

## **Maciej Kapko: Election Marketing - an Instrument of Manipulation or a Fundamental Element of Modern Campaigns? The Polish Example**

Election marketing came to Poland together with transformations in the economic and political systems. It was first applied to parliamentary elections in 1989. Taking into account its effectiveness, a marketing approach to politics quickly became popularized, influencing the evolution of the democratic system. At the same time many critical voices appeared pointing to the negative effects of this phenomenon. Despite this, politicians have not resigned from the application of political marketing, whose importance for the election results, which they obtain continuously, grows in the age of rapid mass media development. Today, resignation from marketing instruments can sense a disaster. Modern voter-clients expect clues as to which of the candidates is the best, and will most effectively represent their interests. In election marketing the very voters themselves are important - so the broadcast is directed to them and they decide which of the candidates wins the elections.

### **The essence of political marketing**

The term "marketing" (also marketing in Polish) originates from the English word "market" and was used for the first time in the US by lecturers in the field of Commercial and Industrial Economics between 1906 and 1911 (Białecki, Bobrowski, p. 14). Its basic techniques were compiled in the United States. Proper development of marketing, however, began only after the conclusion of the Second World War.

Philip Kotler defines marketing as a social and organizational-governing process, thanks to which both the individuals and the defined groups reach their intended goals through the creation, offer, and exchange of goods of a defined worth on the market (Kotler, p. 7). Kotler derives the basic concepts determining marketing action, i.e. needs, desires and demand, products, worth, price and satisfaction, exchange, transaction and relationships, the market and participants in the market. A Kotler definition includes marketing, as well as, extra-economic disciplines of public activity.

In order for marketing to exist, four conditions must be fulfilled:

- there must exist two or more parties with unsatisfied needs
- intention and ability to satisfy these needs
- a means of communication between the parties
- something that can be the object of exchange

The component elements of marketing are therefore: product politics (which is how to develop a product in order to find a client), price politics (how to apply prices so that the product will sell well), distribution politics (in which areas to offer the product, in order to achieve success in the market), communications politics (how to inform the client about offers interesting for him).

Political marketing owes its beginnings to the needs of these same socio-political organizations, and one of their goals became the communicating and satisfying of the needs of "actors" on the political scene (Wisznowski, p. 17). Kotler and Levy, who noticed the possibility of using marketing in this type of action,

have popularize the possibility of using marketing in political operations. In their opinion, the only apparent difference consists in the fact that political marketing is more unpredictable than classical marketing.

"Taking advantage of the media as a conduit for information, propaganda, and advertising transmission; growth of the significance of public opinion polls; and the professionalization of the practice of politics" contributed to the rise of political marketing (Kolczyński, Sztumski, p. 105). The development of the mass media (especially television) and the possibility of communications on a mass scale influenced the quality of social communications, including political communications.

The phenomenon of public opinion is just as old as power itself. Public opinion polls appeared in politics relatively long ago. George Gallup and Archibald Crossly began a systematic research of public opinion in 1935. Together with the development of the political market, improved research methods became more precise, thanks to which from 1948 onwards research for the use of parties and politicians became a fundamental element of campaigns (Kolczyński, Sztumski, p. 106-7). Results obtained in polls make up the starting point in the process of creating a general campaign strategy and defining the manner of using particular marketing instruments.

In Poland until 1989 there was not much research on public opinion. During the years 1948-1956 the government prohibited this type of research, and later they were carried out only on subjects selected by the government and were censored. After the period of martial law, the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS - Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej) came into being, however it was only after 1989 that polls and election forecasts for parties and particular politicians appeared in the mass media. Currently, research into the political market accompanies all political actions: elections of all positions, referendums, and citizen initiatives - make up a vital element of each election campaign.

Political marketing is defined in many ways. Grażyna Ulicka defines it as "a group of theories, methods, techniques and social practices having the goal of convincing citizens to provide support to a person, group, or political project" (Ulicka, p. 166). Robert Wiszniowski defines political marketing as a "group of techniques serving the creation of behavior changes in subjects of politics and citizens within the range of political rivalry, in defined and long-term processes" (Wisznowski, p. 42). According to Andrew Lock and Phil Harris, political marketing is a "discipline which is occupied with the study of the processes of exchange between political subjects and their environment and between themselves, particularly relating to the positioning of these subjects on the market and their communications and methods, thanks to which strategies can be carried out, including research concerning attitudes, consciousness, and reactions of target groups" (Mazur, p. 18). Marzena Cichosz and Dariusz Skrzypczyński propose treating political marketing as "a group of techniques used to create the appropriate image of a candidate among his electorate, promoting his person, distinguishing him among rivals and obtaining the maximum amount of votes through the minimum use of funds" (Cichosz, Skrzypczyński, 1997). In a similar way political marketing is defined by M. Bongrand, who considers, that it is "a group of techniques used in creating the appropriate image of a candidate among his electorate, promoting his person, distinguishing him among rivals and acquiring the maximum number of votes through the minimum use of funds" (Mazur, p. 17). To recapitulate, it can be

stated, citing Dominic Wring, that political marketing is, first of all, philosophy (attitude and perspective), secondly it is more particularly a set of activities, which should put this philosophy into practice (Mazur, p. 15).

Political marketing and the wider political communications alike serve central, somehow definitional goals of politics - acquiring and holding power (Ryszka, pp. 18-19). Specialists of political marketing distinguish two areas of action. In the first area political marketing is understood as a group of actions having the goal of promoting a definite political initiative. It encompasses the presentation of the initiator's goals of action and the benefits, which his supporters receive. In the second area political marketing is understood as a group of actions conducted on the election market having the goal of the presentation of a given candidate / party in the most beneficial light. In this depiction marketing is a basic element of an election campaign and encompasses a group of actions heading towards precise definition, and then promotion of the electoral promises of the candidate. These actions above all have the goal of presenting voters with benefits resulting from the support of a given candidate / party and the development and strengthening of his positive image. The most intense form of political marketing which adopts the most aggressive shape is election marketing. Together with the rise of political marketing, new professions in the job market appeared, represented by specialists of political and election marketing, of creating and shaping the political image, of mass media, of developing positive relations with the media, in the field of analysis of the political market, of public opinion research, of political public relations and advertisement, of buying air time and advertising space (media buyers), and coaches in the field of oration and public speaking (coach).

The emergence of political marketing also changed the approach of many researchers towards the analysis of socio-political reality and the way of seeing the place and role of political parties in the modern world. This discipline has at the same time supporters, as well as, critics. And this is how for example Ziemowit J. Pietraś presents four main arguments against the marketing style of running elections: "first of all, [...] their running weakens the functioning of the party system, [...] secondly, marketing amounts to corruption of candidates and the entire political party alike, [...] thirdly, marketing demands complete professionalism in election activity, thanks to which the role of activists and volunteers becomes less important, which can influence the demobilization of the electorate, [...] fourthly, use of marketing techniques leads to a flight from real political problems into the sphere of shallow propaganda" (Pietraś, pp. 436-8). However despite criticism, election marketing seems to be a vital tool of politics today.

The rules of leading an election campaign are defined in election law. The initial product of political marketing is a candidate with a program, image, and personality. Marketing planning is divided into a few stages. The first stage is testing the market - attempts are undertaken to define the needs of voters and the optimal type of candidate with the greatest chance. The electorate is subject to segmentation into categories on the basis of social, political, demographic, economic, and cultural criteria.

The most beneficial image of a candidate or party among the electorate, a catalog of needs and their articulation by particular social groups, electoral preferences, behavior of the voters towards the campaign and the influence of the campaign on the change of behavior of the electorate - this type of information

make up the basis for a comprehensive analysis of the election market. So begins the process of creating a slogan, a program, etc. thus, a campaign making it easier for the candidate to reach specific groups. The campaign presented by the candidate should be a political offer and contain a group of ideological, cultural, and utilitarian features, which must be shaped by taking social needs into consideration (Mazur, p. 19). It is important to remember that in politics there is a lack of objective and definite demand, there are however citizens, who vote (Wisznowski, p. 233).

Voting is one of the forms of social exchange. If we assume the rationality of behavior of a citizen, an individual, who may expect various awards, accomplishes this exchange in the political market. The first type of award is an internal award - contained in actions and exchange (Wróbel, pp. 135-6). The second type is an external award - the facilitation of a political career for candidates, the possibility of association with like-minded individuals, the action of the candidate consistent with the aspirations of groups of voters rendering him votes, and the satisfaction of the interests of the voters (Mazur, p. 20). In conclusion, the basic task of the election staff is to make their candidate receive support, become popular and well known. In election marketing two strategies stand out: positive and negative. Their role becomes more and more significant - many post-election analysts suggest the "predominance of form over political content" (Kolczyński, Sztumski, p. 120).

A positive campaign is disposed towards the promotion of their own candidate, a negative campaign is against rivals. The operation of a negative campaign relies on the presentation of the world and events not openly, but by leaving behind certain hints. (Wojtasiński, 2000).

American political market specialists suggest that the key to election victory is an apt catchphrase and slogan, which during the time of the campaign appeal to the subconscious, associations, and sentiments/fondness of voters, and indicate in a concise way the path, which the politicians want to pursue. "The assignment of the slogan is to attract the attention of voters and suggest to them a defined political behavior" (Kamińska-Szmaj, 1996). The frequent use of a slogan is very important, in order to start to have an effect similar to that of a graphic logo - it quickly sinks into the memory. Experts in political marketing emphasize the importance of preparing an election strategy from the perspective of broadcasting in the electronic media.

Because political marketing is related to the creation of a new or distinctive image of a politician in all forms of the media, those such as the press, radio or television, are the most effective means of exerting influence on public opinion and the most important medium for presenting political statements is television. This medium has a very large influence on the style of election campaigns. Creating the image of a candidate or party on television has become the key to electoral success and the popularity of the campaign. The best formula for television presentation is films prepared in the form of television spots. These allow a brief presentation of the candidate and the elements of his election program.

The creation of a lasting political media image should have long-term effects, but at the same time the election campaign does not last long. A politician is judged continually by society after the conclusion of the campaign, as well. If the gestures learned for the sake of the election campaign are replaced after the

campaign by old habits, the politician may very quickly lose support.

### **Election marketing andn experience in Poland**

In Poland election marketing was applied for the first time during the first free parliamentary elections in 1989 (Raciborski, pp. 28-35). The election campaign was at that time surprisingly intense and differentiated in respect to form. Numerous models of electoral propaganda transferred from the West caught on easily in Polish society. Besides rallies enlivened by the performance of popular artists, and also posters, flyers, postcards, brochures, and radio and television broadcasts also appeared special cars riding through the streets with amplifiers, paid advertisements in the press, individual letters to voters, as well as, video clips. With regard to form and technique, the election campaign of "Solidarity" ("Solidarność") was, especially in the larger cities, considerably more diversified than the campaigns of the ruling party bloc. Wanting to take advantage of the experience and western models in leading an election campaign, "Solidarity" hired Jacques Seguela as an advisor, one of the best-known French creators of advertisements and an advisor of many years to President François Mitterrand (Staszak, 1997).

"Solidarity" was striving to make the impression that their candidates made up one "team" - "Lech Wałęsa's team", fighting as a whole against the government camp. Posters presented each candidate of "Solidarity" with Lech Wałęsa, which was also supposed to additionally distinguish them from the crowd of government candidates and strengthen their recognizability. The first issue of "Gazeta Wyborcza" ("Election News") appeared in print on 8 May 1989, and two days later the first pre-election program "Solidarity" was broadcast in the election studio "Solidarity". The superiority of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR - Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza) in the information system was lessened by the phenomenon of mass desertion of the elite, who made it difficult for the ruling party to regulate the press and television.

On 8 March 1990 the Sejm accepted the Law concerning local government (Dz. U. 1990 nr 16 poz. 95) and the Electoral Regulations Law concerning the District Council (Dz. U. 1998 nr 95, poz. 602). The local elections of 1990 were the first completely free elections. The regulation divided districts into two groups. In districts of more than 40,000 inhabitants a proportional system of voting was introduced, with the division of seats made according to the method of Saint Laguë, whose essence is the rivalry of the party lists. However, the element of personal election was taken into consideration as well, where voting on the list took place through the indication of a certain candidate from the list. In districts with less than 40,000 inhabitants the majority system relying on the rule of relative majority was adopted. In this case the rivalry took place between specific candidates who could, although did not have to, indicate their party affiliation on the list. In this campaign, the dominating rule was played by the citizens' committees, whose unity was supported, although they grappled with the difficulty in defining an action plan: as a centrally controlled unified movement or as a loose union of party, movements, and various types of local initiatives. Within these groups conflict appeared in the sphere of selecting administrators, and also in jurisdiction disputes between committees of different levels.

The basic activities of the committees were of a symbolic essence, especially independence. Local programs formulated by committees mainly relied on investment tasks - with only a faint chance of implementation.

Election propaganda was quite intensive, taking advantage of all conventional means of political marketing, however in the majority of cases these were flyers with the photographs and biography of the candidates, as well as, their oftentimes-unrealistic programs.

In the larger cities an attempt was made to repeat the campaign model from the earlier, June parliamentary elections, and especially such elements as canvassing after a church service, and frequently also from the pulpit, meetings with voters with the participation of celebrities, as well as, leaflets in the form of "crib sheets" with the names marked of who to vote for. The colors of "Solidarity" were ubiquitous, which were meant to ease identification of that party's candidates.

The General Election Commissioner, Jerzy Stępień, also played an active role in the campaign, in leading television broadcasts dedicated to the reform of local government, rules of voting, and at the same time directly agitated for participation in the elections and in a veiled form for support of the Solidarity candidates (Raciborski, p. 119).

Lech Wałęsa and Stanisław Tymiński played the main roles in the first Polish presidential campaign in 1990, and 13 candidates sought the presidential seat (Raciborski, pp. 57-65). Marketing operations led by election staff were not yet completely professional and slip-ups occurred. Tymiński's campaign was traditional in form. Numerous meetings were held, some in the exotic company of his Peruvian wife, and stories with them were the main contents of television programs. The very existence of Tymiński on the political scene was possible thanks to television and the interest of the media in his personality, triggered by the unquestionable exoticism of the candidate, and later the systematic growth of his record in polls. The campaign of Lech Wałęsa was led with an undoubtedly greater force and professionalism. A team of sociologists and psychologists, and radio and television journalists under the guidance of Jacek Merkel worked for him.

In the parliamentary campaign of 1991 a negative trend predominated (Raciborski, pp. 34-43). The majority of the groups concentrated not so much on the presentation of their own programs and candidates, but on criticism of the current and previous governments, on criticism of the president and on mutual attacks. During the campaign the election blocs on television had fundamental importance, filled with programs prepared independently by various election staffs. These programs with regards to form were very similar to each other, although they differed in the degree of professionalism of their execution. The lure of these election blocs for viewers was low because of a crowd of "talking heads" and similar-sounding sound bites and slogans. Posters, upon which the leaders of particular groups with their names and numbers on the list were often printed, were used on a larger scale than in earlier elections.

During the parliamentary electoral campaign of 1993 there was a certain "slip-up", where the "authors" were specialists in political marketing from the agency of Saatchi&Saatchi hired by the Liberal Democratic Congress (KL-D - Kongres Liberalno-Demokratyczny) (Raciborski, pp. 44-55). The election campaign prepared for the KL-D recalled American models with many elements of game and entertainment, and with regard to the difficult situation in the country, voters did not receive this well. In effect the Congress lost the election, and soon ceased to exist as an independent party, merging with the Democratic Union (UD - Unia

Demokratyczna) to become the Freedom Union (UW - Unia Wolności). The characteristic feature of this campaign was also a particular intensity of invective and full of absurd accusations.

The local elections in June 1994 were the first elections in the Third Republic, which occurred at a normal time - after the lapse of the tenure of the citizens' committees. Almost all parliamentary parties appeared in large cities under their own name, or in a coalition clear to voters (Raciborski, p. 124). The election campaign did not differ, however, from the earlier local campaign. Though quite it was visible in large cities, in smaller cities and in the country, however, it passed unnoticed. The main tools of political marketing, similarly as in the earlier elections, were posters and leaflets.

13 candidates took part in the presidential elections of 1995. The leading roles were played by former president Lech Wałęsa and candidate Aleksander Kwaśniewski of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD - Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej). The leader of SLD displayed in the campaign, beside his youth, a great deal of political experience, education and knowledge of the English language, as well as, very good relations with many foreign politicians. Kwaśniewski presented himself as a contented man, optimistically oriented towards the future and accepting "disco polo" music, which was emphasized by the election hymn "Ole, Ole, Olek (nickname for Aleksander), we choose the future as well as style!" (Raciborski, pp. 75-85).

Alexander Kwaśniewski's election campaign was unusually active. The candidate made appearances on soccer fields, tennis courts, and at election meetings, during which he presented his professional way of seeing current issues related to Polish internal and international politics. It is worth noting, that for the needs of the campaign Kwaśniewski lost a considerable amount of weight and always appeared well-dressed in a navy blue suit and blue shirt, which was meant to emphasize the color of his eyes. One of the elements Kwaśniewski's campaign also used was an "election bus", which traveled above all to smaller cities, especially those where strong support for the Social Democrats was observed in the parliamentary elections of 1993.

The image created of A. Kwaśniewski was the work of Jacques Seguela, who had earlier worked for "Solidarity". Seguela stated: "Aleksander Kwaśniewski is for me, and also for many global politicians a 'European Clinton' who embodies modernity, technical progress, and economic liberalism with a social face. Features vital in the 21st century. Beyond political games he tried to become the president of all Poles. President Wałęsa was supposed to be for those who rejected old Poland" (Staszak, 1997). Seguela added: "The constituent votes for a man, and not a party. During the campaign the most important is an idea, not an ideology. Elections and election posters must have a more psychological than political character. The constituent votes for the future, and not the past" (Staszak, 1997).

As compared with the actions led by Kwaśniewski's staff, Lech Wałęsa's campaign did not look so sensational. In the campaign the special status of Wałęsa and his role in history were emphasized and in this way he was supposed to stand out among other candidates. Election slogans served this goal, as well, for example: "There are many candidates, but only one Wałęsa". Mottoes, which dominated Wałęsa's campaign, were patriotism, Polish identity, and religion.

The mass media, especially television, played a significant role in the presidential election campaign of

1995. Among other things to come out of this were the two television debates with the participation of both candidates and invited journalists. According to the unanimous opinion of public opinion research centers, they had very high ratings and exerted a vital influence on the preference of the voters. Furthermore, for the first time in the history of Polish election campaigns, paid election advertisements were broadcast by the request of three election committees: Jan Olszewski from the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland (ROP - Ruch Odbudowy Polski), Waldemar Pawlak from the Polish Peasants' Party (PSL - Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe), as well as, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz.

In the parliamentary elections of 1997, the campaigns of the Freedom Union and Solidarity Electoral Action (AWS - Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność) stand out. UW "played" on Leszek Balcerowicz under the slogan "Smart choice - better life", whereas AWS took advantage of many of their leaders in the campaign, which was justified by the structure of AWS that was made up of various groups. Even though there was a common slogan - ("AlWayS Poland" - "zAWSze Polska"), the leaders went with their own local slogans and used their own campaign methods.

For the first time in the history of Polish election campaigns nearly all of the most important political parties created their own web page, and there were two independent information services dedicated to elections also on the Internet.

Local elections in 1998 coincided with the administrative reform of the nation. These changes meant that the local elections of 11 October 1998, in which administrators were chosen to represent the organs of local government in townships, districts, and provinces, were of special significance. Local powers received broader authority; many matters heretofore were left to the management of the central administration now dependent on the administrators chosen in these elections. Representatives of all political forces, as well as, the Church, strove for the broadest participation of citizens in the local elections (Rzeczpospolita, 22.09.1998). In the election campaign, the concept of superiority of a political party over a single candidate, and the display of leaders and party colors instead of local candidates and their formulas for ruling townships and districts predominated. There was little possibility for direct contact with candidates who avoided election meetings and gatherings. P. Aleksandrowicz from Rzeczpospolita assessed the campaign as "not very substantial, strongly party oriented, and as concerns the programs, more was said about national than local matters. What is worse, programs and candidates were not dealt with often at all, but there was only an appeal to vote for lists and numbers" (Aleksandrowicz, 1997).

A scandal erupted at the end of the campaign. Just before elections Gazeta Wyborcza and Życie published the results of election forecasts, breaking the law in force, which forbid publication of polls from seven days before the elections. According to Tomasz Nałęcz, a representative of one of the left-wing groups, the goal of such action was to convince voters to vote for the groups supported by the editors, the Freedom Union and Solidarity Electoral Action, and not disperse support among less known election committees (Nałęcz, 1998).

Parliamentary elections in 2001 were not only a selection of a new parliament but a change in government - a defeat of the right-wing, victory of the left, and a road to power for SLD. The general election campaign



was monotonous and uninteresting and in its background Self Defense (Samoobrona) came into existence. The Self Defense campaign was led by ICCE Greenpol and relied upon the personality of Andrzej Lepper, as created by Piotr Tymochowicz. The leader of Self Defense as a member of Parliament had already stated that his charming personality and advantageous group program had been chosen, and not some artificial creation, some false media Lepper.

An item of curiosity of these elections was also the entrance of the League of Polish Families (LPR - Liga Polskich Rodzin) to parliament, whose election campaign relied on Radio Maryja, and whose main program premise was the statement that all of the country's problems amount to a problematic integration with the European Union.

The presidential elections in 2001 were above all the negative election campaign of Marian Krzaklewski. At the head of the election staff of Krzaklewski was Wiesław Walendziak, to whom the election strategy of the candidate and its most spectacular ideas are attributed - from the slogan "Krzak-yes" (Krzak-tak) to the use of cassettes showing Marek Siwiec parodying the Pope John Paul II. There is no doubt that the Church was pulled into the election struggle by Krzaklewski's staff. Indignant moralists also joined to denounce Aleksander Kwaśniewski: activists from AWS demanded that he be placed before the Tribunal of State, priests demanded his resignation from seeking re-election, whereas Cracovian administrators of AWS accepted a resolution regarding Aleksander Kwaśniewski and Marek Siwiec as "personae non gratae" in Cracow. However Krzaklewski's staff did not only strike the president Aleksander Kwaśniewski, but also their own electorate, since not all supporters of the right-wing accepted the conviction that the leader of AWS becomes smarter and more trustworthy if his only argument will be the discrediting of the president in office. Conducting the run-off elections turned out to be unnecessary, because the winner of the first round of elections (Aleksander Kwaśniewski) received more than 50% of the votes.

The local elections of 2002 were the first direct elections of city, town, and country mayors (Dz. U. nr 113, poz. 984). For the first time in the postwar history of the nation, there was a chance to gain real power for people who were not designated for such a position by such and such an assembly, but free citizens in direct elections in one-vote election areas. In connection with the introduction of new rules for choosing city, town, and country mayors, local elections took place in four different areas: elections to town councils, elections to district councils, elections to provincial government, and elections for mayors of cities, towns, and country.

It was expected that the direct election of city, town, and country mayors would cause a greater interest in local elections, and along with this would go a larger election attendance. However the election attendance was very low - in the first round it amounted to 44.33%.

During the election campaign candidates often did not have anything to offer beyond similarly common-sounding slogans or common catch phrases referring to not so much local but rather national matters. Among the candidates appeared multitudes of the unemployed, students, retirees and people with only basic education, who counted on the per diem to strengthen their home budget. Almost all the candidates distanced themselves from contact with election image specialists and leading campaigns. They hired their

families and friends who decided about their image and spread flyers and posters. Already a few weeks before the elections all possible spaces were covered with posters, which were evidence of the fact, that election the staffs did not have ideas for campaigns. Election regulations clearly specify where posters may be hung (Dz. U. 1998 nr 95, poz. 602), which is why there were peculiar battles conducted about free space to hang posters by the candidates themselves hanging posters at night on top of those of their rivals.

"The poster war", consisting of ripping down or pasting up posters, is a common phenomenon and is observed in practically all countries, however the Polish local elections of 2002 brought a number of new election tricks of doubtful ethical value. The most notorious event was a brawl in the SLD in Bydgoszcz, where the party members fought over place on the election list (PAP, 20.09.2002).

In an unusual way the Election Committee for the Platform of Law and Freedom (Komitet Wyborczy Platformy Sprawiedliwosci i Wolności) also wanted to discredit the candidate for the mayor of Sosnowiec in the eyes of the voters: activists gave him a two-month-old pig, which was supposed to help him understand how to build a pigsty and raise swine. This was the answer to the earlier utterance of the candidate, who advised the unemployed in Sosnowiec to raise and fatten pigs in their free time (Krupa, 2002).

City, town, and country mayors, in office also commonly took advantage of their position in the election campaign, spending public funds on the campaign goals. Most often the public funds were spent on all kinds of mass parties, whose star was the city, town, or country mayor, and also on publications meant to make up a "summary" of their term in office. During these elections there was even some buying of votes, before the local elections themselves. For writing an "x" by the indicated names, alcohol, cigarettes, or small sums of money were offered.

As a consequence of the above survey of election campaigns in the Third Polish Republic, thanks to the election marketing devices and professional media advisors the actions of election staffs turned out to be more effective with regards to reaching the voters, shaping their positions, attitudes, and in consequence having an effect on their decisions. Today political actions depend in a greater way than in the past on the voters - their needs and expectations. Political marketing will develop in the world and in Poland. The degree of development will vary, but future progress in the professionalization of campaigns, irrespective of which level it takes place on, seems to be unavoidable.

Election campaigns cause costs to rise, however. Independent candidates are in the worst situation. It is clear that in each of the subsequent local elections, appropriate finances will be a basic condition for leading an effective election campaign.

The times when election campaigns were prepared by small groups of enthusiasts convinced of the worth of their candidate for country mayor (town mayor, city mayor, representative, etc.) are passing irrevocably, as we already cannot imagine leading an election campaign without the participation of the mass media, from the press to the Internet. For this reason campaigns demand the involvement of significant financial funds, as well as, the work of specialists from various fields.

In a short time local election campaigns in Poland will probably be public spectacles to an even greater degree than they are now, and that the increasing number of candidates running for the position of country

mayor (town mayor, city mayor) will take advantage of the services of professionals preparing and leading election campaigns. It can also be expected that the mass media: the press, television, radio, and the Internet, will be taken advantage of to an increasingly greater frequency.

Politicians already have accepted the fact that in order for their message to reach its audience and be accepted, they must take advantage of the mass media. The younger generation of politicians understands the rules of political marketing better and willingly yields to the directions of experts in this field.

Still, many politicians at the local level believe that help in election marketing is not necessary for them. Many of them regard the media as their main enemy, and this feeling is often intensified by media advisors and press spokesmen, among whom many still recognize their primary task as that of the prevention of journalists from contact with their bosses and reaching any kind of information.

Therefore, we are only left to demand more and more from our political representatives, with respect to the contents of their speeches as in the form of their transmissions. The low frequency of voters during the most recent local elections proves, among other things, that as long as the offer on the political market does not yield to similar mechanisms such as those that steer the free market, voters will not actively participate in elections. People go to vote if they have the need to choose. The future of our cities - our "little homeland" - will depend on us - voters, our frequency of voting and completed elections. Yet the future representatives of townships, districts, or provinces should point out to the voters the benefits that result from choosing them for this position. They must do this conscientiously and in good style. In order to achieve this there is no better method than a professionally led election campaign.

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