



Tourism Promises Expressed during Election Campaigns and the Relevant Actions Taken After the General Elections**

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Abstract

The present study concerns itself with the promises regarding tourism, expressed by political parties in their party programs or elections manifestos, as well the bills made into laws by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT). Tourism revenues recorded after the general elections, and the relevant actions taken by political parties have been studied. In this study, literature was reviewed. And then data on the promises of political parties and their post-election activities were collected from the sources kept in the archives of the GNAT located in Ankara. Further, information on tourism-related developments was accessed through the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Five Year Development Plans. In this context, the data was evaluated and the study was concluded. The study demonstrates that political parties began to attach importance to tourism after the general election of 1983. It has been observed that the parties underlined their promise to further develop tourism. However national and international crises had negative impact on tourism. These crises prevented political parties from reaching their goals. It has been concluded that the primary objective in developing tourism was to make contributions to the country's economy. It has been established that governments led by the Motherland Party (MP) and later, the Justice and Development Party (JDP) did more to develop tourism than any other government.

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**In this study, "Political Parties' General Election Propaganda and Post-Election Activities in Turkey (1983-2007)" is derived from the doctoral thesis.

INTRODUCTION

In today's world, millions of people temporarily travel from their areas of residence for various goals and reasons. During this movement from one place to another, people make use of means of transport at their disposal as well as places of accommodation available in their destination. Even though this is regarded as a modern phenomenon that is specific to the 20th century, such movements from one place to another can be traced back to the beginning of human history. This dynamic movement is expressed through what is called "tourism" (Kozak et al. 2001: 1).

Thanks to its historical and cultural sites, natural beauty and hospitality, Turkey is among those countries which has a high potential for tourism. While western European countries accelerated their promotion of tourism to attract more tourists after World War II, such promotion in Turkey began later and could not make as good a use of its potential. As a significant contributor to the quality of social and cultural life as well as to the level of economic development, tourism was not given its due importance in Turkey until the 1980s. This was because its importance was not understood and therefore the necessary investments were not made. In 1983, after the military coup of 1980, Turkey shifted back to a democratic system, and elections were held in that same year. In party programs, election manifestos and press statements, the political parties which participated in the 1983 general election made promises to remove the obstacles to the development of tourism, to implement regulations that would increase Turkey's tourism revenue, and to promote both domestic and international tourism. This study concerns itself with the promises made by parties which participated in and entered the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT) following the elections of 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2002 and 2007, and identifies developments in tourism during the years of 1983-2011.

Materials and Methods

The objective of this study is to identify and offer an assessment of the promises made by the parties which participated in and entered the GNAT following the elections of 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2002 and 2007. Tourism laws passed at the GNAT during its 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd terms have been identified in the study. In this context, conclusions were made as to whether or not the tourism goals expressed in the Five Year Development Plans, prepared by the State Planning Organization (SPO), were achieved after being made into law by the GNAT. This present study is significant in that respect.

Resources regarding the election manifestos and party programs were retrieved from the National Library as well as the Parliamentary library. Official reports, law records and parliamentary bulletins from the Library of the GNAT were also studied in order to identify the tourism-related laws made by the GNAT. Information on tourism-related developments in the said period was accessed through the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Five Year Development Plans, prepared by the SPO. Subsequently, a literature review was undertaken and the theoretical framework of the study was formed. Based on the relevant data and findings, the study has been divided into an argumentative section and a conclusion.

Findings

Tourism Promises during the Election Campaigns for the 1983 General Election

Promises Made by the Motherland Party

Promises made by the Motherland Party (MP) included promoting tourism and taking the necessary measures for the development and facilitation of tourism services (GNAT MP, PP and NDP Election Manifestos 1983: 17).

Promises Made by the Populist Party

Arguing that Turkey had not reached its full potential for tourism, the Populist Party (PP) underlined that, while it would open touristic areas to public access, it would not allow anyone to make unplanned and haphazard use of Turkey's rare natural touristic resources. The party stated that it would create incentives for investments from the private sector to supplement state investments, and that, if it rose to power, it would promote tourism education and start a nationwide tourism campaign. Other promises made by this party included increasing the low-interest tourism loans given by the state, identifying priority areas, increasing the amount of accommodation and transportation (especially air transport) options, and improving communication, and so on (PP Program 1983: 34-35).

Promises Made by the Nationalist Democracy Party

Underlining the fact that, with its historical, natural richness and geographic location, Turkey was among the countries that are best suited for mass tourism. The Nationalist Democracy Party (NDP) argued that only a small portion of this potential had been achieved at the time. The party attributed this to a shortcoming in touristic infrastructure. NDP advocated a rapid alleviation of the situation by making extensive use of foreign capital. The party also underlined the necessity to educate the workforce employed in the public sector and to achieve a nationwide recognition of the importance of tourism. NDP also stated that it was necessary to consider competition conditions to achieve mass tourism. The party promised to make efforts to increase the use of air transport for tourism purposes (NDP Program 1983: 20-21).

Tourism-related Efforts made by the 1st MP Government during 1983-1987, and the Laws Passed by the GNAT

All three parties participating in the general election of 1983 managed to enter the parliament, while the MP, having had a majority, formed the government. Until this period, tourism had been neglected in Turkey. The first steps to develop tourism and increase tourism revenues were taken by the 1st MP government, and a relevant law was passed by the GNAT. The 1st MP government attached as much importance to the development of domestic tourism as it did to the development of international tourism, and made efforts to promote both. With the law that was passed in the 1980s, for the first time a regulation that benefited the public was made. The 45th government made efforts to promote domestic tourism and to create a nationwide habit of traveling and going on vacation. For this purpose, the law number 3019, dated 12 June 1984, concerning the opening of beaches to free public access was passed. This law changed article 15 of the Municipality Law number 1580, dated 14 April 1930, to create more public beaches (Parliament Bulletin 17, v. 67: 207). The MP Government began efforts to attract high-income foreign tourists. The

objective of MP's actions was to increase Turkey's tourism revenue and to make it a worldwide success (MP Election Manifesto, 1987; Erkmen, 2017: 158-159).

The 5th Five Year Development Plan for 1985-1989 reflects the impact of the decisions taken on 24 January 1980. Therefore, with the decisions taken on 24 January, liberal economic policies to open the national economy to external access began to be implemented. For this reason, it is cited as a period when tourism as a sector experienced rapid development and transformation. Especially the Tourism Incentive Law number 2634 is regarded as a milestone for tourism in Turkey, for it dynamized the operation and structure of tourism (Tekindağ, 2013: 118). After 1980, tourism in Turkey was expected to experience a rapid growth in accordance with the promises and actions of political parties. The net tourism revenue goal for the end of the 5th Plan was set as 540 million dollars, with a 14.2% increase in the mean annual international tourism revenue and an 18.9% increase in expenditure. Table 1's results show that the tourism-related goals set for the end of the 5th Five Year Development Plan period were already exceeded before the end of the period. Turkey was visited by about 3 million foreign tourists in 1987, and the net tourism revenue was 1.273 billion dollars (well above the set goal). It has been established, therefore, that the 1st MP Government succeeded in its actions to develop tourism and increase tourism revenue.

Table 1: Net Tourism Revenue for 1983-1987

| Years | Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Tourism Expenditure (\$1,000) | Net Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Number of International Visitors | Mean Expenditure per Visitor (\$) |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1983 | 411,088 | 127,337 | 283,751 | 1,625,099 | 253.0 |
| 1984 | 840,000 | 276,806 | 563,194 | 2,117,094 | 396.8 |
| 1985 | 1,482,000 | 323,600 | 1,158,400 | 2,614,924 | 566.7 |
| 1986 | 1,215,000 | 313,570 | 901,430 | 2,391,085 | 508.1 |
| 1987 | 1,721,117 | 447,739 | 1,273,378 | 3,058,676 | 562.7 |

Source: Republic Of Turkey Ministry Of Culture and Tourism, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr>, 2018)

Tourism Promises during the Election Campaigns for the 1987 General Election

Promises Made by the Motherland Party

During the 1987 general elections, the MP placed emphasis on its promise to attract high-income foreign tourists to Turkey if it rose to power once again. Underlining the fact that it would strive to protect the natural beauties of Turkey at the same time, the MP promised to attract tourism investors through high quality projects and active marketing. Stating that it also had plans for more active overseas tourism marketing, the MP underlined the fact that it would reevaluate the Tourism Incentive Law to rid tourism of management and investment formalities and focus on vocational training to recruit skilled employees (MP Election Manifesto, 1987: 58).

Promises Made by the Social Democratic Populist Party

Referring to Turkey's natural and historical riches, the Social Democratic Populist Party (SPP) placed emphasis on simultaneously considering the issues of opening these riches to access and how they are being used. The party expressed its conviction that Turkey's economy often proved insufficient for the protection of these cultural riches, and stated that collaborating with international institutions would be useful in such cases. Stating that it would follow policies aimed at establishing a balance between meeting the vacation needs of employees in Turkey and promoting

international tourism, the SPP added that it would focus on promoting mass tourism to provide a balanced movement both internationally and domestically. In addition to this, the party declared that it would make use of the public and private sectors and foreign capital for the investment and management of touristic facilities, that there would be a significant foreign currency inflow at the management stage, and that opportunities would be provided for foreign managers (SPP Program, 1985: 58-40).

Promises Made by the True Path Party

Expressing its conviction that Turkey's potential for tourism should be made part of a long-term development policy rather than a source of short-term benefit, the True Path Party (TPP) promised that it would protect natural, historical, ethnographic and archeological riches and make good use of them to promote tourism, that it would start the necessary process of expropriation in priority areas, and that it would create more infrastructure and provide areas worthy of investment by various businesses through leasing. The TPP also promised to improve the existing accommodation facilities, to provide more capital from both domestic and external sources to be able to increase the existing capacity, and to embrace a view of tourism that focuses not only on coastal areas but represents a versatile understanding. The party promised to support the creation of facilities in the countryside to meet the vacation needs of those who would go to these places from larger cities. The party stated that it would create incentives to open housing compounds to domestic and international touristic access and to create more guesthouses, and added that practical solutions would be provided to meet the vacation needs of employees at appropriate facilities. The TPP also stated that the necessary types of training would be provided to meet the need for skilled employees in the tourism industry. It stated that, considering the touristic characteristics of certain regions, tourism trainings would become the focus of Vocational High Schools for Girls and Boys as well as of Commercial High Schools, and that it would support endeavors to promote environmental protection and tourism awareness (TPP Election Manifesto, 1987: 75).

Tourism-related Efforts made by the 2nd ÖZAL Government during 1987-1991, and the Laws Passed by the GNAT

Tourism, often called "the smokeless industry" in Turkish, has a special place within the service sector. The tourism industry in Turkey has been developing and growing in importance since 1983. The 2nd MP Government was formed after the 1987 General Election. During their terms, the MP Governments, and especially prime minister Özal, made important efforts to promote domestic tourism. Bilateral agreements as well as international conventions on such matters as transportation, communication and using supply resources were signed to develop international tourism. It is possible to say, in light of these, that Prime Minister Özal started a nationwide tourism campaign in this period. The tourism industry witnessed the rise of bed capacity from 66,000 in 1983 to 250,000 in 1991, while tourism revenues, which used to be 411 million dollars, had exceeded 3 billion dollars by 1990. However, tourism revenues decreased by 17.7% in 1991 because of Gulf War I. This is shown clearly in table 2. (MP Election Manifesto, 1991: 54; Erkmen, 2017: 326-327).

Table 2: Net Tourism Revenue for the Years 1987-1991

| Years | Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Tourism Expenditure (\$1,000) | Net Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Number of International Visitors | Mean Expenditure per Visitor (\$) |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1987 | 1,721,117 | 447,739 | 1,273,378 | 3,058,676 | 562.7 |
| 1988 | 2,355,295 | 357,966 | 1,997,329 | 4,150,300 | 567.5 |
| 1989 | 2,556,529 | 565,000 | 2,191,529 | 4,482,779 | 570.3 |
| 1990 | 3,225,000 | 520,000 | 2,705,000 | 5,190,729 | 621.3 |
| 1991 | 2,654,000 | 592,000 | 2,062,000 | 5,106,792 | 519.7 |

Source: Republic of Turkey Ministry Of Culture and Tourism, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr>, 2018)

In this connection, numerous legal regulations were made from 1983 to 1991 to develop tourism. Those among them which are deemed the most important are given below.

During the 2nd MP Government, in the period between 1987-1991, discussions were held to decide whether or not to add an additional clause to the Tourism Incentive Law number 2634, whether or not to change one of the articles of the Tourism Incentive Law, and whether or not to change one of the articles of the Tourism Incentive Law and add 2 additional clauses to it. In addition, various bills such as the ones proposing changes to the law number 927 and law number 4268 and law number 6977 were discussed by the GNAT and then made into law to promote tourism. For this purpose, the MP government signed such international conventions as the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe, and these agreements were implemented after their approval by the GNAT.

During the 2nd MP Government, the bill to add an additional clause to the Tourism Incentive Law number 2634, dated 12 March 1982, was made into law with the passing of the law number 3487, dated 27 October 1988 (Parliament Bulletin 18, v. 72: 50). The following clause was added to the Tourism Incentive Law number 2634, dated 12 March 1982: hot and cold healing springs reserved for bathing within touristic areas and centers will be given to tourism investors in compliance with the provisions of the law, provided that the granted and de facto rights as well as the rights registered in the deed are reserved” (Parliament Bulletin 18, v.72:50).

Upon the passing of the law number 3492, dated 2 November 1988, the following changes were made to the 30th article of the Tourism Incentive Law Number 2634. *“The ministry has exclusive rights to classify businesses and to inspect documented investments and businesses, the documented qualifications of these investments and businesses, and whether or not they uphold these qualifications. Natural or legal persons invested with the appropriate authority by the ministry, can perform inspections and classifications in cases where the ministry deems it necessary* (Parliament Bulletin 18, v.72: 220).

The bill to make changes to the 16th article of the Tourism Incentive Law number 2634 and to add 2 additional clauses to the law, with its resolutions to allow campervans and motorhomes belonging to foreigners entering Turkey to remain in the country for up to two years for maintenance and repair purposes as well as to allow certified touristic businesses to pay electric, gas and water bills at the lowest tariff applied to houses in their respective areas, was enacted into law by GNAT with the passing of the law number 3754 on 30 May 1991 (GNAT Assembly Bulletin, 1991: 9: 19). In addition, the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe, signed in Granada

on 3 October 1985, and enacted into law by the GNAT with the passing of the law number 3534, dated 13 April 1989 (Parliament Bulletin 18, v. 72: 561).

Tourism Promises during the Election Campaigns for the 1991 General Election Promises Made by the True Path Party

The True Path Party placed emphasis on its conviction that tourism is an important procurer of foreign currency for Turkey and a domestic market resource for the service sector and manufacturing industry as well as for numerous sub-sectors. The party promised to increase the share of the tourism industry in Turkey's GNP. The TPP stated that they would prioritize environmental protection while developing tourism through investment, that they would take immediate action against businesses or housing projects causing pollution in touristic regions, and that they would fight against excessive use of concrete in coastal areas. Promising to create a system of incentives that would take into account the developments around the world and especially the conditions in rival countries to do what is needed on time, the TPP underlined that it would collaborate with the private sector to create, manage and supervise incentive policies. The party emphasized that it would encourage foreign loans for tourism investments intended for foreign markets. It also stated that it would rearrange repayment schedules and credit periods based on the conditions of internal finance (TPP Election Manifesto, 1991: 151-153).

Promises Made by the Motherland Party

Emphasizing the special place held by the tourism industry, the MP promised to enable Turkey to reach its full touristic potential. The party cited environmental preservation and promoting the tourism industry among its goals. Underlining the fact that it would prioritize environmental protection to preserve Turkey's natural beauty, the MP stated that it would make efforts to place touristic regions under protection in the future. The MP stated that it would promote tourism beyond coastal regions, promoting mountains and plateaus in addition to coastal areas, and that it would make sure the touristic facilities built in these regions would not damage nature. It also stated that it would make efforts to promote off-season use of personal summer houses in coastal regions. It stated that it would focus on providing the necessary infrastructure for further development of tourism, that it would strive to attract high-income foreign tourists, and that it would support endeavors to promote Turkey overseas (MP Election Manifesto, 1991: 54-55).

Promises Made by the Social Democratic Populist Party

The Social Democratic Populist Party (SPP) claimed that the goal of creating more foreign currency inflow caused international tourism to be prioritized in Turkey, and further added that this happened at the expense of employees in Turkey whose needs remained neglected. Stating that it would follow policies aimed at establishing a balance between meeting the vacation needs of employees in Turkey and promoting international tourism, the SPP added that it would focus on promoting mass tourism to provide a balanced movement both internationally and domestically. The SPP stated that it would make use of the public and the private sectors, as well as foreign capital for the investments in and the management of touristic facilities, and that it would support endeavors to create incentives for foreign tourism investments (SPP Program, 1990: 136).

No tourism-related promises could be identified in the election manifestos of the Democratic Left Party and the Welfare Party, which also managed to have seats in the parliament.

Tourism-related Efforts made by the TPP-SPP Coalition Government during the Years 1991-1995, and the Laws Passed by the GNAT

The TPP-SPP Coalition Government was formed after the 1991 General Election. The issue of tourism began to grow in importance during the MP governments. The coalition government also made efforts in this field. The projects for 40 new marinas were planned by the coalition administration. The party planned to increase Turkey's tourism activity as well as the inflow of foreign currency by means of these projects (Parliamentary Minutes, 19th term, v. 95: 437). The TPP-SPP Coalition joined international conventions and signed bilateral agreements with certain countries to promote tourism. Those among them which are deemed the most important are given below.

The law number 4093, dated 9 March 1995, approved the changes made to the Constitution by the World Tourism Organization, was passed and implemented (GNAT Assembly Bulletin, 1995, 40: 21). The law on the 1996 Turkey Europalia Festival was passed by the GNAT and made into law number 4033, dated 22 September 1994. The aim of this law was to finalize the necessary administrative and financial arrangements for the 1996 Turkey Europalia Festival, organized by the Europalia Foundation located in Brussels, which would promote Turkey around the world from September to December in terms of its politics, economy, trade, culture, society and tourism (GNAT Assembly Bulletin, 1994, 34: 21). In an effort to promote tourism, on 28 March 1991, a Tourism Collaboration Agreement was signed in Ankara between the governments of the Republic of Turkey and Romania. The agreement was approved with the law number 3999, dated 11 March 1993 (GNAT Assembly Bulletin, 1993, 22: 10). The Tourism Collaboration Agreement, signed between the governments of the Republic of Turkey and the French Republic, was approved with the law number 3940, dated 7 December 1993 (GNAT Assembly Bulletin, 1993, 28: 16). The Tourism Collaboration Agreement, signed between the governments of the Republic of Turkey and the Kingdom of Denmark, was approved with the law number 4092, dated 9 March 1995 (GNAT Assembly Bulletin, 1995, 40: 21).

The period when the TPP-SPP Coalition Government was formed coincided with the beginning of the 6th Five Year Development Plan (1990-1994). The plan included supporting tourism investments for a sustainable increase in tourism revenues and promoting Turkish tourism overseas. It was estimated that, during this five-year period, tourism revenues would experience an average increase of 13.6% per year, reaching 5.514 billion dollars in 1994, and that tourism expenditure would experience an average increase of 18.4% per year, rising from 565 million dollars in 1989 to 1.026 billion dollars in 1994. Consequently, the estimated net tourism revenue by the end of the five-year period was 4.488 billion dollars (SPO, 1989: 281-282). Data regarding the number of international visitors and tourism revenue-expenditure during the TPP-SPP Coalition Government is given below in table 3.

Table 3: Net Tourism Revenue for the Years 1991-1995

| Years | Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Tourism Expenditure (\$1,000) | Net Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Number of International Visitors | Mean Expenditure per Visitor (\$) |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1991 | 2,654,000 | 592,000 | 2,062,000 | 5,106,792 | 519.7 |
| 1992 | 3,639,000 | 776,000 | 2,863,000 | 6,827,392 | 533.0 |
| 1993 | 3,959,000 | 934,000 | 3,025,000 | 5,925,760 | 668.1 |
| 1994 | 4,321,000 | 866,000 | 3,455,000 | 6,410,979 | 674.0 |
| 1995 | 4,957,000 | 912,000 | 4,045,000 | 7,247,076 | 684.0 |

Source: Republic of Turkey Ministry Of Culture and Tourism, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr>, 2018)

However, a number of global crises such as, the fall of the Eastern Bloc and Berlin Wall in 1989 and the beginning of the Gulf War in 1991 had a negative impact on tourism in Turkey and around the world. Accordingly, it can be stated that despite the international agreements signed by the Coalition Government to promote tourism, the actions that followed were not always in the expected direction and the net tourism revenue in the end was below expectations. This can be observed in detail in table 3.

Tourism Promises during the Election Campaigns for the 1995 General Election Promises Made by the Welfare Party

The Welfare Party states that coastal tourism activities negative affect the cultural and moral values of local people. Therefore, the Welfare Party emphasized its wish to establish a “moral tourism”. The party supported the idea of increasing tourism revenues, but wished to restrict the concept of tourism with its idea of *moral tourism*. It is stated that the Party did not want to lose this source of revenue while its voter base had a mindset that can be summarized as “Tourists bring in foreign currency, but take away our morality.” The party included such concepts as moral tourism in its plans to appease its voter base (Milliyet, 4 December 1995: 15).

Promises Made by the Motherland Party

Underlining the fact that tourism revenues during the election period in 1995 stood at 5 billion dollars, the MP promised to increase this number to 15 billion dollars within 5 years. It added that it would increase the number of tourists coming from OECD countries from 4 million to 10 million (Milliyet, 4 December 1995: 15).

Promises Made by the Democratic Left Party

The Democratic Left Party (DLP) promised to increase tourism revenues to 20 billion dollars in 10 years. Another promise made by the DLP in addition to this was to encourage investments aimed at protecting the environment and historical heritage. It added that it had projects for creating technical infrastructure - such as transportation, sewage, water supply, roads, waste collection - and for tour operations and travel agencies (Milliyet, 5 December 1995: 15).

Promises Made by the Republican People's Party

Stating that it had plans to bring industrial production to the level of a global competitor, the Republican People's Party (RPP) promised to fill the gaps in the existing legislation to increase tourism revenues, to support tourism organizations, to revise the Law on the Association of Travel Agencies, and to increase the quality of accommodation and transportation services (Milliyet, 5 December 1995: 15).

Tourism-related Efforts made by Coalition Governments during the Years 1995-1999, and the Laws Passed by the GNAT

The Coalition Governments of the 20th GNAT also made efforts to promote tourism, even if their efforts did not amount to much. Relevant laws were accepted by the GNAT. The Tourism Incentive Law was revised twice. These legal arrangements are given below.

The law number 4266, dated 5 June 1997, is a law that was not implemented. This law prohibited the opening of places, independent or in liaison with touristic businesses, where games of chance could be played, and subsequently the contradicting provisions of other laws were annulled. It was also decreed that those businesses which had acquired permissions from the Ministry of Tourism prior to the implementation of said law would lose their licenses without need of any further notice within 6 months after the publication of the law in the government gazette, and that these businesses would not be allowed such activities from that date onward. The law was sent back by the president to the parliament for further discussion based on the 89th article of the constitution (GNAT Assembly Bulletin, 1997, 57: 2). Instead of the law in question, number 4266 dated 5 June 1997, the law number 4302, dated 7 August 1997, concerning changes to the Tourism Incentive Law was accepted. This law prohibited the opening of places, independent or in liaison with touristic businesses, where games of chance could be played. It further decreed that those businesses which had acquired permissions from the Ministry of Tourism prior to the implementation of said law would lose their licenses within 6 months after the publication of the law, and made revisions concerning the sale of alcoholic beverages (GNAT Assembly Bulletin, 1997, 57: 25).

The Coalition Governments of the 20th GNAT also included tourism-related goals in the 7th Five Year Development Plan (1996-2000). Accordingly, the goals included protecting natural and cultural riches in order to ensure sustainable use, encouraging the diversification of tourism to create a balance between the regional distribution per season. In addition, the targeted number of foreign tourists visiting Turkey by the end of the 7th Plan was 13-17 million, while the targeted net tourism revenue was 8.5-11.9 billion dollars (SPO, 1995: 162). Data on Turkish tourism between the years 1995-1999 are given below in table 4.

Table 4: Net Tourism Revenue for the Years 1995-1999

| Years | Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Tourism Expenditure (\$1,000) | Net Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Number of International Visitors | Mean Expenditure per Visitor (\$) |
|--------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1995 | 4,957,000 | 912,000 | 4,045,000 | 7,247,076 | 684.0 |
| 1996 | 5,962,100 | 1,265,000 | 4,697,100 | 7,970,722 | 748.0 |
| 1997 | 8,088,549 | 1,716,000 | 6,372,549 | 9,233,503 | 876.0 |
| 1998 | 7,808,940 | 1,753,900 | 6,055,040 | 8,878,840 | 879.5 |
| 1999 | 5,203,000 | 1,471,000 | 3,732,000 | 7,069,293 | 736.0 |

Source: Republic of Turkey Ministry Of Culture and Tourism, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr>, 2018)

The 1997 Southeast Asian and 1998 Russian financial crises slowed down the growth of tourism in Turkey and worldwide. In addition, due to the two earthquakes that hit Turkey on 17 August 1999 and on 12 November 1999, tourism revenues that year experienced a decrease of 33.3%. This is shown clearly in table 4. The net tourism revenue in 1999 was 3.7 billion dollars, as opposed to estimates by the Coalition Governments, who had planned to have a net tourism revenue of 8.5-11.9 billion dollars by the end of the 7th Plan period. Accordingly, it has been established

that, due to certain negative developments, the Coalition Governments of the 20th GNAT could not realize their tourism goals as originally desired.

Tourism Promises during the Election Campaigns for the 1999 General Election

Promises Made by the Democratic Left Party

The Democratic Left Party (DLP) emphasized the fact that tourism was among the most dynamic and rapidly growing industries of Turkish economy. The party stated that tourism not only created more employment opportunities but also played an important role in promoting Turkey overseas and acted as the most efficient way of bringing more foreign currency inflow. DLP stated that it would implement projects for creating technical infrastructure - such as transportation, sewage, water supply, roads, waste collection - as well as practical projects concerning tour operations and travel agencies, and added that it aimed to increase tourism revenues to 20 billion dollars within 10 years (DLP Election Manifesto, 1999: 73).

Promises Made by the Virtue Party

The Virtue Party (VP) claimed that relations with neighboring countries, terrorism, flaws in the production of services and, most important of all, the monotony of promotional efforts acted as obstacles towards the further development of tourism. The party promised to regularly organize international publicity campaigns to enable the further development tourism. It also stated that it would implement programs to support touristic facilities and businesses to overcome their shortcomings, that it would support projects that served this purpose, that it would diversify tourism, and that it would encourage investments promoting religious, cultural and mountain tourism as well as wellness and yacht tourism (VP Election Manifesto, 1999: 89). As far as could be identified, the other parties which managed to have seats in the parliament did not make promises regarding tourism.

Tourism-related Efforts made by the DLP-NMP-MP Coalition Government during 1999-2002, and the Laws Passed by the GNAT

Improving transportation and communication is important for tourism. This period witnessed the signing of important agreements with foreign countries in matters of air transport and communication. With the passing of the law 4490, dated 16 December 1999, the procurement and management of commercial yachts registered in the inventories of touristic businesses, as well as ships registered in the Turkish registry of international ships were facilitated, and it was hoped that the Turkish maritime sector would further develop to contribute more significantly to the economy (Parliament Bulletin, 1999, 72: 16).

The DLP-NMP-MP Coalition Government regarded tourism as one of Turkey's most competitive industries in the international market. Accordingly, certain measures were taken initially to make the tourism industry more resistant in times of crisis, and efforts were made to give the industry a healthy structure which would make it capable of creating its own resources and auditing itself. During the DLP-NMP-MP Coalition Government, especially in the year 2000, the targeted number of tourists visiting Turkey was 9 million, and the targeted tourism revenue was 7.2 billion dollars (SPO, 2000: 167). As can be seen in table 5, which provides data on tourism in Turkey between 1999-2002, tourism revenues in 2000 experienced an increase of 46.7% from the previous year and reached 7.636 billion

dollars. Again, within the targeted year 2000, the number of international visitors to Turkey reached almost 10 million, which meant almost 3 million more visitors compared to the previous year. Accordingly, it has been established that the tourism-related achievements of the DLP-NMP-MP Coalition Government exceeded the goals they had set.

Table 5: Net Tourism Revenue for the Years 1999-2002

| Years | Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Tourism Expenditure (\$1,000) | Net Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Number of International Visitors | Mean Expenditure per Visitor (\$) |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1999 | 5,203,000 | 1,471,000 | 3,732,000 | 7,069,293 | 736.0 |
| 2000 | 7,636,000 | 1,711,000 | 5,925,000 | 9,990,841 | 764.3 |
| 2001 | 10,066,500 | 1,738,000 | 8,328,520 | 13,450,121 | 748.0 |
| 2002 | 11,900,900 | 1,880,000 | 10,020,900 | 15,214,516 | 782.0 |

Source: Republic of Turkey Ministry Of Culture and Tourism, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr>, (2018)

Election Promises Regarding Tourism during the Election Campaigns for the 2002 General Election

Promises Made by the Justice and Development Party

The Justice and Development Party (JDP) stated it would improve the institutional and legal infrastructure of the tourism industry, that it would collaborate with professional organizations to develop projects within the Tourism Master Plan, which would be aimed at the diversification of tourism products, local promotion, prioritization, and classification of tourism in Turkey. The party promised that it would improve the distribution of tourism by season and geography and consider consumer preferences of foreign markets to create policies that would promote various types of tourism such as winter and mountain tourism, wellness tourism, religious tourism and third-age tourism. In addition, the party stated that it would provide support for organizations and travel agencies to promote congress and fair tourism, and added that it would support the promotion of various regions based on their cultural and historical heritage (JDP Party Program, 2002: 30).

Promises Made by the Republican People's Party

The Republican People's Party (RPP) promised to permanently mobilize Turkey's rich touristic resources. The RPP stated that it would prioritize tourism as an industry, and that it would create and implement a 10 Year Tourism Master Plan for that purpose. The party added that it would make arrangements to enable foreigners to purchase property in touristic regions, that it would fill the legal gaps in legislation concerning tourism, and that it would make the necessary changes to laws concerning tourism. The RPP emphasized its plans to create new and modern centers of attraction, with consideration to environmental issues, in suitable parts of Turkey, including eastern and southeastern regions, where there would be no problems relating to infrastructure. The party promised to engage in regional planning in a way that would create incentives for tourism investments by arranging transparent sales to transfer areas to investors, and to create the National Promotion Council through the participation of public and private sector institutions as well as universities. It also stated that efforts would be made to diversify tourism by promoting health tourism, religious tourism, and natural and mountain tourism, and added that it would aim for year-long tourism. The RPP stated that it would solve problems of international competition, that it would make immediate efforts to solve the problems faced by national airline carriers as well as problems resulting from shortcomings of

infrastructure such as a lack of roads, and that it would improve the existing potential for congress tourism (RPP Election Manifesto, 2002: 49-50).

Promises Made by the Young Party

The Young Party (YP) emphasized that tourism played an important role for Turkish economy and stated that it would take the necessary measures to avoid the pollution and destruction of natural historical and cultural riches for the future of tourism (Aktüel, 2002: 19).

Tourism-related Efforts made by the 1st and 2nd JDP Governments during the Years 2002-2007, and the Laws Passed by the GNATA branch of the service sector, tourism is an especially important part of developing countries' economies.

Accordingly, countries strive to increase their benefit from this industry by means of diversifying their tourism-related activities. The policies implemented in Turkey have been developing in this dimension. Similar to many parties which managed to have seats in the parliament after 1980, the JDP Government also identified certain plans and policies for the further development of tourism, and took actions for that purpose.

Tourism as a source of foreign currency inflow and an industry creating employment opportunities for many people continued to develop during the MP governments. As a result of important actions taken by the JDP, the number of tourists visiting Turkey as well as tourism revenues experienced significant increases. In 2006, while the number of tourists visiting Turkey rose to 23.1 million, the net tourism revenue reached almost 14 billion dollars (Parliamentary Minutes, 8th Assembly, 23. v. 1, 2007: 113). This can be observed in table 6. In addition, during the JDP governments, Turkish tourism ranked 12th in the world in terms of number of visitors and 8th in terms of tourism revenue (SPO, 2000: 168).

Table 6: Net Tourism Revenue for the Years 2002-2007

| Years | Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Tourism Expenditure (\$1,000) | Net Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Number of International Visitors | Mean Expenditure per Visitor (\$) |
|--------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| 2002 | 11,900,900 | 1,880,000 | 10,020,900 | 15,214,516 | 782.0 |
| 2003 | 13,203,100 | 2,113,300 | 11,089,800 | 16,302,050 | 810.0 |
| 2004 | 17,076,600 | 2,524,000 | 13,363,700 | 20,262,640 | 784.0 |
| 2005 | 20,322,115 | 2,870,400 | 15,283,100 | 24,124,501 | 752.0 |
| 2006 | 18,593,900 | 2,742,300 | 14,108,500 | 23,148,669 | 728.0 |
| 2007 | 20,942,550 | 3,259,625 | 15,587,383 | 27,214,988 | 679.0 |

Source: Republic of Turkey Ministry Of Culture and Tourism, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr>, 2018)

National, international and bilateral legal regulations were adopted during the 22nd term of the GNAT for the further development of tourism. An important step for the development tourism, Law No. 4848, dated 16 April 2003, concerning the Organization and Duties of the Ministry of Tourism was accepted at the GNAT (Parliament Bulletin, 2003, 97: 29).

Law No. 4957 concerning changes made to the Tourism Incentive Law was accepted on 24 July 2003. With this law, changes were made to the Tourism Incentive Law number 2634, which was the principle law regulating the tourism industry, in accordance with Law No. 4848 concerning the Organization and Duties of the Ministry of Culture

and Tourism and the needs of the sector. The law also changed the model that had been applied for the allocation of public lands for tourism investments, and it was hoped that problems resulting from the annulment of investment and management documents would be alleviated (Parliament Bulletin, 2003, 100: 29).

Thermal springs are an important component of promoting wellness tourism. An action taken for this purpose was the passing of Law No. 5185, dated 3 June 2004. This law is within the province of Yalova. In this context, it was accepted that the state-owned springs and movables and immovables would be transferred to the Ministry of Health instead of a legal person called the Yalova Springs Management Organization, and that the formation of the management organization as well the method of management would be decided by the Ministry of Health. In other words, it was accepted that these places could be rented by natural or legal persons, that the renovate-operate-transfer model could be applied according to provisions of private law, and that, for this purpose, the title of Law No. 3653 could be changed to *the Law Concerning Yalova Springs Management Organization*. (Parliament Bulletin, 2004, June, 108: 34)

The JDP Government signed bilateral agreements with numerous countries to attract foreign tourists while also striving to develop domestic tourism, and implemented laws prescribed by these agreements. Some of these laws are summarized below.

The 59th Government of the Republic of Turkey signed bilateral tourism cooperation agreements with the governments of various countries such as the Government of the Republic of Latvia, the Government of the Republic of Venezuela, the Cabinet of Serbia and Montenegro, the State Secretariat of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the Tourism and Commerce State Secretariat of the Kingdom of Spain. In addition, it accepted the changes made to certain articles of the constitution of the World Tourism Organization. These agreements were signed for the further development of international tourism were accepted and implemented by the 22 GNAT with the passing of Law No. 5050, dated 14 January 2004 (Parliament Bulletin, 2004, 103:28); Law No. 5055, dated 14 January 2004 (Parliament Bulletin, 2004, 103:29); Law No. 5240, dated 20 October 2004 (Parliament Bulletin, 2004, 110:48); Law No. 5405, dated 06 October 2005 (Parliament Bulletin, 2005, 119:61); Law No. 5407, dated 06 October 2005 (Parliament Bulletin, 2005, 119:61); Law No. 5051, dated 14. January 2004 (Parliament Bulletin, 2004, 103:28).

Election Promises Regarding Tourism during the Election Campaigns for the 2007 General Election

Promises Made by the Justice and Development Party

The Justice and Development Party (JDP) stated that its aim was to raise Turkish tourism higher in the international arena. The party emphasized its plan to maintain close contact and cooperation with the representatives of the sector to achieve this. The JDP stated that it would make the necessary legal arrangements to create an efficient organization structure that would bring all the actors of the tourism industry together to facilitate the development and implementation of relevant policies. The party stated that it would prioritize promotion efforts to develop domestic tourism and to allow Turkish citizens to benefit from the positive impacts of tourism, and added that developing different types of tourism in addition to mass tourism would also be among its priorities. It declared that specialized tourism exhibitions would enjoy higher participation rates compared to previous years, that different advertisement campaigns would be developed based on the specific characteristics of individual countries, and that

the use of new technologies in promotion and marketing endeavors would be encouraged (JDP Election Manifesto, 2007: 42-43).

Promises Made by the Republican People's Party

The Republican People's Party emphasized its plan to develop tourism policies that would focus on the protection of environmental and cultural riches by ensuring that these resources are used rationally and in line with modern and national values. The party declared that it would take the necessary actions to enable a transition to partial localization as much possible to suit the management of tourism activities. Additionally, it emphasized the need for including local governments and professional tourism organizations in coordination with the Ministry of Tourism. The party declared that the vacation needs of Turkish citizens would be catered to within appropriate conditions. The RPP stated that it would consider changing customer preferences and Turkey's supply potential to diversify the range of marketable products, and added that legal regulations concerning organized touristic establishments would be made immediately. The RPP declared that, given the chance to form a government as the ruling party, it would provide intensive support to increase the occupancy rate of existing facilities, to take measures to prolong the tourist season and increase the quality of services, to encourage travel agencies to engage in tour operations, and help travel agencies increase their presence in foreign markets. The RPP emphasized its plan to increase the number of employees in the tourism industry to what is appropriate, and to develop their skills through trainings (RPP Party Program, 2004:146-148).

Promises Made by the Nationalist Movement Party

The Nationalist Movement Party (NMP) stated that it would make use of Turkey's potential for tourism during all four seasons. The party stated that it would focus on marketing efforts as well as efforts to promote Turkey's potential for sea tourism, history and museum tourism, cave tourism, winter tourism, mountain tourism, river tourism, hunting tourism, medical tourism, third-age tourism, religious tourism, sports tourism, and congress tourism. It declared that Turkey's share in global tourism revenues would grow larger thanks to such efforts. The party stated that free healthcare areas would be established, and that a long-term tourism policy would be established with coordination and cooperation between the private sector and NGOs to enter new markets and create a new image for Turkey (NMP Election Manifesto, 2007: 92-93).

Tourism-related Efforts made by the 3rd JDP Government during the Years 2007-2011, and the Laws Passed by the GNAT

In addition to its efforts to promote domestic tourism, the 3rd JDP Government also signed bilateral agreements with foreign countries. According to information provided by the JDP, the number of Tourists visiting Turkey was approximately 15 million in 2002, and tourism revenues stood at 12 billion dollars; in 2010, the number of tourists rose to 33 million and tourism revenues to 25 billion dollars (Parliament Reports, 24th Term, 6th Assembly, Volume 1. 88). During the 23rd term of the GNAT, changes were made to the Tourism Incentive Law to further promote tourism, and the relevant bilateral agreements signed with numerous countries entered into force after being approved by the GNAT. The tourism-related laws approved by the GNAT are mentioned below.

Law No. 5761 concerning changes made to the Tourism Incentive Law was approved on 7 May 2008. The aim of this law was to develop national tourism and make the initiatives required by international tourism competitiveness, and also to overcome the obstacles faced during the process of harmonizing legislation with that of the European Union (Parliament Bulletin, 2008, 145: 44).

On 24 November 2004, a tourism cooperation agreement was signed in Ankara between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Cabinet of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which entered into force on 3 October 2007 when Law No. 5688 was approved by the GNAT. The primary goal of this agreement was to promote and bolster cooperation between the tourism organizations and associations from both countries. Other goals included the organization of fairs, festivals, exhibitions and cultural events by both parties to increase activity, and the creation of incentives to encourage activities by the private sector by means of analyzing and identifying cooperation opportunities for investments in both countries (Parliament Bulletin, 2007, 138: 59).

A tourism cooperation agreement was signed between the 3rd JDP Government and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This agreement entered into force after its ratification by the GNAT with Law No. 5705, dated 25 October 2007. The agreement included clauses regarding the intensification of cooperation between the two countries in matters relating to tourism, and the promotion of personal or group travel by creating suitable conditions for travel agencies. In addition, it included experience and publication exchange in matters such as tourism organization and management, achieving expert exchange to further technical cooperation in matters relating to tourism, and facilitating activities of national tourism offices and tourism representative offices (Parliament Bulletin, 2007, 139: 49).

The 60th Government of the Republic of Turkey signed a tourism cooperation agreement with the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic. This agreement came into force after its ratification by the Grand National Assembly with Law No. 5846, dated 1 April 2009. The law entailed such measures as increasing the flow of tourists into the countries which were signatories to the memorandum of understanding, promoting common products and organizing exhibitions and tourism events to market these products, and establishing an observation committee to make sure that the programs outlined in the memorandum of understanding were being implemented (Parliament Bulletin, 2009, April, 153 54).

A memorandum of understanding was signed between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic to develop collaboration in terms of tourism exchange, to support tourism investments and experience exchange in various fields of tourism, and to establish a visa-free regime between the two countries. This agreement entered into force with the ratification by GNAT of Law No. 6177 on 9 March 2011 (Parliament Bulletin, 2011, 170: 99).

The 9th Development Plan concerning the years 2007-2013 was prepared during the 3rd JDP Government. The aims of the plan were to diversify tourism, to create a balanced distribution of touristic activity in terms of region and season, to promote culture tourism and to protect authentic characteristics of cultural sites for that purpose, to include regional areas in touristic activity, to increase the quality of tourism services, national and international touristic promotion, and to increase marketing efforts. In addition, efforts were made to achieve standardization of vocational

training (SPO, 2006: 81-82). Likewise, the “2023 Strategy of Turkish Tourism” action plan was prepared in accordance with the 9th Development Plan. The target expressed in the plan was to make Turkey one of the top five countries in the global tourism market in terms of tourism revenue and number of visitors by 2023.

Data on tourism revenues and number of visitors recorded in accordance with the principles and goals identified in the plan are given below in table 7.

Table 7: Net Tourism Revenue for the Years 2007-2011

| Years | Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Tourism Expenditure (\$1,000) | Net Tourism Revenue (\$1,000) | Number of International Visitors | Mean Expenditure per Visitor (\$) |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2007 | 20,942,550 | 3,259,625 | 15,587,383 | 27,214,988 | 769.5 |
| 2008 | 25,415,000 | 3,506,888 | 18,443,919 | 30,979,979 | 820.3 |
| 2009 | 25,064,400 | 4,145,740 | 17,103,597 | 32,006,149 | 783.1 |
| 2010 | 24,930,990 | 4,825,214 | 15,981,494 | 33,027,943 | 754.8 |
| 2011 | 28,115,660 | 5,531,400 | 22,584,260 | 36,151,300 | 777.7 |

Source: Republic of Turkey Ministry Of Culture and Tourism, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr>, (2018)

As can be observed in table 7, there was a significant increase both in the number of visitors to Turkey and in the international tourism revenue between the years 2007-2011. While approximately 27 million tourists visited Turkey in 2007, this number rose to 36 million in 2011. Similarly, while in 2007 the net tourism revenue was approximately 15.5 billion dollars, it experienced an increase of 7.5 billion dollars within 4 years. Accordingly, it can be stated that the actions of the 3rd JDP Government took to develop the tourism sector proved very successful.

Conclusion

Tourism is an important sector which has a positive impact on many other areas such as healthcare and the economic, political and social situations in a country. It is known that developed and developing countries with a potential for tourism attach a great deal of importance to international tourism for this reason. Tourism is a sector which bolsters economic growth, helps balance the distribution of wealth, and contributes to increasing the level of welfare. The inflow of foreign currency and employment rate, and therefore national income, increases with the development of tourism. Based on this, it can be argued that tourism is a wide and rapidly developing sector which affects other sectors by paving the way for their development.

The present study aims to research the promises expressed in the party programs and election manifestos of the parties which participated in the elections after 1980 and had seats in the parliament, as well as to analyze the relevant laws ratified by the GNAT and establish tourism revenues. Accordingly, this situation makes the study an important one. Indeed, within the context of the expressed aims, first the existing literature was reviewed and then data on the promises of political parties and their post-election activities were collected from the sources kept in the archives of the GNAT located in Ankara. In addition, data on the number of tourists visiting Turkey and international tourism revenues for the period between 1983-2011 were collected from the official website of the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The study was concluded in light of this data.

The election promises regarding tourism expressed by the participating parties during their election campaigns between the years 1983-2007 and the relevant actions taken by the governments formed after each election are dealt

with in great detail within the scope of the present study. Accordingly, there have been seven general elections in Turkey in 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2002 and in 2007. While after the 1991, 1995 and 1999 general elections a number of parties came together to form coalition governments, the others culminated in the formation of single-party governments.

It has been established that political parties made complementary promises regarding tourism during their election campaigns, generally aiming to develop the tourism sector and increase its contribution to the country. In accordance with these promises, the governments formed after 1983 all made progress by means of their actions, the agreements they signed with other countries and international bodies, and the laws that were accepted at the GNAT.

The pioneering actions of the 1st MP Government, formed after the 1983 general election, draws attention when analyzing the tourism-related developments ushered in by ruling parties. In this context, the government tried to cultivate a nationwide habit of traveling and going on vacation by means of the laws they made and the legal regulations they introduced. Indeed, the first free public beaches were opened in this period. In addition, the 1st MP Government aimed to attract high-quality, high-income foreign tourists and to place Turkey among the top countries in the world in terms of tourism revenues. As a result of the tourism-related actions of the 1st MP Government, especially in 1987 approximately 3 million foreign tourists visited Turkey and the net tourism revenue rose (beyond expectations) to 1.273 billion dollars. It has been established, therefore, that the 1st MP Government succeeded in its actions to develop tourism and increase tourism revenue.

The 2nd MP Government, formed after the 1987 general election, introduced legal regulations and made changes to the Tourism Incentive Law No. 2634 in an effort to keep its promise to develop domestic and international tourism, to support tourism investors, and to increase tourism revenues by attracting more tourists. Accordingly, during the 2nd MP Government, Turkey's supply resources were increased, in particular the bed capacity was increased to 205,000 and the net tourism revenue to over 2 billion dollars by the end of 1991. Therefore, it can be argued that the 2nd MP Government, like the 1st MP Government, successfully implemented policies and projects to develop the tourism sector in Turkey.

Formed after the 1991 general election, the TPP-SPP Coalition Government signed international agreements as well bilateral agreements with a number of countries in an effort to fulfil their election promises and to develop tourism. However, during the TPP-SPP Coalition Government (1991-1995), the tourism-related goals could not be achieved due especially to a number of negative developments around the world.

As a result of the 1995 general election, another coalition government was formed to lead the GNAT in its 20th term. This government made efforts, though less than the MP Government, to fulfil their election promises, and introduced a number of laws intended to contribute to the further development of tourism. However, during this Coalition Government (1995-1999), the tourism sector was affected badly by a number of global crises (such as the Southeast Asian Crisis, Russian Financial Crisis) as well as by the catastrophic earthquakes that hit Turkey during this period. Accordingly, it can be argued that, due to certain negative developments, the Coalition Governments of the 20th GNAT could not realize their tourism goals as well as they had wished.

Formed after the 1999 general election, the DLP-NMP-MP Coalition Government regarded tourism as a sector that was capable of competing globally, and strove to make the tourism sector more resistant especially in times of crisis. The number of tourists as well as tourism revenues increased during the Coalition Government. Accordingly, it can be argued that the efforts of the DLP-NMP-MP Coalition Government to develop tourism were partially successful.

The 1st-2nd JDP Government was formed after the general elections of 2002. Similar to many other governments formed after 1983, the JDP Government also identified certain plans and policies for the further development of tourism, and took actions for that purpose. However, it has been established that the efforts of the JDP Government, via both the laws passed by the GNAT and the intercountry and international agreements signed by the government, were both higher in number and proved to be more efficient. Having entered a period of progress during the MP Government, the tourism sector could sustain its progress during the JDP Government. The number of tourists as well as tourism revenues increased significantly during the JDP Government. In this period, Turkey developed an international reputation as a popular tourist destination.

Elected again in 2007, the JDP Government continued its efforts to develop tourism. Accordingly, the “Turkish Tourism Strategy 2023” action plan was prepared to achieve future goals, with efforts to diversify tourism, to create a balanced distribution of tourism in terms of region and season, to increase the quality of services, to increase national and international promotion, and to efficiently manage marketing activities. During the 3rd JDP Government (2007-2011), very important developments took place in the tourism sector and the country’s tourism revenues exceeded 22 billion dollars in 2011.

The tourism-related promises of political parties during their election campaigns from 1983 to 2007 had a complementary character. Political parties drew public attention to their goals concerning what they regarded as shortcoming or flaws in the tourism sector. The same promises were repeated by political parties during every election, but the goals were never fully achieved due to national or international causes.

The present study has made it clear that serious steps for the development of tourism were taken first by the MP Government and then continued with the JDP Government. Accordingly, it can be argued that single-party governments are more successful in their tourism-related efforts than coalition governments consisting of two or more parties. Therefore the importance of single-party governments has been established. In addition to this, the fact that there has never been a similar study before the present one makes the present study all the more important. Indeed, it believed that this study will be a contribution both to existing literature and to other researchers who may benefit from it as a point of departure that leads to new directions.

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