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Formats of the election campaign messages in Poland

Introduction

In every democratic system political candidates and parties face a fundamental problem of how they can communicate with the voters and persuade them to choose their offers. Political advertising has become important to many democratic systems because they provide a solution to this problem. What is crucial here is the fact that unlike news coverage or debate formats, this is a party or a candidate who determines the content and the style of the messages and can, therefore, have an opportunity to affect the outcome or the effect of these messages.

Earlier definitions of a political advertising suggested that it was characterized by its paid nature. However, with the growth of new communication technologies, it is not longer true that all political advertising is purchased in the traditional sense. Moreover, in many countries, particularly European ones (including Poland), some amount of free airtime might actually be provided to the political actors during the election campaign[1].

In most of the previously conducted studies three main types of campaign messages: spots, primary "meet the candidate" videos and campaign films have been analyzed. This study provides an original contribution to the political communication research by adding knowledge about one more format of political messages broadcast during election campaigns, that is an unpaid election campaign program. Furthermore, this study attempts to recognize the similarities and differences between that type of the message and the previously studied ones.

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[1] *Political Advertising in Western Democracies. Parties & Candidates on Television*, edited by L. L. Kaid, C. Holtz-Bacha, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks 1995.

Literature review and theoretical framework

Since in recent years political advertising has become almost synonymous with political campaign, most studies have concentrated on televised political spots. We should not underestimate, however, the role of other forms of controlled election campaign messages in a political campaign communication strategy. Three main genres of controlled election campaign messages have been distinguished and described in the literature, according to their duration, goals and functions, targets and stage of campaign in which they are broadcast. These are: a primary "meet the candidate" video, a campaign film, and a campaign spot.

Although the *primary video* and the *campaign film* seem to be mostly American genres, they share part of their characteristics with *political television spots* popular not only in the U.S., but in most European countries as well[2]. Despite of considerable differences among countries in the matter of allocation of political broadcast, length of programs and stage of campaign when they are broadcast, their general goals and functions seem to be quite similar across the countries[3].

First of all, a political advertising develops a name recognition for both candidates and political parties. This recognition is particularly important for incumbents and newcomers. Secondly, political advertising reaches non-involved and late deciding voters. For the first group, it may stimulate their interest and keep those people informed about the race. For the latter, political advertising may be helpful in making a decision since television is a popular source of information for this group[4]. In addition, political advertising may target other specific groups of voters (by selecting the advertising medium one may reach the selected demographic target groups)[5].

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[2] M. Kern, *30-second politics. Political advertising in the 1980s*, Praeger, New York 1989.

[3] D. Wring, *The politics of marketing the Labour Party*, Macmillan Palgrave, Hampshire 2005; D. Wring, J. Green, R. Mortimore, S. Atkinson, *Political communications: The British general election of 2005*, Macmillan Palgrave, Hampshire 2006.

[4] K. S. Johnston-Cartee, G. A. Copeland, *Inside political campaigns. Theory and practice*, Praeger, Westport–Connecticut–London 1997.

[5] D. M. West, *Air wars: Television advertising in election campaigns, 1952–1996*, Congressional Quarterly Press, Washington, D.C. 1997; K. H. Jamieson, *Packaging the presidency: A history and criticism of presidential campaign advertising*, Oxford University Press, New York 1996.

Thirdly, a political advertising acts as a reinforcing agent for those who have selected a candidate or a political party to support. Those who are already committed to a particular political actor will often seek information to reinforce their preexisting preference. In addition, a political advertising may be used to redefine the perceptions of a candidate or a party. Political advertising also often provides reasons to vote against the opposite actors[6].

Moreover, a political advertising creates the issue agenda for the campaign: it defines or creates the issues and gives them their public character. At the same time, it gives a political actor some control over what issues will be discussed during the election campaign. Thus, advertising helps to structure the debate in the campaign[7].

On the other hand, every type of election campaign messages may, accordingly to its features, play some particular role in the process of campaign communication (see Table 1). Primary campaign "meet the candidate" videos generally provide biographical and issue information about the candidate and they are marketed to potential donors and mailed to voters in key battleground states the candidate hopes to win. They are paid candidate advertisings, which are produced by political advertisings firms early in the presidential race[8]. This is worth mentioning that these "meet the candidate" videos are used rather by presidential hopefuls, than incumbents, and that they are distributed during the early months of the primary season[9].

There are distinct differences between presidential campaign films (which are shown to a mass audience during the general election campaign) and presidential primary videos (which are strategically targeted during the early months of the primaries), but there are key similarities as well[10]. Both run longer than TV spots, providing the extra time needed to flesh out the images, issues and symbolic roles of the candidates.

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[6] L. L. Kaid, A. Johnston, *Negative versus positive television advertising in U.S. presidential campaigns, 1960–1988*, "Journal of Communication" 1991, no. 41, p. 53–64.

[7] E. Diamond, S. Bates, *The spot: The rise of political advertising on television*, MIT Press, Cambridge 1992.

[8] J. H. Pamelee, *Meet the candidate videos*, Praeger, Westport, CT 2003.

[9] As above.

[10] J. Morreale, *A new beginning: A textual frame analysis of the political campaign film*, State University of New York, Albany, NY 1991; J. Morreale, *The Bush and Dukakis convention campaign films*, "Journal of Popular Culture" 1994, 20, 141; J. Morreale, *American self – images and the presidential campaign film 1964–1992*, in: *Presidential campaigns and American self – images*, eds. A. H. Miller, B. E. Gronbeck, Westview Press, Boulder, CO 1994; J. Morreale, *The presidential campaign film: A critical history*, Praeger, Westport, CT 1993.

Types of controlled election campaign messages

	Primary video* (U.S.)	General election campaign film** (U.S.)	Campaign spot*** (U.S./other countries)
Duration	5–20 minutes	5–20 minutes	Unlimited (mc: 30–60 seconds)/unlimited or limited
Stage of campaign	Primary stage	Second stage of general elections	No limits/regulations
Purchase	Purchased or presented to the voters	Free purchase	Free purchase/regulations
Where they are broadcast	CDs, Internet	Private TV stations	Private TV stations/private or (and) public TV stations
Purpose	To introduce a candidate to the voters; to explain candidate's stands on key public policy issues; to convince votes to support a candidate personally and financially; to create or modify candidate's image.	To explain candidate's stands on key issues; to present some vague policy preferences or specific policy proposals; to create or modify candidate's image; to link a political party with certain demographic groups.	To present opponents' weak points; to attack the opponents; to compare candidates with their opponents/to focus voter's attention on candidate's image and key issues.
Functions	A key introductory speaker; a fund raiser, a surrogate speaker.	A surrogate speaker; an image creator; a support builder.	Negative campaign/Focusing voters' attention on the campaign.
Target	Regular voters, party faithful, people who are highly and regularly involved in the political process; the media.	Voters (millions of people); the media.	Undecided voters, people who are not highly and regularly involved into the political process; the media.

Sources: * – J. J. Parmelee, op. cit.; ** – L. L. Kaid, A. Johnston, op. cit.; *** – Kaid &Holtz-Bacha, op. cit.

Actually, the campaign film is the longest produced ad spot that a presidential candidate runs during the general election campaign, and the primary video is the longest produced ad spot that a presidential challenger runs during the primary phase of campaign. This extra length of time gives campaign participants the best opportunity to make their case and connect with voters[11].

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[11] J. H. Pamelee, op. cit., p. 4.

Issues versus Images

No topic has been more dominant across over five decades of a research on a political advertising than a discussion of whether or not campaign spots are dominated by issues information or image information. One of the perennial criticism of a television advertising in politics is that it trivializes a political discourse by concentrating rather on candidate personalities and images than on issues. Interestingly enough, it seems to be an unfounded concern since research has shown that most ads, usually between 60 to 80 per cent, concentrate more often on the issues than on the candidates' images[12].

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the concentration on the issues does not always mean that candidates are providing substantial arguments or explaining complex policy issues. Actually, as Joslyn's research has indicated, a percentage of spots with specific policy issue information is much lower than an overall number of the issue spots[13]. In fact, issues are treated more in a form of the vague policy preferences and spots are replete with emotional and cultural symbols and image, as well as value concerns.

Researchers also have noted an increasing difficulty in distinguishing between issues and images in the campaign messages. Traditionally, issues have been viewed as statements of a candidate's positions on the policy issues or preferences on issues or problems of public concern, whereas image has been viewed as a concentration of on the candidate's qualities or characteristics[14]. However, many researchers have acknowledged that this dichotomy is a false one, since issues not only can be, but actually are, consistently used to sell a candidate's image[15].

Negative versus Positive

Although it may seem that controversy over negative and positive spots has arouse just recently, analyses of spots over time indicate that negative

[12] M. Kern, op. cit.; T. C. Patterson, R. D. McClure, *The unseeing eye*, G.P. Putnam, New York 1976; R. Joslyn, *Mass media and elections*, Addison – Wesley Publishing Company, 1984; K. S. Johnson-Cartee, G. A. Copeland, op. cit.; L. L. Kaid, A. Johnston, op. cit.

[13] R. Joslyn, op. cit.

[14] L. L. Kaid, A. Johnston, op. cit.

[15] R. Rudd, *Issue and image in political campaign commercials*, "Western Journal of Speech Communication" 1986, 50 (1), p. 102–118.

spots have been, in fact, a factor in all the American presidential campaigns[16]. However, it is true that there has been a real increase in the number of the negative spots used in the American presidential campaigns since 1980s[17]. Interestingly, negative ads tend to be more issue oriented than positive ads[18].

Legal framework of a political advertising in Poland

It is worth mentioning that in Poland two different types of campaign spots are distinguished: unpaid programs and paid spots. Both of them might be broadcast in the commercial electronic media within the period of 15 days prior to 24 hours prior to the election day, while the programs are broadcast exclusively on the public radio and TV stations (again, within 15 days prior to 24 hours prior to the election day).

Interestingly, originally the election regulations did not mention commercial political advertisements at all. Although political ads have been broadcast since mid-1990s in Poland, it was not until the parliamentary election in 2001 when paid and unpaid political advertisements were clearly defined in the Polish election law. Today, most of the aspects, including a period of broadcast, allocation of free broadcast time on the public television and radio stations and the rules of purchasing advertising time in both types of the media, are regulated by the election law.

As far as *programs* are concerned, the regulations of the allocation of broadcast give equal time to all political parties and presidential candidates that have gone successfully through the process of registration. In parliamentary elections to Sejm, according to election law, all registered election committees share the total number of 15 hours of free airtime on the national public TV stations and 30 hours on the national public radio plus 10 hours of free airtime on the regional public TV stations and 15 hours on the regional radio. Candidates to the Senat share 5 hours on the national TV stations and 10 hours on the radio stations plus 3 hours on the regional TV stations and 6 hours on the regional radio.

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[16] L. L. Kaid, A. Johnston, op. cit.; K. S. Johnson-Cartee, G. A. Copeland, op. cit.; R. Lau, G. M. Promper, *Negative campaigning. An analysis of U.S. Senate elections*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004.

[17] M. Pfau, H. C. Kensky, *Attack politics. Strategy and defence*, Praeger 1990.

[18] L. L. Kaid, A. Johnston, op. cit.; M. West, op. cit.

In case of presidential elections the general rules are the same (period, equal access and airtime allocation), but the numbers of hours are different. Namely, before the first turn of voting presidential candidates share 25 hours of free airtime on the public TV stations and 35 hours on the radio stations, and before the second turn of voting the numbers are as following: 6 hours on TV, 8 hours on the radio stations. As a result, the actual amount of time given to political parties or presidential candidates varies every time, depending upon the number of political actors in the race.

Furthermore, unpaid political advertisements are broadcast in blocks of programs without any break and the sequence of the ads' presentation is fixed by drawing lots. The content of the ad may not be questioned or changed without a court's permission. Consequently, political parties and presidential candidates may prepare their campaign messages freely in order to meet their objectives by using variety of techniques. What is required by the law, is a sponsor identification note in every advertising.

On the other hand, since the campaign programs are broadcast as sets of the messages at the particular period of the airtime, they are watched only by those who are actually interested in this type of the campaign message (the average audience is about 2 percent). The paid spots, on the contrary, are broadcast among commercial advertisings at the selected periods, including the 'prime time' before or after popular newscasts or movies.

Paid campaign *spots* may be used during every type of the election campaigns. However, there are still some regulations that limit not only the period of broadcasting paid ads, but also the amount of money that may be spent on the campaign (including advertising) and even prices (they must not be higher that 50 percent of regular prices of commercials). The aim of these regulations is not to give the bigger, richer and already established parties an advantage over smaller competitors and newcomers.

The election law prohibits candidates from false claims or deceptive claims. While there may be difficulty in distinguishing between truth and falsity, courts should make effort to explain whether the statement was false or misleading every time any of the candidates or political parties feels offended or accused. In such a case the legal procedure implemented by the court is shorter than a regular one in order to stop illegal activity as soon as possible.

Additionally, in the course of the last twenty-four hours prior to the opening of elections and on the election days, any campaigning and canvassing in favor of presidential candidates or political party shall be prohibited. Results of election polls shall not be published at that time as well.

In 2005, because of a particular schedule of parliamentary and presidential election (parliamentary election day was set up on 25th of September 2005, and presidential election day on 9th of October 2005), political parties could officially broadcast their programs and spots on September 9th–23rd, while presidential candidates on September 24th–October 7th. As a result, both Polish political actors and the society faced the challenge of the "double elections" at that time. It is worth mentioning that such a situation has happened in Poland for the very first time since transformation of political system in 1989.

The study

The purpose and research questions

The aim of this study is to provide the general characteristics of an unpaid election program, and to detail differences between that type of the campaign message and the paid spots. Due to the exploitative nature of the study, content analysis addresses the following research questions:

Q1: What similarities exist between campaign programs and spots?

Q2: What are the main differences between those two types of political messages?

Based on the literature review, the current study proposes the following hypotheses:

H1: The spots will contain more direct attacks on opponents (negative campaign), while programs will be used mainly to create positive image of a party.

H2: The spots will focus on up to 3 main issues, while programs will contain a variety of political party's concerns.

H3: The spots will be more image – oriented and they will be more focused on a leader, while programs will be more issue – and value – oriented.

Methods and sample

To answer these questions and verify hypotheses, we used content analysis. The unit of analysis was an individual political ad, that is an unpaid program broadcast on two Polish public TV stations (TVP1 and

TVP2), and a paid spot broadcast on a private TV station (TVN) and the public ones, mentioned above.

The total number of 124 ads were coded, including 47 paid spots and 77 unpaid programs. All of them were broadcast during the Polish parliamentary campaign in 2005. The general rule was to analyze an equal number of programs of each of 13 political parties participating in the elections, and a number of campaign paid spots selected accordingly to the general number of this type of messages (see Table 2). Some of the political parties, however, were not allowed to broadcast their campaign unpaid programs on the national public media (since they registered their lists in too few districts), but still could present their programs on the regional public TV and radio stations, or purchase advertising time. It should be emphasized that those "regional spots" were not taken into account in this study.

Table 2

Number of campaign messages

	Number of spots	Number of programs
Komitet J.K.M.	0	6
LPR	10	6
OKO	0	6
PD	0	6
PiS	14	6
PO	6	6
PPN	0	5
PPP	0	6
PSL	6	6
Ruch Patriotyczny	0	6
Samoobrona	1	6
SdPL	6	6
SLD	4	6
Total	47	77

For the full names of the political parties and their translation, please check the Appendix.

Formats used in the codebook were borrowed from previously conducted studies[19]. The *production components* of the ads included the pres-

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[19] L. J. Sabato, *The rise of political consultants*, Basic Books, New York 1981; L. P. Devlin, *An analysis of presidential television commercials, 1952–1984*, in: *New*

ence of various techniques of production, and special effects. In some cases (production techniques, special effects, setting) more than one sub-category were used to describe the particular component, while some other were clearly identified (format, dominant type of appeals, issue/image oriented ads, and positive/negative ads). All ads were recorded and transcripts were made from all the messages. Then, ads were coded by a researcher. As a check against the risk of subjective findings, the researcher repeated the coding process. The inter-coder reliability, which was tested using Holsti's formula[20], was 97 per cent (production components) to 83 per cent (format of the ad) and 87 per cent (negative/positive character of the ad). It is worth mentioning that election campaign programs, because of a complex character of their content, caused the most difficulties to the coder.

Findings

Comparing the election campaign spots and programs we should start with the formal factors affecting a general features of a campaign message. First of all, both types of the message might be presented at the last stage of the campaign. Secondly, as we mentioned before, since the general amount of airtime provided for free to the political actors is regulated by the election law, the actual duration of every single campaign program depends on the total number of election participants. In 2005 the duration of a program was 4 minutes. On the contrary, the duration of the spots depends heavily on the funds available to the political actor. The mean duration of this type of a message was 20 seconds.

Finally, due to the formal regulations, the unpaid programs were broadcast exclusively on the public radio and TV stations, while the paid spots were broadcast on both the public and the commercial electronic media.

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perspectives on political advertising, eds. L. L. Kaid, D. Nimmo, K. R. Sanders, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale 1986; E. Diamond, S. Bates, *The spot: The rise of political advertising on television*, MIT Press, Cambridge 1992; L. L. Kaid, A. Johnston, *Videostyle in presidential campaigns: Style and content of televised political advertising*, Praeger, Westport, CT 2001.

   [20] O. R. Holsti, *Content analysis for the social science and humanities*, Addison Wesley, Reading, MA 1969.

Format

As the results of the study show, one third of all the spots broadcast during the 2005 parliamentary election campaign were *biography* ones, while an *issue presentation* and a *man-in-the-street* were second most frequently used formats of this type of the campaign message. At the same time, it was an *issue presentation* format that was most frequently used in the programs (see Table 3). The other popular formats of this type of the message were: a *documentary, an issue dramatization* and a *party/leader statement*. It seems that political party leaders (especially those who were presidential candidates) decided to take an advantage of the 2005 'double election' situation and use the parliamentary campaign spots to present themselves to the voters. Since the political leaders played a double role at that time, the campaign messages were strongly focused on them.

On the other hand, since the campaign programs were longer, their formats tend to be more complex. As the results of the 2005 campaign messages showed, programs seem to be more focused on the political parties, their political agendas and the social and political issues (see Table 3). Not surprisingly, they also explore those formats that require more time. The only exception here was the *biography* format that was more frequently used in spots than in programs. Nevertheless, it was used in 26 per cent of the programs as well. Furthermore, campaign programs seemed to be more frequently negative or comparative than campaign spots.

Table 3

Formats of spots and programs

	Campaign spots (N=47)	Campaign programs (N=77)*
Purchase	Yes	No
Duration	20–30 seconds	4 minutes
Stage of the campaign	Last stage	Last stage
Format		
– party/leader statement	3 (6%)	21 (27%)
– issue presentation	10 (21%)	44 (57%)
– issue dramatization	4 (8,5)	21 (27%)
– documentary	1 (2%)	22 (28,5%)
– video clip	0	2 (2,5%)
– biography spot	15 (32%)	20 (26%)
– negative/comparative spot	4 (8,5%)	14 (18%)
– man-in-the-street	10 (21%)	12 (15,5%)

* More than one category could be used.

Production techniques and setting

Some of the techniques, namely *computer graphics* and *montage*, were used in all the items. At the same time, in programs there were more frequently used such techniques as: an *outdoor production, a slow and fast motion*, and *a split screen*. For the spots some other techniques were more common: *a freeze frame* and *a stop-motion photography*. Furthermore, in programs the setting seemed to be more formal (both indoor and outdoor) than in the spots (see Table 4).

Table 4

Production techniques and settings

	Campaign spots (N=47)	**Campaign programs (N=77)**
Production techniques*		
– people in studio	6 (13%)	12 (15,5%)
– outdoor production	18 (38%)	44 (57%)
– computer graphics	47 (100%)	77 (100%)
– slow motion	2 (4%)	6 (8%)
– fast motion	0	2 (2,5%)
– freeze frame	18 (38%)	18 (23%)
– split screen	2 (4%)	12 (15,5%)
– montage	47 (100%)	77 (100%)
– stop – motion photography	24 (51%)	36 (47%)
Setting*		
– Formal indoors	4 (9%)	24 (31%)
– Informal indoors	0	7 (9%)
– Informal outdoors	21 (45%)	38 (49%)
– Formal outdoors	3 (6%)	51 (66%)

* More than one category could be used.

Special effects

As the results of the study show, every single campaign program contained the *leader head-on effect*. Additionally, in half of the programs also somebody other than a leader directly delivered a message to the voters. In other words, all the programs contained some 'talking heads' elements. In order to balance this direct personal and verbal presentation, the programs contained such effects as *an animation* and *a special production* (more frequently than spots), *slides*, and *cinema verité* (see Table 5).

At the same time, spots seemed to be more diverse as far as the special effects are concerned. Most of them contained *cinema verité* effect and *slides* with print and voice over, or slides with movement, print, and voice over.

Special effects

	Campaign spots (N=47)	Campaign programs (N=77)
Special effects*		
– *cinema verité*	27 (57%)	48 (42%)
– slides with print and voice over or slides with movement, print, and voice over	28 (59,5%)	24 (31%)
– leader head-on	18 (38%)	77 (100%)
– somebody other than leader head-on	14 (30%)	42 (54%)
– animation and special production	5 (11%)	16 (21%)

* More than one category could be used.

Negative versus positive

Hypothesis 1 theorized that the spots would contain more direct attacks on the opponents (negative campaign), while programs will be used mainly to create a positive image of the party. As the results of study showed, 87 per cent of all spots in parliamentary election campaign was positive, while 13 per cent was negative. At the same time, 60 per cent of spots broadcast during this campaign was negative and 40 percent was positive (see Table 6). Furthermore, once the format of the items was studied, the results showed that 18 per cent of the programs was coded as negative/comparative one, while only 8.5 per cent of the spots was coded that way. Therefore, the hypothesis was falsified.

Based on the literature review, we may assume that negative messages presenting data and facts about political opponents are usually perceived as logical appeals. As the data collected in Table 6 show, logical appeals were used more often in programs than spots (42 per cent and 17 per cent, accordingly). Thus, we may conclude that some political actors decided to use the programs to explain their political agenda and deliver arguments against their opponents. One of the reasons of such a decision may be the features of a program itself as a longer and unpaid form of the campaign message.

The other explanation of high number of negative programs in comparison to spots lies in the position of the sponsors of the messages. While strong, well established parties with financial support could divide their messages between two different types of political advertising according to their objectives, the challengers and small political parties could only af-

ford preparing campaign programs. Since most of the newcomers usually define themselves in opposition to "first rank" political actors, their campaign messages might be more negative than those sponsored by the political parties in power.

Table 6

Summary of the content analysis

	Campaign spots (N=47)	**Campaign programs (N=77)**
Positive	41 (87%)	31 (40%)
Negative	6 (13%)	46 (60%)
Image	35 (74%)	28 (36%)
Issue	12 (26%)	54 (64%)
Number of issues	2–3	2– 8
Type of appeals		
– Emotional	39 (83%)	45 (58%)
– Logical	8 (17%)	32 (42%)
Presence of presidential candidate	31 (66%)	57 (74%)

Hypothesis 2 theorized that the spots would focus on no more than 3 main issues, while programs would contain a variety of political party's concerns. In other words, spots should be more concrete, emphasizing a few most important issues or problems, while longer campaign programs may be used to focus voters' attention on more aspects and elements of the public and political agenda. The results of the study fully confirmed that hypothesis. The average number of issues presented in campaign spots was 2–3, while campaign programs discuss even 8 issues (see Table 6).

Hypothesis 3 theorized that the spots would be more image – oriented and they would be more focused on a leader, while programs would be more issue – and value – oriented. As the results showed (see Table 6), 74 per cent of a total number of parliamentary spots was image – oriented, while 64 per cent of a total number of campaign programs was issue – oriented. Furthermore, the analysis of the format showed, that one third of all the spots included elements of a biography of a leader, while most of the programs were rather focused on the issue presentation or dramatization (see Table 3). Thus, the hypothesis is confirmed.

We may also compare the content of the campaign messages sponsored by some particular political actors participating in the 2005 parliamentary elections.

Content of the campaign messages of political parties

	Campaign spots (%)		Campaign programs (%)	
	positive/negative	image/issues	positive/negative	image/issues
Komitet J.K.M.	0	0	30/70	50/50
LPR	80/20	100/0	70/30	75/25
OKO	0	0	40/60	0/100
PD	0	0	100/0	20/80
PiS	71/29	71/29	90/10	50/50
PO	100/0	50/50	80/20	75/25
PPN	0	0	0/100	0/100
PPP	0	0	0/100	0/100
PSL	83/17	50/50	80/20	25/75
Ruch Patriotyczny	0	0	30/70	10/90
Samoobrona	0/100	0/100	0/100	40/60
SdPL	100/0	33/67	90/10	70/30
SLD	50/50	50/50	40/60	40/60

For the full names of the political parties and their translation, please check the Appendix.

The data collected in Table 7 shows that political parties that have not been well established at the political scene (PPP, PPN, Ruch Patriotyczny, Komitet Janusza Korwin-Mikkego, and OKO) tended to present the negative content in their campaign messages more frequently than strong, well established political parties (PO, PiS, PSL, or SLD). Furthermore, the newcomers usually lacked the funds for the campaign. Therefore, not surprisingly, they tried to take advantage from the free airtime to present their political offer and attack the political rivals.

Conclusions

Campaign programs – as they are broadcast in Poland – share certain similarities with primary videos and, especially, campaign films. First of all, they run longer than paid spots. Secondly, because if being broadcast during the limited period of time and in a particular format (blocks of programs), campaign programs seem to be marketed to regular voters and people who are highly involved in the political process. Thus, they should rather focus voters' attention on a political party's or a candidate's stands

on problems and issues and deliver arguments for the candidate than attack the opponents or create or modify a party's or a candidate's image.

At the same time, the results presented in that paper reveal main differences between the political and media systems providing free airtime to the political actors during the campaign and those that only purchase the airtime. Since the programs are not paid, they are often first and the only opportunity for political parties without strong financial resources and newcomers to introduce themselves to the voters and compete with other political actors. Therefore, there were the programs not the spots that contained more negative messages. Furthermore, despite of the fact that the programs are broadcast at the same moment as the spots (the final stage of campaign), they former usually provide a different content and use the other formats than the latter. While the spots are more focused on the party leaders, the programs present the issue information.

Appendix 1
Political parties in parliamentary elections in 2005
(in alphabetical order):

Komitet Janusza Korwin-Mikkego (*Janusz Korwin-Mikke's Committee*)
LPR – Liga Polskich Rodzin (*League of Polish Families*)
OKO – Ogólnopolska Koalicja Obywatelska (*Polish Civic Coalition*)
PD – Partia Demokratyczna – demokraci.pl (*Democratic Party – democrats.pl*)
PiS – Prawo i Sprawidliwość (*Law and Justice*)
PO – Platforma Obywatelska (*Civic Platform*)
PPN – Polska Partia Narodowa (*Polish National Party*)
PPP – Polska Partia Pracy (*Polish Labour Party*)
PSL – Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (*Polish People's Partyi*)
Ruch Patriotyczny (*Patriotic Movement*)
Samoobrona Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej (*Self-defense of the Republic of Poland*)
SdPL – Socjaldemokracja Polska (*Social Democratic Party of Poland*)
SLD – Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (*Democratic Left Alliance*)

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Streszczenie

Zdecydowana większość przeprowadzanych dotąd badań koncentrowała się wokół analizy formatów stosowanych w trzech rodzajach przekazów wykorzystywanych w kampaniach wyborczych w USA: spotów reklamowych, filmami przedstawiającymi kandydata w trakcie prawyborów ("meet the candidate") oraz filmami rozpowszechnianymi podczas regularnej kampanii wyborczej. Niniejszy artykuł zawiera wyniki analizy formatów stosowanych w płatnych reklamach i bezpłatnych audycjach wyborczych emitowanych w programach telewizyjnych w Polsce. Stąd też, praca ta stanowi oryginalny wkład do badań z zakresu komunikacji politycznej poszerzając wiedzę na temat podobieństw i różnic pomiędzy głównymi typami przekazów rozpowszechnianych podczas polskich kampanii wyborczych. Wyniki przeprowadzonych badań pokazują, iż przekazy te posiadają cechy wspólne z takimi amerykańskimi formatami jak: filmy z okresu prawyborów oraz filmy rozpowszechniane podczas regularnej kampanii (czas trwania, zawartość), różniąc się od nich jednocześnie w zakresie najczęściej stosowanych formatów, grupach docelowych oraz funkcji.