

Political Preferences

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Katowice 2013

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CONTENTS

Introduction.....	7
Miro Haček (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) (Dis)trust into the rule of law in Slovenia.....	9
Waldemar Wojtasik (University of Silesia, Poland) Functions of elections in democratic system.....	25
Rafal Glajcar (University of Silesia, Poland) Model of election of the head of state of the Third Polish Republic – balancing between institutional coherence and political pragmatism.....	39
Sebastian Kubas (University of Silesia, Poland) Evolution of Preferences at Hungarian Electorate towards Bidimensional “Left – Right” Structure (1990 to 2013).....	53
Karolina Ticha (University of Matej Bel, Slovakia) Comparison of the cleavages development in the Czech Republic and Poland after 1989.....	77
Danuta Plecka (Karnowska) (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Poland) Individualism and civic participation – an essay on a certain way of thinking about citizenship.....	89
Irena Pilch (University of Silesia, Poland) Lidia Baran (University of Silesia, Poland) Personal values, perceptions of unfairness in social exchange and happiness among young voters and non-voters in Poland.....	99
Agnieszka Turska-Kawa (University of Silesia, Poland) Reactive political leadership.....	115
Dariusz Doliński (Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Poland) Robert Wiszniewski (University of Wrocław, Poland) Techniques of social influence with reference to political life.....	133

Aleksandra Seklecka (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Poland) The picture(s) of campaign. The 2011 electoral campaign in major news bulletins	153
Hana Pravdová (University of St. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, Slovakia) Coordinates of Interests of Media, Political Subjects and Recipients	169
Agnieszka Kasińska-Metryka (The Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce, Poland) Psychological and marketing conditions of electoral activity of women	179
Teresa Astramowicz-Leyk (University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, Poland) Witold Zygmunt Kulerski activities – secretary Stanisław Mikołajczyk’s – after World War II	187
Reviews	199
Jarosław Wichura: New media and the public opinion (Nowe media a opinia publiczna), Wydawnictwo i-Press, Kraków, 2012 (Reviewer: Zbigniew Widera)	199
Krzysztof Gajdka: Spokesman in the surrounding media (Rzecznik prasowy w otoczeniu mediów), Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych UNIwersiTAS, Kraków, 2012 (Reviewer: Zbigniew Widera)	201
Abstracts	203

INTRODUCTION

We give readers the fourth volume of „Political Preferences”, an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of voting behavior issues, especially political determinants of identification. Magazine publishers are the Institute of Political Science and Journalism at the University of Silesia and the Center for Innovation, Technology Transfer and Development Foundation of the University of Silesia. Patronage of the project holds Polish Political Science Association and the Society for Academic Initiatives. The research community centered around „Political Preferences” was initiated by the Section at the Polish Electoral Studies Political Science Association and is actively involved in international research projects devoted to electoral behavior.

Journal in his intention promote empirical research in the plane of electoral behavior. Multidimensional and interdisciplinary research in political circumstances of individuals and their motivation to participate actively in political life is important for the development of civil society, one of the important dimensions of the electoral participation. Magazine publishers are particularly keen on cooperation with researchers of different disciplines who take an empirical analysis of the problem of political preferences: political science, psychology, sociology, linguistics, philosophy, and others. The degree of involvement of citizens and ultimately the decisions made in the electoral process is subject to many levels, giving you the opportunity to take the identification and analysis of the correlation existing between them.

This issue of „Political Preferences,” in contrast to the previous, is a report of empirical research, but devoted to the diversity of issues, the common denominator is the study of reality social, political and economic, affecting voting behavior. This is another step in the development of writing, involving not only the extension of the existing formula, but also its internationalization. The international dimension „Political Preferences” has been achieved not only by initiating the release number in the English language, but also by expanding the group of authors and reviewers who write about the people

Aleksandra Seklecka

Nicolaus Copernicus University, Poland

**THE PICTURE(S) OF CAMPAIGN.
THE 2011 ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN
IN MAJOR NEWS BULLETINS¹**

Abstract:

The article is focused on analysis the manner of presentation of data considering the electoral campaign in major information services during parliamentary campaign in Poland in 2011. This concerns the kinds of the subjects presented, the choice of context, politicians' statements and the comment. An important question is whether we deal with a uniform image of the campaign or whether this image is different for particular stations. For that reason, what was investigated were the evening emissions of news bulletins of the most popular television stations, that is TVN („Fakty”), Polsat („Wydarzenia”) as a private television and TVP 1 („Wiadomości”) as public television.

The article consist of five most important parts: subjects, where author analyze key issues of particular campaign; pictures where are presented images accompanying main issues; faces, which are focused on main actors of campaign; and finally role of journalists who present information.

Key words:

electoral campaign in Poland, news bulletin

Introduction

An electoral campaign constitutes an interesting phenomenon for political scientists, sociologists and marketing communication specialists, who investigate the manners of presentations of a political offer and its influence on electoral preferences. Also the scientists specializing in the area of the media may find this particular period fascinating. The research of journalistic attitudes

¹ The majority of books used in this article were bought with the help of Faculty Political Sciences and International Studies, no 1359-PSM.

and behaviour of the media during the rivalry in question is possible to provide valuable information on the impact of the mass media on the candidates and affect the result of the election, since a rivalry-based electoral campaign inscribes into a news paradigm, described by Liz Fawcett [2011: 245, 253] or Stuart Allan [2006: 81-102].

A news bulletin, defined as a television programme presenting the events that occurred on a certain day, possessing a clear identity as well as measured and diverse materials [Boyd 2006: 183] may be considered as one of the most important sources of information. An interesting definition is provided by Ivan Cury [2011: 205], according to whom „if most of the stories presented are current, then the program is a news program”. What plays an important role here is television, and in consequence the information programmes presented by this particular medium, which uses image and sound to achieve a great effect, which was mentioned by Giovanni Sartorii [2007] or Pierre Bourdieu [2011]. Another important fact is that the news bulletins create the importance of words and expressions on a large scale [Pisarek 2000: 13]. This makes it possible to easily and quickly shape the opinions of the electors, which is valued by the committees. According to Nielsen Audience Measurement research conducted for Media2.pl, in Poland television information programmes can boast a substantial audience. In September 2011, that is in the period of the campaign under investigation, „Wiadomości” TVP (3 811 985 viewers), „Fakty” TVN (3 703 154), „Teleexpress” TVP (2 864 075), „Wydarzenia” Polsat (2 093 092) i „Panorama” TVP (1 346 401) had the biggest audience [Szewczyk 2011]. What is worth highlighting, the two initial programmes are listed in the top ten of the television shows with the largest number of viewers.

The aim of this article is to analyze the manner of presentation of data considering the electoral campaign in major information services. This concerns the kinds of the subjects presented, the choice of context, politicians' statements and the comment. An important question is whether we deal with a uniform image of the campaign or whether this image is different for particular stations. For that reason, what was investigated were the evening emissions² of news bulletins of the most popular television stations, that is TVN („Fakty”), Polsat („Wydarzenia”) as a private television and TVP 1 („Wiadomości”) as public television from the period of the final five weeks of the campaign (September, 1st – October, 7th). In total, more than 100 issues³ of news bulletins were analyzed. Their choice was motivated by the intensified activity of electoral committees in this period as well as the increased interest of the mass media in politicians' actions.

² Evening editions last about 25 minutes, excluding weekend when they are 5 minutes shorter.

³ News bulletins in the author's private collection.

The approach adopted in this study was the qualitative content analysis⁴. The unit of sampling was a single electoral material, that is news. A piece of information was considered as an electoral one not only when it considered the campaign itself, but also when it dealt with administrative issues indirectly connected with the campaign. Such a unit was composed of the presenter's introduction, their conversation with the reporter as well as the prepared material, and the summary (stand up). What constituted the research tool was a categorization key composed of several previously elaborated categories. Due to certain limitation of this article, the main impact is on manner in which information is presented in the programmes under analysis. This concerns the kind of topics mentioned in the journalistic materials, the kind of presentation and the image of political subjects presenting their offer as well as the role of the journalist, both the presenter and the reporter, during the preparation and presentation of the material.

The subjects of the campaign

In the analysis in question it was important to specify the subjects that became the news of the campaign. First of all, however, it is worth defining this concept, which is not an easy task. This results from the fact that every researcher interested in the media defines news through the specification of the characteristic features of materials that are broadcast in news bulletins. That is why it seems relevant to present the definition proposed by the former NBC and ABC presenter, Davida Brinkley, adopted also by B. William Silcock, Don Hider, Mary T. Rogus [2007: 1-2]. According to them, „News is what I say it is”. That means that journalists themselves decide of the rank of a certain event and that they do it by means of preparing and presenting particular pieces of news and by arranging the news in a particular order. Despite that fact, in the programmes analyzed it is not easy to find any differences among the news presented in specific days, and if such differences appear, they concern the presentation of the subject in a different context. Similarities, in turn, are not difficult to be observed. The tendency is to present identical subjects and to place them at the beginning of the programme, with the exception of ludicrous elements, such as funny spots and unusual politicians' behaviour, which are typically presented at the end in a satirical manner.

The subject-matter of the presented news was related to the issues mentioned by the candidates during party conventions, electoral meetings, television debates, interviews and numerous polemics between party leaders that

⁴ The study of i.a. the time of the emission of the campaign materials are included in the report of The Stefan Batory Foundation [2011], due to which, according to the author, it is not relevant to repeat quantitative studies.

took place in television. The subjects depended on the time and place of the campaign. The closer to the elections the more insubstantial issues, based on personal attacks, appeared.

Such tactics fulfilled the medial desire for interesting and controversial information that can attract the recipient's attention, which is elaborated on by John Langer [2011]. This is reflected in the proportion of hard news (serious information) and soft news (amusing information). Although the former still dominated, the longer the campaign lasted the more of the latter, presented in a satirical manner and commented on by journalists, could be observed. The first soft news appeared in "Fakty" on September, 7th and concerned the language used by Polish politicians in electoral rivalry. What is worth highlighting, this particular programme kept presenting its material in such a form, which resided in showing candidates' personal relations and unusual behaviour rather than programme thesis. This can be exemplified by a material of September, 14th concerning the "youth" campaign of Law and Justice, conducted by showing attractive female candidates and using juvenile language. The character of such materials was usually ironic, which was visible in the reporter's summary: „aby naprawdę było cool nie wystarczy często i głośno mówić jazzy, co kuma przecież każdy ziom. Niestety tak to już zawsze jest z pomysłem na kampanię młodzieżową, albo siema, albo się nie ma"⁵. The journalists' attitude is also reflected in the titles. For instance, the material on a new clip broadcast in Polsat on September, 14th was titled "Untypically of a campaign". It ought to be remembered that this interest in such subject-matter is partially caused by the current activity of political subjects. That includes the material concerning the hit parade of campaign spots ("Fakty", September, 15th) or the travels of party leaders ("Wiadomości", September 19th; "Fakty", September, 6th). Another exemplification of this are similar materials about the most amusing elements of the campaign broadcast on the last day of the rivalry (October, 7th), prepared by "Fakty" and "Wiadomości". However, what needs to be highlighted is that the latter bulletin presented less soft news, which was related to the fact that the materials broadcast in the public media usually concerned the politic programmes of all the national electoral committees. For that reason, it is worth mentioning that only this channel presented the activity of the Polish Labour Party that was not visible in other media.

The subjects that were most frequently mentioned during the campaign were divided into six categories, according to the classification proposed by

⁵ "To be really cool it's not enough to often and loudly use words like 'jazzy', which all the mates know. Sadly, to make a youth campaign, you either have ideas or you don't". The Polish word "siema" is a colloquial form of greeting and can be translated as "howdy". If written separately, as "się ma", is a form of the verb "have". Therefore, in the summary under consideration one can observe an interesting play of words, which increases the irony of message.

The Stefan Batory Foundation [The Stefan Batory Foundation Report 2011]. The categories are general information, information on programme proposals, the course of the campaign in the field, violations of law and morals, polls and others. What could be observed was that "Wiadomości" focused on technical aspect of the campaign, including the rules of voting (voting abroad, correspondence voting of the disabled) and the election calendar (e.g. the permission to vote beyond the place of living). What can be listed in this category are also the questions concerning the interpretation of regulations relating to the refusal to register Janusz Korwin-Mikke's New Right committee and a candidate for Senate, Anna Kalata, in all the electoral districts.

A large space was also devoted to the materials concerning the campaign activity in the field. The most famous element here is "tuskobus", that is a bus used by the Prime Minister and his team to travel around the country. On September, 19th, the day that the travel began, all the services devoted at least 3 minutes to this subject. Therefore, it is not surprising that the media started to be interested in means of transport of other party leaders and the facts that the Law and Justice leader took a train travel from Warsaw to Gdansk and SLD (Democratic Left Alliance) leaders were met in a commuter line were commented on as well.

Electoral meetings posed an occasion to discuss programme issues. On September, 1st, the politicians' ideas for better education were presented and the biggest news here was that Grzegorz Napieralski's (the leader of Democratic Left Alliance) speech was disturbed by the youth organization related to PO (Civic Platform). This information, although accompanied by other campaign motives, constituted the opening news in all the bulletins. However, the main source of information on the political plans were parties conventions, whose fragments were broadcast in all the programmes analysed. On September, 10th, when PO and SLD conventions took place, each station paid attention to the programme thesis of the rivaling parties. On several occasions the main point of interest were economical and financial issues (also due to the Economic Forum in Krynica, organized in September), the problem of increasing charges for preschools (the consequence of a new act of law), the role of women (the Congress of Women took place on September, 17th) and the necessity to fight unemployment.

The debates concerning specific issues were focused on programme aspects. These were organized by television channels as well as the committees (e.g. Napieralski – Rostowski). These events constituted an important element of the agenda both before and after the meeting, which can be illustrated with the heralds of the debates in Polsat (September, 1st; October, 3rd and 6th), TVN (September, 5th) or TVP (September, 28th, October, 7th). In the last of the cases mentioned it was the refusal of Law and Justice members that posed the most interesting news. However, one of the most symbolic events of the campaign

under consideration was “the debate of the debate”, which took place in early September and considered the planned discussion between the two specialists in financial policy deriving from the two biggest political parties. The Civic Platform pointed the minister of finance, Jacek Rostowski, while the Law and Justice Zyta Gilowska, the member of the Monetary Policy Council. Numerous politicians, political scientists and journalists interpreted this choice as a violation of the independence of the institution member. Therefore, the governing party disagreed to run such a debate. Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that the discussion in question was kept alive thanks to the interest of the media that tried to strengthen the antagonisms between the two sides of the conflict.

The composition of the future government constituted the subject of a plethora of discussions, which is related to the declarations of certain committees concerning potential ministers. The most reserved party in this aspect was Law and Justice. Due to that fact, the party was being accused of having no political background and encouraged to reveal a portion of names. This can be illustrated by the material broadcast in “Wydarzenia” on September, 5th, in which the journalists tried to predict the names of Law and Justice and Civic Platform ministers. What ought to be mentioned here is Grzegorz Napieralski’s proposal for Donald Tusk to create the government together unless Tusk’s party would win the election (the news of September, 16th; in all the bulletins of that day occupied the first position). By constantly discussing the candidates for a potential coalition member, the journalists made their audience sure that, despite various polls, neither of the parties would manage to create the government by itself. Jarosław Kaczyński tried to frighten the electors with the vision of “tuskopalikot’s coalition” (Fakty; October, 3rd).

Last but not least, the “German motif”, which dominated the final part of the campaign (October, 4th, is worth mentioning. This was related to the publication of Kaczyński’s book “Polska naszych marzeń” (“The Poland of our Dreams”), whose author suggested that the election of Angela Merkel for the chancellor of Germany had not been a coincidence. This met a strong reaction of Kaczyński’s rivals. The journalists played an important role here as well. According to them, the author suggested that her choice was motivated by her STASI connections (“Fakty”; October, 5th). This event as well as its journalistic interpretation could negatively affect the politician’s image that Kaczyński’s team had tried to soften since the beginning of the campaign (“Fakty”; September, 19th).

As regards the remaining subjects mentioned in the campaign, it is worth mentioning the cyberattack on Beata Kempa (PiS), that is the Internet user who impersonated her and sent an e-mail message that the Member of Parliament resigned from running in the election (September, 13th). This information started

the attacks on the government that was accused of not sufficiently protect the correspondence of the MPs. The journalists proved that it is not difficult to send such a message, even without a specific knowledge.

The pictures of the campaign

The visual layout poses as important factor in the reception of the communicate. According to, Darell M. West [2010: 10], one picture may transfer the same meaning that require a thousand of words. What is more, due to photos, films and other visualizations of non-visual contents (including polls or the distribution of mandates in the Parliament) to message becomes more credible and easier in the reception.

Due to that fact, it should not be surprising that fragments of electoral spots were being presented in news bulletins. What was commented on by the journalists was the subject of the clip as well as the techniques used to attract attention. This can be illustrated with the material broadcast in “Wydarzenia” on September, 24th (presented at the end of the programme and described as “embarrassing commercials”), on September, 1st (presented as the second information and titled “the war of spots”), on September, 2nd (“odd spots”; the second news concerning unusual spots), and the material broadcast in “Fakty” on October, 5th, dealing with controversial spots and in “Wiadomości” on October, 7th, presenting the most amusing elements of the campaign. The above-mentioned titles suggest that the reporters’ attention was attracted by controversial films, which may encourage politicians to use such a category of image in future. The spot that was relatively often commented on was that of Civic Platform, in which the party threatened Poles that if the election was won by Law and Justice Poland would be governed by people using “Smolensk rhetoric” and “the policy of fear” of the years 2005-2007 (the opening news in “Wydarzenia” and the second one in “Fakty” on October, 3rd). What was analysed here was the role of fear as a tool of influencing the electors. The spots, however, were most of all considered as infotainment. Moreover, the journalists presented themselves as specialists on visual communication and the filming effects as trivial. However, one ought to admit that the goal of certain clips, in particular those found on the Internet, was to shock the viewers with controversial behaviour rather than to present any contend relevant for the electors.

The polls, ordered by particular television stations, provided their recipients with entertainment as well as information. What was especially important here, apart from the information concerning the support for a given party, the graphic elements appearing on the television screen that were to strongly influence the viewers. It ought to be highlighted that the closer to the election day

the more polls were presented. This confirms the results of the study conducted by the Stefan Batory Foundation [2011: 14]. In the final week nearly each news bulletin contained a presentation of the potential result. Such a presentation could make a separate news ("Fakty"; September, 20th) or be an integral part of a larger material ("Wydarzenia", September, 14th, in the material titled "the fight for cities"; "Wiadomości", September, 19th in the material dealing with parties' tax proposals; "Fakty", September, 29, the material on the Prime Minister's tight schedule). Furthermore, on October, 7th "Wiadomości" journalists presented a virtual simulation on the distribution of seats in the Parliament based on the results of two polls.

In order to attract the attention of both the voters and the media, politicians run their campaign in such a way to be close to people. The Prime Minister was taking trip around Poland in his "tuskobus" and meeting the citizens of towns and villages, followed by the journalists of different television stations. This was presented in "Wiadomości" on October, 3rd, when they spent the whole day traveling with Civic Platform and Law and Justice leaders. Three days later similar material was broadcast by TVN and Polsat.

The aforesaid strategy was also used by Democratic Left Alliance, whose members Grzegorz Napieralski and Leszek Miller visited the coast of Poland to accompany fishermen in the sea at dawn and to show the hardship of the campaign (news from October, 1st). A similar motivation is visible in the activity of Poland Comes First, a party that was created in 2011 and for that reason was not provided with any financial means. In the last day of the rivalry, to attract the attention of both voters and journalists, the major members of the party brought a dark horse to the streets, claiming that their party would be the dark horse of the campaign (despite its law support). The day before they decided to climb Kasprowy Wierch. PSL (Polish People's Party) tried to grasp attention with a song "Man comes first", a dynamic clip and spots (the leader Waldemar Pawlak with Funky Polak's background music and "Let's go quickly behind the barn"). At the end of the campaign Pawlak decided to challenge Paweł Nastula, a famous judoist and a candidate of Polish People's Party, spectacularly throwing him over his shoulder. Therefore, it should not be surprising that Donald Tusk, together with local leaders, took part in a run around the Błonia Park (news from October, 3rd) and Jarosław Kaczyński visited a traditional Polish family for dinner.

The faces of the campaign

The aim of every electoral campaign is to present the candidates that are popular and can boast the greatest public support. Most frequently they are party leaders and major politicians that have already been known for their activity.

Political scientists more and more frequently mention the phenomenon of personalization or presidentialization of Parliamentary campaigns [Poguntke, Webb 2009: 1-25; Peszyński 2012: 102-156]. It cannot be questioned that the faces of the campaign were the leaders of particular committees. Other candidates could be observed in context of their controversial statements or in the leader's background. This is also reflected in the manner in which the campaign is conducted, that is in presenting the rivalry from the perspective of travels and commentaries.

The image of Civic Platform is strongly connected to the Prime Minister and his government's activity. For that reason, the materials concerning this party dominated the agenda of the media. On the one hand it was a positive aspect enabling a wider speech in the mainstream media. On the other, all the mistakes of the ministers were commented on and included in the discourse of the campaign. This can be exemplified with the speech of minister Rostkowski given in the European Parliament, during which he threatened the audience with the vision of collapsing Europe. Radosław Sikorski (foreign affairs' minister) was a frequent speaker as well, which is confirmed by the Stefan Batory Foundation [2011: 13]. Nonetheless, it was Donald Tusk that constituted an unquestionable face of the Civic Platform.

A lot of medial space was devoted to the leader of Law and Justice, who is the fiercest critic of Tusk's cabinet, known for his objections to such key issues as taxes, public finances, health care system or schooling. Another frequently presented person was Adam Hoffman (press officer), which was due to his function as the party spokesperson. Ryszard Czarnecki, famous for his vivid language⁶, was also particularly willing to speak to the reporters.

The campaign of Democratic Left Alliance was commented on from the perspective of its leader's activity. Another politician present in the media were Leszek Miller, Ryszard Kalisz, Katarzyna Piekarska, and more seldom Piotr Gadzinowski. Aleksander Kwaśniewski met Miller in Gdańsk on September, 10th, to give his support to the party, which was widely presented in information programmes. Another leader, Janusz Palikot (Palikot's Movement), also attracted attention, mostly due to increasing support for his party. This interest was not only due to his radical statements (the legalization of soft drugs, reckoning of the Catholic Church) as well as the lack of political background. The candidates of Palikot's Movement were anonymous in the public eye, which attracted special attention. This can be illustrated with separate materials

⁶ This can be exemplified with his comments for „Fakty” on September, 16th („The mouse roared just to have its five minutes in the media (...) Mister Grzegorz, take a cold shower”) or „Wydarzenia” on September, 17th („A politician without the Internet is a politician who has weaker wind in shallower sail” or „the Prime Minister Tusk won't go anywhere on that horse, on that anti-Law and Justice jade”).

concerning “Palikot’s team” broadcast in “Wiadomości” on September, 4th, and in “Wydarzenia” on September, 29th.

Poland Comes First was presented as a party of several candidates (Paweł Kowal, Paweł Poncyliusz, Elżbieta Jakubiak, Marek Migalski), which was visible in the committee’s strategy. Polish People’s Party focused on its leader, Waldemar Pawlak, and minister Sawicki. Sporadically, Stanisław Żelichowski or Ewa Kierzkowska appeared in the bulletins. Polish Labour Party was visible in public television only, where the leader and candidates were presented during press conferences.

Certain candidates, who had not been well-known before, due to their Internet activity attracted the attention of the mainstream media, including Karol Pilecki (Civic Platform), who performed a parachute jump, or Tadeusz Aziewicz’s spot that depicted young people being thrown at with herrings. However, the candidates of Democratic Left Alliance were the most creative ones here – Lukasz Wabic saved a girl from rape, Jędrzej Wijas shouted his postulates out accompanied by metal music and Katarzyna Lenart in her spot was taking her clothes off. Such messages, although well-remembered, had little impact on the campaign.

What was not shown in the media was the Senate campaign, which, according to “Wydarzenia” (September, 7th), was due to the negligence of the committees. Regional campaign, which can be illustrated with the material “The fight for cities” (Polsat, September 14th) was also rarely presented. What grasped the media attention, however, was the presence of celebrities on electoral lists („Wydarzenia” September, 18th, October, 3rd and 5th).

The presentation of the faces of the campaign cannot lack ordinary people who became famous thanks to the media. The first such person in Stanisław Kowalczyk, by journalists described as a “paprikas”, who before the campaign began, had asked Prime Minister the question “how to live?”, which was frequently repeated in the rivalry under consideration. Later, Kowalczyk was a guest in the convention of Law and Justice. Another person that is worth mentioning here is Teresa Milczarek from Kutno, who being in a difficult financial situation asked the Prime Minister for help. Donald Tusk promised to give her the help she asked for and the next day the woman was contacted with by the voivodeship and social services. The aforesaid situations are the examples of symbolic policy, that is activities aiming at the satisfaction of the media and publicity rather than problem-solving [Kepplinger 2006: 132; Peszyński 2012 (2): 195]. Also Czesław Dolecki from Katowice should be remembered about. The man was invited for dinner by the Prime Minister but changed his plans escaping from hooligans. The hooligans

⁷ Paprikas is a kind of canned goulash made of pepper. Media used this word in this context as Kowalczyk is a pepper grower.

The picture(s) of campaign. The 2011 electoral campaign in major news bulletins themselves can be regarded as the faces of the campaign, as they got their own “tóskobus” to travel around the country (“Wydarzenia”, October, 4th).

The creator or reporters of the campaign?

Taking into consideration the statement presented at the beginning of this article, that news is everything that is considered as news, one needs to admit that the role of journalists is particularly important. This seems even more true if we agree with Mariusz Kolczyński’s opinion that television blocks the ability to think logically [2007: 344], which means that the recipients can be easily influenced by the suggestions presented by the media. The analysis of the reporters and presenters’ role in the presentation of the campaign shows that they constitute an important link between the voters and the offer of particular committees. Nowadays, the campaigns cannot be run without the participation of the mass media. Therefore, it is essential that the mainstream media, which reach the largest number of potential electors, present various political parties, different commentaries and vague concepts in a multicontextual manner.

According to the Stefan Batory Foundation report, “Wiadomości” took particular care of the preservation of evenness and fairness, which was reflected in the lack of judgment. When any partial statements and commentaries appeared, they were balanced with ones of the opposite meaning. The journalists of “Fakty” and “Wydarzenia” were more eager to judge, due to which their relations were described as more varied, emotional and opinion-forming, providing voters with wider knowledge concerning the parties and candidates [Raport FB 2011: 15]. However, such a manner of presentation caused certain antagonisms between the rivaling subjects, and evoked strong emotions of the candidates, who concentrated on personal attacks. This can be observed in the aforesaid “debate on debates”, when politicians talked to one another mainly through the mass media. They also tried to attract attention by means of unusual behaviour and situations, including Napieralski on a fishing boat, Kaczyński in a bakery, Pawlak in fight with a judoist.

The analysis of the medial discourse from the perspective of the language used by the journalists shows that they frequently use figurative language, including elaborated phrases and expressions to strengthen the emotional effect, make the message more picturesque and attract the attention of the recipients. It partially results from the political discourse itself, as it is full of metaphors, neologisms or euphemisms, which was noticed by the journalists of “Fakty” (September, 7th and October, 4th). On the one hand journalists commented on the politicians’ statements; on the other, they themselves used numerous figures of speech.

One of such figures is metaphor, which describes a subject by asserting that it is, on some point of comparison, the same as another otherwise unrelated object. Due to their cultural specificity, metaphors ought to be analyzed from the perspective of a particular culture and language. Metaphors can be observed in the commentaries of the presenters of "Fakty" ("to debate under the eye of the reporter"), "Wydarzenia" ("The leader of Democratic Left Alliance throws down the gauntlet to the minister of finances and promises a fierce debate. The campaign is running but the turnout is at stake as well") or "Wiadomości" ("Law and Justice picked up the gauntlet"). Another illustration of this phenomenon is the title of a material broadcast by TVN, "The colours of the campaign". The presence of metaphors in the media partially results from the fact that politicians use it frequently. This can be exemplified with "the Mount Everest of irresponsibility", the statements of Jarosław Kaczyński, being his reaction to the minister Rostkowski's speech, or "the letters of shame", uttered by Ryszard Kalisz in the context of the electoral lists of Law and Justice⁸.

Another figure of speech is neologism, that is a newly coined term, word, or phrase, that may be in the process of entering common use, but has not yet been accepted into mainstream language. Certain neologisms can take a form of collocations, which can be illustrated with "debate on debates", "I-can-do-nothing-bus" or "Donald-I-can-do-nothing-Tusk" used by Jarosław Kaczyński. Both the politicians and journalists use semantic neologisms, that is the ones that give another meaning to the already existing word, like in the case of "paprikas" relating to a pepper grower⁹. However, the greatest creativity is visible in word-formation neologisms, that is forming new words on the basis of already existing ones by means of word-formation formants. This process can be exemplified by such forms as "tuskobus" (a means of transport used by the Prime Minister) or "toskopalikot" (the word used to name a potential coalition of Civic Platform and Palikot's Movement). These expressions became an important part of the campaign discourse mainly due to the fact they were frequently repeated by the mass media.

Another figure is euphemism, an innocuous word or expression used in place of one that may be found offensive or suggest something unpleasant. This can be illustrated by the words of politicians, Marek Balicki of Democratic Left Alliance ("let's not spoil democracy") or Radosław Sikorski ("Jarosław Kaczyński hang a flag of truce") as well as a reporter of "Fakty" ("Ryszard Kalisz excelled himself").

The aforesaid figures cause the hyperbole of statements (e.g. "obvious untruth") and lead to the increase in the number of used colloquialisms.

⁸ The lists included people, who according to the politicians of different parties, should have not candidates they were former prosecutors of agents of secret services.

⁹ The pepper grower asked the famous „how to live?" question to the Prime Minister and later attended the Law and Justice convention.

This was visible in the words of the presenters of "Wiadomości" ("the two biggest parties are neck to neck") and "Fakty" ("Kaczyński soots in his old style"). What could be observed is war rhetoric ("electoral duel of emotions and arguments", "the vision of leaders' duel", "party offensive", "great mobilization", "Civic Platform spurs on to battle") and sports terminology ("Ewa Kopacz will clash with Marek Balicki", "closer to finish", "Tusk's team", "Palikot's team", "the last stretch of the campaign"). The reason for the use of such figures of speech is to distinguish one's message and make the viewers interested.

It may happen that by means of allusion journalists want to show us their attitude towards a given issue. The commentary of the reporter of "Wydarzenia" exemplifies this trend: "The leaders of the biggest parties decided not to chase one another and maybe they will finally start to chase their voters". Although such direct and unequivocal statement did not happen often, it should be highlighted that numerous news in "Fakty" or "Wydarzenia" had a satirical undertone; politicians' spots were laughed at, their achievements were trivialized and controversial statement were taken out of context. In that a way viewers' (and voters') opinion of politicians and their programmes was shaped. However, in "Wiadomości" this phenomenon was hardly observed, as here the reporting tone was dominant, not deprived of personal comments, however.

Conclusions

The subject of the elections usually went first in the news bulletins. However, the level of interest was different according to the programme. The commercial station devoted much more place to the subject-matter under consideration than public television, and "Fakty" TVN was the leader [Raport FB 2011: 13]. Nevertheless, the mission of the public media resides in giving space not only to political subjects, but also to various social groups and presenting wide range of topics. For that reason, in the final day of the rivalry, TVP, unlike other stations, did not devote the whole time to the issue of election but concentrated on different matters as well, including the Nobel Peace Prize.

Another discrepancy was related to the number of hard and soft news. "Wiadomości" presented the activity of all the registered committees, but focused on the strongest parties. What dominated were serious pieces of information and satirical materials were scarcely presented. However, the final news of the bulletin broadcast on October, 7th, concerned the most amusing elements of the campaign. Commercial televisions concentrated on showing emotions. It is also worth noticing that the number of soft news was increasing in the final stage of the campaign.

The journalistic relations showed that politicians, in particular the leaders, like to travel and meet ordinary people. However, they could be frequently encountered in television studios during debates. Interestingly, the symbols of the campaign in question were the electors who were brave enough to stand out in the crowd and present their problems to the Prime Minister. In that way they became the elements of symbolic policy realized in front of television cameras and not directed at solving real problems. Nonetheless, this tactic proved to be efficient for it increased the attention of the mass media, which can be repeated in future campaigns.

The journalists consolidated the emotions that were caused by the politicians themselves. Their quarrels and criticism concerning opponents' actions and programmes was exposed, as such subject-matter fulfills the requirements of the news. Journalists used specific language, full of colloquialisms, metaphors and neologisms, trying to follow politicians' style and attract the viewers' attention. On the one hand, such a tactic shallows the message. On the other, it makes it clearer for the audience. Another important factor is the appropriate image.

In conclusion, the 2011 Parliamentary campaign constituted an important event and the subject of interest for the mass media, although the journalists considered it as boring¹⁰. Taking into consideration the ambiguity of the title of this article (picture or pictures of the campaign), it is worth noticing that manner of presentation was equivocal, despite certain differences in the attitude of "Wiadomości", for in the bulletins analysed identical subjects, politicians and statements were presented.

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¹⁰ The material presented in „Fakty” on September, 20th, tried to answer the question of the campaign under consideration was the most boring campaign ever. The reported answer was „yes”.

The picture(s) of campaign. The 2011 electoral campaign in major news bulletins

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