

2<sup>ND</sup> ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

# PROCEEDINGS

28 - 29 October 2013, Phuket, THAILAND

Journalism & Mass Communications  
(JMComm 2013)

PUBLISHED AND ORGANIZED BY  
GLOBAL SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY FORUM (GSTF)



[www.globalstf.org](http://www.globalstf.org)



2<sup>ND</sup> ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

# PROCEEDINGS

28 - 29 October 2013, Phuket, THAILAND

Journalism & Mass Communications  
(JMComm 2013)

PUBLISHED AND ORGANIZED BY  
GLOBAL SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY FORUM (GSTF)



[www.globalstf.org](http://www.globalstf.org)

***Organized, Published and Distributed by***  
**Global Science and Technology Forum (GSTF)**  
**Journalism & Mass Communications JMComm 2013**  
Tel: +65 6327 0166  
Fax: +65 6327 0162  
www.globalstf.org | info@globalstf.org

E-mail: info@jmcomm.org  
Website: www.jmcomm.org

*Proceedings of the 2nd Annual International Conference on Journalism & Mass Communications  
(JMComm 2013)*

**ISSN: 2301-3710**

This book, or parts thereof, may not be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or any information storage and retrieval system now known or to be invented, without written permission from the Publisher.

Copyright © GSTF 2013

*All rights reserved.*

**Published by GSTF and indexed by EBSCO, CrossRef, Proquest, Ulrichweb and will be submitted to Scopus, ScienceDirect, Cabell's Directory and amongst others, where applicable.**

The accuracy of all materials appearing in the paper as part of the proceedings is the responsibility of the authors alone. Statements are not necessarily endorsed by the organizers of JMComm 2013, members of the Programme Committee or associated supporting organizations.



**Alcohol's Getting a Bit More Social: When Alcohol Marketing Messages on Facebook Motivate Young Adults to Imbibe**

*Saleem Alhabash, Anna R. McAlister, Jef I. Richards, Elizabeth T. Quilliam and Chen Lou*

**Marshall Mathers:**

**The Everyman's Man Understanding Dramas of Guilt, Redemption and Purification in Eminem's Music**

*Marcia Alesan Dawkins*

## **VENUES**

**Advertisements in Bengali Almanac: An Unexplored Area of Indian Mass Communication System**

*Nilay Kumar Saha*

**The Holy Grail of Manufacturing: The Bear Is There**

*Lin Allen*

**A "Caustic Bleach of Reality:" Journalists' Coverage of Conflict and War in Their Own Words**

*Denae D'Arcy*

**Brazil-Canada:**

**Comparative Analysis of Metro Newspaper Sao Paulo-Toronto Between December 2011 and May 2012**

*Isabela Carvalho Oliveira Pedrosa and Antonio Francisco Ribeiro de Freitas*

## **VISUALIZATION**

**News, Children and Violence 2011**

*Şebnem Çağlar and Ayşe Cengiz*

**The Profiles of Two Political Leaders in the Context of Their Speeches at the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA)**

*Ece Karadogan Doruk and Veli Polat*

**Selling the Myths of the Past Water in Europe**

*Nebahat Akgün Çomak and Nilüfer Pembecioğlu*

# THE PROFILES OF TWO POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE CONTEXT OF THEIR SPEECHES AT THE TURKISH GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (TGNA)

Assoc.Prof. Ece Karadogan Doruk  
Faculty of Communication  
Istanbul University  
Istanbul / Turkey  
ecekaradogan@yahoo.com

Assoc.Prof. Veli Polat  
Faculty of Communication  
Istanbul University  
Istanbul / Turkey  
polve@istanbul.edu.tr

## ABSTRACT

The presidency has emerged as an important determiner in the Turkish political structure particularly given the privileges extended by the 1982 Constitution. This important political focal point has gained power especially due to its weight in the legislative process. The opening speeches delivered by presidents during the beginning of each legislative year as one of the most important actors of the political system enable the understanding of the relationship between the Turkish Grand National Assembly, the Government and the Presidency. The presidents revealing their thoughts on the national problems in their opening speeches provide a guiding evaluation through the proposals they present. The legislative year opening speeches merit attention both rhetorically and for the understanding of the relationship of top state bodies. The presidents' differences in their personal attributes, approaches, attitudes are worth analyzing within the framework of the speeches. This paper examines the differences between the former President Süleyman Demirel, who is one of the most important names of Turkish politics and the current president Ahmet Necdet Sezer, who draws attention with his legal identity, within the specific framework of their opening speeches at the Turkish Grand National Assembly, together with the open and implicit messages they submit on the existing political, economic and social situation. The main themes of the speeches will be analyzed with an eclectic approach using the emphasis analysis methods. The political profiles of the message sources will be evaluated and how they are reflected on the messages will be analyzed, and two different leader characters will be introduced and their main attributes determined in the light of these speeches.

**Keywords:** *President, Political Leaders' Attributions, Political Message, Political Message, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Political Speech*

## INTRODUCTION

### “PRESENT COMPANY INCLUDED”

One of the most important critical points of Turkish political structure is undoubtedly 12<sup>th</sup> September 1980. Except that the discussions about how it would be recorded, outstanding with clear points this date is the origin of an important social and political change. While this period's “constituent assembly”

carries out their studies, Cumhuriyet newspaperman Ugur Mumcu collected TGNA reports between 1961 and 1980, some of the statements resounded and registered under the roof TGNA in a book named “Present Company Included” (Soz Meclisten Iceri). The study in question can be assessed as review of discussions at TGNA platform and “invectives” along the speeches. In the light of this study's results Mumcu appealed to constituent assembly and documented the speeches he qualified as “disgraceful”. On the other hand he stated that a situation that grays the meanings of experiences by conducting reality away and isolating, and shielding them with a metaphysical armor such as “spiritual personality”; so it is far away from a critical comprehension. Underlining the “spiritual personality” notion Mumcu, attracts attention to the meaning of “personality” in different languages and satirizes the “presumptive” critics' armor that is created by the meaning “mask” in Latin [1]. Thus speeches of some of the parliamentarians those hide behind this armor which mustn't get out of the “assembly” were recorded with reports. More importantly “mirror” analogy that is tried to be constructed between the parliamentary and the public removes the worries resulting from political and election systems' representation inadequacy.

In this study the target is to examine the speeches that “excepted from assembly” of Suleyman Demirel and Ahmet Necdet Sezer as Presidents after the periods of Kenan Evren and Turgut Ozal at the beginning of legislative years of parliamentary after the regulations in 1980. One of the most important concerns of this study is to assess the speeches reported at TGNA openings reliably. At this point for the procedural search process, the best methodological approach that may describe and interpret the aforesaid speeches is the eclectic approach and this result was imposed. Therefore this study was executed in the light of the comprehension that a sole analysis method is inadequate for evaluation of “textual” structures.



## 1. PROCEEDURAL SEARCH

While describing the "expression" in her "Soylem" opus Prof. Dr. Edibe SOZEN specifies the basic research subject of the expression analysis as "What do people do with language or how do they use it? What people say is important but how they say is more important. Who talks and how do they talk?" [2]. These characteristic features about expression that Sozen brought forward oblige a study that "expression analysis" will undoubtedly support while analyzing the President's opening speeches at TGNA within the scope of this study. The basic concern of this study's execution is to limit the subjective assessments and make this limitation to be able to assert the subject in all its parts. Thus the study required to make use of quantitative power of "content analysis" and depth of expression analyses in patches.

Specifications about the expression's usage in Turkish show that it is used in various meanings. Studies about this subject point out that expression is used as "language, contention, wording, perspective, ideology, doctrine, style, and idiolect" [3]. Interrogating the expression at communicative dimension is the actuality that some of the words may have different meanings according to place, time and other a lot of factors. Continuing the assessments in this subject Ahmet Kocaman states in his explanation about communicative act "... if langue is abstracted from context, function, purpose, relation it will be harder to understand the unity of communicative act". As it is seen correctly explaining the meaning of a speech is possible with examinations within the frame of the aforesaid factors. Assessments about the totality of the communication raise a discussion about the handled factor. Is the necessity to show a structuralist approach and use the expression as a trans-sentential unit or to carry the language to another dimension by evaluating it as only a functional code? Unit discussions show that defining a flexible attitude and developing a stronger analysis tool consists of superiorities' resultant for the studies in this field will be appropriate. Moreover context is another important factor that should be thought within this analysis.

Procedural search in this study that targets the analyses of speeches of the Presidents in annual opening ceremony of TGNA -that has legislation power in Turkey-, shall not examine the all of the procedural attitudes thoroughly. However it is necessary to mention the approaches about this subject even a little and in terms of presenting the measurements for specifying the method. At this point discussing the differences and relations between expression and content analysis comes out as a questioned to be answered for Orhan Gokce and Edibe Sozen. At this point touching on the notions at Berelson's content analysis Orhan Gokce makes assessments about "objectivity". He interprets the objectivity Berelson emphasized at content analysis as "... content analysis with manifest content". Discussions about this subject gain depth and put forward that this objectivity filter can provide the basic difference between "content analysis" and

"hermeneutic". Comparison of the content and text analyses put forwards that these two approaches are different and they are not substitutive methods. Herein Gokce definitely states the difference that content analyses examine "how the texts are understood", text analyses examine "how it should be understood" [4].

On the other hand studies about expression are considered pursuant to this procedural search. Teun a. Van Dijk states in his "Structures of Expression and Power" study that "...determiners of the expression types, topics, information amount and topics, argument choice or censorship and the nature of rhetorical executions are symbolic elites and their expressions". For that reason in such a study reference pursuant to expression imposes itself as an obligation. This assessment in the same opus is remarkable. "Direct control of the action is achieved through director pragmatic (eloquence) commands, threats, laws, regulations, instructions and more indirectly via advices. Speakers often have corporate roles and their expressions are corroborated by the corporate government. At that obedience is provided by legal or other corporate sanctions." In the light of these, expression's actor, subject's setting and structure are the cases to evaluate intently in terms of the results. In this respect it is possible to tell that the powerful will be dominant and connivance possibility will remove entirely in terms of its target. At this point "political expression" always attracts attention as examination field throughout the history. Conveying this reality by giving USA as example Dijk states that appearance or speech of USA president on media is independently a social or political event [5]. Dijk states clearly that a lot of examinations in this field didn't go beyond examination of "singular words". Exactly at this point presidents' TGNA speeches that are probed by fictionalizing on the singular words and content analysis was examined by "frequency analysis" in this study will be tried to annotated with other analysis methods at the same time. In this regard confronting these procedural approaches and regarding their togetherness impossible are neglected within the scope of this study.

## 2. POLITICAL SPEECH

According to Aristotle political speech subjects divided into 5. One of them is about "roads and devices", the 2<sup>nd</sup> is "war and peace", 3<sup>rd</sup> is "national defense", 4<sup>th</sup> is "imports and exports" and the last one is "legislation". For that reason the last political speech subject includes the Presidents' speeches at legal organs as head of the state directly to "political speech" scope [6]. It must be remarked that TGNA opening speeches have political features in rhetorical classification and they also have ceremonial feature as they are at the beginning of legislative year. Thus classifying the rhetoric, it has a "ceremonial rhetoric" feature according to Aristotle.

Another important feature in terms of rhetoric in terms of "persuasion process" is to create the persuasion with unreal demonstrations and justifications those result in a separate



“ethic” problem. Trying to distinguish the mentioned separation through notional descriptions is probably one of the most distinct features of the difficulty and disturbance. Notional separations such as political communication, propaganda, rhetoric, political advertisement are indirectly interpreted for the reality of the message, and it depends on the facts and it doesn’t aim at confusion. These separations are found in details at Aristotle’s “Rhetoric” and “Politics”. All of these show that it is possible to tell different variables, dynamics in terms of source, message, media, channel. In this context, thinking within the scope of this study, that two examples’ backgrounds, identities, characters, “images” are the specialties that should be considered and affected the interpretations.

In the light of these predeterminations it would be better to tell some assessments and approaches at tangible execution. For example it is emphasized that the language in political communication is promoted by advertisement and textual techniques. These techniques are expressed as “short sentences, easy perception and sentence structure that is formed according to remember, repeating the message, a funny show expression in even the most serious subjects...” [7].

On the other hand Ozerkan and Inceoglu refer to a research that Tansu Ciller wanted in “Attraction Process in Communication”, upon the results of this research she determined “the longing for the glorious history of Turkey” and this fact gives shape to Ciller’s election speeches considerably. It is emphasized that in Ciller’s speeches there is a masculine expression and the verbs of the sentences qualified to present determination and precision.

There are distinct assignments in regard to speech’s formal structure besides the assessments about the content of the political speech. For example it is specified that a sentence in a political speech has to be formed of averagely 14-15 words and read in 6 seconds. Stating that the sentence has to be short Mahmut Oktay continues his assessments related to the speech’s formal features referring to Melvin Helitzer. Subject limitation is required at speech text and the introduction should be “friendly, attractive and humorous” [7]. It is possible to speak of providing the political speeches with numeral data, appropriation of the “language level” and such relative factors. It must be stated that each case should be assessed in its specification and conditions. For that reason if it is required to assess a political speech as successful or unsuccessful, it should be analyzed with all of its factors and its specification should be acknowledged.

### 3. SPEECHES OF DEMIREL AND SEZER

According to Bylaw’s 4<sup>th</sup> article, TGNA convenes every year on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of October without invitation. In this meeting that is named the opening of legislative year and that has a ceremonial feature, within the scope of the determined duty

and authorities in Constitution Law’s 104<sup>th</sup> article, President executes the opening speech “If required first day of the legislative year, making TGNA opening speech...”. Although “if it is required” expression used in law, it is clear within the scope of this study both Demirel and Sezer made opening speeches at the 1<sup>st</sup> meetings of the year.

**TABLE 3.1. National Notions at Demirel and Sezer’s TGNA Opening Speeches Appellations – References**

	Süleyman Demirel	Ahmet Necdet Sezer
	National Notions – Appellations	- References
Turkey	911	456
Ataturk	36	57
Republic	198	124
National	20	136
Nation	122	397
Turkish	1024	607
Civil	14	11
Society	295	180

Comparing TGNA opening speeches of the 9<sup>th</sup> President Suleyman Demirel and the current President Ahmet Necdet Sezer at the assembly, while choosing especially national notions, appellations and references, various differences from the political originals are observed. Demirel’s long years of political engagement is clearly seen at his speech texts. As a political party leader, opposition party leader, Yassıada convict, prime minister, coalition partner and at last President, he became the one of the most important actors with his conservative identity in Turkish political life. Especially his Anatolian dialect he used in expressions is his one of the most distinct characteristics. It is seen that Demirel preferred words in his TGNA speeches that correspond to his conservative identity. Ahmet Necdet Sezer became widely known after being the President; he became a candidate for elections while he was performing his duty as Constitutional Court President, he gained the public’s sympathy with his modest character and lifestyle and drew attention with his loyalty to law, democracy and constitutional law. Preferring especially Turkish words in his speeches manifests itself in TGNA opening speeches, too. Examining the national notions Demirel and Sezer used in their TGNA opening speeches, it is seen that Demirel often uses Turkey, Republic, Turkish, Civil, Society and Sezer often used Ataturk, Nation and National.



**TABLE 3.2 Political Notions – Appellations – References of Demirel and Sezer’s TGNA Opening Speeches**

<i>Political Notions – Appellations - References</i>		
	Suleyman Demirel	Ahmet Necdet Sezer
Democracy	126	132
Democratic	104	104
European Union	242	241
State	500	303
War	34	124
Peace	148	108
Political	4	123
International	83	151
Security	70	72
Politics	32	114
Party	30	41
Stability	89	113
Public	52	118
Freedom	18	39
Execution	8	32
Terror	74	114
Terrorism	4	23
Laic	40	38
Country	456	455
Liberal	83	0
Unitary	16	1
Ethnic	16	10
President	23	16
Government	64	17
Prime minister	6	1
Strategic	21	36
Separatist	10	11
Reform	47	20
Assembly	139	99

Comparing the political notions, appellations and references Demirel and Sezer used in their TGNA opening speeches; Sezer frequently uses words such as democracy, political, public and execution; Demirel seems to use liberal, unitary, government, prime minister, reform and assembly words frequently. Demirel was at opposite party, he experienced military coup, banned from politics; he was a politician who exposed to heavy criticism and did “rigid politics” because of his nature until he reached his last stop neutral Presidency seat. Within the period he was President, he tried to maintain his neutrality and his manner he used in active political life changed. Some of the ascriptions he made to his dissidents during his active political life at assembly platform committed into the society’s memory for long years. The words he chose for speeches at assembly as a President are indicators of his political history. He referred to the society’s *self-determination*, *unitary* state structure, to become *government* and *prime minister* or to be in assembly as *governor* or *opposite* for years. While “state” word has an important

emphasis at Demirel’s speech, Sezer seems to often repeat “public” word. While Demirel especially use “liberal” word, Sezer intensely use “freedom” word frequently. Another difference of Sezer’s word distribution shows itself at “political” and “international” expressions. In terms of using “War” and “Peace” words there is a contrary and significant numeral difference. In Sezer’s speeches “War” word gains more importance and conversely Demirel’s speeches include more “peace” words.

**TABLE 3.3 Legal Notions – Appellations – References of Demirel and Sezer’s TGNA Opening Speeches**

<i>Legal Notions – Appellations – References</i>		
	Suleyman Demirel	Ahmet Necdet Sezer
Law	81	173
Constitution	88	171
Constitutional	34	42
Legislation	20	57
Judgment	29	80
Legal	70	239
Right	169	173
Rights	50	70

Comparing the legal notions – appellations – references of Demirel and Sezer’s TGNA opening speeches, it is seen that generally Sezer used legal notions frequently. Especially law, constitution, legislation, judgment and legal notions are the notions that Sezer repeats most. Considering Sezer’s occupational background, it is clear that his legal expert identity reflects on his speeches. Coming to the fore of public opinion with this identity along his presidency, Sezer set an example with taking great care to the legitimacy of the assembly’s legislations to constitution and laws. In Demirel’s speeches, there aren’t legal notions as much as Sezer. The notion Demirel uses most among these legal notions is “right”. Presenting close values for “constitutional” and “right” words should be assessed as one of the interesting results of the table. However with the frequency of using “legal” word, Sezer showed a significant difference. In this sense Sezer wanted to focus the parliamentarians’ attention to word and notion “legal” at his opening speeches.

**TABLE 3.4. Economic Notions – Appellations – References of Demirel and Sezer’s TGNA Opening Speeches**

<i>Economic Notions – Appellations – References</i>		
	Suleyman Demirel	Ahmet Necdet Sezer
Economy	201	283
Economic	117	149
Energy	53	74
Income	37	71
Unemployment	8	21
Budget	10	30
Production	21	42



Loan	13	15
Dollar	92	10
Billion	112	5
Million	91	11
Misfeasance	4	57
Customs	25	1
Industry	31	34
Welfare	51	0

Comparing the economic notions – appellations – references of Demirel and Sezer’s TGNA opening speeches, it is clear that both of them use frequently the words economy and economic. While Sezer refers to unemployment, budget, production and income notions, Demirel refers to numeral data. Demirel especially uses numeral data at his speech and it is known that his memory for numeral data is strong; telling economic data at his salutations in assembly he uses numerical expressions. As far as Customs Treaty was contracted in Demirel’s presidency period, customs notion used several times. While observing that Sezer uses misfeasance and unemployment notions frequently, Demirel talks about welfare. Thus it is possible to say that economic Sezer is more pessimistic and far from hope, on the other hand Demirel accepts this statement besides preferring a forward hopeful approach.

**TABLE 3.5. Geographical Notions – Appellations – References of Demirel and Sezer’s TGNA Opening Speeches**

Geographical Notions – Appellations – References		
	Süleyman Demirel	Ahmet Necdet Sezer
World	267	117
Europe	193	210
Asia	32	45
Local	15	20
Global	61	52
Regional	31	45
Region	192	198
America	49	40
Iraq	35	74
Greece	18	15
Israel	19	11
Palestine	11	9
Russia	37	16
Azerbaijan	15	27
Cyprus	44	22
Inland	729	644
Outland	106	183
East	81	62
West	28	32
Universal	36	28
Middle East	25	14
Environment	37	56
Anatolia	28	11

Village	66	5
Eurasia	35	7
Caucasia	15	15
Aegean	10	14
Mediterranean	17	2
Black Sea	35	10

Comparing the geographical notions – appellations – references of Demirel and Sezer’s TGNA opening speeches, it is observed that while Demirel uses world, global, universal, Middle East and Eurasia notions, Sezer uses Europe, Asia, Iraq words more. Examining the speech texts it is possible to say that geographical names, notions and references are the closest quintessentially among word categories. Word frequency of Sezer in this category attracts attention to “environment” and “outland” words. On the other hand it should be specified that Demirel’s significant voter potential “rural” area was especially described as “village”.

**TABLE 3.6. Other Notions – Appellations – References of Demirel and Sezer’s TGNA Opening Speeches**

Other Notions – Appellations – References		
	Süleyman Demirel	Ahmet Necdet Sezer
God	17	1
University	116	31
Citizen	153	4
Power	127	209
Instruction	32	68
Friend	28	36
Enemy	5	4
Problem	183	162
Solution	51	79
Target	105	37
Threat	20	45
Ethic	1	21
Press	13	39
Media	4	13
Confidence	147	224
Culture	78	55
Social	39	60
Societal	18	84
Harmony	28	43
Aid	62	78
Dear	90	55
Big	299	166
Powerful	52	50
Education	98	166
Modern	107	155
Technology	18	75
Science	21	72
Health	61	46
Civil	16	21
Messrs	43	191



Ottoman	19	0
History	156	56
Great	65	61
Religion	121	92

Demirel says "büyük" (big) in his distinctive dialect in a significant part of his speeches and manifested this distinctly at TGNA opening speeches. Among all of the categorical approaches the most variety belongs to "other" title. For example while Demirel refers to Ottoman 19 times, Sezer never used Ottoman word in his speeches. Demirel showed the same sensibility to "History" word. As a way of addressing "Messrs" word specifically shows itself at Sezer's speeches. While Sezer prefers "Messrs", Demirel mainly preferred "dear" word. Repeating the word "God", Demirel demonstrated the same difference at "religion" word. While Sezer says "science" word more, "university" word generally belongs to Demirel. Making a closer impression to large masses in terms of language level, Demirel has more insistent and noticeable attitude. "Confidence", "ethic" and "modern" are the words that Sezer was more sensitive.

## RESULT

Political focal point of presidency at legislative process started to show itself especially with advantages provided by 1982 Constitutional Law. Presidents' legislative year opening speeches especially aimed at the government parliamentarians were found worth examining in terms of displaying the quality of the relationships between Assembly-Government-Presidency and the dynamics of country's agenda. Within the context of speeches Presidents' different characteristic features, approaches, attitudes, politic or occupational backgrounds shapes their expressions.

Differences between the two important political profiles distinctively revealed themselves at TGNA opening speeches. TGNA opening speeches are qualified as important documents that include president's important messages and wishes as a president about country territorial politics, diplomacy, economy and problems. Speeches originally show the description of the current conditions of the country. Speeches about problems assert themselves differently according to politic conception, perception and approach styles. This situation appears when the tangible speeches are compared. Undoubtedly these speeches should be analyzed visually and they should be resolved with this video-reflection. It is certain

that visual evaluation in terms of expression shall reveal more important comparison factors. Limitation of every study showed itself within this study. Thus it is possible to evaluate the speeches in many aspects and make statistical interpretations by correlation. However as far as it shall contain advanced analyses and assessments, it will exceed this study's limitations. On the other hand political opinions, attitudes and manners distinctively reflect on the speech texts of this ceremony. For that reason if the purpose is to define a political identity/profile, it is required to be emphasized that speeches are one of the most important description tools.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- [1] MUMCU, U., "Present Company Included", Tekin Publisher, Istanbul, 1981.
- [2] SOZEN, E., "Expression-Uncertainty, Exchange: Information/Power and Reflectivity", Paradigma Publications, Istanbul, 1999.
- [3] KOCAMAN A., "About Expression", Hitit Publisher, Ankara, 1996.
- [4] GOKCE, O., "Content Analysis", Selcuk University Faculty of Communication Publications, Publication no:1, Konya, 1995, pp.16-64
- [5] DICK T., "Structures of Expression and Power", Media Power Ideology, Compiled and Translated by Mehmet Kucuk, Ark Publisher, Ankara, 1994.
- [6] ARISTOTLE, "Rhetoric", Translated by Mehmet H. Dogan, Yapı Kredi Publications, 2004.
- [7] OZERKAN, S. INCEOGLU, Y. "Effecting Process at Communication1, Metinler Printing, Istanbul, 1997.
- [8] OKTAY, M. "Public Relations in Politics", Derin Publications, Istanbul, 2002.
- [9] TAVSANCIL, E. ASLAN, E., "Content Analysis and Application Examples", Epsilon Publications, Istanbul, 2001.
- [10] ANIK, C., "Political Persuasion", Vadi Publications, Ankara, 2000.