**Political Preferences** 

4/2013

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Katowice 2013

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## 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

The second chapter discusses K. Gajdka workshop and instruments spokesman. He cites a tool to communicate directly and indirectly. Chapter closes the description of the selected job evaluation methods spokesman. Recalling the development of Bogus Feliszeka proposed verifications people involved in shaping the image of a test, possible to carry out both by the person concerned and the management of the institution that employs him. The third chapter is a detailed description of the typology proposed by the author spokespersons. It shows the characteristic patterns of behavior and thus allows the reader to a surprising conclusion that "advocate, ombudsman does not equal" and the responsible professional can perform differently, how differing from each other way.

Analyzing the contents of this publication, the reader acquires experience in assessing the attitudes of Advocates, indications as to their accuracy and can recognize which maps the reality of what the Exaggerate and the more embellished. The theater created by the advocates of events, which should be kept in mind always the leading role played by the principal or his policies. Without a doubt, an assessment should analyze the voting behavior from the perspective of the mechanisms that shape it.

#### **ABSTRACTS**

**Miro Haček** (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) (Dis)trust into the rule of law in Slovenia

After the collapse of the non-democratic regime in the early 1990s, public opinion surveys became important factor in the process of democratic decision-making. Author is analysing the results of public opinion surveys, which bring together data on the attitude of the general public towards democracy, (dis)satisfaction with the political situation and (dis)satisfaction with most important political and administrative institutions with special emphasis given to the public's (dis)trust toward the rule of law. Based on the data obtained article allocates Slovenia's position compared to other established European democracies as well as post-communist countries from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) on the scale of the relationship of the dimensions of societal (dis)trust in political power.

Key words: democratisation, trust, rule of law, politics, institution, Slovenia

**Waldemar Wojtasik** (University of Silesia, Poland) Functions of elections in democratic systems

Elections are a procedure typical for democratic systems, but also systems which do not respect the principles of democracy often employ them. However, due to their different functional positioning, they fulfill various functions. The presented text is an attempt to present the most important functions performed by the elections in democratic systems. The adopted model of generalization has allowed for separation of seven basic functions, present in all elections: delegation of political representation; selection of the political elite; legitimisation of those in power; control over authorities; political accountability; creation of political programmes; recreation of public opinion image.

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The presented typology allows for its use both in different types of elections (parliamentary, presidential, local, regional and European Parliament) as well as in relation to different electoral systems. The general nature of the described types of functions allows the separation of specific categories within its framework, but the objective of the present study has determined that the focus remains on the description and analysis of the presented types.

Key words: elections, functions of elections

#### 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

Poland held its first ever popular presidential election at the end of 1990. Since then four such elections have been held i.e. in 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010. In the meantime the position of the president gradually evolved hence giving rise to the question about which method for the election of the head of state is most "appropriate". However, this issue was not an object of political deliberation for the major Polish political parties of the last 20 years. Firstly, this resulted from the popularity of the presidential election within society, which was reflected in high turnouts (considering Polish reality). Secondly, especially until the enactment of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997, no party wanted to run the risk of being accused of returning to the political transition solutions adopted at the Round Table. Thirdly, until the beginning of 2010, the competition for the office of president was "reserved" for charismatic leaders or party leaders. It was finally Donald Tusk, who decided not to contend for the presidential election of 2010 thus wanting to change the perception of the institution of president in the system of power and draw attention and emphasize the role and the importance of a government with a strong (normatively and factually) prime minister as the leader.

**Key words**: model of election of the head of state, the position of the president. Third Polish Republic

# Sebastian Kubas (University of Silesia, Poland)

Evolution of Hungarian Electorate Preferences toward Bidimensional "Left – Right" Structure (1990 to 2013)

The article presents Hungarian electorate's preferences in the time of transition and democratic consolidation beginning in 1990. The preferences are

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confrontated with results of parliamentary elections held in 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006 and 2010. Author tries to show how the left and right preference division developed on the basis of socioeconomic cleavages. The evolution of Hungarian electorate preferences has moved toward bidimensional "left – right" structure since the elections in 1998, yet first symptoms appeared in 1994 when post-socialis party MSzP won the elections. Since then only this party and rightist Fidesz were able to succeed and create Hungarian governments.

Key words: Hungarian electorate, preferences, political parties.

Karolina Ticha (University of Matej Bel, Slovakia)

Comparison of the cleavages development in the Czech Republic and Poland after 1989

The aim of the article is to identify cleavages that have been in Czech and Polish party system located since 1989. These cleavages are compared to determine the hierarchy and degree of their importance. It is also demonstrated the effort to determine the potential future development of the cleavages in these two countries.

In this article as key for the formation of cleavages are considered elections to the lower houses of parliament. Elections to the upper houses of parliament and European elections are not relevant for the purpose of this work, because they are considered as second-order elections, thus they have no direct impact on the formation of cleavages.

Key words: Czech Republic party system, Poland party system, cleavages

**Danuta Plecka (Karnowska)** (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Poland) Individualism and civic participation – an essay on a certain way of thinking about citizenship

Individualism, although inherently contrary to the spirit of collectivism, is the basis for the development of modern civic attitudes. For the most part, individualism determines the degree of interest in politics and the quality of democracy. Individualism is also the basis for the development of civil society, as the unique characteristics of each individual impact the civil society dynamics, quality and impact on those in power.

Key words: individualism, civil society, democracy, participations

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

In recent years, there has been increasing interest in phenomenon of poor political activity among young adults, manifested in large percentage of non-voters and politically non-engaged individuals. The aim of this study was to examine the relationships between voting behaviour and political preferences of young adults and their hierarchy of basic personal values, global subjective happiness and evaluations of fair and unfair treatment in social exchange.

The results of the study indicate firstly, that the most important values were power, conformity and tradition, secondly, that the non-voters evaluated hedonism lower and security higher than the voters and thirdly, that value profiles for five groups of voters differed in preferences of conformity, tradition, security and hedonism. There were no significant differences between voters and non-voters in respect of global subjective happiness and evaluations of fair and unfair treatment. However, significant differences in these variables occured between electorates of specified political parties. The findings of the current research provide a psychological characteristic of young adults in terms of basic values, subjective happiness and perception of unfairness, allowing also to identify some of the possible indicators of poor political activity in this group.

Key words: personal values, young voters, non-voters

**Agnieszka Turska-Kawa** (University of Silesia, Poland) *Reactive political leadership* 

We live in the twenty-first century, which witnessed by far the most intensive marketing of politics, and traditional approaches (The Great Man Theory, *situational*, *relational*) to the process of emergence of political leadership are simply not enough. Cooperation between leaders and their followers is determined by cultural and social context, specific political situation of the time, patterns of social behavior. Development of new information technologies and dissemination of the means of mass communication have introduced another factor to the analyzed process, forced by civilisational changes. These changes initiated the processes shaping the emergence of a fourth approach to political leadership, which we may call *reactive*. Reactivity is an active process of management of the changing image of the leader,

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responding to the evolving social preferences, and subsequently disseminated through the media.

Key words: political leadership, reactive leadership

Dariusz Doliński (Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Poland), Robert Wiszniowski (University of Wroclaw, Poland) Techniques of social influence with reference to political life

The present paper presents various social influence techniques – practices aimed at increasing the likelihood that people will comply with requests, persuasion and suggestion they are addressed with. It describes sequential techniques (foot-in-the-door, door-in-the-face, foot-in-the-face, low ball) as well as techniques based on cognitive mechanisms (that's not all, even a penny helps, dialogue involvement) or on emotional mechanisms (induction of guilt, embarrassment, fear-then-relief). The paper also presents examples of using the above mentioned techniques with special focus on some which were taken from political life.

Key words: social influence, compliance, emotion, sequential techniques, political engagement

**Aleksandra Seklecka** (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Poland)
The picture(s) of campaign. The 2011 electoral campaign in major news bulletins

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 I ("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

**Hana Pravdová** (University of St. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, Slovakia) Coordinates of Interests of Media, Political Subjects and Recipients

The study primarily deals with the influence of media on perception of political subject agendas by the media audience. It will concentrate on the strategy of political subjects whose utmost objective is to provoke the specific effect – to draw attention of media and recipients and to force them to pay attention to their agendas. It underlines the practices of political subjects in gaining influence on media as well as on the public by offering their own agendas. It also deals with the role and procedures of media in interpreting political scandals and creating atmosphere in the framework of receiving the events by the target audience.

Key words: media, political subjects, political agenda, political programs, media filters.

Agnieszka Kasińska-Metryka (The Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce, Poland)

Psychological and marketing conditions of electoral activity of women

The purpose of the article was to show the problem of female electoral activity in Poland. This subject fits into a current debate on the participation of women in political systems and its limitations. There are many obstacles that prevent women from political participation and their influence is still rather symbolic then real. The source of this situation is also historical and social. Moreover, young democracies are at greater risk of "marketing pathology" because their institutional mechanisms are not built on the foundations of civil society. The perception of politics differs among men and women, but this is mainly due to exogenous factors. Political marketing as a set of tools in the same range can affect men and women, although the differences appear at the level of self-creation of image, choice of strategy and the style of ruling after winning an election.

**Key words:** women electoral activity, political marketing, Polish political system, stereotypes, psychological conditions of electoral activity, political participation

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Teresa Astramowicz-Leyk (University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, Poland)

Witold Zygmunt Kulerski activities – secretary Stanisław Mikolajczyk's – after World War II

Witold Zygmunt Kulerski was one of the closest associates of the Prime Minister of Polish government in exile Stanisław Mikołajczyk. During World War II he was one of the closest collaborators of Stanisław Mikołajczyk- Office of the Vice-President of the National Council of the Republic of Poland, Deputy Prime Minister and Prime Minister of the Polish government in exile.

Kulerski's commission devoted much attention to the affairs of Germany. This issue has been leading in international affairs, it is no wonder that Congress PSL lot of space devoted to it. Speaker stressed that the People's Movement during its period of organizational and ideological took the view that the main "(...) the objective must be to secure Polish and Slavic world securing the aggressive spirit of the German".

Kulerski's commission expressed concern due to the lack of activity of the Polish government to sign agreements and treaties of trade and economic with other countries than the Soviet Union. The committee members in their speeches stressed that in many areas of trade and international agreements are being overtaken by other countries and are overlooked in transactions due to insufficient activity of the Polish Government.

**Key words:** Witold Zygmunt Kulerski, Stanisław Mikołajczyk, National Council of the Republic of Poland, Polish government in exile, Kulerski's commission

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