Servant leadership within the context of Prime Minister Erdogan's political communication discourse in 2002 elections in Turkey. Serving the society as customer consumers or citizen consumers.

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S overeignty and direct democracy were the popular terms in the 18th century. However, the occurrence of group conflict due to the challenge of stratification was the main concern of the 19th century. On the other hand, 20th century has accustomed us to the role of leadership due to the economic instability, war; technological changes and urbanization. The search for the values of security and equality has led to changes in the character of politics. Nowadays, the political communication and campaign communication is following the American pattern. The new dominating and rising trends all over the world are human rights, equal voice of the suppressed, cultural diversity, human dignity, economic globalization, and empowerment leading to emancipatory tradition. We face the changing role of the public that finds the effective voice in a direct and interactive relation with the chief state executives (cited in Ampuja, M., 2010). In late modernity however, life style politics took over as people began

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seeking happiness. Governance and activists' movements became significantly popular themes. Citizens started shaping and giving directions to the leaders as citizens give aim and purpose to the whole events in the world. Thus, redefinition of citizenship in terms of consumer activism searching power and choice has turned the customer consumers into citizen consumers. The emphasis is on the strengthening of the democratic control in the form of open dialogue with citizens, representation of public opinion in government through polls and local/regional citizen juries. The cultural change is towards creating legitimate stakeholders.

Within this framework, the emphasis on ''Servant leadership'' which is a post-modern leadership style based on the service of the leaders to the followers is worth analysis as an answer for the realities of the 21st century. Servant leadership is based on service to others with altruistic motives and desire to serve. The definition and merits of servant leadership will be explained in the following paragraphs.

It is the aim of this study to analyze the content of the political speeches of Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan during the period leading to his presidency to compare and contrast with the servant leadership discourse which may offer implications to explain his success factors in year 2002 elections. This study will analyze the prime minister's discourses on 'service' with respect to the themes/dimensions of servant leadership. Although there are other dimensions of servant leadership such as morality, inspiration, vision, service, relationship building, participation, altruism, empowerment, love, humility, trust, stewardship and persuasiveness: for the purposes of this study, Page and Wong's (2000) dimensions of servant leadership construct i.e. empowerment, service and vision will be analyzed.

Moreover, the analysis of the prime minister's speeches aims to define the context in which he uses the term 'service', what he

means by that keyword, and if the meaning of his usage of the keyword has changed during that period. The explicit reference by the keywords as well as the inferred reference are analyzed in the content analysis. The qualitative content analysis will be based on the online archive of AK Party prepared by the party's media and public relations department to make a detailed and extensive analysis of the Prime minister's published speeches under the topics of ' speeches to the citizens', ' group meetings on Tuesdays' and meetings with administrative province heads. The time frame of the analysis is between 01.04.2000 and 03.11.2002. This time framework encompasses the foundation of the AK party on 14 August 2001, the candidacy of Erdogan on 3 November 2002, the general elections on November 2002. Later on, his ministerial assignment on 9 March 2003 and assignment as a prime minister on 15 March 2003 have also been analysed.

Definition of Servant leadership:

Traditional and top to bottom functioning leadership models are unable to create adaptive solutions to deal with challenges. Derived from the principles of ecology, the leadership theories of today have to emphasize individual responsibility, long term perspective of developing capacities of individuals, and a sustainable future generation (Allen, K.E., Stelzner, S.P. and Wielkiewicz, M.R., 1998). The adaptive challenges of a changing world calls for human capital with an increased capacity to critically think, understand, define and solve problems to solve complex problems. The principles of ecological approach to leadership are interdependence, open system, adaptation to influence rather than attempting to control the system. Holistic leadership thinking recognizes the world to be in constant flux and strives for synthesis

which relies on intuition and creativity leading to a more integrated world. Thus this theory moves the locus of leadership from the skills of leaders to the innovative, contextual interaction in an entire social system. It analyses the role of leader as a catalyst to expedite the processes among many individuals through their independent actions to form a collective action (cited in Harter and Oner, 2011).

Servant leadership as an alternative to the 20th century traditional leadership models is gaining popularity all across the United States as it is highly supported by well-known authors such as Peter Senge (1990) and Stephen Covey (1994). The rising trend of participative management and empowerment of employees with an ethical leadership style, coupled with emphasis on learning and development go well aligned with the manifesto of servant leadership. Although Anglo-Saxon definitions of leadership have mainly focused on the influence process of leadership (cf. Anderson et. al., 2002), servant leadership functions by leaders' influence in terms of service to their followers. Greenleaf (1977) contended that great leaders are primarily motivated to help and therefore serve others. As Cunningham (2002) states a leader is successful only if the served follower grows as a person. Greenleaf (1970) emphasized the caring nature of servant leaders to meet the highest priority needs of the employees being served as well as the less-abled of a society at large. Servant leadership, based on the service principle, has strong altruistic ethical overtones.   In accordance with that principle, the servant leaders are attentive to the concerns of followers and empathize with them and moreover care and nurture them.

Velasquez (1992) suggested that benevolence, truthfulness, and humility are attributes of ethical leaders which prove servant leaders to be ethical. Based on this ethical nature of servant leadership, the altruistic base creates ground for the servant leaders

to act morally and show concern for the best interests of the followers.

Spears (2002) proposed ten attributes to explain servant leadership: listening, empathy, healing, awareness, persuasion, conceptualization, foresight, stewardship, commitment to the growth of people and building community. (Notice that being an irritant does not appear on his list.)

Graham (1991) stressed the inspirational and moral dimensions of servant leaders and defended servant leadership as a value-neutral paradigm unlike charismatic leadership. Although charismatic leadership practice is quite common in developing countries, there is a positive relationship between charismatic leadership and the need for leadership. This implies increased dependency for subordinates in the existence of charismatic leaders. Thus the possible effect of unquestioning obedience and absence of openness to criticism may result in detrimental consequences for the organization (cf. Anderson et al., 2002).

Servant leadership, based on personal trust and well developed relationships, is a humble means of affecting follower behavior unlike the use of charismatic abilities as a form of personal power (Bass, 1960). It triggers the influence mechanism of leaders on followers and motivates followers by facilitating service and stewardship (Sarkus, 1996). Servant leaders value service and relying on service, they endear the followers to the leaders in reciprocal relationships. Cialdini (2001) evaluates this reciprocation as a primary means of influence on the followers. However, this reciprocity is assumed to be a positive form of reciprocation as the ultimate goal is that the followers will respond to this reciprocal relationship by serving others in the same manner the servant leader serves him. Thus it is neither ownership by the servant leaders nor obedience to the servant leaders, but the exchange is in the form of service and accountability to the

followers and the stakeholders the organization serves. Thus Greenleaf (1977) envisioned a servant leader as one who facilitates achievement of a shared vision via the personal development and empowerment of followers.

Servant leadership creates a sense of community with participative management based on shared decision making power. Robert Greenleaf (1977) defined this style of leadership as one where a leader truly takes into consideration the needs of others and makes it a priority to empower and develop these individuals in a spirit of true service. Servant leadership linked to the emotional well-being of employees takes a disciplined view about ethical and caring approach to individuals (Spears, 1995). De Pree (2002) broadened the definition of leadership emphasizing the moral and trustworthy nature of servant leaders; Page and Wong (2000) incorporated the ideals of empowerment, team building, participatory management, vision and service ethic into the servant leadership philosophy; Barbuto and Wheeler (2002) emphasized altruistic calling, emotional support, wisdom, persuasion and organizational stewardship as the basis for servant leadership and finally Patterson (2003) defined constructs of love, humility, altruism, vision, trust, service and empowerment to be servant leadership values.

Servant leadership based on foresight, vision, ethics, care, empowerment and communication creates reciprocity on the part of the workers as well as customers. Reciprocity based on such values as trust, openness, and loyalty, and results in value-based interactions characteristics (Yukl, 2005). Greenleaf's idea of serving followers implies preparing them for what is about to happen, for the future. Servant leaders have to propose intelligent thoughts and ideas to enhance operations, have the courage to question, disagree without confrontation, defend their point of views and beliefs even if they are unpopular with the crowds.

Critical thinking might be disturbing temporarily, yet it presumes to serve long term interests.

Servant leaders will assume that doing something now for someone can deliver much of what is conventionally called the future (see Frick & Spears, 1996, p. 74). Perception of the future will depend on awareness. Awareness varies among individuals, yet it is developable. Foresight is filling in the blanks, bringing the future into the present by our efforts. This then is the attitude of the servant leaders, namely to build one's awareness of the connecting links in the form of progressive events from the past into the present and future. Awareness that comprehends the future views time as a process and brings the future and the past into the present. At that stage, critical minds set the stage for development. Questions define what is not known and this opens up the search. If we ask questions stemming from critical thinking, we are likelier to get both the right means and the right ends – or at least recognize that we have the wrong means or the wrong ends.

In any case, the greatest foresight of all is the influence one has over the future by helping the growth of subsequent generations. The future can only be shaped and radically altered by the kinds of people being prepared now for the future. It is the servant leader's vision to paint a big dream – a dream that will last – and assign the new generation a goal to direct their energies and stretch their horizons.

Methodology

The speeches of Prime Minister Erdogan as displayed on the AK party official party website. All the public speeches have been archived and they were qualitatively analyzed. The content analysis is more concerned with the contents of the text, and the number of

words and expressions, discourse analysis is more concerned with the form, structure and meanings of the text. Johnson and Duberley (2000, p. 59) identify three approaches to textual analysis i.e. positivist, linguistic and interpretative approaches. In this qualitative research, I chose the positivist approach, that is the nature of the text is considered objective and the research method is close to identifying the non-random variation in the material. The role of the researcher is an outsider.

Functional definition of servant leadership dimensions in context

For the inferred implicit analysis of the content analysis of the speeches, the following functional definitions have been referred to. The definitions are based on a study carried out in Istanbul as part of my doctoral study (Oner, 2008).

Service: provide resources to help citizens reach their aims and cater the citizen needs.

Vision: leadership as responsibility, appreciation of others' achievements.

Empowerment: Participative decision making, community building, social responsibility for the society, delegation and consultation, setting realistic targets, problem solver, encourages risk taking, emotional pacifier, gives explanation about happenings.

Content analysis of speeches of Prime Minister Erdogan

The time frame of the analysis is between 01.04.2000 and 03.11.2002. This time framework encompasses the foundation of the AK party on 14 August 2001, the candidacy of Erdogan on 3 November 2002, the general elections on November 2002. Later on, his assignment to the parliement on 9 March 2003 and assignment as a prime minister on 15 March 2003 have also been analysed.

Period 1	Period 2	#of speeches	service	vision	Common decision / social responsibility / target/ authority	citizen
01.04.00	19.04.11	n/a	1925	884	14/13/2175/1188	2248
02.07.07	19.04.11	n/a	659	406	5/4/668/350	740
15.03.03	2.07.07	n/a	1158	412	9/7/1418/720	1367
15.03.03	21.11.06	n/a	1036	358	6 /7/1288/667	1217
03.11.02	15.03.03	n/a	29	13	0/0/32/41	33
14.08.01	3.11.02	n/a	80	53	0/0/57/77	142
01.04.00	03.11.02		80	53	0/0/57/77	142

Total number of speeches as of 19.04.2011 as displayed is: 5108
Source: http://www.akparti.org.tr/haber-arsiv

Themes

The first period that is 01.04.2000 and 03.11.2002 is characterized by the following themes:

The humanistic approach with an overtone of trust, hope, love, national values, humility to praise the citizens.

The term service is translated into education, security, equity, health and social/economic change. Trust is contextualized in the law, government, financial and political system.

The empowerment of local authorities, common good of the whole without discrimination, people questioning the system and functioning of the government.

The will of the nation and power of the citizens is another theme.

The controlling/supervisory role of the state. The "happy people" concept. The citizens in the participatory political system with democracy, supremacy of the law and courts and invidualized cultural rights.

Prime Minister's quotations such as "The people should be praised to praise the state". "One who serves pays the cost". Sign of political virtue is in context.

The second period that is 03.11.2002 and 15.03.2003 is characterized by the following themes:

Service is exemplified in terms of various projects such as AKIM (project on effective communication with the citizens), quality of life, social services, women and family issues.

Participatory democracy for structural reform and transformation to make life easy and lean state.

Pride of the nation, will of the nation, citizens wishes, primacy of the democracy are the repeating themes. Trust, equal opportunity and self criticism are the other encountered themes.

Prime Minister quotes: "Solve the problem and let live the nation".

Changes in the content of the speeches between 2003 and 2007

Although the themes of authority, call for authority and power of the citizens to realize the transformation and stability of the country, the call for community building is essential. A quotation from the Prime Minister during this period is 'We did not come to be a master to the nation but we came to serve the nation'. 'Service to the citizens is service to Allah'.

The emphasis is still on education, health, fairness and security of the nation with an underlying emphasis on hope, opportunity, peace and stability. The vision keyword in terms of 20 years, 30 years long term plans, target setting such as Turkey as the number six nation in Europe (expressed in a speech on 01.03.2007), and facts related to increase in income per capita figures are the new emerging themes. The future is shaped by ombudsman projects, nongovernmental organizations i.e. promotion of new ones with government tax incentives, emergence of a new citizen in villages by projects to improve life in social, environmental and health related issues in villages (KOYDES) .

The emphasis has shifted towards local democracy, societal consensus, strengthening of the national identity, constitutional state based on democracy, laicism, social and legal rights.

Limitations of the study

Assumption is that all the speeches were uploaded in the system for any given time frame between 2000 and 2011. His speeches may have increased by them and that gave him the opportunity to give more visibility to the usage of keywords.

Conclusion

Based on the content analysis of the speeches, I may conclude that the empowerment dimension of the servant leadership displayed in the political sense in the prime minister's pattern is getting powerful after 2007. The service and vision dimensions of the servant leadership construct started getting mentioned between 15.03.2003 and 21.11.2006. However, the term has increasingly been in use more after 2007 nearly doubling in 4 years of time period .The same pattern is valid for vision. The empowerment analyzed in terms of keywords such as authority has an increasing tendency in the years thereafter 2003 which indicates the trend toward citizen consumer. It is also worth noticing the emphasis on humanity and humility aspects of servant leadership in the prime minister's speeches.

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