a period of time, as intermediate actions are rewarded in a process called shaping.

Also, whereas classical conditioning involves the close pairing of two stimuli, instrumental learning occurs as a result of a reward received following the desired behavior. Learning takes place over a period of time, during which other behaviors are attempted and abandoned because they are not reinforced. A good way to remember the differences is to keep in mind that in instrumental learning, the response is performed because it is instrumental to gaining a reward or avoiding a punishment. Over time, voters come to be interested in slogans and messages which reward them, cover their needs and expectations and to choose parties that make them feel good and satisfy some need. Reward (satisfaction of the needs and wants) will increase the probability of repeating the behavior (Assael, 1995).
5.3 Cognitive Learning Theory

In contrast to behavioral theories of learning, cognitive learning theory approaches stress the importance of internal mental processes. This perspective views people as problem solvers who actively use information from the world around them to master their environment (Kardes, 2002). Supporters of this view also stress the role of creativity and insight during the learning process.

A lot of controversy surrounds the issue of whether or when people are aware of their learning processes. Whereas behavioral learning theorists emphasize the routine, automatic nature of conditioning, proponents of cognitive learning argue that even these simple effects are based on cognitive factors: Expectations are created that a stimuli will be followed by a response (the formation of expectations requires mental activity). According to this school of thought, conditioning occurs because subjects develop conscious hypotheses and then act on them.

On the other hand, there is some evidence supporting the existence of nonconscious procedural knowledge. People apparently do process at least some information in an automatic, passive way, which is a condition that has been termed "mindlessness". When voters meet a new party or candidate, for example, they have tendency to respond to the stimulus in terms of existing categories they have learned, rather than taking the trouble to formulate new ones (Chisnall, 1995).

Many modern theorists are beginning to regard some instances of automatic conditioning as cognitive processes, especially where expectations are formed about the linkages between stimuli and responses. Indeed, studies using masking effects, which make it difficult for subjects to learn CS/UCS associations, show substantial reductions in conditioning (Solomon, 2004).

Cognitive learning is relevant in understanding the process of consumer decision making. Voters recognize a need, evaluate alternatives to meet that need, select the party or candidate
that they believe will most likely satisfy them (insight), and then evaluate the degree to which the party or candidate meets the need (goal achievement) (Assael, 1994).

Cognitive theories of learning are particularly valuable, therefore, because they take into account the formation and effect of attitudes on behavior and consumers are viewed as active problem-solvers who are affect by the environment in which their needs developed. Asch (1965) stressed that “Human actions, even the most lowly, are marked by a quality of intelligence or insight...Our actions are permeated with inferences...we may fumble and engage in trial and error, but it almost never the blind character that associationistic doctrines impute to it.” (Chisnall, 1995)

5.3.1 Observational Learning

Observational learning, which is also called social learning, occurs when people watch actions of others and note the reinforcements they receive for their behaviors-learning occurs as a result of vicarious rather than direct experience. This type of learning is a complex process; people store these observations in memory as they accumulate knowledge, perhaps using this information at a later point to guide their own behavior. This process of imitating the behavior of others is called modeling. The modeling process is a powerful form of learning, and people’s tendencies to imitate others’ behaviors can have negative effects (Solomon, 2004).

Three important ideas have been mentioned as emerging from observational-learning theory. First, observational-learning theorists view people as symbolic beings who foresee the probable consequences of their behavior. People anticipate the future and vary their behavior accordingly. Second, people learn by watching the actions of others and the consequences of these actions. Social-learning theorists particularly emphasize the importance of models in transmitting information through observational learning. A model is someone whose behavior a person attempts to emulate. Third, people have the ability to regulate their own behavior. Through this self-regulatory process, people supply their own rewards and punishments internally by feeling either self-critical or self-satisfied (Mowen, 1993).
These three ideas illustrate how social-learning theory forges linkages between cognitive learning and instrumental conditioning. The concept that people are symbolic and can foresee consequences is fully compatible with principles of cognitive learning. The belief that reinforcers control the behavior of people comes from instrumental conditioning. Observational learning theory adds the concepts that people can learn by observing how the behaviors of other people are reinforced and punished. Thus, from a social learning perspective, the reinforcers and punishers do not always have to occur to the person being influenced. People can learn from observing the actions of others.

Social learning theorists argue that people can control their own behavior by creating their own reinforcement structure. A symbolic being with expectations, people reward themselves for doing something well or properly. Consumers often reward themselves by making a purchase, in our case the voters reward themselves by supporting the parties that they believe. Similarly people can punish themselves for doing something of which they disapprove.

As it can be seen from the learning theories, learning has an important role in political marketing. Voters respond the stimulus based on their experiences that they have formed overtime. For instance, voters observe the parties (governing and opponent parties), then store these information in their memory to be a guide in their next voting behavior.

5.4 The Role of Memory in Learning

Memory involves a process of acquiring information and storing it over time so that it will be available when needed. Contemporary approaches to the study of memory employ an information-processing approach. They assume that the mind is in some ways like a computer. Data are input, processed, and output for later use is revised form. In the encoding stage, information is entered in a way the system will recognize. In the storage stage, this knowledge is integrated with what is already in memory and “warehoused” until needed. During retrieval, the person accesses the desired information.

Many of our experiences are locked inside our heads, and they may surface years later if promoted by the right cues. Marketers rely on voters to retain information they have obtained
about parties and candidates, trusting that it will later be applied in situations in which voting decisions must be made. During the decision making process, this internal memory is combined with external memory, which includes all of the candidate details and other marketing stimuli that permit parties to be defined and evaluated (Solomon, 2004).

### 5.5 Memory Systems

According to the information-processing perspective, there are three distinct memory systems: sensory memory, short-term memory (STM), and long-term memory (LTM).

Sensory memory permits storage of the information people receive from their senses. This storage is very temporary; it lasts a couple of seconds at most. For example, a person might be walking on the street past a slogan on a billboard and get a quick look. Although this sensation would last only for a few seconds, it would be sufficient to allow the person to determine if he or she should investigate further. If the information is retained for further processing, it passes through an attentional gate and is transferred to short-term memory.

Short-term memory (STM) also stores information for a limited period of time, and its capacity is limited. Similar to a computer, this system can regarded as working memory; it holds the information we are currently processing. Verbal input may be stored acoustically (how it sounds) or semantically (what it means) (Solomon, 2004).

The information is stored by combining small pieces into larger ones in a process known as chunking. A chunk is a configuration that is familiar to the person and can be manipulated as a unit. For example, a candidate can be a chunk that summarizes a great deal of detailed information about the party.

Long-term memory (LTM) is the system that allows us to retain information for a long period of time. In order for information to enter into long-term memory from short-term memory, elaborative rehearsal is required. This process involves thinking about meaning of a stimulus and relating it to other information already in memory. Marketers sometimes assist in the process by devising catchy slogan or jingles that voters repeat on their own.
5.6 Storing Information in Memory

Relationship among the types of memory is a source of some controversy. The traditional perspective, known as multiple-store, assumes that STM and LTM are separate systems. More recent research has moved away from the distinction between the two types of memory, instead emphasizing the interdependence of the systems. This work argues that depending on the nature of the processing task, different levels of processing occur that activate some aspects of memory rather than others. These approaches are called activation models of memory. The more effort is takes to process information, the more likely it is that information will be placed in LTM.

Activation models propose that an incoming piece of information is stored in an associative network containing many bits of related information organized according to some set of relationship. The voter has organized systems of concepts relating to parties, candidates, messages.

These storage units, known as knowledge structures, can be thought of as complex spider webs filled with pieces of data. This information is placed into nodes, which are connected by associative links within these structures (Mowen, 1993). Pieces of information that are seen as similar in some way are chunked together under some more abstract category. New, incoming information is interpreted to be consistent with the structure already in place.

According to the hierarchical processing model, a message is processed in a bottom-up fashion: Processing begins at a very basic level and is subject to increasingly complex processing operations that require greater cognitive capacity. If processing at one level fails to evoke the next level, processing of the message is terminated and capacity is allocated to other tasks.

An associative network is developed to form links between nodes. For example, a voter might have a network for “parties”. Each node represents a concept related to the category. This node can be attribute, a specific party, candidate, message or even another party. A network
for parties might include concepts like the names ANAP, DYP, and CHP, as well as attributes such as reliable and consistent.

When asked to list parties, the voter would recall only those parties contained in appropriate category. This group constitutes that person's evoked set. The task of a new entrant that wants to position itself as a category member is to provide cues that facilitate its placement in the appropriate category. A sample network for parties may be as shown in the Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Party Network

A meaning can be activated indirectly; energy spreads across nodes of varying levels of abstraction. As one node is activated, other nodes associated with it also begin to be triggered.
Meaning thus spreads across the network, bringing up concepts including competing brands and relevant attributes that are used to form attitudes toward the brand.

This process of spreading activation allows voters to shift back and forth between levels of meaning. The way a piece of information is stored in memory depends on the type of meaning assigned to it. This meaning type will in turn determine how and when the meaning is activated.

Knowledge is coded at different levels of abstraction and complexity. Meaning concepts are individual nodes (e.g. consistent). These may be combined into a larger unit, called a proposition (also known as belief). A proposition links two nodes together to form a more complex meaning, which can serve as a single chunk of information. For example, a proposition might be that “DYP is a consistent right wing party.”

Propositions are in turn integrated to produce a complex unit known as a schema which, is a cognitive framework that is developed through experience. Information that is consistent with an existing schema is encoded more easily. The ability to move up and down among levels of abstraction greatly increases processing flexibility and efficiency.
6. THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF RHETORICS IN POLITICAL MARKETING

6.0 Overview

This chapter seeks to explain the crucial role rhetoric in political marketing. While political scientists have usually treated rhetoric as epiphenomenal, one strand of constructivism has recently returned rhetoric to the heart of political analysis, especially through the mechanism of persuasion. In this chapter at first the definition, the history and the significance of rhetoric are explained. Then the reasons for analyzing the political rhetoric and the ways to analyze it such as repetition, association, composition, omission, diversion and confusion are presented. Finally, the supplementary kinds of rhetoric which are War Propaganda, Humour, Historical Analogies and Positiveness Rhetoric are discussed.

6.1 The Definition of Rhetoric

Rhetoric is the study of effective speaking and writing. Although there are various definitions of the word "rhetoric", it can be said that it is the art of persuasion. This includes written as well as spoken persuasion, and would include propaganda, advertising, etc. However, originally, it referred to spoken persuasion. In a nutshell, rhetoric is the art of effective expression and the persuasive use of language. It concerns both the practice and study of effective communication. In addition to these, it is pluralistic form of criticism, so rhetorical analysis may serve in the study of all forms of communications, such as speeches, advertisements, debates, television news and indeed political arena. Therefore, rhetoric is a fundamental and crucial element for political marketing. Before analyzing the components of rhetoric, it should be mentioned the historical background of rhetoric in brief.

6.2 The History of Rhetoric

Rhetoric grew out of the need for people to express themselves in court. There were no lawyers in Athens, Greece in 500 B.C.E. The story goes that a man by the name of Corax started the first courses in rhetoric in Sicily in response to an increase in lawsuit over land. It cannot be definitely true, yet it is certain that traveling teachers called sophists (sophos = wise)
began teaching rhetoric in Athens in the 5th century. The Athenians had done two things that created a need for teachers of rhetoric. First, they founded a democratic form of government and second, they instituted court reform. As far as democratic form of government is concerned, government had been based on a clan or tribal system, as it still is in many Middle Eastern countries today. This meant that the clans with the most land, power, people, etc., had advantage over weaker clans. Since the system had not worked smoothly, Kleisthenes created a system in which power resided in the people as a whole and not in a privileged group. Second, in terms of court reform, they filled high offices with the best qualified candidates who were chosen by lot. Besides all, the courts were reformed by changing from a system of magistrates who decided cases to a system of juries chosen by lot. Incidentally, the juries were quite large, around two hundreds citizens. It should be noted that the citizens did not include women or slaves. Also it is worth to note that slaves were not of African origin, but were generally women and children or male craftsmen captured in wars. Most males captured in war were killed. If the men were not killed, they would have been used to work in mines or the galleys of ships. Getting back to the point, since the juries were large, trials were rather public affairs. Moreover, the people involved in the trials had to defend or plea their own cases. (Burton, 2001)

With such an open system of government in which people had to argue their own cases and could become powerful politicians and leaders by virtue of their persuasiveness, learning how to win friends and influence people became a valued and respected skill. Hence, speech teachers were in demand; however things were not all as equalitarian as we might imagine. As always wealth played no small part. The sophists (teachers) charged high fees for their services, which only the wealthy could afford. Just like today, the rich got richer and the poor, poorer.

6.3 The Significance of Rhetoric

Classical rhetoric is important because it established the basic theories of persuasion that were taught until this century. These theories still hold true, and people of this century become better, more persuasive communicators if they adhere to the best of them. It can be easily
recognize that the most influential and powerful people in this society are good communicators. By and large, the politicians who make the laws are excellent speakers. Furthermore, people whom we admire (outside of sports) are often good communicators. Although it's said that power comes out of the end of a gun, power really comes out of people's mouths. Hitler was a good speaker who was able to control a large military by virtue of his power to persuade. Christ was a person who was able to persuade with sermons. Malcolm X and Martin Luther King were skillful speakers. In short, effective persuasion is an essential part of success. The teachers who established rhetoric as an art knew this well and were able to observe and establish those things that make for effective persuasion. Just as Pythogoras established his theorem which serves as the basis for modern multivariate statistical theory, Protagoras, Aristotle, Cicero, etc., established rhetorical theories which are still powerful today. Language is, like the gun, an instrument of power for those who know how to use it. In brief, language and communication have "power", and politics is the power. Consequently, they are inseparable components of each other.

Having mentioned a brief history and the significance, the principals of classical rhetoric should be explained. In its long history, rhetoric has enjoyed many definitions, accommodated differing purposes, and varied widely in what it included. And yet, for most of its history it has maintained its fundamental character as a discipline for training students: 1) to perceive how language is at work orally and in writing, and 2) to become proficient in applying the resources of language in their own speaking and writing.

From Aristotle up until the advent of modern social psychology, the discipline of rhetoric was the primary repository of Western thinking about persuasion (Rank, 2005). The central concern of rhetoric has always been method and manner: how to discover the most effective way to express a thought in a given situation, and then how to alter its expression to suit different situations. Unfortunately, the many techniques catalogued by rhetoricians since antiquity (e.g., rhyme, antimetabole, pun, hyperbole) have remained largely unacknowledged, undifferentiated, and uninfluential in advertising theory.
Rhetoricians maintain that any proposition can be expressed in a variety of ways and that in any given situation one of these ways will be the most effective in swaying an audience. Hence, when persuasion is the overriding goal, the rhetorical perspective suggests that the manner in which a statement is expressed may be more important than its propositional content. The promise of rhetoric is that there exists a system for identifying the most effective form of expression in any given case.

Classical rhetoric is defined as “the art of speaking or writing effectively: as a: the study of principles and rules of composition formulated by critics of ancient times b: the study of writing or speaking as a means of communication or persuasion.” However, people often think first of a definition more like this: “empty words, meaningless speech: The prime minister’s speech was pure political rhetoric.” These definitions seem at odds with each other: effective and persuasive speech compared to empty, meaningless speech. But whether one considers rhetoric in a positive or negative way, the common factor is that it is speech aiming to persuade.

While focusing on classical rhetoric, many points are equally relevant now. Rhetorical analysis does not involve simply identifying and labeling linguistic features, but an examination of the entire context of the communication: “Speech or writing never occurs in a vacuum, but in some historical, cultural, temporal setting that is intimately tied up with how one frames discourse. In one sense, the ‘rhetorical situation’ refers to what prods or inspires communication: a pressing need, a conventional ceremony, a specific intention.”

An important part of context is audience: “Rhetoric is never about discourse in the abstract; it is always concerned with directing one’s words with specific intentions towards specific audiences...All rhetorically oriented discourse is composed in light of those who will hear or read that discourse.” As an example of rhetorical analysis focusing on context, Burton (1998) writes about Hitler’s rhetoric:
Germany of post-World War I was demoralized and disorganized. Adolph Hitler's rhetoric was successful not only because of his personal charisma and his mastery of delivery, but because he spoke at the right time: the German people wanted a way out of its economic morass and its cultural shame, and Hitler provided them both with his strong, nationalistic oratory. Had Germany been doing better economically, Hitler's words would have bounced harmlessly off the air.

As it can be easily recognized, rhetoric is quite important and it is one of the inevitable aspects of people's lives, however it is not an easy one. Rhetoric is a tough, complex and rational activity, not just deciphering language elements. In this sense political rhetoric is also very central in our lives, yet political language is seldom studied systematically. Every government, every political party, every religious group, and every "cause" group (cause groups are those which seek committed collective action) now has this ability to combine sophisticated techniques, psychological insights, and the new technology to target people untrained in persuasion. Since ignorance, lack of interest and laziness are dangerous for democratic systems, schools need to give more attention to a greater understanding of political rhetoric. Teachers need to become more aware of the significant changes recently in persuasion, and the growing imbalance between the professional persuader and the average citizen.

6.4 The Reason for Analyzing Political Rhetoric

Political rhetoric is the study of the way political parties present their messages to voters in national elections. One point of view maintained in public and academic debates is that political rhetoric is timeless, i.e. politicians use the same verbal tools for conveying their messages as they always have. A conflicting perspective is that of a systematically varying rhetoric. Seeking to analyze political rhetoric can benefit from knowledge of the terms and techniques of classical rhetoric as well as techniques frequently used in modern political speech.

Political rhetoric is a democracy has inherent complexities: the sheer number of speakers, quantity of information, diversity of viewpoints, and variety of candidates and issues clamoring for our attention. In an election year, for example, thousands of claims and charges,
promises and threats, made by politicians and professional persuaders, advocates and amateurs, are broadcast to millions of people. One result has been sense of overload. Many people, overwhelmed by the chaos, drop out completely, close their minds, justifying their position with universal attacks: "It's all lies... all baloney... all phony promises."

Some people are better persuaders than others. It's always been that way. Yet, until recently, things were relatively equal in a persuasion transaction. In the past, only the rare person had the memory, intelligence, wit, and skills of strategy to be an effective persuader - and these abilities died with the person. Today, computers can store massive amounts of information, retrieve it instantly; sort it for use, following pre-set plans. Such tools, together with money, media access, and organized work teams are available to any professional persuader today. People need to find new ways to counterbalance, new ways to teach and to inform the largest possible audiences about the techniques of persuasion. Citizens can better cope with persuaders of any kind by recognizing the predictable benefit-promising behaviors of persuaders.

6.5 The Methods of Analyzing Political Rhetoric

The art of political persuasion is harder to analyze, because it is so often fragmented. People usually see bits and pieces (sound bites, picket signs) on the news-incomplete, not sequential-usually edited by others. Furthermore, as receivers, people also are biased: everyone comes with their own set of attitudes and ideas, emotions and opinions, often a very random inheritance from their early environment. Additionally, the content of political persuasion is basically more complex, and emotionally more charged, than the commercial persuasion of advertising. Although analyzing political rhetoric is more difficult than analyzing ads, it's also more important.

Political language can be analyzed in many ways. Without denying the complexities of intent and consequences, degree and proportion, truth and deception, and other important related issues, it doesn't hurt to start off simply by focusing with what is being said and how. People need to anticipate the basic content, and to recognize the common forms of political rhetoric.
Ordinary citizens never have access to insider information, nor have the times or ability to deal with all of the complexities of a political campaign. So, analysis of these basic patterns of persuasion, however, has limited value: It does not tell citizens which side is right, what charges are true, what supporting evidence is reliable or what to do. But, such basic pattern analysis does help us to do some basic sorting out - in a detached and systematic way - of some very complex emotional arguments: to identify the examples, to recognize past history and to define the key issues. Many sources are available from various political perspectives, are much more sophisticated in analyzing cultural, psychological and social aspects of politics. However, just as the people’s awareness of the ‘little’ function words, such as prepositions, conjunctions, in language is basis to our understanding, so also our awareness of some techniques, such as repetition, association, composition, omission, diversion, confusion, helps us understand better.

Hugh Rank (1996) is one of the most prolific names of analyzing political rhetoric. He offers some simple ways to analyze complex persuasion techniques of modern advertising and political rhetoric, and proposes an “intensification/downplay” schema to analyze methods of political communication and persuasion. Intensifying involves the techniques of repetition, association and composition, while downplay involves omission, diversion and confusion.

6.5.1 Repetition

Repetition is an effective way, because people feel comfortable with what they are familiar with, and repetition creates familiarity and awareness. Most people have favorite songs, television programs, etc., that they listen to or watch over and over again. Chants, prayers, rituals, and dances are all based on repeated patterns. People learn them and remember them through repetition. Politicians often repeat key words or themes throughout a speech, and also use internal repetition techniques such as rhyme, alliteration and anaphora. Slogan is another repetition device used by politicians in the hopes that, like in advertising, audiences hearing a message many times will become saturated and remembers the message without conscious effort.
The rhetorical operation of repetition combines multiple instances of some element of the expression without changing the meaning of that element. Repetition can be applied to sounds so as to create the figures of ‘rhyme’ which forges extra phonemic links among the headline elements (“Biliyor, Geliyor” (Knows it, Comes here) IP), and ‘alliteration’ is the figure of emphasis that occurs through the repetition of initial consonant letters (or sounds) in two or more different words across successive sentences, clauses, or phrases (“Herkese iş, her eve aş için BBP” (For job to everyone, food to every house vote for BBP) BBP) or ‘assonance’ is the figure of repetition in which different words with the same or similar vowel sounds occur successively in words (“Önce sen gülersen güler bu ülke” (This country can laugh (be happy) if you can laugh (be happy))SP). Repetition applied to words creates the figures known as ‘anaphora’ is the repetition of the same word or group of words at the beginning of successive clauses or sentences (Michelle Obama: “To raise a happy, healthy, and hopeful child, it takes a family; it takes teachers; it takes clergy; it takes business people; it takes community leaders; it takes those who protect our health and safety. It takes all of us.”, “Parasız eğitim, parasız eşitlik” (Free education, free equality) IP), ‘epistrophe’ is the figure of repetition that occurs when the last word or set of words in one sentence, clause, or phrase is repeated one or more times at the end of successive sentences, clauses, or phrases (Tek Başına, İş Başına” (On its own, on the job) AKP), ‘epanalepsis’ is the figure of emphasis in which the same word or words both begin(s) and end(s) a phrase, clause, or sentence; beginning and ending a phrase or clause with the same word or words (Control, control, you must learn control ) and ‘anadiplosis’ is the figure of repetition that occurs when the last word or terms in one sentence, clause, or phrase is/are repeated at or very near the beginning of the next sentence, clause, or phrase. (“Tonight, we are country awakened to anger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution.”). Repetition applied to phrase structure yields the figure of parison, as in K Mart’s tagline: “The price you want. The quality you need.” A limiting condition is that repeated words not shift their meaning with each repetition (Mcquarrie and Mick, 1998)
6.5.2 Association

Association is the process of linking an idea or product with other ideas, events or products which the audience either likes and respects, or hates and fears, depending on the aim of the association. Politicians may use association by directly asserting, for example, their connection with certain groups and communities with which the audience identifies or respects. They may also use indirect language to establish associations, for example, metaphors, similes, allusions, synecdoches and personifications. ‘Allusion’ is the brief reference to a person, event, or place, real or fictitious, or to a work of art. Casual reference to a famous historical or literary figure or event (“Huzuru Ecevit’e ve DSP’ye Borçlusun” (You owe peace to Ecevit and DSP) DSP). An allusion may be drawn from history, geography, literature, or religion. Association may be established with images, music, colors, flags, choice of location and timing for a speech, etc., as well as words. Association may take the form of literary, historical or religious references or allusions. ‘Metaphor’, an implicit comparison, is the figure of explication occurring when a comparison made by speaking of one thing in terms of another; an implied comparison between two different things which share at least one attribute in common; an association between two unlike things (A vs. B) achieved by borrowing the language that refers to thing A and applying it to thing B (“Maceraya değil, ANAP’a oy verin” (Vote for ANAP, not for adventure) ANAP). Simile, an explicit comparison, is the figure of explication in which two things that share at least one attribute are explicitly associated with each other; an overt comparison between two unlike things as though they were similar -- usually with the words "like" or "as ( "Herşey Türkiye için, Biz Türkiye'nin dünü, bugünü, yarınıyz" (Everything is for Turkey, we are Turkey’s yesterday, today, tomorrow) AKP) ‘Synecdoche’ is the figure of comparison in which a word standing for part of something is used for the whole of that thing or vice versa; any part or portion or quality of a thing used to stand for the whole of the thing or vice versa ( “Bir Bardak Süt Bile Hasret Büyüyen Küçük Nejla “ (Little Nejla who has longed for a glass of milk in her childhood) SP). ‘Personification’ figure which represents abstractions or inanimate objects with human qualities, including physical, emotional, and spiritual; the application of human
attributes or abilities to nonhuman entities. ("Şahlanacaksın Türkiyem" (You will rear up my Turkey as a horse does) DYP)

6.5.3 Composition

The way a presentation is composed can be used as a technique of intensifying. The type of language used (negative or positive, active or passive constructions, simple or abstract, etc.), the level of detail, the use of absolutes (all, always, never, etc.) and qualifiers (perhaps, some, a number of, maybe, etc.), Rhetorical questions, which ask a question, not for the purpose of further discussion, but to assert or deny an answer implicitly; a question whose answer is obvious or implied (Ronald Reagan was a particularly effective user of rhetorical questions, for example "Can anyone look at our reduced standing in the world today and say, "Let's have four more years of this?"); 'Hyperboles' which results when a statement makes a claim that strictly speaking is impossible, exaggeration for rhetoric effect ("Kazancı Lastik Parasına Yetmeyen Yolların Fatihi Çileli Cevdet" (Cevdet, the man of suffer, the conqueror of the roads, the man who cannot afford even for his tire) SP), the order of presentation and the overall organization of a speech can all be used to emphasize certain ideas or themes. Non-verbal elements can also contribute to composition: facial expression, gestures, tone of voice, etc. also play a role. And also metaphor can be used to intensify the meaning of the speech or slogan.

6.5.4 Omission

All communication involves decisions about what information to include and what to omit and therefore is limited, slanted or biased in one way or another. However, politicians often choose to deliberately omit information about disadvantages, hazards or side-effects of their proposals. What US politician, proposing military action in another country has reminded the US population that his proposed action is likely to result in the deaths of a certain number of soldiers not through enemy attacks, but from "friendly fire". Politicians can also be expected to omit information about any criminal or scandalous activities of their own or their associates in the past, as well as information about their own mistakes or failures. Conflicts of interest
may be covered-up and information about the source of controversial information may be omitted also. Finally, information about the opposition’s good points is likely to be omitted. Subtle forms of omission include quotes taken out of context and half-truths, and can be hard to detect. Irony is one of the most significant examples of subtle forms of omission. ‘Irony’ is the expression of something which is contrary to the intended meaning; the words say one thing but mean another (“Hükümetten öğrenecek çok şey var” (There are many things to learn from the government).SP).

6.5.5. Diversion

Diversion techniques distract focus or divert attention away from key issues, usually by intensifying unrelated issues, or trivial factors. Diversion techniques include attacks on the personality and past of opposition figures rather than their relevant policies, appealing to the emotions – fears, hopes, desires – of the public rather than their reason, directing attention to the short-comings of the opposition rather than to one’s own weaknesses, evasion of difficult topics, emphasis on superficialities or details rather than substance, and finally, jokes or other entertainment to distract attention. Irony and personification can be good examples of the use of diversion techniques.

6.5.6 Confusion

Politicians sometimes make their presentations so complex and chaotic that those listening get tired or overloaded, and give up on trying to follow. Confusion, whether caused by accidental error or deliberate deception, can hide or obscure important issues. Politicians may seek to confuse their audience by using unfamiliar or ambiguous words, technical jargon, euphemisms, round-about or rambling sentence construction, inappropriate or unclear analogies, non-logical sequences of thought or linking of ideas, manipulation of statistics, over complexity, information overload, etc. After introducing confusion, the politician is in the position to offer an easy answer, a simple solution to complex problems, telling the audience: “trust me”. Having explained the meaning of confusion, paradox can be a good example of such a controversial concept. ‘Paradox’ is an assertion seemingly opposed to common sense, but that may yet have
In addition of all of these, there are also some supplementary kinds of rhetoric such as: War Propaganda, Humour, Historical Analogies and Positiveness Rhetoric.

6.6 War Propaganda

Rank (1996) offers a set of guidelines for analyzing war propaganda, another genre of political rhetoric. He writes: “Words are weapons in warfare. Words affect how people think about themselves and about others. War is probably the time of the greatest language manipulation, when people are most likely to deceive others, least able to negotiate, and are under the most intense emotional stress-of fear and anger-with the greatest dangers of loss, death, and destruction.”

Rank points out that some types of war propaganda target the domestic audience, with the aims of uniting the country, building morale, silencing opposition, inciting action, and channeling energy. Other types of war propaganda are aimed at the enemy, with the intention to terrorize or demoralize. With modern means of mass communication, messages can be ensured to reach a huge audience, worldwide. War propaganda has the risk of getting out of control, and inciting more hatred than originally intended. The basic techniques used for war propaganda are to intensify your own good points and downplay the enemy’s good points, and to downplay your own weaknesses while intensifying those of the enemy. As it has seen repeatedly in the last century, the enemy is demonized, while the “good guys” are portrayed as the protectors of the free world.

6.7 Humour

Inglott (2001) suggests that humour may be a useful rhetorical technique for politicians. He proposes that a new type of joke, which he refers to as the “serious joke,” may aid the diplomatic
practice of the 21st century, inspiring creative approaches to problem solving through new perspectives and shifting frames of reference.

Inglott writes: “...jokes are the paradigmatic example of language. ...the most singular aspect of language - namely its creativity - is most manifest in wit and humour - in jokes.” A joke is a powerful tool because

it shows things in a new perspective, it shifts frames of reference and places things in a new gestalt. As Edward de Bono puts it, it causes perceptions and conceptions which were set up in one pattern to be reconfigured into another different pattern. That is its inbuilt goal...It takes you to an apparently unreasonable point from which the main road along which you have been traveling does not appear to be the only one. A joke is the best device to get you on the side track from where you can see that there are other ways of getting about than just the contraries forward or backward, or right and left. Joking involves glimpsing the improbable and using upside down logic.

Inglott (2001) compares jokes to arguments, pointing out that joking may be a more productive technique in diplomacy:

The structure of an argument is the confrontation of contraries aimed at making a choice between opposite ways. A serious joke, on the other hand, is a provocation to both parties displaying the possibility of adapting an as yet unexplored angle of approach. It aims not at the victory or defeat of either side, not a compromise, which means some sacrifice by both sides, not consensus, which is only agreement at the low level of the highest common ground, but at a situation where something is gained by both sides. Serious joking is the prime tool of the mediator who does not conceive of his role as neutral or passive, but as a promoter of win-win conclusions.

6.8 Historical Analogies

Historical analogies are a rhetorical device frequently used by politicians and diplomats to strengthen their arguments or to persuade the public of their views. Pehar (2001) explains why this type of rhetoric can be so effective:
First, historical analogizing is an essential part of national narrative and national identity. Nations tend to group around their most central and deeply rooted memories. Over time many of those memories acquire the status of lasting symbols that nations use to describe their contemporary concerns or fears as well...they help people symbolically transcend the limitations of time and space.

The second function, which is directly linked to the aforementioned one, is the function of identity maintenance. Historical rhetoric not only provides nations with the sense of worldly immortality; a surrogate of religion, but also with an answer to the question "Who are we?" Historical rhetoric explains the lasting origins of a nation...When a president says that the nation must look to its past for a vision and inspiration to guide its present choice, he actually says that if applied to the present, models from the past will help the nation maintain its spirit and sense of specific identity.

A third function of historical analogy is simply to provide a sense of cognitive orientation in international affairs. The future is always open and undetermined, and the number of international actors and the complexity of their relations are too high to give a straight clue about future developments. Historical analogies indicate a direction for actions in this world, which would otherwise remain too complex to allow for an intellectual grasp. Historical analogy simply projects an image of past developments into the future and thus makes the future cognitively manageable.

Finally, historical analogies could be used as a kind of anti-depressant; a colorful imagery which neutralizes a boring and non-dramatic kind of political reality.

6.9 Positiveness Rhetorics

Matos (2001) examines politic communication and proposes applying his "pedagogy of positiveness" as a means to improve politic communication. He provides a checklist of suggestions for the pedagogy of positiveness, which includes pointers such as:
• Emphasize "what to say" constructively. Avoid "what not to say".

• Communicate national and international values constructively.

• Learn to identify and to avoid potentially aggressive, insensitive, offensive, destructive uses of languages. Do your best to offset dehumanizing ways of communication, often the outcome of human communicative fallibility.

• Think of the language you use as a peace-building, peace-making, peace-promoting force.

• Handle differences of opinion in a constructive way. Remember that "negative talk" tends to predominate or often dominate in face-to-face diplomatic interactions.

• Try to see and describe both sides of an issue. Challenge yourself to make balanced (rather than biased) statements. Don’t be a polemicist.

• Conflict can be managed to some extent, and so can language use, especially if you adopt a constructive perspective, for expressing your attitudes, beliefs, and emotions...Educate yourself in identifying "positivisers" in spoken and written texts in your field and challenge yourself to make increasing use of such constructive, human-dignifying adjectives, verbs, and nouns.

Matos believes that "communicating well diplomatically means communicating for the well being of diplomatic interlocutors and, more broadly, for the well-being of humankind."

In addition to Matos, in June 1999, Wall Street Journal offers some test-marketed suggestions for more positive political speech:

1- Capture voter attention by communicating a shared value. For example, for libertians this could be love of freedom, and frustration with high taxes and expensive and inept government bureaucracies.
2- Talk about the benefits to the voter. Instead of focusing exclusively on philosophy, it should be mentioned how Libertarian solutions will personally benefit individual voters, their families and their communities.

3- Make it personally relevant and emotionally powerful. How will current policies hurt voters in the future? It should be used anecdotes to drive points home, like the cost of Social Security in 25 years or the percentage of income their children will have to pay in taxes.

4- Use power adjectives like able, bright, honest, ready, reliable, patriotic. They are all positive, inclusive and in offensive.

5- Avoid puffspeak and wonkish terminology just like access, cash flow, feedback, inoperative. Voters have to understand the politician before they can agree with the politician.
7. THE ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

7.0. Overview

In this chapter, the findings related to the use of rhetorical figures in political marketing in Turkey are described, analyzed and interpreted from both parties’ and voters’ perspectives.

7.1 The Background to the Process of Analysis and Interpretation of the Findings

The main function in the process of political marketing is communication. This is probably due to the fact that communication is the only way that provides a connection between the voters and the parties. Therefore, it would not be wrong to assert that the most influential function in political marketing is communication. So, for studying political marketing, the primary goal should be interpreting the nature of communication. In politics, one of the most significant ways to communicate is using slogans. Slogans are the principal fractions of communication between the voters and the political parties in political marketing. They are the fundamental elements of political language which are designed to be easily remembered and repeated. Because of the importance of slogans in political communication, they needed to be analyzed. Moreover, one of the further main aims of this study is to illustrate how rhetoric and figures of speech have an essential position in political communication and how they affect people’s perception, learning and decisions. Since communication plays a crucial role in political marketing, it is important to examine the marketing communication in the context of political marketing by using slogans and figures of rhetoric in these slogans from the last national elections in Turkey. Having examined the various elements of the figures of speech which may play a significant role in achieving the perception, learning, persuasion and reinforcement objectives in political marketing, it is necessary to see it with tangible examples.

The findings of the research are summarized in Table 7.1 and 7.2. The Table 7.1 demonstrates the use of 93 rhetorical figures in 60 slogans of 13 parties which participated in the 2002 National Elections in Turkey. At this point, it is important to re-insert the definition of a ‘slogan’ and ‘the figures of speech’, because the figures of speech which are used in the slogans are the principal cues of communication messages between the voters and the parties.
Besides, slogans and figures of speech mirror the characteristics of the political parties from a product, in this case party positioning perspective. They give clues and hints to the voters. A careful and conscious voter may be in a position to distinguish a reliable, good slogan from a bad one which is not a produce of elaborate thinking and professional work. As mentioned earlier, slogans are the elements of verbal communication and language which are designed to be easily noticed, remembered and repeated. The origin of the term slogan is "a war cry or rallying cry" (and is often used in political and patriotic context), and it is frequently used to describe "a brief attention-getting phrase used in advertising or promotion." (Rank, 2005)

Some simple techniques such as repetition, association, composition, omission, diversion, confusion, help people to recognize the slogans and messages presented.

Figures of speech are used to express language in a nonliteral way, such as a metaphor or synecdoche, or in a structured or unusual way, such as anaphora, or that employs sounds, such as alliteration or assonance, to achieve a rhetorical effect. For supporting this assumption and distinguishing which slogans are the most commonly used by the political parties, an analysis of Table 7.1 would be helpful. Although there are large numbers of figures of speech, only sixteen of them are used in 2002 national elections by the political parties. Table 7.2 demonstrates the favorability of some of the rhetorical figures by different political parties.

When Table 7.1 is analyzed, it can be seen that the most popular figure of speech is irony which appeared in 24.73 per cent of all the slogans to be followed by metaphor, 16.13 per cent and synecdoche, 11.83 per cent. Satirically if there is sarcasm and irony in the nature and spirit of politics, then it is inevitable that there should be sarcasm and irony in political communication too. It is not surprising to notice that irony has the highest level of frequency to be followed by metaphor as they are quite instrumental in criticizing competitors and challengers in a subtle and sarcastic way. For instance, the slogan used by SP (Saadet Party) in 2002 elections is one of the examples of irony and sarcasm used in party slogans:

"Hükümetten öğrenecek çok şey var
Ne kadar iyi olduklarını gördük."
The using of this figure allows SP to criticize and make implications to the ruling party in an ironic and succinct way. In this slogan, the party appears to be communicating a positive comment about the previous government, but the actual meaning conveyed is completely negative. The first sentence of the slogan gives the impression that there are lots of things to learn from government, however, it actually means that there is nothing to learn from them. In the second sentence by saying 'We saw how good they are', the party essentially means the previous governmental party did nothing properly.

As far as irony is concerned, it is a form of speech in which the real meaning is concealed or contradicted by the words used (Roberts, 1985). It is a figure of speech in which what is stated is not what is meant. The user of irony assumes that his reader or listener understands the concealed meaning of his statement. Perhaps the simplest form of irony is rhetorical irony, when, for effect, a speaker says the direct opposite of what she means. This is the most popular figure of speech used by the parties. Another common use of irony is to despise the previous government. In brief, irony involves the perception that things are not what they are said to be or what they seem. Fowler (1930) defines irony as (Roberts, 1985):

"a form of utterance that postulates a double audience, consisting of one party that hearing shall hear and shall not understand, and another party that, when more is meant than meets the ear, is aware both of that "more" and of the outsider's incomprehension."

Therefore, irony is a matter of perceived and real attitude or values of the speaker, rather than a difference between the denotative meanings of the words a speaker uses. There are three kinds of irony (Doubtfire and Heasley, 1996):

1. Verbal irony is when an author says one thing and means something else.
2. Dramatic irony is when an audience perceives something that a character in the literature does not know.
3. Irony of situation is a discrepancy between the expected result and actual results.
Dramatic or situational irony is a literary or theatrical device of having a character utter word which the reader or audience understands to have a different meaning, but of which the character himself is unaware. However, in politics, the most popular type of irony is verbal irony. Verbal irony is a figure of speech in the form of an expression in which the use of words is the opposite of the thought in the speaker's mind, thus conveying a meaning that contradicts the literal definition.

Table 7.1 The analysis of rhetorical figures in slogans

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<th>Figures</th>
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<tr>
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<td>16.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rhyme</td>
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<td>Rhetorical Questions</td>
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<td>3.23</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In terms of the metaphor, in Table 7.1, it can be observed that it is the second most commonly used figure of speech in the party slogans. A metaphor is the comparison of two unlike things, like the opponent parties. It is actually a condensed simile, for it omits "as" or "like." A metaphor establishes a relationship at once; it leaves more to the imagination. It is a shortcut to the meaning: it sets two unlike things side by side and makes people to see the similarities or difference between them. Metaphor is a very important figure in the political communication, because just like irony, it allows the parties to emphasize their differences
from other parties. The parties that employ metaphor in their slogans do not just criticize the opponent party itself. They also criticize the opponent party’s ideologies and principles. For instance, the slogan used by ANAP (Anavatan Party) below can be a very good example for metaphor;

"Karanlığa değil Anavatan'a oy verin. Anavatan'a evet çünkü bu hepimizin geleceği"

This slogan ANAP criticizes one of the political parties, AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Party) in a subtle way by making implications about the symbol used by this party, its current positioning and past perceptions. Here, although the slogans seem to emphasize just one weakness of the opponent party, by the help of metaphor, the voter can apply to this weakness to all disciplines of the party, because there is not explicit implication and so the voter can use his/her imagination freely. In this slogan, the party identifies itself as a solution to all problems related to governing by referring to light, as light symbolizes hope, trust, and openness and by contrast it equates the ruling party as darkness, since darkness resembles hopelessness, bribe, unsuccessful, gloomy and foggy approaches of the opponent party. If the message was conveyed in an explicit, open, and clear manner, than the voter would be limited with the idea that is given by the slogan. Thus, metaphor triggers the voter’s imagination and creativity and provides a basis for the establishment of individual perceptions and associations.

Additionally, political parties usually prefer using metaphor, because while they are emphasizing the weakness of the opponent party, they are also in a position to highlight their own strengths, with implicit messages, in this way they may lead to persuasion and reinforcement.

In the slogan, the careful and conscious voter identifies darkness with the ruling party and suddenly remembers the unsuccessful attempts of opponent party when they were in rule. At the same time, the voter associates ANAP with light and the related attributes of light such as hope ... etc.
The use of metaphors may help the parties to emphasize and convey their own strengths and messages by comparing the weaknesses of other parties implicitly. Based on the above analyses, it is not surprising to observe that irony and metaphor in political slogans commonly, because it is the best way for comparing their own party with the others and figuring out their privileges and capabilities.

The third most used figure of speech in 2002 national elections by parties is synecdoche. A synecdoche, using a part to represent the whole, (Greek for "understanding one thing with another") is a type of trope in which some part represents the whole (like a hand being used in place of an entire person) or a whole representing just a part (using the word "Çankaya" to represent the presidency of the Republic). In a nutshell, it is when one uses a part to represent the whole, and a figure of speech in which the one of the following (or its reverse) is expressed (Doubtfire and Heasley, 1996):

- A part stands for a whole
- An individual stands for a class
- A material stands for a thing

In other words, synecdoche is a type of metaphor, in which a part of a person or thing is used to designate the whole - thus, for instance, the sentence “The house was built by 40 hands” means that “The house was built by 20 people.” Synecdoche is one of the most general ways to characterize the features and peculiarities of the characters or institutions. Hence, it is also a very common grammatical tool used by all the political parties since it can refer to the whole government, the ruling party, political system or entire society with an implicit way.

There are also some other figures of speech that are used rarely, or even never used, like epistrophe, 1.08 per cent, epanalepsis, 0 per cent and anadiplosos, 0 per cent. As mentioned before ‘epistrophe’ is the figure of repetition that occurs when the last word or set of words in one sentence, clause, or phrase is repeated one or more times at the end of successive sentences, clauses, or phrases (Tek Başına, İş Başına” AKP), ‘epanalepsis’ is the figure of
emphasis in which the same word or words both begin(s) and end(s) a phrase, clause, or sentence; beginning and ending a phrase or clause with the same word or words (Control, control, you must learn control) and 'anadiplosis' is the figure of repetition that occurs when the last word or terms in one sentence, clause, or phrase is/are repeated at or very near the beginning of the next sentence, clause, or phrase. ("Tonight, people living in the country has been awakened to anger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution."). From all of these definitions it can be seen that all of this figures are based on rhyme but it is very hard to create a rhyme that overlaps all the conditions. This is why these figures used fewer than others.

The main purpose of the drawing of the table 7.2 is to show which figures of speech are preferred by which political parties more often and discuss some of the probable links between the use of figures of speech and party positioning. As it is widely known SP, ANAP, DYP and CHP were the main opponent parties of the government before 2002 national election. From the table, it can be distinguished that most of these parties employ some figures of speech more frequently, just like irony and the reason of irony's popularity was explained in the previous sections.

Moreover, in this table, SP, 22 percent, ANAP, 16 percent, DYP, 10.75 percent and CHP, 9.68 percent used 16 different kinds of figures of speech. If it is looked at more closely, in Table 7.2, there are some very interesting points to mention. Interestingly enough, although AKP could be said to be the winner of 2002 election, the proportion of its rhetorical figures of speech by this party was very low, it has one of the lowest percentages, 5.38 percent among the parties which participated in 2002 elections. DSP has resorted allusion quite often. To understand the reason behind this, it should be remembered the definition of allusion. 'Allusion' is the brief reference to a person, event, or place, real or fictitious, or to a work of art. Therefore, they want to remind their successes and actions in the previous government. Although irony is the main figure which is used in slogans by the most of the political parties, DSP had never used this figure; because irony is based on criticism and naturally ruling party cannot criticize its own principles. It would be an irony itself.
As it can be seen, the outcomes which are taken in Table 7.2 shows that as a new entrant party with its very short history, AKP was the winner of 2002 election, but interestingly enough AKP uses figures of speech rarely. On the contrary, although SP, DYP and ANAP employ a good number of figure of speech, their proportion of vote was very low. There are of course some reasons for these surprising results.

The first reason depends upon AKP's short history. It should be actually a disadvantage, but with its strategies AKP uses this as a benefit and implies that they have a clear spotless history, even their party logo supports it. Besides, because of Turkey's economic situation, people see AKP as a new hope and new way for wealthy life standards, actually they need such an icon to survive. Moreover the philosophy that AKP tries to reveal serves to both sides, conservatives and some republicans. Hence AKP seems to adapt a middle way between these two parties. The second reason which, is directly related with political communication, is the structure and nature of Turkish society. Turkish society has not aware of the existence and the importance of rhetoric yet. Actually it can be assumed that there is not the conscious of rhetoric at all.

The large gap between the first (AKP) and the second (CHP) parties of the 2002 national election was very surprising. Since Turgut Ozal's being in government in ANAP, AKP has been the first sole governing party after eleven years. If the outcome mentioned above and the rates of the usages of rhetoric figures by these two parties are considered, it can be supposed that the voters of Turkey generally prefer simple, direct, explicit messages rather than elaborate redundant, implicit ones. Turkish people usually do not bother to spend effort to decipher between lines instead of reading, they prefer watching, and usually decide without considering the deficiencies, but pondering the pluses. Of course there may be a strong correlation between the level of education of the target audience and the relevancy of the use of rhetorical figures.

A number of previous studies showed that there are other variables which may play an important role in the formation of voting decision. According to the study of Çarkoğlu,
Ergüder, and Kalaycıoğlu (2002), Turkey Voter Orientation Research, which was conducted with 2028 people, some socio-demographic and political variables had statistically significant explanatory power on the voting decision. In their study, it was found that being young, having low socio-demographic level (education, income), being religion oriented, having right wing tendency, and not supporting the European Union explained significantly to be a voter of AKP. On the other hand, being a voter of CHP was explained negatively by speaking Kurdish, being religion oriented, and positively by being older, having left wing tendency, and supporting the European Union. Furthermore, the survey revealed similar results with the study of Esmer (2002) who found that being educated was positively related with voting CHP. In other words, in the literature it is shown that people who have more education in years have more tendencies to be a voter of CHP than AKP. When the rates of the usages of figures of speech are evaluated, this result is not surprising.

The world is ruled by mainly two abstract concepts, religion and politics (both of them depend on a good communication). For communication, religion offers four sacred books and plenty of mentors, yet for politics there are just words. So it can be seen that for communication in politics, rhetoric and figures of speech should be studied more closely in academic areas and it should be taught to the society for increasing the number of conscious voter, so if they can make decisions which are right and reliable and they deserve to increase their life standards by a good, capable and hardworking ruling parties.

The analysis of Table 7.1 shows which slogans are mostly preferred by political parties and Table 7.2 illustrates which figures of speech in these slogans are used by the same political parties. Furthermore, the analysis of these two tables gives us the opportunity of realizing some unexpected results and these results have proved that electorates are not conscious about the existence of political rhetoric at all.
Table 7.2 The use of rhetorical figures by political parties

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<th>SP</th>
<th>ÖDP</th>
<th>DSP</th>
<th>DYP</th>
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<th>DEHAP</th>
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% of Rhetorical Figures

- YP: 3.23
- CHP: 9.68
- DEHAP: 9.68
- BBP: 3.23
- AKP: 5.38
- IP: 7.53
- YTP: 1.08
- DYP: 10.75
- DSP: 4.30
- ÖDP: 5.38
- SP: 21.51
- MHP: 8.60
- ANAP: 16.13
8. CONCLUSION

8.0 Overview

In this chapter the findings of this study are discussed from the perspective of political marketing. And also the suggestions derived from the results of the study are presented and finally the target groups who are suggested to benefit from the present findings are explained.

8.1 Conclusions and Suggestions

Party slogans are significant components of the communication that takes place between a political party and its target audience. Therefore, for the examination of political marketing, an elaborate study of the slogans and the selected figures of speech have to be studied. The communication in political marketing is subject to selective and distorted perception before being assimilated by voters. The way a slogan is worded may determine its ability to be perceived and learnt by the target audience. In addition, persuasion done by the rhetoric figures enhances the ability of the audience to learn the ideology of the party. This mainly because through repeating the message constantly called"reinforcement by the rhetorical figures in the slogans", the individuals might vote as the political party anticipated.

The findings of the analysis of the figures of speech used in slogans in 2002 Turkey National Election shows that the voter's attitude may not be positively related with the frequency of the use of rhetoric figures, as the party which has one of the lowest frequencies of rhetoric figures became the sole governing party. There may be two main reasons for this outcome to occur: The 'socio-economic' and 'education' levels of Turkish voters. In spite of being in the same society and having the same cultural background because of some individual differences the same messages may be interpreted quite differently by individual voters. In other words the social and cultural group reactions may not occur as expected. For instance the voters who have a low level of education and have financial difficulties may not be aware of the rhetoric figures consciously and may behave in a different way than political marketers expected.
On the other hand, in Turkey the practice of the rhetoric figures is not carried out as much effectively as it is used in foreign political marketplaces. This can be due to several reasons. Turkish political marketers may not be aware that the figures of rhetoric is a very effective tool in political marketing, and because of they are not using appropriate figures of speech, their message could not reach the target voters. Therefore, they could not be understood by the way they want to be. Another interpretation of this situation can be the reaction votes (tactical votes) to the winner party. Because of the dissatisfactions about the previous governments and the anger of society to these ex ruling parties, the voters (the counterconsumer) choose the challenger party as a reaction to the others, and also they think of the other party as a new hope for the problems of country. These issues need to be examined more deeply by researchers in future studies.

It is suggested that before the determination of candidates, political strategies and effective communication tools, Turkish political parties should do a profound market research in order to be successful, because the outcomes of a good market research provides the identification of the target voters with their needs and wants. After the market research process, the parties should work on finding out the adequate candidates, who are able to meet the needs and wants of the voter. Moreover, by the guidance of market research, parties can attain information about socio-economic and education levels of the voters, so they can create good and correct slogans due to their needs and wants. If a candidate can make promises that match with the voters’ needs and can pass on some of these promises once in office, then the candidate ultimately will increase voter satisfaction and the sense of responsiveness of political institutions. Understanding the expectations and worldviews of the voter enables the parties to create powerful messages and strike a responsive harmony with them. Therefore, market research is an indispensable process on the way of successful political marketing and political parties should be aware of the importance of knowing the peculiarities and expectations of the voters, because political marketers, candidates, political parties and also voters all benefit from these results. Indeed this study should be read and comprehended very well by people who are in politics professionally (by politicians, political marketers, candidates, all the members of political parties) or unprofessionally (by voters). This study may be a starting
point for the political marketers to understand the importance of the processes of learning, perception and persuasion in voting behavior.

Finally, the main focus of this study has been on investigating the use of rhetorical figures in Turkey from the viewpoint of political slogans. Although the frequency of the use of slogans has been emphasized, the results of this current study indicated that a detailed analysis of the target audience with respect to their choices and needs would be more useful to understand how people perceive and make their decisions on the political parties.
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