THE QUALITY OF MARKETING COMMUNICATION IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN ON THE EXAMPLE OF POLISH LOCAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

KVALITETA MARKETINŠKE KOMUNIKACIJE
U IZBORNOJ KAMPANJI NA PRIMJERU POLJSKIH
LOKALNIH I PARLAMENTARNIH IZBORA

Eng. Renata Stasiak-Betlejewska, PhD.

Faculty of Management, The Czestochowa University of Technology
Czestochowa, Poland/*Poljska*

E-mail: renata.stasiak-betlejewska@wz.pcz.pl

UDK/UDC: 791.641:342.8+005.336.3

JEL klasifikacija/JEL classification: M31; M37; L15

DOI: 10.30657/hdmk.2020.40

Prethodno priopćenje/Preliminary communication

Jezik/Language: Engleski/English

ABSTRACT

The subject of the paper is the analysis of the quality level of marketing communication used in the election campaign by candidates in order to provide the most effective information to voters about the candidate's election program and the candidate profile, as well as to induce reactions in lead voters having to cast their vote for a candidate. The quality of marketing communication is analysed here not only from the point of view of the tools used by the candidate, or the mass media in general, but primarily from the point of view of the quality of messages analysed through the prism of ethics in political advertising, also referred to as the so-called Code of appropriateness in the field of political advertising.

Key words: quality, marketing, communication, political campaign

1. INTRODUCTION

The election campaign is one of those phenomena that remain of interest to political scientists, sociologists, lawyers as well as linguists who deal with the language of the campaign.¹ Recently, election campaigns have been of interest to marketing specialists, for whom planning, organization and implementation of candidates' activities is a huge challenge in many aspects.

¹ Marek Bankowicz, *Kampania wyborcza*, [in:] Bankowicz M. (ed.), *Słownik polityki*, Warszawa, 1996, pp. 102; D. Lipińska and P. Róg, *Podszepity marketingu – studium czarnego PR na przykładzie polskiej sceny politycznej*, [w:] *Kampanie wyborcze – studium przypadku*, Toruń, 2009, pp. 13; Robert Wiszniowski, *Marketing wyborczy. Studium kampanii wyborczych w systemach prezydenckich i semiprezydenckich* (Finlandia, Francja, Polska, Stany Zjednoczone), Warszawa, 2000, pp. 63.

The election campaign is a complicated process, not only political but above all social, consisting of various interrelated elements. They require comprehensive qualifications and practical skills. First of all, organizing the target group of people with appropriate qualifications, and thus the division of tasks and the introduction of efficient communication, suppressing conflicts and discord in action. The difficulty in planning an election campaign concerns, among others: recognition of the political and geographical area, recognition of public opinion, preferences and norms of electoral behaviour, establishing an action program, drawing up a timetable, and budget for human and material resources. It is also important to properly organize a network of external collaborators that directly reach voters, as well as skilfully use the power of the media and develop effective forms of electoral communication.²

The election campaign is an immanent element of the democratic system and free and fair elections. It is a manifestation of free elections, and also a "form of rivalry and political struggle within a democratic political system." During the election campaign, political groups communicate most intensively with voters, and its course is unquestionable for the results of the upcoming elections.³

The election campaign is also defined as fragments of political communication separated in time and space, which take the specific form of comprehensive, organized, professional activities aimed at gaining maximum political support for entities undertaking these activities. There are different criteria for the division of campaigns, among them: subject, time, spatial extent, etc. Election campaigns related to the subject of elections lead to the election of the president, deputies and senators (members of parliament) as well as representatives of local government bodies (commune councils, poviats councils, voivodship assemblies and commune heads, mayors and city presidents). Since 2004, one more type of election campaign can be said in Poland - the European election campaign, which aims to select national representatives of the European Parliament (MEPs).⁴

2. ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND MARKETING COMMUNICATION

From a political and sociological point of view, the existence of an unstructured electorate means that candidates must actively seek support, so the election campaign naturally puts the candidate before the need to communicate with the electorate to present their own election program and the candidate's profile. Both the political campaign of the propaganda type⁵ and the election campaign are formulated on a common communication and, of course, ideological (axiological) plane, while expectations and goals are different. It should be emphasized that the subject of the election campaign is the election of power, while the political campaign of the propaganda type - conviction to a specific solution (accession to the European Union) or view (fight against xenophobia and racism).⁶

An important concept in the process of creating and implementing an election campaign is communication. The term 'communication' has many meanings. The communication process has found itself in the field of interest of many scientific disciplines as

² Anna Rakowska-Trela, *Kampania wyborcza w regulacji prawnej i praktyce*, Wyd. Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź, 2015.

³ Ibid., pp. 20.

⁴ Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska, *Komunikowanie polityczne i publiczne. Podręcznik akademicki*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 243.

⁵ The most common is a political campaign of the propaganda type, e.g. the Solidarity political campaign of 1980-1981 combined with activities aimed at taking power.

⁶ Mateusz Nieć, *Kampania wyborcza – uwagi politologa o genezie idei*, *Roczniki Nauk Społecznych*, Tom 4(40), No 3, 2012, pp. 15-16.

diverse as philosophy, history, geography, psychology, sociology, ethnology, economics, political sciences, biology, cybernetics and cognition. However, marketing communication is common to all of these sciences. "It is assumed that in the act of communication specific content (or information) is referred to as " message ", " message content "or" communicated and received content ".⁷

Although political communication can trace its roots to the earliest classical studies of Aristotle and Plato, modern political communication research is very much an interdisciplinary field of study, drawing on concepts from communication, political science, journalism, sociology, psychology, history, rhetoric, and other fields. In their seminal *Handbook of Political Communication*, Nimmo and Sanders⁸ traced the development of the field as an academic discipline in the latter half of the 20th century, and other scholars have described the breadth and scope of political communication.⁹

Although political communication can trace its roots to the earliest classical studies of Aristotle and Plato, modern political communication research is very much an interdisciplinary field of study, drawing on concepts from communication, political science, journalism, sociology, psychology, history, rhetoric, and other fields. In their seminal *Handbook of Political Communication*, authors¹⁰ traced the development of the field as an academic discipline in the latter half of the 20th century, and other scholars have described the breadth and scope of political communication.¹¹ Many definitions of political communication have been advanced, but none has gained universal acceptance. Perhaps the best is the simplest: Chaffee's¹² suggestion that political communication is the "role of communication in the political process".

In the 2000 election, almost every political candidate running for office at every level (presidential, state, county, city, and local) had an active Web site. This fact indicates the current importance of Internet-related communication technologies in political communication and suggests how this specialty field has evolved since its beginnings earlier in the past century in the hands of Walter Lippman, Harold Lasswell, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and other forefathers and founders of communication study. Despite the growth of television in the 1950s and the Internet in the 1990s, which altered the channels of communication carrying political messages to the U.S. public, certain human communication processes involved in changing political behaviour have remained much the same. The beginnings of communication study, mass communication, and political communication are intertwined. All shared a common intellectual interest in the effects of mass media communication, and the forefathers and founders of these fields included the same set of scholars: Walter Lippmann. Lippmann was a contemporary scholar with the political scientist Harold Lasswell in studying propaganda and public opinion.¹³

Political communication has appeared in correlation with political marketing that can be defined as the application of marketing principles and procedures in political campaigns by various individuals and organizations. Procedures involved include the analysis, development, execution, and management of strategic campaigns by candidates, political parties,

⁷ Armand Mattelart, *Teorie komunikacji: krótkie wprowadzenie*; Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN; Warszawa, 2001, pp. 21.

⁸ Dan D. Nimmo & Keith R. Sanders, (Eds.), *Handbook of political communication*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1981.

⁹ David L. Swanson & Dan Nimmo, (Eds.), *New directions in political communication: A source book*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990.

¹⁰ Dan D. Nimmo & Keith R. Sanders, (Eds.), *Handbook of political communication*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1981.

¹¹ David L. Swanson & Dan Nimmo, (Eds.), *New directions in political communication: A source book*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990.

¹² Steve H. Chaffee, (Ed.), *Political communication*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1975.

¹³ Lynda Lee Kaid, *Handbook of political communication research*. LAWRENCE ERLBAUM ASSOCIATES, PUBLISHERS 2004 Mahwah, New Jersey London, 2004, pp. 17-20.

governments, lobbyists and interest groups that seek to drive public opinion, advance their own ideologies win elections, and pass legislation and referenda in response to the needs and wants of selected people and groups in a society.¹⁴

Political marketing involves a broad array of concepts and theories that have been used traditionally by for-profit organizations in the selling of goods and services to consumers. This section highlights the application of these same procedures to political marketplaces where candidates, government officials, and political parties use these techniques to drive public opinion in a desired direction. The same principles that operate in the commercial marketplace hold true in the political marketplace: Successful companies have a market orientation and are constantly engaged in creating value for their customers. In other words, marketers must anticipate their customers' needs and constantly develop innovative products and services to keep their customers satisfied. Politicians have a similar orientation and are constantly trying to create value for their constituents by improving the quality of life and creating the most benefit at the lowest cost.¹⁵

In according to Newmann there are two differences between the use of marketing in business and in politics.¹⁶

- First, there are differences of philosophy. In business, the goal is to make a profit, whereas in politics, it is the successful operation of democracy (at least in this country). Winning in politics is sometimes based on a few percentage points, whereas in business, the difference between winning and losing is based on huge variations.
- Second, in business the implementation of marketing research results is often followed, whereas in politics, the candidate's own political philosophy can influence the extent to which it is followed. The differences between business and politics have not prevented the practitioners of both areas from working to merge the two together. As a result, there are strong similarities between the two markets. First, both rely upon the use of standard marketing tools and strategies, such as marketing research, market segmentation, targeting, and positioning, and strategy development and implementation (all of which are explained later in this chapter). Second, the voter can be analysed as a consumer in the political marketplace, using the same models and theories in marketing that are used to study consumers in the commercial marketplace.
- Third, both are dealing in competitive marketplaces and, as such, need to rely on similar approaches to winning.

In general marketing issues are often associated with an exchange process between a buyer and a seller. Marketing in political campaign is related to the exchange process centres on a candidate who offers political leadership (through the policies he advocates) and a vision for the country in exchange for a vote from the citizen.

In business, market segmentation and targeting are used to identify those segments of customers toward whom the marketer directs the product and promotional campaign. It is used by many companies that choose to sell their product or service not to every potential customer, but only to those who are likely to buy it. In politics, market segmentation has been traditionally

¹⁴ Bruce Newman, (Ed.). *The handbook of political marketing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1999.

¹⁵ Philip Kotler, & N. Kotler, *Business marketing for political candidates*. Campaigns and Elections, 2, 1981, pp. 24–33. Kotler, P., & Kotler, N. (1999). *Political marketing: Generating effective candidates, campaigns, and causes*. In B. I. Newman (Ed.), *Handbook of political marketing* (pp. 3–18). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

¹⁶ Bruce I. Newman, *A services oriented strategic framework for politicians*. Proceedings of the Seventeenth, 1988; Annual Decision Science Institute Western Regional Conference, pp. 192–195. Newman, B. I. (1994). *The marketing of the president: Political marketing as campaign strategy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Newman, B. I. (Ed.). (1999a). *Handbook of political marketing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Newman, B. I. (1999). *The mass marketing of politics: Democracy in an age of manufactured images*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

used by each of the political parties to choose which groups of people they target with their appeals.¹⁷

In the field of new standards of political communication, D. Eisenhower 1952 or J.F. Kennedy 1960 campaigns can be cited as examples. An extensive commercial campaign was used here, in which television advertising was used, and each activity was planned, prepared and carried out by fully professional consultants. It can be seen that marketing planning is important in campaign planning, as its solutions can be transferred to the election campaign. The following terms are associated with marketing communication:

- Promotion, which means all ways of communicating with recipients. With it, it solves matters of reaching the group of potential recipients with product information and getting them to buy goods. This is informational support for the company's offer. All forms and means of influencing the market occurring under 4 elements of promotion: public relations, advertising, acquisition and direct sales support.¹⁸
- Advertising is an indirect, impersonal communication of an enterprise with the market, the object of which is a specific product, but sometimes also the company as a whole. The purpose of this way of market communication is to create the needs of potential buyers, to show and remind usability of the products, as well as to shape the positive image of the company broadcasting advertising. For the conscious and professional use of this form of promotion, it is necessary to become familiar with the various types of advertising, distinguished according to various criteria. And there are distinguished: according to the purpose criterion, advertising: informing, encouraging, reminiscent, according to the subject of advertising: product advertising, company advertising, by financing method: individual, joint, by type of media used: press, television, radio, cinema, postal, outdoor 'entities'.¹⁹
- Acquisition is the direct information, reconciliation and persuasion of buyers, by a company representative, to conclude a contract of sale and purchase of products. Acquisition consists in mutual communication and negotiations between the salesman and the buyer in order to achieve mutual benefits from the concluded transaction. Acquisition is most often done by contacting the salesman face to face with the buyer in order to forward the offer, draw attention to the product and solicit purchase.²⁰
- Direct marketing or direct marketing consists in sending messages directed to carefully selected individual clients in order to obtain a direct response (response). The key advantages of this tool are maintaining relationships with existing customers and an expanded sales channel, the so-called Direct Selling.
- Public relations - It is the management of communication processes between the organization and individuals and their reference groups by conscious, intentional and systematic shaping of these processes. A set (set) of methods and activities used in the process of managing the communication of the company with the internal and external environment, which are to lead to the creation of an image that facilitates the achievement of the organization's goals.²¹

¹⁷ Bruce I. Newman, *The marketing of the president: Political marketing as campaign strategy*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994.

¹⁸ Maciej Rydel, *Podręczny słownik promocji*, Gdańska Fundacja Kształcenia Menedżerów, Gdańsk, 1995.

¹⁹ Philip Kotler, *Marketing*, Dom Wydawniczy REBIS Sp. z o.o.; Poznań; 2005, pp. 589.

²⁰ Maciej Rydel, *Podręczny słownik promocji*, Gdańska Fundacja Kształcenia menedżerów, Gdańsk, 1995.

²¹ Dariusz Tworzydło, *Public relations. Teoria i studia przypadków*. WSiZ w Rzeszowie, Rzeszów, 2003.

- Media Relations is a set of specific activities and activities that results in the conscious transmission of media important information to the company and its environment. Effective Media Relations allow you to consciously manage the information of specific target groups through the media.
- Optimum Public Relations - a type of communication in the PR area, in which the target group is the mass media (press, radio, television, Internet). The main forms of Media Relations activity are: press releases, press meetings, press tours and informal contacts. The goal of Media Relations is to establish relationships with the media that allow them to better communicate information to further target groups.
- Marketing events - a promotional tool consisting in organizing various types of mass events (events) aimed at achieving the company's goals towards the external and internal environment: clients, decision-makers, contractors, opinion leaders and employees. It is also one of the most effective communication tools. It has a unique feature – double directionality. It allows, thanks to organized events, to influence selected entities through the presentation of own ideas. At the same time, thanks to direct contact, it allows to learn the attitudes and opinions of the entities it affects.
- Sponsorship - marketing activity consisting in spending money and material resources by producers of goods and services (sponsors) to support socially useful activities (sports, cultural, educational, ecological, etc.) in order to evoke positive associations with the sponsoring company, or to maintain and create them and consolidating a good reputation about the sponsor. Sponsorship is a planned and conscious action serving to create a positive image of the company. It is also often part of the company's long-term marketing strategy.

The goals of corporate marketing communications are, among others: impact on the growth of economic indicators, impact on the increase of recognition, impact on the increase of recognition, new business contacts - new inquiries, customer satisfaction and loyalty, increased identification of employees with the company, impact on brand positioning. The goals of communication in the election campaign are primarily related to the presentation of the candidate's election program and, hence, to persuading the electorate to vote for the candidate.

The effectiveness of communication is conditioned internally by: cooperation with other entities (e.g. joint campaigns or integration events), diligence, meticulousness, accuracy, timeliness, wordiness, evolution of activities and materials, thoughtful concept, goals of promotion, time and tools, reaching a specific group voters. The external conditions for the effectiveness of communication determine: the intensity of the campaign at the same time, the intensity of the campaign in our industry, the similarity of the mechanisms of our campaign to the campaigns of other companies, the correct choice of media, places, time, etc. readability of messages in relation to the environment.

The instruments of marketing communication, also used in the election campaign, include: press, radio, television (in the form of a board, feature, animated television, interview, broadcast, sponsored program, news), radio (radio broadcast, advertising spot, message, announcement, news), outdoor (billboard, backlight, megaboard, outdoor cityscroll citylight, tv city screen, poles, frames, mobile), Internet, press (advertising frame, supplement / insert, sponsored article and other instruments in the form of leaflets, folders, directories).

When choosing the appropriate instrument of marketing communication is necessary to examine the advantages and disadvantages of selected solutions.

The advantages of television include: mass audiences, the ability to attract and retain the attention of recipients through the use of sound and colour, the ability to create advertising

strongly affecting the emotions of the recipient, the growing credibility of television, and thus prestige. On the other hand, the disadvantages of television include: large costs associated with the production of advertising film and its broadcast, low selectivity of television audiences, the transience of television advertising, and urgency.

The advantages of using the press in an election campaign include: the durability of press advertising, the greatest credibility among consumers, the provision of urgent information. However, the disadvantages of using the press include: the lack of reliable data on the number of readers, the difficulty of reaching the youth market segment, the high cost of advertising in nationwide newspapers, the multiplicity of advertisements in the press reduces the possibility of noticing an advertisement or press paper.

The advantage of using the radio in the election campaign is, among others: universal accessibility, a "live" medium that attracts attention more than press advertising, low cost of advertising and flexibility, the ability to reach the local community. Disadvantages of using the radio in the campaign include: a significant impact on the reception of advertising is the imagination of the listener, a difficult measurement of the effectiveness of this form of promotion, as well as the short duration and transience of the radio message.

The disadvantages of using outdoor advertising include: difficult to estimate the number of recipients, susceptibility to damage, limited visual impact. The advantages of outdoor include: the ability to update outdoor advertising, fairly low cost, geographical content segmentation.

Analysing the advantages of using internet technology in an election campaign, the following should be mentioned: an extremely effective and transparent form of information, low cost compared to other forms of advertising (e.g. newsletter), communication options that allow connecting with millions of users around the world. The disadvantages of internet technology include: slight legal restrictions, treating messages as so-called spamming or flaming - "fire" - false, offensive communication acts.

Other marketing communication instruments used in the election campaign are: public relations, word of mouth, lobbying, visual identification, company magazines, stands (so-called stands). The so-called event marketing, which includes: special events, business events, social events, integration events, artistic / entertainment or sports events, sponsorship.

It should also be mentioned that there is a certain hierarchy of media importance in terms of time needed to place and reach the target audience: Internet, news agencies, radio stations, television, daily newspapers.

3. THE COMMUNICATION QUALITY IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

The term "Americanization of electoral rivalry" appears many times in political science literature (especially European) - not only ambiguous, but also negatively associated with the incompatibility of new campaign methods to the ideal of modern democracy. Increasingly, however, Americanization of campaigns is defined primarily in terms of progressive professionalization.²² Peter Radunski, one of Germany's leading political consultants, pointed out some of the most important features of the Americanized campaign style:²³

- 1) activities are focused around the party leader or individual candidates, not the party as a whole,

²² Marek Mazur, *Marketing polityczny*. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2002, pp. 270.

²³ Christina Holtz-Bach *Professionalization of Political Communication: The Case of the 1998 SPD Campaign*, Journal of Political Marketing, No. 4, 2002.

- 2) professional consultants are responsible for the course of the campaign,
- 3) intensively conducted political market research is the information basis for the campaign plan,
- 4) electronic mass media constitute both the main channel of communication with voters and internal communication within the electoral organization.

The effectiveness of the campaign structure proposed by Eisenhower's advisers made the subsequent stages of political rivalry more and more media-oriented - the key issue was to determine the patterns of effective communication and to gather appropriate financial resources to conduct an active media campaign.

In the nineties, in the circles of professionals involved in political marketing in Poland, the need for appropriateness was felt and manifested very strongly. This can be evidenced by the document called Principles of ethics in political advertising, developed in 1997 by the Polish Branch of the International Advertising Association. The document became the first Polish "code of appropriateness" in the field of political advertising, in which it was urged that: In the nineties, in the circles of professionals dealing with political marketing in Poland, the need for appropriateness was felt and manifested very strongly. This can be evidenced by the document called Principles of ethics in political advertising, developed in 1997 by the Polish Branch of the International Advertising Association. The document became the first Polish "code of appropriateness" in the field of political advertising, which urged to ensure that:²⁴

- not to violate moral standards,
- do not abuse the trust of recipients,
- not exploit the lack of political knowledge of recipients,
- not refer to feelings of fear or superstition,
- not discriminate against anyone on the grounds of race, religion or sex,
- do not manipulate research results, statistical data, quotes,
- do not use dishonest comparisons, statements that are difficult to verify,
- not use modified recommendations,
- do not discredit anyone, insult or ridicule.

With regard to the election campaign, the concept of appropriateness should be considered in the context of political marketing communication, in which the applicability is:²⁵

- an indicator of political culture, or a synonym of what is acceptable, acceptable in the ways of communicating political entities,
- synonymous with usefulness in political marketing and effectiveness in the process of creating and promoting a political image.

In the context of these two meanings of the concept of appropriateness used in the context of marketing communication in the election campaign process, one can use the concept of quality, which verifies the level of electoral activities carried out in relation to the above-mentioned code of appropriateness and generally accepted standards in ensuring the application of generally recognized election standards and national regulatory standards elections, electoral rights and freedoms of man and citizen, as well as guarantee their execution.

Polish democracy has not yet fully accepted political marketing promotion techniques, which has an impact on the quality of communication with voters. Lack of knowledge of political marketing issues and low budget election campaigns are in a sense due to the incompetence of communication managers during the campaign and lack of knowledge and respect for the notion of appropriateness of messages. In other words: the election

²⁴ Zieliński, J., *Etyka w reklamie politycznej*, [www.minter.pl/internet/w\(\)684.html](http://www.minter.pl/internet/w()684.html)

²⁵ Ulicki, G. (1996), *Wpływ marketingu politycznego na zmiany w życiu politycznym państw demokratycznych*, [in:] *Trudne, sztuka polityki. Szanse, ryzyko, błąd*. red. T. Klementewicz, Studia Politologiczne, Vol. 1, Warszawa, pp. 157.

campaign as a process of social communication (public relations process, political marketing communication process) generates the needs of "relevant" promotional activities:

- informing (reliable, credible, truthful),
- dissemination of the election offer: according to the needs and expectations of the electorate; for the good of the community concerned,
- creating a political image: attractive presentation of leaders,
- generating media messages: relevant in form and style; attractive in terms of language, sound, visually.

Finally, the idea of political promotion for gaining social approval corresponds to the category of appropriateness in Horace's approach.²⁶

- relevance of content - what is "fitting", which "attracts people", i.e. truth, credibility
- suitability of language and style: the pursuit of harmony; keeping sense, subtlety, delicacy; suitability of the character (in the election campaign - the image of a socially desirable candidate, an ideal leader); harmony between human activities and his psychophysical properties; acting and saying "appropriate", i.e. adequate to the given situation.

The appropriateness (in the sense of 'usefulness', 'effectiveness') of direct marketing communication boils down to the candidate's statements at a press conference or television debate, speaking during a pre-election festival or election convention, attracting voters by visiting, the so-called 'door' method to door ("door to door") - in a word: speaking. Therefore, the main criterion of appropriateness should be proper knowledge of rhetorical art and practical skills in this field.²⁷

It should also be mentioned that the concept of the quality of marketing communication in an election campaign will refer not only to the appropriateness of the content of the statement or the candidate's behaviour, but also to the appropriate selection of marketing communication tools that should be tailored to the type of recipient and content of the candidate's program, so that most effectively be able to reach the electorate and get it to vote for the candidate.

Most often, candidates put forward phrases such as "promoting development"; "Supporting development"; "Supporting initiatives"; "Promoting development"; "Business support"; "Entrepreneurship development"; "Improving functioning ..."; "Improving the level of functioning ..."; "Permanent improvement of conditions and level of ..."; "Introducing system solutions ..."; "Improving accessibility ..."; "Combating unemployment"; "Reducing unemployment"; "Business support ..."; "Taking care and help ..."; "Troubleshooting ..."; "Improving operations ..."; "Accelerating the pace of development ..."; "Accelerating the pace of revalorization ..."; "Taking action for ..."; "Enhancing public security".

From a public relations point of view, such inappropriate duplication of marketing communication templates is very bad for the political image, because voters easily diagnose the lack of credibility of candidates in the area of the promoted election offer. Another manifestation of impropriety is ignoring the important category of public relations, which is the visual identity system. It is about disregarding the category of identity by candidates who represent the same electoral committee. This results in a significant variety of promotional materials, which in turn causes confusion for voters. Lack of care for identity, visual identification system, manifests itself in the diversity of advertising prints in such elements as: logotype, colours, typography, photographing candidates from a given election committee, marketing slogan.

²⁶ Arkadiusz Stanisław Dudziak, *Stosowność a promocja polityczna*. NAPIS SERIA X, 2004.

²⁷ Arkadiusz Stanisław Dudziak, *Stosowność*, op. cit., 2004, pp. 23.

A common case is the use of many marketing slogans on one election material with the goal of getting a strong message. One such example is the presidential candidate of the city of Lublin, who in the local government campaign in 2002, contained as many as four marketing slogans on his advertising leaflet.

A common mistake is the use of different candidates' slogans that are not consistent with the slogan of their own electoral committee, which is common in every parliamentary or local government election. This is probably due to the candidate's lack of awareness as to the activities of the election committee in the field of public relations.

In modern election campaigns, marketing communication is also related to aspects of psychology, which makes the candidate think about the effectiveness of electoral materials in terms of visibility, remembering visual ads and the very way of constructing these materials, which should take into account not only the recipient's profile, but also references of political advertising or even the mere reception of visual elements in promotional material.

4. ANALYSIS OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN POLAND

The analysis of the course of political rivalry during election campaigns in Poland clearly shows that the methods and techniques of organizing pre-election undertakings commonly used in developed democracy can also be successfully used in qualitatively different systemic conditions. The intensity of the evolutionary process of marketization of electoral rivalry depends on many factors related to the transformation of the political environment of the campaign, the development of the party system (understood in two dimensions: organizational and competitive), the development of the media system and the freedom of access to mass media, the degree of professionalization of political advice and changes in habits electoral electorate.

Conducting partially free parliamentary elections in June 1989 next to the Round Table, is considered a symbol of Polish political transformation and the project which was to achieve a democratic system. Considering the significance of these elections, both the course of the election campaign and the results of the elections themselves and their perception by modern youth will be analysed. This is important because there were no competitive elections in the Polish People's Republic. The management of the election campaign, the National Executive Committee of NSZZ "Solidarność" entrusted to the Citizens' Committee. It was also decided to create regional committees, and their tasks were primarily to prepare lists of candidates, selecting representatives of "Solidarity" to work in electoral commissions, as well as electoral agitation. In addition, committees began to form in smaller towns, districts and housing estates.

The PZPR, ZSL and SD election campaign was almost imperceptible, and this was due to the fact that the people of the establishment at that time were not used to running a real election campaign in which opponents also take part. Until now, the ideological and political order of socialism stabilized the political system, the citizen had no real choice, because in accordance with Article 3 (1) of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, the leading political force of society in building socialism was the Polish United Workers' Party. The coalition's campaign was passive, not focused on direct contact with voters and unprepared to oppose critical opinions. It was decided to take actions to harm "Solidarity". To this end, fake posters, newsletters and leaflets were distributed, in which they called for the removal of opposition candidates. A survey conducted by CBOS shows that 44.4% of respondents said that "Solidarity" better encourages voting for their candidates, and only 6.8% indicated a coalition, 32.7% of respondents said that both sides are trying equally well for obtaining an electorate. Coalition government candidates had incomparably greater access to mass media. KO candidates obtained only 23% of airtime and 32% of radio time in election programs.

However, the authorities at that time also used other television and radio programs for propaganda. It is estimated that almost 60% of the total national broadcasting time was used for campaign purposes, which does not mean that the authorities were able to properly use this advantage. This advantage did not compensate for the lack of knowledge about how to conduct an election campaign. PZPR was unable to maintain a coherent policy of promoting the best, selected candidates.

Part of the Solidarity election campaign were photos of candidates with L. Wałęsa and the slogan "Lech Team", which emphasized the coherence and strength of this list, and at the same time was associated with the trade union leader, a symbolic and opposition figure. The Citizens' Committee conducted an extremely active election campaign. Posters, leaflets and trade union publications appeared, and KO candidates were supported not only by Polish artists and people of culture, but also by western stars, including Steve Wonder. There were also posters saying "High noon. June 4, 1989" and with the image of Gary Cooper, who had a "Solidarity" badge in his vest and was holding a card with the words "election" in his hand. Activists and supporters of NZS, academic and high school youth have actively joined the Solidarity campaign. The main propaganda effort was directed to large groups of people - large cities, large centres of the working population, and industrial plants. Political scientists, sociologists and psychologists worked in the electoral staffs of the KO. In addition, public opinion polls were conducted on the basis of which the assumptions of the election strategy were adjusted on an ongoing basis.²⁸ Due to the limited access of the opposition to the mass media, *Gazeta Wyborcza* is considered the most important medium, with Adam Michnik as the editor-in-chief. On May 8, the first issue was released, the core of the editorial team was made up of "Tygodnik Mazowsze". "Gazeta Wyborcza" was published in 150,000 copies, with the slogan on "There is no freedom without Solidarity". On May 9, the first broadcast of the "Solidarity" Studio was broadcast on television, and on May 31, it appeared on newsstands "Tygodnik Solidarność" edited by T. Mazowiecki.²⁹

In the first round of elections, which took place on June 4, 1989, the turnout was 62.32%, which was the highest voter turnout recorded in the parliamentary elections in Poland since 1989. A higher turnout occurs when there is a chance for change when the voter recognizes the importance of the electoral act, and from the point of view of the importance of this event, a much higher level of electoral participation of citizens could be expected. However, the specifics of the Polish People's Republic period probably influenced the low level of involvement, because then the election meant support for the system, and some citizens may disagree with the content of the round-table agreements concluded (people with more radical views on reforming the state), while voters on the other they could just feel confused by the new situation.³⁰

In Polish political reality, the actual turn to the market model of electoral rivalry should first of all be associated with the gradual stabilization of the Polish political scene, initiated with the parliamentary elections in 2001. The emergence of new party entities on the Polish political market (Civic Platform, Law and Justice) consistently, and more importantly with an unexpectedly good effect, implementing classic marketing strategies, has contributed to the dissemination of qualitatively new schemes for the preparation and conduct of election campaigns and the adaptation of advanced methods and techniques of campaign impact.

Analysing the electoral campaigns of leading political entities (in particular PO), one can indicate the specific features of political marketing in Poland, of which the most important

²⁸ Andrzej W. Lipiński *Plebiscyt i odmowa. Studium terenowe reakcji wyborczej 1989 roku*, b.n.w., Warszawa, 1990.

²⁹ Andrzej Leon Sowa, *Historia polityczna Polski 1944-1991*, Kraków, 2011, pp. 636.

³⁰ Margaretta Mielewczyk, *Analiza kampanii wyborczej oraz wyników wyborów czerwcowych z 1989 roku z uwzględnieniem ich percepcji przez współczesną młodzież*, DOI: 10.14746/r.2015.4.

can be considered: the ability to flexible and highly contextual market positioning, deideologization of the political offer (in the campaign message there are references to values formatted in simplified way, essentially reduced to a certain axiological etiquette evoking involuntary and superficial associations with the political offer), focusing the campaign strategy on creating the image of the party and / or its leader, with progressive personalization of the message and advanced use of media channels in communicating with potential voters. In campaigns preceding the parliamentary and presidential elections, as well as - taking into account the lower intensity of electoral undertakings - local government and the European Parliament held between 2001 and 2011, proven mechanisms of campaign impact were improved, shaping a specific style of electoral competition based on strong exposure to emotional and emotional messages. From this perspective, the course of the 2011 election campaign seems to diverge from the proven patterns of effective political action.

Undoubtedly, the method of shaping communication electoral strategies has changed - increasingly, political rivalry entities have strived to maximize the balance of advertising (including payable) and non-advertising activities (free communication activities implemented via / through mass communication), including traditional direct actions. In a sense, advertising campaigns, which have hitherto been a key pillar of political communication strategies (strategic reference point for other campaign activities), have been assigned primarily the function of strengthening the message, which was the source of other forms of campaign activity. This change was particularly evident in the case of political TV advertising, for the first time not dominating the election campaign - used in a selective manner in subsequent stages of the campaign. It is noteworthy that the limitation of the intensity of the use of television advertising giving way to other types of advertising (increase of the role of outdoor advertising) or other forms of the message controlled by political broadcasters (mainly internet broadcasts).

Internet technology has a significant impact on the quality of marketing communication in the parliamentary election campaign in 2019 and in the last presidential election campaign in 2020. The most important elements thanks to which the Internet has gained its considerable importance include:³¹

1. *Popularization* - a tool available only to narrow social groups is not able to cause a mass effect, and thus affect the ways of doing politics. The Internet, thanks to various types of efforts, also from countries, has become a widely available tool.
2. *Attractiveness* - the development of social networking sites, blogs, websites that attract the attention of Internet users has meant that mass access, mentioned in point 1, has been concentrated in specific places, which over time have evolved into a kind of opinion-forming centres.
3. *Efficiency* - along with the development of the Internet's attractiveness, corporations operating on the commercial market became interested in its use. The new communication channel offered the creation of its own website, thanks to which it was possible to quickly and conveniently familiarize with the company's offer and make purchases, often at more preferential prices. An additional aspect is of course the possibility of buying advertising space in the most popular places on the web.
4. *Speed and removal of barriers* - the development of the Internet in various places around the world has modified the existing concepts of boundaries and distances. Currently, the policy statement in Poland can be quickly interpreted and

³¹ Magdalena Faracik-Nowak, *Kampanie wyborcze w dobie mediów społecznościowych*, [in:] M. Kolczyński, *Współczesne kampanie wyborcze w Polsce koncepcje, dylematy i praktyka komunikowania politycznego*. Katowice, 2013, pp. 18.

forwarded, e.g. by a foreign correspondent, not only to the home country, but for the whole world through the agency of which he is an employee.

The parliamentary elections in 2019 were marked by a large share of communication using internet technology. The parties are present on social networks, where they communicate with their electorate through dedicated political actions or advertisements or by publishing the program of candidates. One of the record sums spent on the activities of the election committee reached the sum of 112,453 zlotys (the election committee of Kidawa - Błońska). In the last parliamentary election campaign (2019), the Election Committee of the Civic Coalition spent nearly PLN 1.3 million on social media through sponsored posts. Obviously, the "operation Kidawa" was visible on Facebook, i.e. the campaign to build the image of the candidate of the said election committee (1,181 AD). During the first month of the current campaign, the Law and Justice Electoral Committee allocated PLN 45,721 to publish 182 advertisements on social media. In the first week of October, he spent an additional PLN 25,862. KW Lewica spent almost the same amount at the same time (300 adverts have been paid).

Not only in terms of spending, the current social media campaign is sharper than the previous one. There are also false entries and misinformation, often spread by politicians. Tomasz Jaskóła, MP from the Real Politics Union circle, posted on Twitter a manipulated photo of Greta Thunberg, in which Ala Gora was replaced by George Soros. Although subsequent people informed him that it was misinformation, the entry was not deleted. In contrast, Marcin Kierwiński from the Civil Platform shared a false quote from Minister Piotr Gliński on Twitter: "In PiS, we are working on introducing a professional artist card. An artist who does not obtain such a card will not be able to perform." He emphasizes that there is more and more such false information. This is a constantly growing trend, and from year to year this content is more and more sublime and it is more difficult to assess its accuracy. In the current election campaign, we most often measured the so-called strange thread. The misinformation mainly concerned LGBT minorities. Much content also referred to anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim and anti-refugee themes.

As experts emphasize, campaigns are increasingly based on the mobilization of grassroots electorate and its actions are really stronger than officially sponsored posts. Such a phenomenon in the current campaign emphasizes Sotrender. The actions of the users themselves, who actively support selected committees, often also criticizing competing parties. Extensive organic actions were associated with the use of hashtags, e.g. #silnirazem, #jedziemydalej or #skasujPiS.

An important social portal, except Twitter and Instagram, is Facebook. In its pursuit of transparency and supporting democratic processes, Facebook has released a tool called "Advertising Library". All sponsored posts that relate to social and political topics are posted there. Thanks to this, we can find out who and how much has been spent on Facebook ads during the political campaign. The following data (Fig. 1) is just from the publicly available Facebook advertising library and applies to the period from September 10 to October 10, 2019.

Figure 1. Expenses of individual election committees on election advertising on Facebook in the period from 10/09/2019 to 10/10/2019.

Source: Facebook, ad library.

The most, approximately PLN 2 million, was spent on Facebook ads by the Civic Coalition, i.e. the Civic Platform, Modern, the Green Party and the Polish Initiative (PLN 1,999,210 to promote on a social network during the 30 days preceding the election silence). The largest part of this amount was used by the official PO website (PLN 1 264 871). The official site of Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska, who was the candidate of the Civic Coalition for the prime minister, came second (PLN 119 428). The next election committees with much smaller amounts were: the Civil Platform Lubelski Region (PLN 19,892), the Civil Platform Mazowsze (PLN 17,565, the Civil Platform Wielkopolska (PLN 15,426). The record holder in terms of number was in the advertising - Michał Jaros, the Civil Platform politician from Wrocław (281 ads in total for PLN 7,820). He got to the parliament from the Wrocław district.

The KW Democratic Left Alliance with a result of PLN 430,895 was second in terms of Facebook spending. The largest part of this amount was allocated to promote materials on the Left - KW Alliance of Democratic Left, which has about 80 thousand members. The second place was taken by Jakub Bocheński from Robert Biedronia's Spring (PLN 24 151 was allocated for advertising on this fan page). However, Bocheński did not win the deputy's seat.

Right behind the Left were the election winners, i.e. KW Law and Justice, which spent PLN 428 211 on Facebook ads. As in the previous two cases, here too the most money was allocated for promotion on the official fan page of the party. Advertising on the Law and Justice website cost PLN 80,798. The fourth force came in fourth place in the new Sejm, i.e. a coalition of PSL and Kukiz'15. In total, they spent PLN 99,035 on Facebook ads. Most was allocated to the official PSL website (PLN 14 268).

The effectiveness of the action, and thus the quality of marketing communication in the election campaign largely depends on the choice of campaign tools. The article largely focuses on the analysis of the use of online tools due to the increasing share of these tools in the analysed election campaigns.

One of the most interesting election campaign was the president campaign in one Silesian city Gliwice. The early election of the mayor of Gliwice took place in January 2020, which was to determine the successor of the last parliamentary election (October 2019) to Zygmunt Frankiewicz, who ruled this city of nearly 170,000 for over 26 years. Candidates in the election were: running from the election committee "Efficiently for Gliwice", former director of the Gliwice Center for Non-Governmental Organizations Andrzej Gillner; former Gliwice councilor, previously associated with the Civic Platform, Kajetan Gornig (from the Kajetan Gornig and Dominik Dragon committee), Janusz Moszyński, acting president of Gliwice (in the past, among others, deputy president of Frankiewicz and the marshal of the Silesian voivodship on behalf of the Civic Platform) party in mid-2007, starts from its own election committee) and the current vice president of Gliwice Adam Neumann (supported by former president Zygmunt Frankiewicz and the Civic Coalition).

The election campaign was the positive and negative elective campaign example. There was used negative campaign strategy. Discrediting political opponents is one of the basic tools for persuading voters to see clearly who they can trust and who absolutely does not deserve this trust. It aims to question the credibility of the opponent, his position or authority, or to remove him completely on the sidelines of the political scene.

Although Adam Neumann wanted to focus on a calm and balanced policy of "continuation", some of his statements during the campaign aroused great emotions (interview with 24gliwice.pl portal, in which the former vice president suggested that his opponent Kajetan Gornig is supported by PiS). Kajetan Gornig, who ran for election from his own committee, submitted a request to the court to rectify this information. Eventually, the court of appeal agreed with him and ordered Adam Neumann to post a relevant correction on 24gliwice.pl, in Gazeta Miejska and on his own Facebook profile. He also prohibited Neumann from further disseminating false information. Katarzyna Kuczyńska-Budka, a councilor of the Civic Coalition, and privately the wife of Borys Budka, the deputy chairman of the Civic Platform, also had a grudge against the presidential candidate Gliwice. Neumann admitted in an interview with 24gliwice.pl that Kuczyńska-Budka wants to be the vice president of the city and together with her husband they offered him help paid for in the campaign. In response to the statement by Neumann Kuczyńska - Budka asked the candidate to correct the words about her vice presidency. Since Neumann did not do this, she decided to sue.

Moszyński ran a very active campaign. The main element of the campaign were meetings with the inhabitants of Gliwice. Some, however, accused him of being over-zealous. In the last weeks of the campaign, Piast Gliwice has become an important field of litigation and mutual accusations. A critical text about the situation in the club was included in the latest issue of Gazeta Obywatelska, published by the Electoral Committee of Voters of Janusz Moszyński. Its authors remind, among others, that just a few days before the parliamentary election, the former vice president of the city Krystian Tomala became a new member of the Piast supervisory board, they also emphasize that the city lost control of the club. The board and supervisory board of Piast on Tuesday denied these reports and stated that Moszyński unlawfully used the club's crest in his materials.

The biggest surprise of the ending presidential campaign in Gliwice was certainly the scandal with a fictitious Facebook account from which all candidates except Adam Neumann were attacked. According to "Nowiny Gliwicki" probably the editor-in-chief of one of the Gliwice internet portals, quite generously supported financially by the previous ruling team Gliwice. However, Adam Neumann admitted that he had nothing to do with fake Facebook accounts.

Moszyński's and Neumann's election committees published special electoral newspapers, in which Janusz Moszyński's election committee focused on showing materials compromising the previous authority (which will be continued by Neumann), based on

documents and publicly available sources.

Kajetan Gornig introduced to the election campaign in Gliwice a kind of new, which was associated with the organization of events related to meetings with the election. One of such cyclical events was the already famous "Gliwice coffee". Gornig invited Gliwice residents to cafe tables, where every city resident could talk about the future of the city with a candidate over coffee. There were 37 such meetings at a table, and Gornig drank 80.

The important element of the Gornig's campaign was not only cycle of the meetings with Gliwice citizens, but also using social media to present own programme in a very interesting way. The idea of presenting the political program through specific comic-style graphics was worth emphasizing (Fig. 2). Thanks to this campaign method, Gornig stood out in social media.

Figure 2. Posters presenting the political program of Kajetan Gornig through specific comic-style graphics

Source: Kajetan Gornig website and Nowiny Gliwickie Newspaper.

Graphics presented in Figure present main points of the political programme of Kajetan Gornig: care about animals, road infrastructure renovation, cooperation of the civil workers in a good atmosphere, hospitals renovation and its improvement.

The quality of the election campaign is perceived not only by choice of the appropriate marketing communication tools but also identifying the appropriate campaign password that reflects the point of the political programme of the candidate.

Kajetan Gornig password was very communicative, simple to remember and it reflects to new trends in city management and in general management: *Energy for Gliwice*. Password including word *energy* has been included in the political campaign of one political leader of Civil Platform Borys Budka (New Energy). Figure 3 present graphical elements of the election campaign used in social media (Facebook – official funpage of Kajetan Gornig).

Figure 3. Graphical elements of the election campaign used in social media

Source: Facebook – official funpage of Kajetan Gornig.

Gornig's election slogan was closely correlated with the main points of the election political program: modern and comfortable urban transport, clean air, healthcare, efficient municipal services and residential safety, building a modern civil society.

The last point of the programme has own continuation in the form of association founded by Kajetan Gornig and members of his election campaign committee having the same name as his campaign password (Energy for Gliwice, logotype presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Logotype of Association Energy for Gliwice.

Source: Facebook – official funpage of Kajetan Gornig.

The political program contained not only slogans, but above all a proposal of a remedial program corresponding to modern standards and trends in managing the modern urban conglomerate.

5. CONCLUSION

It should be emphasized that public debate has moved to the internet over the past few decades. Sales of newspaper editions are falling, free information portals and digital editions of popular titles are developing. The morning interview in the car on one of the leading Polish portals often has more viewership than the evening conversation with politicians on the main television news channel. Thanks to social media, politicians and opinion leaders communicate directly with the recipients. Again, the most popular ones have a larger number of fans than the average viewership of the main news channels. Finally, anyone on the Internet can be a sender of content - he can describe his ideas, demands, his protest and has a good chance of finding a group of listeners. For all these reasons, the importance of big data-based tools and the creation of a community of dedicated supporters on the Internet will only grow. Thirdly, politicians and their staff began to use data in election campaigns because professional tools became available to create and maintain engaged communities around organizations and individuals. Having your own Facebook page has proved to be a necessary, but far from sufficient, victory in the election. The best candidates create and maintain the entire ecosystem of data collection - from voter activity on the Internet to meetings with the voter on the street, or the threshold of his apartment as part of the door-to-door campaign. The use of modern technologies based on large data sets has been the basis of many recent electoral successes: Barack Obama's and Democrats' many years of advantage, as well as the recent victory of Donald Trump in the US; the rapid uprising and triumph of the Emmanuel Macron movement in France. Skilfully used data drives great winning campaigns, but they can also help you gain the advantage of individual candidates in local campaigns.

In order to achieve high efficiency, and thus good quality marketing communication, the activities of a modern campaign should be based on identifying and then maintaining the interest of base voters and communication to voters potentially sympathetic to the candidate or grouping, but not mobilized enough to get involved into the campaign and finally go to the polling station. The overriding goal of a campaign run with data support is no longer to reach the broadest range of voters with their message (which was tried to achieve by classical marketing methods in traditionally run campaigns), but to create a community of supporters

around the candidate or group and then expand it. Such an engaged community allows for low cost promotion of content in social media, gathering a solid turnout at campaign events, attracting volunteers and contributions to the campaign. Ultimately, its numbers and degree of commitment translate into the number of votes in elections. For this purpose, databases created based on profiled queries that create electorate characteristics are used, on the basis of which messages are created and tools are selected. Conducting contemporary election campaigns on the basis of data flowing mainly from surveys is becoming an outdated and inefficient solution.

Sažetak:

KVALITETA MARKETINŠKE KOMUNIKACIJE U IZBORNOJ KAMPANJI NA PRIMJERU POLJSKIH LOKALNIH I PARLAMENTARNIH IZBORA

Predmet rada je analiza razine kvalitete marketinške komunikacije koju kandidati koriste u predizbornoj kampanji kako bi glasačima pružili najučinkovitije informacije o izbornom programu i profilu kandidata te kako bi se potaknulo reakcije birača koji trebaju dati svoj glas za kandidata. Kvaliteta marketinške komunikacije ovdje se analizira, ne samo s gledišta alata koje kandidat koristi ili masovnih medija općenito, već prvenstveno s gledišta kvalitete poruka analiziranih kroz prizmu etike u političkim oglašavanjima, koji se naziva i Kodeksom primjerenosti u području političkog oglašavanja.

Ključne riječi: kvaliteta, marketing, komunikacija, politička kampanja.

6. LITERATURE

1. Bankowicz, M., *Kampania wyborcza*, [in:] Bankowicz M. (ed.), *Słownik polityki*, Warszawa, 1996.
2. Chaffee, S. H. (Ed.) *Political communication*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications. 1975.
3. Dobek-Ostrowska, Bogusława, *Komunikowanie polityczne i publiczne*. Podręcznik akademicki, Warszawa 2006.
4. Dudziak, A. S., *Stosowność a promocja polityczna*, NAPIS SERIA X, 2004.
5. Faracik-Nowak, Magdalena, *Kampanie wyborcze w dobie mediów społecznościowych*, [in:] M. Kolczyński, *Współczesne kampanie wyborcze w Polsce koncepcje, dylematy i praktyka komunikowania politycznego*, Katowice, 2013.
6. Holtz-Bach, Christina *Professionalization of Political Communication: The Case of the 1998 SPD Campaign*, *Journal of Political Marketing*, No. 4, 2002.
7. Kaid, L. L., (2004), *Handbook of political communication research*. LAWRENCE ERLBAUM ASSOCIATES, PUBLISHERS, Mahwah, New Jersey London, pp. 17 – 20.
8. Kaid, L. Lynda, Sanders, K. R., & R. O. Hirsch, *Political campaign communication: A bibliography and guide to the literature*, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1974.
9. Kotler, Ph., *Marketing*, Dom Wydawniczy REBIS Sp. z o.o.; Poznań, 2005.
10. Kotler, Ph., & Kotler, N., *Political marketing: Generating effective candidates, campaigns, and causes*. In B. I. Newman (Ed.), *Handbook of political marketing*, pp. 3 – 8, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1999.
11. Kotler, P., & Kotler, N., *Business marketing for political candidates. Campaigns and Elections*, 2, 1981.
12. Lipińska, D. and P. Róg, *Podszepty marketingu – studium czarnego PR na przykładzie polskiej sceny politycznej*, [in:] *Kampanie wyborcze – studium przypadku*, Toruń, 2009.
13. Lipiński A.W. (1990), *Plebiscyt i odmowa. Studium terenowe reakcji wyborczej 1989 roku*, b.n.w., Warszawa.
14. Mattelart, A., (2001), *Teorie komunikacji: krótkie wprowadzenie*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe

- PWN; Warszawa, pp. 21.
15. Mazur, M., (2002), *Marketing polityczny*. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, pp. 270.
 16. Mielewczyk, M., *Analiza kampanii wyborczej oraz wyników wyborów czerwcowych z 1989 roku z uwzględnieniem ich percepcji przez współczesną młodzież*, 2015.
 17. Newman, B. (Ed.), *The handbook of political marketing*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1999.
 18. Newman, B. I., *The marketing of the president: Political marketing as campaign strategy*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994.
 19. Newman, B. I., *A services oriented strategic framework for politicians*, Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Decision Science Institute Western Regional Conference, 1988.
 20. Nieć, M., *Kampania wyborcza – uwagi politologa o genezie idei*, Roczniki Nauk Społecznych, Tom 4(40), No 3, 2012.
 21. Nimmo, D. D. & K. R. Sanders, (Eds.), *Handbook of political communication*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1981.
 22. Rakowska-Trela, Anna, *Kampania wyborcza w regulacji prawnej i praktyce*, Wyd. Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź, 2015.
 23. Rydel, M., *Podręczny słownik promocji*, Gdańska Fundacja Kształcenia menedżerów, Gdańsk, 1995.
 24. Sowa, A. L. *Historia polityczna Polski 1944-1991*, Kraków, 2011.
 25. Swanson, D. L., & D. Nimmo, (Eds.), *New directions in political communication: A source book*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990.
 26. Tworzydło, D., *Public relations. Teoria i studia przypadków*, WSiIZ w Rzeszowie, Rzeszów, 2003.
 27. Ulicki, G., *Wpływ marketingu politycznego na zmiany w życiu politycznym państw demokratycznych*, [in:] *Trudne, sztuka polityki. Szanse, ryzyko, błąd* (red.) T. Klementewicz, Studia Politologiczne, Vol. 1, Warszawa, 1996.
 28. Wiszniowski, R., *Marketing wyborczy. Studium kampanii wyborczych w systemach prezydenckich i semiprezydenckich (Finlandia, Francja, Polska, Stany Zjednoczone)*, Warszawa 2000.
 29. Zieliński, J., *Etyka w reklamie politycznej*, [www.minter.pl/internet/w\(\)684.html](http://www.minter.pl/internet/w()684.html)