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## „Substitute Candidate” in Polish Campaign Practice

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## **„SUBSTITUTE CANDIDATE” IN POLISH CAMPAIGN PRACTICE**

### ***Abstract:***

The article deals with an interesting - from the marketing perspective – form of electoral rivalry, realised with the participation of politicians described as the “substitute candidates”. It was taken into consideration that while discussing the issue of “substitute candidate” it is necessary to settle two key questions: which politicians and based on what criteria could be classified as such candidates and what strategic grounds convince rivalry subjects to choose such campaign option. Assuming that the notion “substitute candidate” could be analysed from at least two different points of view: actual substitution or apparent substitution, some issues of creating the electoral campaign and realising the campaign with the participation of “substitute candidate” can be pointed out: from the candidate selection stage, through the stage of creating and developing the candidate’s image, to the stage of implementing project. Moreover, some conclusions from the electoral campaign preceding the presidential elections in Katowice were presented.

### ***Key words:***

Electoral strategy, electoral campaign, process of selecting candidates, political image

There is no doubt that the course of campaign preceding the Presidential elections of 2015 provokes some reflections on an interesting - from the marketing perspective – form of electoral rivalry, realised with the participation of politicians described as the “substitute candidates”. It must be, however, noted that the notion clear in both everyday and journalistic language [Kik 2015], is at least conceptually ambiguous in the analysis referring to the political marketing concepts. It must be taken into consideration that such strategic

solution is not typical (however rather spectacular) only for presidential campaigns, it is used, with varying success, in parliamentary elections (especially elections to Senate) and in local elections (elections of city presidents and mayors). It can be stated that presidential campaign of 2015 brings another experience of activities oriented on “substitute candidates” – in Polish history of Presidential elections the first significant example of using such solution was the candidacy of Maciej Giertych from The League of Polish Families (Liga Polskich Rodzin) in the elections of 2005 [Kolczyński, Mazur 2007: 104-105]. Whereas the course of the electoral campaign and the results of the early Presidential elections in 2010 clearly showed (of course, taking into account the specific context of post-Smoleńsk rivalry) possibilities of strategical development of the “substitute candidate” campaign.

Discussing the issue of “substitute candidates” it is necessary to settle two key questions: (1) which politicians and based on what criteria could be classified as such candidates and (2) what strategic grounds convince rivalry subjects to choose such campaign option.

The notion of “substitute candidate” could be analysed from two very different points of view:

- (1) Actual substitution – takes place in a situation, when the first choice candidate cannot participate in electoral rivalry for objective or subjective reasons or is forced to resign from candidacy and is replaced by the second choice candidate.
- (2) Apparent substitution – refers to a situation, when the first choice candidate is perceived or socially defined by (a) competitors, (b) broadcasters or (c) electorate as “substitute candidate” ( in majority of cases it refers to a candidate replacing the party leader).

In the first case it is usually possible to point out clear, from social perspective, arguments to change the candidate: from the bad health (in extreme cases death) of the first choice candidate, through the formal and legal obstacles, to the fear of election defeat or adverse (from the perspective of the group that designates the candidate) election result (in this case the point of reference are the ratings). In other words, the decision of choosing the “substitute candidate” is most often influenced by objective reasons ( i.e. excluding the possibility of the first choice candidate taking part in the electoral rivalry) or essential arguments of strategic character constituting the basis of individual decision not to run in the elections or to withdraw from the electoral rivalry.

A specific kind of actual substitution is the strategic substitution, which takes place when the tight schedule of the next elections is forcing a decision regarding effective use of the staff potential of a given political group (especially in case of limited staff resources) – decision, resulting in the first choice

candidate (usually the party leader) “endorsing” the elections of key political importance (for example parliamentary elections), creating the possibility for the second choice candidate to run in the second order elections.

The second option [apparent substitution] is more complex system of political conditions, social perception and evaluation of the candidate, formed as a result of:

- Competitive actions aiming at political discrediting of a candidate and undermining his initial position on the market (“substitute candidate” as a political puppet, in real life controlled by the party leader, who withdrew from the elections).
- The way of describing the electoral rivalry by the contemporary mass media (“substitute candidate” as the background character, without medially significant “emotional element”)
- Perception of the candidate and his election chances through the prism of associations and connotations with the party leader of a given political group (in social perception – “substitute candidate” per excellence the substitute of the leader).

The possibility of developing “substitute candidate” campaign in this case strongly depends on reciprocal interference of given determinants; a specific “synergetic effect” can appear causing substantial impairment of candidate’s position on the market and consequently it can limit the chances of achieving satisfying election results (for candidate and his party).

Disregarding the character of the initial situation, the process of candidate’s selection - he should comply with the requirements of a campaign and be able to cope with the requirements of the specific political role - is of key importance. In the era of personalized political campaigns (focusing pre-election actions on the party leader/leaders ) the ability of choosing candidates who enables reaching the level of elementary effectiveness of campaign undertakings is one of the indicators of political rivals’ adaptability to a given political environment. One can agree with Richard S. Katz’s opinion [Katz 2001: 278] that properly chosen candidates (and the way they exercise their political roles) in certain sense define and constitute the image of a party during the campaign – they identify, articulate and define both previous achievements of a party and the future-oriented offer, intensively shaping the public perception of campaign.

When it is necessary to find a “political substitute” it should be taken in consideration that actions aiming at fortifying the initial position (legitimization of candidacy) are indispensable. In this context, the character of decision-making process leading to choosing and nominating the “substitute candidate” should be marked as extremely important; in a model scheme the

decision-making ability can be ascribed to the central decision-making organs of a given party/group (especially in case of actual substitution – resignation of the first choice candidate leaves little time to make appropriate personnel decisions) or collective decision-making body (e.g. party primary elections, in which take part members of a given political group and/or citizens, who do not belong to a given party, but who obtained the right to participate in the nomination process).

The essential issue, in case of “substitute candidates”, could be the definition of selection criteria allowing the choice of a candidate, who in an optimal way complies with (a) the needs of a campaign, (b) expectations of party decision-makers and (c) ordinary party members and (d) possesses appropriate abilities and predispositions to effectively represent given political subject (and his political offer) in a strongly mediatized environment of contemporary electoral campaigns.

It should be noted that in the process of selecting “substitute candidate” party decision-makers are forced to (much more often than in case of the first choice candidate) take into consideration not only the possibility of obtaining the satisfying result, but also the general strategic arguments essential from the perspective of achieving the basic market objectives by a given political group.<sup>1</sup>

In this understanding three main conceptions of candidate’s selection can be distinguished:

- 1) Traditional party concept – collective decision-making body choose appropriate candidates according to established selection criteria or (in extreme cases) according to their beliefs; the basis of nomination – internal and not limited to exogenous (market) factors decision of party organization,
- 2) Traditional concept of party market adaptation – potential candidate should not only embody the attachment to main organization values, but also possess competences enabling spreading those values outside; the basis of nomination – internal decision of party organization taking into account requirements of the market environment and abilities and predispositions of a candidate,
- 3) Contemporary market concepts – in the nomination process more attention is being drawn to requirements of the market environment, seeking for a candidate who fulfils the expectations of potential electorate in target market segments and who possesses abilities and predispositions compliant with requirements of rivalry in contemporary campaigns.

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<sup>1</sup> In this context Dariusz Skrzypiński’s interesting divagations about the dilemmas of selection process should be mentioned [Skrzypiński 2011].

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Undoubtedly, it should be kept in mind that regardless of the “substitute candidate” selection mode, the final decision should be understandable and possible to accept not only by members of a given political group, but also by a potential electorate (traditional and those willing to support the candidate). It is essential, especially regarding the requirements (effective course) of a field campaign, for substitute candidacy to be accepted by the local party structures, because the effective realisation of classic field/ direct undertakings depends on them.

It can be assumed that the process of selecting “substitute candidate” is a period of intense communication within party organization, during which it is extremely difficult to maintain sufficiently high quality of the internal flow of information (subordinate the course of communication process to the main goals of organization). There is a visible change in a relation between individual aims of certain party members (potential candidates) and goals of the organization as a whole. In extreme cases individual aims are contradictory to the political line of organization. The structure of organization is impaired or even partially disintegrated. Standard bonds between party members and given organization bodies are replaced by a system of interactions taking place between members striving for a nomination, besides in majority of cases own headquarters of candidates are placed outside the organization structure. One of the consequences of such situation is uncoordinated internal rivalry (in extreme cases it is of “war of attrition” character), which – using the terminology of games theory – is of a parasitic character (unproductive) from the perspective of the party interests. It has to be also taken into account that the media coverage of this kind of rivalry highlights all negative events, consequently giving the market advantage to the political opponents. In this context, it may be assumed that the level of candidacy acceptance depends on the correct research process of identification of needs and expectations presented by individual segments of the electorate, taking into account expectations of given party members. Gathered information should lead to choosing a candidate compliant with social and/or political expectations (composition of personal offer) and preparing an adequate election program (composition of content offer).

The course of selecting a “substitute candidate” is also influenced by goals, set by the subject taking part in the political rivalry himself – from a model perspective the selection criteria differ because of:

- a) Actual orientation on electoral victory ( candidate with a strong position on the market and high level of market/politic recognisability),
- b) Strategic orientation on success in following elections in election cycle ( candidate with a strong position in the designating political group and elementary level of market/politic recognisability),

- c) Propagation/proclamation orientation (electoral campaign as a possibility to expose the fundamental politic values; elementary level of market/politic recognisability, associated – in social perception of his previous political/social activity- with basic political and/or social values of a given party)<sup>2</sup>

A direct consequence of choosing specific procedures to select “substitute candidate” is assuming one of two strategic options during the electoral campaign:

- 1) Centrally organised and coordinated party campaign (candidate representing given party; the basis of nomination – decision of the collective decision-making body; with classic form of internal selection of candidates)
- 2) Hybrid type of campaign ( independent candidate designated by the political party; the basis of nomination – common decision of a candidate and given political party; from a party perspective there appears a concept of external recruitment and selection of candidates, wherein depending on the realised concept of electoral campaign (including widely understood electoral organization) the decision centre is placed: a) within the political party structures (internal headquarters) or b) within candidate’s own political structure [Kotler, Kotler 1999: 8-10].

Main threat to effectiveness of the hybrid campaign is relatively high probability of “decision ambiguity syndrome” , as a consequence of functioning of two hierarchically unordered decision centres (internal and external). Such situation leads to dysfunctional inconsistency of strategy (realisation of relatively independent strategic concepts), and in extreme cases, contradictory strategic concepts or candidate’s strategic independence from assumed and implemented party strategy.<sup>3</sup>

The choice of candidate opens first, fundamental phase of pre-election activities<sup>4</sup> - gathering of information, which allows to estimate:

- a) In what way given candidate is perceived (as the first choice candidate or as “substitute candidate”) and his potential opponents,

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2 Major problems with analysing the campaign involving a “substitute candidate” appear in a situation, when identification of campaign goals (because of its course and lack of clear orientation) is – for an external observer – impossible. Campaign before the elections of 2015 involving Democratic Left Alliance candidate (Magdalena Ogórek) and candidate nominated by Polish Peasant Party (Adam Jarubas) perfectly illustrates such problems.

3 Significant examples were provided by electoral campaign of Magdalena Ogórek, who in the last phase of campaign ostentatiously distanced herself from her designating party (Democratic Left Alliance) and from the party’s program offer (e.g. interview with the candidate in Polish Radio Gdansk, 15.04.2015)

4 Inscribed in electoral strategy assumed by a given political group.

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- b) According to which criteria candidates are classified by the members of target groups (that is, what candidates will have an opportunity to place their appeal and positioning in a given section),
- c) What elements of prepared political offer (program offers or/and widely understood advantages of a given candidate) generate interest in campaign and draw attention of electorate<sup>5</sup>.

With gathered research data/ information – irrespective of the campaign’s context – it is possible (should be possible) to perform evaluation of own strengths and weaknesses; it includes analysis of program and executive potential (politic experience: possible successes or defeats, positions held, leadership and organisational skills, personality advantages and certain predispositions-e.g. communicative etc.); similar evaluation actions, performed using the same criteria should regard (if it is possible<sup>6</sup>) all of the rivals, so own market position can be precisely defined.

The natural final of this stage is commencement of actions aiming at creating candidate’s image; in case of “substitute candidate” the essential issue should be clear/understandable definition of relationship:

- (1) Between the first choice candidate and a politician taking over his role (in case of actual substitution),
- (2) Between the party leader and a candidate perceived as substitute (in case of apparent substitution).

Hence, actions aiming at granting (keeping, modifying) the market position to a candidate are extremely important – fundamentally, two options can be taken into consideration: individual positioning (actions focused on candidate’s persona, with simultaneous marginalisation of the subject who designated this candidate) or mixed positioning (actions focused on candidate’s persona, with simultaneous exposition of the designating group).

A clear advantage of individual positioning is high flexibility during the image creation process, when majority of actions (based on relatively simple concepts of communication with active use of various forms of political advertising) are realised in small time intervals (corresponding to the notion of “ duration of the campaign”) by the members of own campaign organization.

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5 Widely understood market research (campaign’s external environment) provides/should provide knowledge enabling identification and precise characteristics of key parameters of the political market and factors enabling or hindering the course of campaign ( analysis of strong and weak points of own organisation, as well as rival organisations; showing potential possibilities – market opportunities and dangers – market risks, which may appear during the campaign).

6 In Polish presidential campaign practice such analysis refers to one group of candidates, representing main political parties, who usually begin the electoral battle in advance.

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Whereas, mixed positioning demands skilful coordination of actions focused on an individual and with complex and systematically led over longer time<sup>7</sup> actions connected with market positioning of a political party, with active involvement of all components of the party organisation<sup>8</sup>.

The basis of effective image creation (and *de facto* effective electoral campaign) is achieving the “authenticity effect”, allowing to convince the electorate of the real character of candidacy and to perceive the politician as independent [politically] candidate representing interests of a given political party and its electorate, not as a “political puppet” assuming the role of party leader’s understudy.

Undoubtedly, only on such basis one can proceed to creating the image of “substitute candidate” – skilfully connecting cognitive (knowledge about a politician), emotional (building an emotional connection) and motivational components in four fundamental stages of this process, leading to define candidate’s position on the market, with simultaneous distinction of the candidate from other actors taking part in political rivalry: (1) creating the basis of the image, (2) developing the image, (3) fortifying the image, (4) competitive differentiation.

In a classic marketing variant there are two basic dimensions of image creation : attributes associated with a given political role (including: predispositions, skills and qualifications perceived as important to perform a certain role and general associations with political position/candidate’s political experience) and personal attributes (including: various personal predispositions and personal advantages creating a possibility to form multidimensional political image). Hence, during the stage of creating the basis of “substitute candidate’s” image, all the campaign actions are aimed at shaping political credibility, recognisability and arousing interest<sup>9</sup> of potential electorate – individual and collective: citizens, political interests groups, sponsors and media.

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7 Results of the undertakings, which effectiveness strictly depends on the quality of organization public relations are usually postponed in time

8 In case of mistakes made during the process of “substitute candidate” selection, usually appears an obstacle in form of lack of party structures involvement in realised campaign actions; it is especially visible on the level of local structures of party organisation. Hence, goals of a campaign with participation of “substitute candidate” should be placed on two related platforms: (1) goals and effects of actions focused on potential recipients/ political clients and (2) members of own organisation.

9 In many cases the final personal decision different from social, political or media expectations helps to cause almost natural political “novelty effect” enabling media exposition [of actions] of “substitute candidate” in the first stages of the campaign. In a similar way one can treat qualitatively new (in a given political context) methods of candidate’s selection – e.g. primary elections conducted in 2010 by Civic Platform were in fact extremely impressive media event ( in a model way it focused mass media and public opinion attention on candidate replacing – from a social perspective- Donald Tusk), contributing to strengthening the initial position of Bronisław Komorowski

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In this context, it is essential to choose the right moment to introduce “substitute candidate” to the political scene (to political rivalry). This moment depends on/should depend on complex system of two groups of fundamental factors: general context of the campaign and possessed organizational and financial resources. This should happen early enough to provide possibilities to realise necessary marketing actions and gain strategic initiative through development of own political narration (own definition of market position) and at the same time to avoid a difficult situation of being defined by rivals or by media- a situation that forces to assume a defensive option (resulting in unproductive polemics with false image imposed by political rivals/mass media). On the other hand, it should not happen too early, because it can create problems with filling artificially prolonged campaign with campaign events, that would arouse enough interest in “substitute candidate” and his political offer.<sup>10</sup>

One can agree with Bruce I. Newman’s [Newman 1994: 11-14]<sup>11</sup> conception, that development of the campaign ( including realisation of next image-creating actions) directly results from market orientation assumed by a given political subject.

In contemporary campaigns with participation of a “substitute candidate” there occurs usually one of the orientations aimed at “sale”, with a candidate who guarantees satisfyingly high political support for the campaign centre.<sup>12</sup> In other words, the fundamental goal of any action is to convince recipients of the quality of centrally constructed staff offer. On the other hand, classic marketing strategies (focused on needs and expectations of potential electorate) are relatively rarely chosen – in fact, they appear only in the campaigns of “substitute candidates” who possess strong social identification (the “basis – minimum” of nomination: party pre-elections with participation of all party members).

Effectiveness of political actions undertaken and realised by a “substitute candidate” depends on creating communication strategy both compliant with electoral context and the advantages of a candidate and on creating communicatively effective political organisation.

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10 Schedule of those actions should be integrated with actions aiming at building and development of the campaign organisation, including obtaining resources compliant with campaign’s needs.

11 Author differentiates ( analogously to theories concerning actions on the commercial market) four possible orientations: “party” (message of the campaign focused on political party – starting point: product- party program), “production” (campaign focused on the candidate-starting point: product- representative/candidate representing party’s program in the best way), “sale” (candidate in the centre of the campaign - starting point: product- representative/ candidate guaranteeing obtaining satisfyingly high support) and marketing (campaign focused on recipient/ political client- starting point: needs and expectations of potential political clients.

12 The conclusion that can be marked as discussible is that in the “sale” orientation the political campaign decision centre changes: political parties → advisory organisations and/ or candidates’ own organisations.

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In political practice there are various models of creating communicatively effective political organisation: (a) traditional party model (the organisation is formed solely by the party members, who possess appropriate qualifications enabling them to perform specialised campaign actions), (b) professional party model – quasi-traditional (organisation is formed by the fulltime party members, organisation has its own highly qualified campaign advisors), (c) professional assorted-party model (typical for small staff parties with appropriate financial resources), (d) professional model of assorted individual campaign organisations (typical for campaigns led by politicians who have full support of their party – the organisation is formed by a politician seeking support, external political advisors, campaign volunteers; actions of politician’s headquarters are supported financially and organizationally by his original party), (e) professional model of own campaign organisation (typical for campaigns led by independent politicians, who do not have the support of their party, however they possess appropriate financial background) and (f) traditional quasi- amateur model of own campaign organisation (typical for campaigns led by independent politicians or groups of political interest, who do not have sufficient financial resources). Irrespectively of assumed solution, “substitute candidate” should possess efficient organisational background, which would provide the possibility of constant, consistent and consequent realisation of a chosen communication strategy (including permanent control of the campaign message).

Communication strategies of “substitute candidates” can be classified (almost by definition) as short-term communication strategies (limited in time) [Kolczyński 2007: 322-335]. When planning a communication strategy in an electoral campaign it is necessary to diversify communicative actions, what enables a full use of all available communication channels, simultaneously maintaining homogeneous character of a message, to maximise the effects.

Dichotomous character of contemporary electoral communication strategies (media and direct strategy) demands skilful coordination and control of undertaken actions. While creating a communication strategy of “substitute candidate” a system of key determinants should be taken into considerations, primarily: intended goals, resources (time, people, finances) , political rivals’ actions, planed social scope (national, regional or local) and character of target receiving group.

All communication strategies of “substitute candidate” cover coordinated and consistent actions fitting into three interrelated substrategies:

- (1) Strategy of direct actions; three groups of activities are distinguished in this area: (a) projects with mass audience (conventions and party/ election congresses, rallies, manifestations), (b) field meetings, (c) individual actions (door to door or happening type),

- (2) Strategy of own media activities; two groups can be distinguished:  
(a) payable actions (advertising), (b) actions free of charge (gaining influence on mass media agenda),
- (3) Strategy of media actions aimed at using media time and space obtained by: (a) the provisions of electoral law: e.g. free of charge electoral programs in public media or (b) initiative of media broadcasters (or other unpolitical subjects): e.g. television debates, programs presenting election offers of the candidates).

Strategic communicative “inclination” of the campaign in fact decides about assuming specific schedule of communicative actions. In a situation when the media communication is dominant- timing of the campaign will be adjusted to the schedule of media emissions (primarily payable emissions); in the reverse situation- media emissions should support direct field activities.

In Polish campaign practice, we should mark as completely ungrounded (resulting from superficial observation of politic events) the opinion that the main factor of political marketing is intense use of mass media as the broadcaster of campaign content – experiences from last campaigns (local elections of 2014 and presidential of 2015) suggest increase of direct field actions, treated by many candidates/leaders as a main form of communication<sup>13</sup> (intense field campaign of Andrzej Duda in presidential elections ‘2015 is a good example of such attitude). The role of various internet communication channels is also quite noticeable, including websites moderated by people working for a candidate or by supporters – not formally tied to a candidate.

Yet, in the executive sphere, key significance can be ascribed to a correct definition of message content – quality of the message decides about eventual success or failure of the communication campaign<sup>14</sup>. Taking into consideration present trends in contemporary politic communication, political originators try to achieve the level of optimal balance between substantial messages and popularizing their image; in case of campaigns including “substitute candidate”- with more emphasis on messages forming and maintaining political image.

In short-term campaigns political message should be formed in such a way that potential recipients would receive basic “information package” about “substitute candidate” (including his views on key political

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13 Significance of field actions can be measured from a practical perspective – each campaign needs time to acquire proper dynamics, final refinement and test how certain elements of campaign message are perceived; it is equally important for politicians participating in the campaign to sense its atmosphere and experience social moods.

14 According to Pew Research Center (*Don't Blame Us: The Views of Political Consultants*), as many as 82% respondents agree with the opinion about key significance of message quality for the final results of a campaign.

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issues) and current campaign offer. However, clarity of message should not mean ungrounded reduction of substantial content – giving the impression that the candidate does not have much to say on other topics<sup>15</sup>.

Nonetheless, during the process of creating message, well-observed trend of simplification of campaign/electoral messages cannot be missed – practice of electoral campaigns of political parties/candidates often exemplifies a thesis, that it is not the political program, but all nicely sounding generalities like: “time for change”, “let’s choose better future”, “closer to people’s matters”, “Poland- home for everyone” (not grounded in any sort of specific political offer) are grounds for campaign message- especially, given that majority of potential electorate is not able to question their validity or credibility of the originator.

A perfect example of campaign with participation of a “substitute candidate” is undoubtedly the extremely impressive campaign of Marcin Krupa (candidate from a local party “Forum Samorządowe i Piotr Uszok – FSiPU), who ran for the post of President of Katowice in local elections of 2014.

Before the local elections of 2014 the distribution of power on the local politic market could be described as stable, and the result of political rivalry – relatively easy to predict, both referring to the elections to the City Council and presidential elections. Especially in case of the presidential elections, market dominance of incumbent (since 1998) president Piotr Uszok seemed so undeniable that it forced major political forces (Civic Platform<sup>16</sup>, Law and Justice) to withdraw from political rivalry in this area.

The situation on the market changed radically after an unexpected decision of P. Uszok (15.09.2014) to resign from taking part in presidential elections. Consequently, two months before the first round of elections (16.11.2014) occurred specific restart of presidential campaign, forcing political parties to designate the candidates- Civic Platform (PO), Law and Justice (PiS) and Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) decided on politicians with high recognisability in the region: Arkadiusz Godlewski (PO), Andrzej Sośnierz (PiS) and Marek Szczerbowski (SLD). Especially A. Godlewski, a politician with big political experience on the local level, also from previous presidential elections (defeated by P. Uszok), seemed to be a leading figure in this company. Moreover, high ratings of his maternal party in the elections to the City Council were also to his advantage<sup>17</sup>.

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15 It should not be forgotten that unskilful choice of campaign’s message can annihilate the efforts of whole campaign organisation; to avoid such mistakes, in the process of creating political message one should use the results of own research regarding social perception of main political problems and actions undertaken by other subjects of political rivalry.

16 The decision of authorities was questioned by PO deputy Jerzy Ziętek, who decided to run in the elections (he led KWW Jerzy Ziętek electoral committee that was created by himself.)

17 Only four days before the elections the results of Millard Brown poll for “Gazeta Wyborcza” suggested electoral success of Civic Platform in the elections to the City Council, “Gazeta

Paradoxically, a politician with the lowest recognisability on the market was Marcin Krupa, deputy President of Katowice “anointed” as a candidate by the local political party of P. Uszok.

Initial distribution of power was confirmed by the results of first polls, which showed that none of the candidates would win in the first round of the elections; and the leader position in the beginning of the campaign was held (as expected) by A. Godlewski<sup>18</sup>.

Later change of ratings and final victory of M. Krupa<sup>19</sup> prove the possibilities of professionally led “substitute candidate” campaign (even with no name candidate), which was preceded by thorough market research.

Obtained results allowed to create a map of electoral rivalry in previous local elections (2006,2010) with the identification of trends in support for subjects of rivalry in Katowice constituencies. A profound analysis of P.Uszok’s electoral results was also performed, including data comparison in all the constituencies– forming conclusions regarding desired intensity of campaign actions in individual districts of the city.

Also, a research of party preferences was conducted on Katowice political market<sup>20</sup>- results of own election poll showed relatively high ratings of designating political group (Forum Samorządowe i Piotr Uszok)<sup>21</sup>, and M. Krupa’s ratings comparable to those of his rivals – in both cases with high percentage of undecided respondents (about ¼ of the respondents). This research allowed to define the direction of : (a) development of the campaign (identification main – in the social understanding – city problems) and (b) development of candidate’s image (minimal negative electorate, good ratings among young voters, women and well-educated people). Results of this research convinced organisers to assume the conception of mixed positioning – campaign actions were focused on the candidate, with simultaneous exposition of the designating party’s offer – especially emphasising the leader of the party – Piotr Uszok. Outgoing president of Katowice was, especially in the beginning of the campaign, one of the main characters- competently supporting substitute candidate with his authority. In this scope three basic solutions were used: (1) Uszok’s letters to Katowice citizens, in which he emphasised the achievements of his presidency

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Wyborcza”, 12.11.14.

18 01.10.2014 “Gazeta Wyborcza” published results of the poll conducted between 26-29.09.2014 commissioned by one of the parties taking part in the elections – the order of candidates: A. Godlewski (PO) 25% support, A. Sośnierz (PiS) – 17%, M. Krupa (FSiPU) – 12%, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 01.10.2014

19 M. Krupa got 43,09% votes in the first round of the elections, A. Sośnierz – 22.09; in second round M. Krupa got 71,31% votes.

20 Research was conducted in the third decade of September among 1150 citizens of Katowice, who declared their participation in the elections.

21 Higher than in the election polls commissioned by the media broadcasters.

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and designated his successor (M.Krupa) as a guarantor of continuation of investments realised in Katowice, (2) advertising campaign (billboards, mobile billboards, posters, flyers, media) : classic form of candidate's photo with supporting leader and two (49 and 30 seconds) audio-visual adverts starring P. Uszok recommending the candidate, (3) active participation of P. Uszok in the direct actions realised by M. Krupa.

The aforementioned advertising campaign can be evaluated as effective variant of image creation: apart from P. Uszok's support, the candidate was also associated with the position ("President of Katowice dr. Marcin Krupa") and the academic title suggested appropriately high qualifications of the candidate. It is also worth noting, that since the beginning of the campaign the image of M. Krupa has been constantly developed - his image ("initial" image) was a combination of: experience in performing such function, knowledge/education, political independence (it was brought to attention that Krupa's main rivals are party activists), locality (strong accent on Katowice as a birth and residence place of the candidate) and young age (this part was strongly emphasised before the second round of the elections).

Campaign began with a strong accent 02.10.2014 – event organised in front of the new building of Silesian Museum (one of the flag investments in Katowice), during which (1) P. Uszok introduced and supported the candidate, (2) members of M. Krupa committee were introduced (the committee was formed by prominent and recognisable characters from cultural and academic background), (3) M. Krupa presented and signed a 10-point agreement with citizens of Katowice (public signing of electoral liabilities is definitely not a new campaign solution- however it is very well perceived – especially by the media); it is worth to point out that only M. Krupa could present his campaign message in such a synthetic manner.

It is interesting that in a relatively short time it was possible to create high communication dynamics in the campaign- thanks to precisely developed strategy, cohesively combining: direct activities, media activity (including participation in debates with other candidates), activity in new media (own website, intensively moderated Facebook and Twitter accounts) and advertising.

Clear victory of M. Krupa in the first round of elections (over 20% more votes than A. Sośnierz, who was second) and success of the designating party (FSiPU) in the elections to the City Council allowed not only to maintain previous campaign dynamics, but also to finally polish M.Krupa's image – interesting conception of contrasting him with much older Law and Justice candidate. In that context, it was a brilliant idea to organise "Family electoral convention" – a concept far from political routine allowed the candidate to present his "more youthful and sociable face". This convention, because of its

specific character, can constitute a perfect example of event organized to draw media attention. The event drew even more media attention thanks to participation of Jerzy Buzek, who is extremely popular in the Silesian region.

Success of M. Krupa (model example of “substitute candidate”) clearly proves that when few basic conditions are fulfilled – the most important being: (a) development of precise campaign strategy based on thoroughly collected information, (b) creation of effective campaign organisation, (c) development of trending campaign message (d) consistent realisation of the initial assumptions- strategic concept focused on “substitute candidate” could be an interesting alternative to standard electoral strategies, with the party leader in the centre of attention.

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