

*Discourses of Democracy and Freedom in the Election Manifestos of the Political Parties in the Turkish General Elections of 2015*

Banu Terkan, Selcuk University, Turkey

The Asian Conference on Media & Mass Communication 2015  
Official Conference Proceedings

**Abstract**

This study had been focused on the democracy and freedom discourses in the election manifestos of four political parties which were entitled to be represented at Grand National Assembly of Turkey by passing the election threshold during the general elections performed in Turkey on June 7, 2015. According to the results of general election of 2015, the political parties which had passed the threshold were AKP (Justice and Development Party), CHP (Republican People's Party), MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) and HDP (Peoples' Democratic Party). In this study, it had been tried to reveal what kind of a meaning the conceptualization of democracy and freedom –which is the leading subject at the center of political discussions- gets in the discourses of the referred political parties. How freedom and democracy is being conceptualized in the election manifestos of the parties? What are the subjects associated with democracy and freedom? How the obstacles before freedom and democracy are being positioned? By what kind of arguments us and them is being created on the basis of freedom and democracy? Do the discourses of democracy and freedom encounter loss of meaning within a populist discourse? In the study, the election manifestos of political parties had been analyzed within the frame of critical discourse analysis. The critical discourse analysis, besides allowing a multidimensional understanding of generated discourses, allows performing the ideological analysis of the texts and provides significant data in the effort of explaining how the discourses are built through the ideological strategies in the texts.

**Keywords:** Political communication, Turkish General Elections of 2015, freedom and democracy discourses, election manifestos, critical discourse analysis.

**iafor**

The International Academic Forum  
[www.iafor.org](http://www.iafor.org)

## **Introduction**

Politics is a power race and political elections have an important place in the democratic struggle of the ones who want to participate in power. Nowadays, the way of media to define itself, the way of political agents to realize political communication and that the media has become an actor of political process have revealed clearly that politics has been built into different dynamics. Political parties perform a variety of activities with the purpose of reaching their goals not only in electoral periods but always in the race of power and they need many tools to communicate their policies to large mass. Election manifestos might be evaluated as an important tool for parties in these terms. Populist discourses about many issues are produced in election manifestos. The ones who will produce politics on behalf of the public in representative democracy always benefit from the power of populist discourse.

This study has focused on democracy and freedom discourses in the election manifestos. It has been discussed in the study what kind of function election manifestos have in terms of political parties and voters as a political communication tool. The discussions in democracy and freedom plane have been included in populist political discourse. Democracy and freedom discourses in the election manifestos of the four political parties gained the right of representation in parliament in 7th June 2015 Turkey General Elections have been tried to be solved by the critical discourse analysis method.

### **1. Election Manifestos as a Political Communication Tool**

Political communication is a rather complex process and a broad subject that cannot be handled in the scope of a specific definition. McNair (2003: 4; Kaid and Holtz-Bacha, 2008: xxxviii) has defined the political communication as an intentional communication. Types of communication are undertaken by politicians and other political agents to reach the special targets. Political actors become obliged to win the voters again in each election via complex communication techniques and messages, communication world and public opinion administration techniques related to new media (Mazzoleni and Schultz, 1999: 250, 254). Politicians and voters have become tightly dependable on mass media in mediatization of politics view (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1995: 4; Blumler and Gurevitch, 2001:2).

Creating new areas of specialization continuously during the process of scientification of politics have caused the political communication research to become an element of a market (Tokgöz, 2008: 100; Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999: 213). Specialized knowledge becoming a rationalizing tool in political life (Köker, 2007: 25) has created changes in the type of conducting the political elections and in the manner of political agents making policy. However, as Mancini (1999: 243) has emphasized, it does not escape from the attention that political parties have become like communication machines knowing the variable voters, finding them and receiving their approval and that the process of making decision have gained a special communicative dimension. As emphasized by Gronbeck (2004:151), political communication has always contained the attempt to reveal the relationship between rhetoric and politics since it exists.

Within these complex relations, the political parties in the system need different tools during political elections in order to present the variations in political discourses of other parties. Election manifestos are reachable printed message tools that are very important among political parties and voters and many political parties present their commitments, goals, solutions to issues in election manifestos during elections (Aman, 2009: 663; Spoon, 2012: 559). Also, election manifestos might give clues to how the government program will shape in the case of being the power. Political parties make decisions on the central message of the campaign and which issues will be highlighted in order to persuade the voters and election manifestos are identified in the scope of these issues (Dolezal et al., 2012: 874). Populist discourses that parties are developing usually shape in accordance with the wishes of the community and welfare policies, economy and unemployment policies are highlighted. Populism might bring short term gains socially or in elections. Populism has already taken its place in life as a communication type of multi-party politics (Lilleker, 2013: 219-221).

## **2. Democracy and Freedom Conceptualization in Populist Political Discourse**

In the basis of the term ‘populism’ which has the same meaning with the politics suitable to the taste of the public, following its mood and complying in daily usage, *populus* in Latin means public and populism means staying by public. Whether the populism is a movement or an ideology or whether it might be reduced to a political manner or communicational style or not is not clear yet (Keskin, 2014: 245). As there are people who deal with populism as a political communication style of political agents taking the public as reference (Jagers and Walgrave, 2007: 322), the determinations as a term not having theoretical status defined of “public” (Laclau, 2015: 162-163) although it has been frequently repeated attract attention.

Laclau (2015: 171) gives the answer “no” to the question whether we can accept the discourses dominated by popular-democratic calls when the specificity of populism is included in the issue. He underlines that a number of ideological discourses that cannot be named as populist make a reference to public. Populist movements emphasize the primary role of public in the operation of political system and populist leaders pledge to manage the direct democracy tools when they come into power (Mény and Surel, 2002: 11-13). Since various populist movements use direct democracy mechanisms like a center of attraction that will arouse interest to their own targets and find support to their movements, populism can be associated with direct democracy (Taggart, 2004: 130-131; Canovan, 2004: 244-245).

Canovan (2002: 33) considers the populism not only a discourse but also an ideology. He says that populism should be understood as an ideology created by public, democracy, dominance and greater management altogether. At this point, populism might be turned into a meaning like opposing the established governing structure and dominant ideal and values of the society on behalf of the public (Canovan, 1999: 3). The common point of all populisms is the claim that democracy is only legal with public’s will and greater management. Even though its negative sides are pointed out, populism has democratic legitimacy in front of voters with these messages (Deren Van Het Hof, 2010: 220).

Democracy, a term derives from Greek used in political and scientific language, consists of “demos” meaning public, the mass or full citizenship in Greek and “kratein” meaning dominate or be use the power and therefore democracy is defined as the sovereignty of the public directly or indirectly, popular sovereignty or sovereignty of greater (Schmidt, 2002: 13). There is correspondence between the claim of populism to always speak on behalf of public and the judgment that democracy is only legal when politics includes popular sovereignty (Taggart, 2004: 143). Firstly, democracy is the collective election type that is required by the fundamental idea of treating the citizens equally (Cohen, 1996: 97). However, the representation system that liberal democracy is based on supposes that democratic legitimacy is realized by citizens’ not determining the content of public decisions as in direct democracy but determining the delegates to decide on these decisions (Doğanay, 2003: 25).

Even though the people not taking the direct responsibility of political decisions determining their common life via joint discussion, joint resolution and joint action have security, private rights and freedom of noninvolvement, their freedom is a debatable issue (Barber, 1984: 145). In this case, the thought of freedom does not derive from the term of popular sovereignty. Modern liberal democracies glorify the thought that the human including the freedom of every human is free. However, it is not a product of democracy but a benefit of it (Sartori, 1996: 335-336). Modern character of modern democracy presents democratic citizen freedoms with a basic document regularizing the pluralism, agreement systems and representation principles. Human rights, promise, association, organization, freedom of belief and property are provided but the efficiency of using them is not guaranteed. Any decision is not taken regarding the conflict between various citizen freedoms (Heller, 1993: 148-149).

Consequently, populist politics might weaken liberal representative democracy since populism wears the term of rule of law by supporting popular sovereignty. Populism could become a movement supporting the superiority of enforcement and weakening the liberal principle of separation of powers. Populism could cause the multidimensionality of issues to be ignored by simplifying the complex issues. Populist politics might trivialize the divisions and differences in public and ignore them (Çınar, 2014: 243).

### **3. Methodology**

This study focuses on the issues discussed in the election manifestos of the four political parties gained the right of representation in the parliament in 7th June 2015 Turkey General Elections within the scope of democracy and freedom. One of the four political parties gained the right of representation in the parliament, AKP has been the ruling party since 2002. AKP defines itself as a “conservative democrat”<sup>1</sup> mass party. CHP defines itself as a contemporary democratic left political party in party constitution<sup>2</sup>. MHP is a political party supporting Turkish nationalism. MHP is defined in the party constitution<sup>3</sup> as the political representative of social center doing

---

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.akparti.org.tr/upload/documents/akparti2023siyasivizyonuturkce.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.chp.org.tr/Assets/dosya/chp-tuzugu-2015-01-12.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.mhp.org.tr/usr\\_img/\\_mhp2007/kitaplar/mhp\\_parti\\_tuzugu\\_2009\\_opt.pdf](http://www.mhp.org.tr/usr_img/_mhp2007/kitaplar/mhp_parti_tuzugu_2009_opt.pdf)

politics by adopting all the national and moral values poem of Turkish nation. HDP is a prominent party in Kurdish politics and is defined in the party constitution<sup>4</sup> as a political party targeting the democratic popular sovereignty in which all the oppressed and exploited come together to establish a life with human dignity.

The election manifestos of the political parties identified in the study have been analyzed in the scope of critical discourse analysis. Based on the critical discourse analysis defined by Wodak (2003: 134-135; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 30) as discourse- historical approach, linguistic or rhetoric elements have been tried to be analyzed in terms of discursual elements. The main stages of the analysis consist of finding answers to how person/issues are defined/named in linguistic terms, what kind of properties are associated with person/issues, what kind of argument schemas are used in othering to legalize this situation, what kind of perspectives are used to make the subject namings and arguments, whether these exclusivist statements are made clearly, densely or slightly. The prominent types of rhetoric and ideological strategies while finding answers to these questions have been tried to explain the meaning in the core of analysis of van Dijk (2000: 62-85).

#### **4. Discourses Produced in the Election Manifestos of the Political Parties in the Scope of Democracy and Freedom**

##### **4.1. Democracy and Freedom Discourses in the Election Manifesto of AKP**

The prominent issue in the discussions made in the scope of “democratization” in the election manifesto of AKP named *Always Justice Always Development through the Way to New Turkey* is “basic rights and liberties”. Basic rights and liberties dealt in the basis of “New Constitution” and “New Turkey” have been established over a discourse including “everybody” whatever ethnic origin, sect and belief they have, featuring the sense of “equal citizenship”, treating all the social classes equally and embracing all the citizens with a pluralist approach. The evidentiality of “generalization” and “argumentation” (van Dijk, 2000: 71-72) has been tried to be increased, which is an important rhetoric strategy by utilizing expressions like always, everyone, ever. Some metaphors such as “revolution” and “marathon” have been used for the effort to define the things that have been made in the planes of democracy and freedoms. The things done regarding the fundamental rights and freedoms have been described as “silent revolution”. Metaphors have an important function in making the complex, abstract issues known, self-praise through this type of phrase and presenting the other in negative way (van Dijk, 2000: 77-78).

The discussions of “New Constitution”, the discussions regarding “presidential government” and fundamental rights and freedoms are the leading issues in democratization. AKP has stated that there is not a difference between “parliamentary system” and “presidential government” in terms of compliance with democracy when it is structured with a democratic perspective. This issue which is not formed a consensus and not understood exactly in public opinion tries to generate itself through the discourse of making it right. Thus, the act of making it meaningless which is performed through “victimization” strategy of other parties is tried to be prevented. Victimization as a rhetoric strategy has an important function making meaningful

---

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.hdp.org.tr/parti/parti-tuzugu/10>

things seem meaningless and defining us and other created from any subject (van Dijk, 2000: 84).

Resolution process has taken its place in the discussions of democracy. The resolution process has been defined as a local attempt based on human rights and democracy and unity and fraternity model. It has been said that it has been the first time that a government showed the courage to confront the Kurdish problem openly in the recent history and an opposing discourse is produced against “disclaimers” by making use of “comparison” power. Both strategies are among significant strategies in presenting your own policy positively and othering the others (van Dijk, 2000: 65, 67). One of the issues having importance in democratization has been established upon the discourse of “transformation” in “justice” system. It has been said that “participation”, “democratic legitimacy” and “transparency” will be strengthened as main principles and a good operation of legal system is indispensable not only to a healthy democratic politics but also to developing and applying fundamental rights.

AKP has put all the activities done during their ruling by taking the advantage of being the ruling party as an “evidence” for the things to be done. Evidentiality is an important strategy to persuade and increase the reliability (van Dijk, 2000: 69). It has been tried to be make visible that the policy of “zero tolerance to torture” has been put into practice, the period of unidentified murder has been ended and the conditions of custody have been made better. It has been expressed that the right to information act has been accepted and some universal agreements about human rights have been approved. Providing the opportunity of broadcasting in some official channels of the state in different language and dialects has been considered significant. It has been stated that positive discrimination towards children has been adopted in the Constitution, some laws have been introduced for the benefit of women, education has been democratized and civil society has been strengthened.

The ones who are opposed to the aims of “New Turkey” and to the new constitution; the ones who try to batter the resolution process; constitutions/persons/institutions/ways of thinking not wanting the presidential government and parallel state organization have been criticized in the text of the election manifesto of AKP. Although a specific name of a party or a leader has not been given obviously, the organizations which have been marginalized can be understood from the frame of the subject.

#### **4.2. Freedom and Democracy Discourses in the Election Manifesto of CHP**

CHP tries to produce a discourse from the thought that there is an “oppressive” regime in Turkey in its election manifesto entitled *A Turkey to Live in*. The way of CHP to define its aims has been established completely on criticizing the existing government and the president. Disclaimer expressions (van Dijk, 2000: 67) in type of presenting yourself positively and the others negatively confronts us as a distinct rhetoric strategy.

CHP states that the basis of their discourses about freedoms and human rights is to put an end to fear and establish the republic of freedoms. It states that all young, women, laborer and fragile segments of the country should be defended against every type of oppressive and patriarchal power groups. CHP considers the politics of rights and

freedoms as the only politics type predicting solidarity with disadvantaged groups, protecting all citizens against ethnic, religious, class and sexual domination types without making any discrimination. CHP has gone into the effort of defining freedoms with a more generalizing rhetorical strategy in these discourses. It has been emphasized that freedom of thought and faith will be guaranteed and religion and politics will be hold separate. It has been expressed that necessary regulations will be made to provide the equality of women and men in all parts of life.

Equal citizenship and plurality are featured issues and it has been put into words that rights and freedoms will not be made the matter of negotiation for an authoritative presidential government and CHP will approach the Kurdish problem with reference to the sense of inclusive democratic citizenship. The presidential government discussed by government has been defined as an “authoritative” system. “Showing fallacies” and “situation description” strategies (van Dijk, 2000: 71, 83-84) have been especially used to resort to support the arguments. Since especially “situation specification” demonstrates the effects of defining types about causes, justifications, results and evaluations indirectly, it is very important in that telling what you want to say clearly (van Dijk, 2000: 83).

It has been expressed that the right to assembly and demonstration will be reached to the level in developed democracies and media and the internet will get rid of the big dimming. The metaphors that CHP has chosen about the government in the expressions of many issues always associate negative meanings. Images like “authority” and “dimming” stand out in the discourse. It has been said that a new constitution extending the freedoms of all citizens is needed to develop liberal democracy and provide social peace. The discussion of a new constitution has become evident in the discourses of CHP. It has been said that the state will be made pellucid not the lives of citizens.

CHP has defined itself as CHP under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the thought of the party of Atatürk has been tried to be made visible. Authority application (van Dijk, 2000: 63) gaining a seat inside the ideological and rhetoric strategies supports this discourse since authority application provides to establish a bond between those people and that party by utilizing the image and power of the persons considered important for that country and can make their arguments more strong. AKP government has been presented as namings such as oppressive, creating the state of suppress and profiling, seeing the plurality as a threat, creating monologism and making Turkey the country of censure and investigations. The marginalized in the discourse of CHP is AKP and this marginalization has been done openly and intensely.

#### **4.3. Freedom and Democracy Discourses in the Election Manifesto of MHP**

It has been expressed in the election manifesto of MHP titled *Social Repair and Peaceful Future* that democracy is seen as not only a political regime but also a life style. It has been emphasized that the only possessor of the sovereignty is the nation in parliamentary democracies. It has been highlighted that they cannot associate the tendency of being authoritative by fitting up the national will with the sense of national will. It has been stated that each political view should have the freedom to explain, defend and spread their views in democratic platforms in constitutional scope

by forming a party provided that it does not aim at the indivisible unity of the state with its country and nation and does not see terror and violence as goal and tool. Rhetoric strategies come into play while making the discourse right and causal. A set of justifications have been presented. It has been seen that MHP has not adopted a generalizing attitude in the issues handled in the scope of democracy and freedoms. The discussions and redlines about howevers, yets, conditions, legality and illegality have become more clear. Every kind of elements to threaten the issues such as the country, nation and indivisible unity has been marked as the problematic areas in the description of democracy and freedom. MHP has made a direct description of situation instead of strategies like “euphemism” or “empathy” in the issues determined before. Euphemism appears as a strategy preferred to soften the discourse (van Dijk, 2000: 68).

It has been expressed that the basis of individual responsibility is prescribed instead of closing a party by opposing the closing of political parties “except for the ones which consider and support terror and violence as political goal and tool”. It has been stated that they believe that media and other communication means should not be limited and censored but they should be free provided that they do not go against “the indivisible unity of the state with its country and the nation, the main principles of the republic, national security and public order. It has been said that nongovernmental organizations should play an active role in public life on condition that they carry out suitable activities for “the legal order, values, traditions, unitary structure and public order of the country”. It has been conveyed that they defend not placing restrictions in the usage of fundamental rights and freedoms provided that they do not threaten “the national security, fundamental properties of the republic, the indivisible unity of the state with its country and nation, public order, public morality and the others’ use of fundamental rights”. It has been indicated that everyone has the freedom for religion, conscience and belief and conviction. It has been specified that the right of education and training cannot be prevented; however, it has been said that the medium of instruction should be Turkish in every stage of education. It has been asserted that they believe that the right to assembly and demonstration and association should be used appropriately provided that it is not contrary to “the basic principles of the republic, national security and the public order”. It has been reported that they are against every kind of actual and judicial discrimination against women and abuse of women and it is necessary to protect children against violation and abuse of rights.

The one that has been obviously marginalized in the discourse of MHP is AKP. They haven’t been abstained from giving the name of the party. Rather than an implicit statement, a direct and harsh criticism has been chosen towards AKP and AKP administrations in many places. While describing issues that will never be discussed about making a new constitution, there is clearly a criticism to the policies of HDP. Among all these expressions, MHP has been defined in a structure determined to bring the nation and the country to a safe future by widening bright horizons beyond Turkey.

#### **4.4. Freedom and Democracy Discourses in the Election Manifesto of HDP**

The sense of “radical democracy” has been highlighted in the election manifesto of HDP named *Great Humanity* and it has been expressed that it has been targeted to make this democracy sense become the real power as an organized power over the

lives of public. It has been said that “democratic autonomy” will be actualized to provide the participation of publics in management and decision processes.

It has been notified that all the obstacles to the right of demonstration and marching will be removed and “all actions” to claim one’s rights will be accepted as legitimate. HDP makes a generalization in this definition and shows an approach to the issue without keeping the distance. The conceptualization of “claiming rights” has been presented in generalizing words and all actions in this scope have been accepted legal. It has been emphasized that HDP will break its back to make an egalitarian, gender liberal, social, ecological and democratic constitution.

The issues such as the freedom of communication, racism, anti-semitism, flesh trade (women, children, labor exploitation), migration problems, international drug trade, forced displacement, xenophobia and islamphobia have been defined as “the problems concerning humanity values” and it has been said that the necessary collaboration will be done to develop solutions for these issues. Except for the hate crimes and the crimes against humanity in the evaluation done in prisons about human rights, no one will be accused of their political views and acts and political crimes will be eliminated from being a category of crime. Conscientious objection has been placed as a right. The evaluations about conscientious objection are one of the issues not included in the democracy discourses of other parties.

Freedom of religion has been rather explored and it has been expressed that the freedom religion and conscience of everyone who believes or not is adopted. It has been promised that civil religious education will be free and the state will retire from the area of religion and belief by taking off the Directorate of Religious Affairs. These promises have sparked a debate in media, public and political agenda.

Women’s rights have an important place in the manifesto. It has been said that the ministry of women will be established and they will struggle together to change the patriarchal society structure and masculine mindset. Problematizing the patriarchal structure and creating a language of women in the discourse of HDP looks more different than the approaches of other parties to women. It has been said that sexless and unimpeded campuses will be set up free of homophobia, transphobia and biophobia. There is a title as equal, free and honor right to live of LGBTI in the manifesto and it has been said that the party will eliminate the discrimination and pressure based on gender and sexual orientation against the rising order over “heterosexism” which is dominant, ignores and denies the sexual orientation and gender identity variety. HDP is the party puts forth clearly the discussion area in the point of the freedom of different sexual orientations.

HDP has not resorted to marginalize by targeting directly the government, the president, the prime minister or other parties. However, racist, chauvinistic and nationalistic policies imposing the superiority of one nation to the other have been pointed as a problem area implicitly. It has been seen that HDP takes part in a different discourse than MHP about many issues in the descriptions made in scope of freedom and democracy. Criticisms on capitalism, exploitation of labor and marginalization of sovereignty types against nature have been evident in the discourses of HDP.

## Conclusion

In this study that investigates the democracy and freedom discourses in the election manifestos of the four political parties gained the right of representation in the parliament in 7th June 2015 Turkey General Elections, it has been found that the issues that the four political parties having different ideological placements are focused on in the point of democracy and freedom resemble each other however ideological tendencies and the type of defining itself reveal some differences in the discussions about democracy and freedom.

The way to democracy has been considered “a lasting marathon” for AKP. Some discourses such as merging the traditions with the future, integrating with the values of the society, being a party protecting the escrow of the society and being the party of Turkey have the feature of a populist discourse. The ones who are opposed to the aims of New Turkey and to the new constitution; the ones who try to batter the resolution process; persons/institutions/ways of thinking not wanting the presidential government and parallel state organization have been criticized in the text of the election manifesto of AKP.

CHP has highlighted the discourses like equality, solidarity, plurality, peace, free people and strong citizen and emphasized that they have set off for a Turkey to Live in. These discourses have been expressed by all parties and give a populist look. The government has been targeted in all the discourses of CHP in the plane of democracy and freedom and it has been claimed that one man governing is tried to be established in Turkey and CHP has tried to make it clear that they will hinder it. CHP has also avoided doing a conceptualization of freedom built on yets and howevers in the point of freedoms. “Patriarchal power focuses” and “sexual dominance types” that have never been discussed by AKP have been pointed as a problem area in the manifesto of CHP. Distinct discourses saying that each sexual orientation and gender will live freely are among the issues not included in the definition of freedom of AKP.

MHP has especially indicated the points that will never be sacrificed in the policies to be produced in scope of democracy and freedom. The issues such as giving education in languages other than Turkish, the sense of self government and everything that will give harm to the basic principles of the republic and the national state in unitary structure. Apart from the fact that gender inequality is an issue in the manifesto and it has been discussed in the equality plane between men and women, which is very different from the approaches of CHP and HDP. MHP has targeted the government in all its discourses as CHP has done and AKP has been pointed as a problem area. Many policies of HDP have been criticized by MHP.

Different from other parties, HDP has built its democracy definition on radical democracy. It has been seen that HDP has avoided making a definition over certain limitations and yets in the style of approaching to the issues it handles in the planes of freedom and democracy. These discourses have the feature of a populist discourse. Exploitation, inequality, sovereignty over nature and the criticism of capitalism are determiners in defining freedom and democracy. As distinct from other parties, conscientious objection has been defined as a right. The Directorate of Religious Affairs has been said to be abolished. The discussions about women’s rights have given the appearance of problematizing the patriarchal structure and masculine

language. There has been a title “equal, free and honor right to live of LGBTI” which we do not come across in the manifestos of other parties as a separate title.

All the parties have remarked the importance of freedoms and democracy; unfortunately, the areas of problem become more evident when the condition of guaranteeing these freedoms is evaluated.

## References

- Aman, I. (2009). Discourse and Striving for Power: An Analysis of Barisan Nasional's 2004 Malaysian General Election Manifesto. *Discourse & Society*, 20(6), 659-684.
- Barber, B. R. (1984). *Strong Democracy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1995). *The Crisis of Public Communication*. New York: Routledge.
- Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (2001). The New Media and Our Political Communication Discontents: Democratizing Cyberspace. *Information, Communication & Society*, 4(1), 1-13.
- Blumler, J. G., & Kavanagh, D. (1999). The Third Age of Political Communication: Influences and Features. *Political Communication*, 16, 209-230.
- Büyük İnsanlık* (2015). 7 Haziran 2015 Türkiye Genel Seçimleri HDP Seçim Bildirgesi.
- Canovan, M. (1999). Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy. *Political Studies*, XLVII, 2-16.
- Canovan, M. (2002). Taking Politics to the People: Populism as the Ideology of Democracy. In Y. Mény, & Y. Surel (Eds.), *Democracies and the Populist Challenge* (pp. 25-44). Palgrave: New York.
- Canovan, M. (2004). Populism for Political Theorists. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 9(3), 241-252.
- Çınar, M. (2014). Demokrasi. İçinde Y. Taşkın (Ed.), *Siyaset Kavramlar, Kurumlar, Süreçler* (ss. 203-249). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Cohen, J. (1996). Procedure and Substance in Deliberative Democracy. In S. Benhabib (Ed.), *Democracy and Difference. Contesting the Boundaries of the Political* (pp. 95-119). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Deren Van Het Hof, S. (2010). Siyasal İletişimde Karşılaştırmalı Popülizm Çözümlemesi: Seninle Benim Aramda Kocaman Bir Fark Var!. İçinde T. Durna (Der.), *Medyadan Söylemler* (ss. 217-263). İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık.
- Doğanay, Ü. (2003). *Demokratik Usuller Üzerine Yeniden Düşünmek*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları.
- Dolezal, M., Ennsner-Jedenastik, L., Müller, W. C., & Winkler, A. K. (2012). The Life Cycle of Party Manifestos: The Austrian Case. *West European Politics*, 35(4), 869-895.

- Gronbeck, B. E. (2004). Rhetoric and Politics. In L. L. Kaid (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Communication Research* (pp. 135-154). London: LEA Publisher.
- Heller, A. (1993). Biçimsel Demokrasi Üzerine. İçinde J. Keane (Der.), *Sivil Toplum ve Devlet* (ss. 147-163). E. Akın ve ark. (Çev.). İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Jagers, J., & Walgrave, S. (2007). Populism as Political Communication Style: An Empirical Study of Political Parties' Discourse in Belgium. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46, 319-345.
- Kaid, L. L., & Holtz-Bacha, C. (2008). *Encyclopedia of Political Communication*, Volume 1&2. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Keskin, F. (2014). *Politik İletişim Sözlüğü*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları.
- Köker, E. (2007). *Politikanın İletişimi İletişimin Politikası*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları.
- Laclau, E. (2015). *Marksist Teoride İdeoloji ve Politika*. F. Gültekin (Çev.). İstanbul: Doruk Yayınları.
- Lilleker, D. G. (2013). *Siyasal İletişim: Temel Kavramlar*. Y. Devran ve ark. (Çev.). İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları.
- Mancini, P. (1999). New Frontiers in Political Professionalism. *Political Communication*, 16, 231-245.
- Mazzoleni, G. & Schulz, W. (1999). "Mediatization" of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy?. *Political Communication*, 16(3), 247-261.
- McNair, B. (2003). *An Introduction to Political Communication*. New York: Routledge.
- Mény, Y., & Surel, Y. (2002). The Constitutive Ambiguity of Populism. In Y. Mény, & Y. Surel, (Eds.), *Democracies and the Populist Challenge* (pp. 1-21). Palgrave: New York.
- Sartori, G. (1996). *Demokrasi Teorisine Geri Dönüş*. T. Karamustaoğlu ve M. Turhan (Çev.). Ankara: Yetkin Yayınları.
- Schmidt, M. G. (2002). *Demokrasi Kuramlarına Giriş*. M. E. Köktaş (Çev.). Ankara: Vadi Yayınları.
- Spoon, JJ. (2012). How Salient is Europe? An Analysis of European Election Manifestos, 1979-2004. *European Union Politics*, 13(4), 558-579.
- Taggart, P. (2004). *Popülizm*. B. Yıldırım (Çev.). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Tokgöz, O. (2008). *Siyasal İletişimi Anlamak*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları.

*Toplumsal Onarım ve Huzurlu Gelecek* (2015). 7 Haziran 2015 Türkiye Genel Seçimleri MHP Seçim Beyannamesi.

van Dijk, T. A. (2000). *Ideology and Discourse A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. English version of this book was used as an internet course for the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (Open University).

Wodak, R. (2003). Populist Discourses. The Rhetoric of Exclusion in Written Genres. *Document Design*, 4(2), 132-148.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology. In R. Wodak, & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 1-33). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

*Yaşanacak Bir Türkiye* (2015). 7 Haziran 2015 Türkiye Genel Seçimleri CHP Seçim Bildirgesi.

*Yeni Türkiye Yolunda Daima Adalet Daima Kalkınma* (2015). 7 Haziran 2015 Türkiye Genel Seçimleri AK Parti Seçim Beyannamesi.

**Contact email:** bterkan@selcuk.edu.tr