

The Personalisation of Politics at the Local Level in Poland and Selected Central and Eastern European States: A Contribution to the Research

Paweł Antkowiak and Łukasz Scheffs

Abstract: *Images about politics take a specific form in the imagination of the electorate, eliciting specific associations and thus becoming a source of attitudes and influencing election preferences. At the same time, the increasing importance of politicians' perceived personality traits and images has been observed. Empirical studies of politicians' personalities provide one of the more effective tools for studying the basic features of the personalisation of politics, including at a local level. Such studies involve the measurement of citizens' perceptions of politicians' personality traits. This article seeks to systematise key concepts and provide an introduction to conducting advanced empirical research in this area.*

Keywords: *Personalisation of politics, political image, local politics, political leadership, local government*

Introduction

It is commonly believed that contemporary politics (political activity) has been permanently coupled with the circulation of the mass media. In practice, implementing policy in modern times means having a media presence in order to manage the discourse and continuous activity. The consequence is that, unlike in the past, politicians are now obliged to partake in a political game of media performance where their images are transformed, their presentations and attitudes created and their stage masks incessantly changed. In this context, the roles and importance of all kinds of consultants and advisors are increasing. Politicians and their collaborators are also taking growing advantage of professional studies and analyses prepared for the purpose of current political activities. To an unprecedented extent, a politician's image and, in consequence, their personality, have become their assets. For decades, social studies scholars have used three categories – the leader, the commander and the statesman – in an effort to describe a complex political reality. It may even be said that politics has always been highly dependent on individuals and their personalities. Nevertheless, a significant increase in the importance of political leaders' personal image has come in the wake of the pervasiveness of the mass media and their rapid development.

The marketisation of politics – and its subsequent mediatization – have influenced the way of doing politics and also contributed considerably to the transforming of the political system and evolution of political institutions. Among the different transformations and modifications, a process of the *personalisation of politics* has emerged and already been defined and identified in the literature as having particular importance for political science. This process involves explaining political events in “personal” categories and treating them as outcomes of the intentional acts of individuals, leaders or other persons with important social and political roles (Sielski 2012: 100-111; Reykowski 2002: 124; Deegan-Krause 2010: 147).

The term *presidentialisation* also figures in the literature on the subject. It refers specifically to changes in the electoral image used when a party leader begins to play a new role on the political stage (Mughan 2000: 7; Kolczyński 2002: 81-87). Presidentialisation, however, first and foremost concerns the evolution of the position and role of a political leader when they hold the office of prime minister. This results, on the one hand, from the fact that an increasing number of prime ministers are employing a presidential style of administration (Poguntke 2011; Dobek-Ostrowska 2004: 202-203; Karvonen 2011); on the other hand, it is due to actual (that is, institutional) changes happening within the framework of the given political system such as the direct election of the prime minister (Hazan 2011). In this instance, presidentialisation takes the form of institutional personalisation.

Polish political science applies yet another term, that of *personification*, which is equivalent to what we have defined here as the personalisation of politics (Karwat 1996: 85-97; Pawełczyk 2001: 196-206; Annusewicz 2001: 148-160; Karwat 2006: 101-116) with a few exceptions (Karwat 1995: 435-454).

Personalisation is therefore nothing other than the use of a particular symbol – a symbolic object – in order to interpret the image, attitudes and views of a given politician (Walczak 2008: 168). A narrow approach to personalisation links it to transformations in the structure of contemporary election campaigns while a broad understanding of this term encompasses the entire complex process of political decision-making (Helms 2008: 37-38). At the same time, the personalisation of politics should be identified with a process in which there is continuous growth in the importance of individual political actors while the significance of political groups, movements and parties decreases (Kaase 1994: 211-230; Brettschneider, Gabriel 2002: 127-157; Rahat – Sheaffer 2007: 65).

The reasons for the increasing personalisation of politics include the following:

- 1) The individualisation of messages; the increased emphasis on the image of political leaders is far more interesting to potential voters than an informed debate or a clear political platform
- 2) Increased levels of education and, in consequence, a greater demand for access to information
- 3) The increased role and importance of the mass media and of television in particular (Caprara – Zimbardo 2004: 581)
- 4) The end of the importance of the political party and the related growing similarities among different groups; the adoption of identical political and electoral strategies (Mair 2010: 271-272)
- 5) Differences in the nature of electoral systems and in the manner and mode of selecting political leaders, e.g. concerning direct elections of the prime minister or the duration of election campaigns
- 6) The use of extended and professionally developed electoral strategies, primarily electoral advertising (Mazzoleni 2000: 326) and
- 7) The individualisation of social life; people are increasingly perceiving themselves and others as individuals rather than as representatives of a collective (Bauman 2008: 23).

Notwithstanding these factors, the assumption behind the personalisation of politics thesis is that the increasing importance of individual political actors (politicians) is occurring at the expense of political parties and collective identities (Baines – Harris – Lewis 2002: 6). This is facilitated by institutions, which increasingly often (and in line with established processes) accept the growing importance of individual politicians, and by the people who approach politics as an ongoing competition between particular politicians who also enjoy their affection and electoral preferences (Karvonen 2011).

Personalisation has also been shown to assume the form of the heroisation of politics where popular politicians are perceived as heroes and individual experiences are seen as the outcome of the activities of strictly defined groups or persons, who are either glorified or demonised. Personalisation can also present a sociometric vision of politics where the mechanisms of political contest, entering alliances, working out compromises and mediation are perceived in terms of social relations or cronyism (Karwat 1996: 87-89; Mandrosz 2002: 171-172).

Finally, personalisation can refer to the matters of presentation and influence (or strength of impact). Presentation is related to the leader being the core of the idea being created or of the party they represent; the leader, then, becomes the public image. Strength of impact concerns the influence that a given leader has on voters' decisions. In contrast with presentation, influence depends on not only the role of the media, but also politics' institutional structures, that is, on the political and, even more importantly, the institutional position of the leader (Brenner 2010: 118).

The Personalisation of Politics at the Local Level

The issue of the personalisation of politics at the local level is one that we intend to examine in a future project. Taking into account the studies carried out to date, this issue can be considered in three domains: the territorial, the subject-related and the object-related. The territorial dimension specifically concerns the leadership of local government units, mainly communes (municipalities) (*gmina*) and districts (*powiat*). As far as the subject-related dimension is concerned, leadership is identified with the representatives of legislative and executive bodies that are directly or indirectly elected. The object-related dimension relates intrinsically to strictly political matters (Michałowski 2008: 27-28). Given the amount of material that will need to be verified and the human and financial resources available, we intend to confine our studies to the subject-related dimension of personalisation.

The primary objective of this work is to update perceptions of the place, role and importance of leaders in local government. These transformations are directly associated with the continually increasing importance of political marketing, the ongoing professionalisation of all activities performed within the scope of local politics (Sielski 2012: 54) and current institutional transformations.

Direct elections at the local level have come to be associated with the need to create an image for the local politician holding office or aspiring to do so (Piechota – Ratajczak 2012: 42). Relying on the findings of other scholars, we assume that contemporary politicians, and especially their images, are becoming products offered in a particular marketplace. The latter may be defined as all of the legal, material and symbolic relations that occur among the subjects of exchange processes in social space, as determined by the political system (Skrzypwiński 2011: 65). This is also happening in the context of the local activities that interest us here.

We propose the following preliminary research hypotheses:

- 1) The growing personalisation of politics is a common political phenomenon.
- 2) Personalisation is also increasingly present at the local level.
- 3) Among the factors which impose the transformation of modern leadership at the local level are the increasing importance of politicians' private personae, the advancing mediatization process and all kinds of systemic transformations believed to influence the growing individualisation of social life.
- 4) These transformations in the way of doing politics at the local government level are resulting in institutional transformations, which have culminated in Poland in legislation introducing the direct election of district heads (*wójt*), town mayors (*burmistrz*) and city presidents (*prezydent miasta*).
- 5) The personalisation of politics can be observed both on the domestic (local) political stage and in many other Central and Eastern European states such as Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania.
- 6) The personalisation of politics at the local level, which can be noted in numerous post-Communist states, relates significantly to systemic transformations implemented since the late 1980s and the specific nature of post-transformation states.

Significance of the Research

Existing in-depth studies of local government leadership more and more often suggest that transformation processes in many countries are reflected, among other things, in formal changes in the position of city mayors/presidents. These studies refer to a particular 'fashion' for the direct election of local authorities in communes and towns (Ptak, 2010: 143-152). This is also the case in Poland, which witnessed considerable turmoil on the local political scene in the wake of a law of 20 June 2002 on the direct election of heads of communes, mayors and presidents of cities. This statute introduced the principle of direct election of a one-member executive body at the lowest level. Previously, communes had been ruled by a collective executive body indirectly elected by a legislative body (Antkowiak 2011: 41-42). The change clearly strengthened the position of the executive body at the level of the commune. By the same token, the office of president of a large city has become highly attractive to prominent politicians on the national political stage. The president of Warsaw, for instance, ranks as the fifth most important political figure in Poland behind the country's president and prime minister and the speakers of both chambers of parliament (Antkowiak 2010: 157-158).

The initiators of the above legislation supposed that the direct election of the executive bodies of communes would make local elections more attractive. During the debates on the law, some participants pointed to the social consequences of such a solution (Grzesik-Robak 2004: 38). It was claimed that this type of election of commune heads would lead to the emergence of new local government personnel, thus contributing to the professionalising of local public administration. Some believed that the move would liberate the administration from party and political influences, providing a new and better channel for the political promotion of people committed to social and political activism. It was also argued that the direct election of executive power would facilitate the identification of citizens with local authorities and so increase the social prestige of public officers. It is worth noting that this claim has been confirmed to a certain extent (Antkowiak 2012: 77-78). It should also be stressed that direct elections of the heads of basic units of local governments take place in several Central and Eastern European states such as Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania as well as Poland.

The transformations in question, however, had far more significant outcomes which also affect the academic considerations we are engaged in. In this respect, traditional studies of local politics, which have focused on the influence of individual actors on decisions made at local level, have turned out to be insufficient. At present, these studies are complemented by work including theoretical considerations and empirical studies into leadership styles in local government (Swianiewicz – Klimska 2003: 17). What we are interested in, however, is a new dimension of this issue which has yet to be studied. This is personalisation at the local level.

The observation that the personalisation of politics is a complex process driven by numerous causes that cannot be explained by a single factor (Marciniak 2013b: 27) is as true as it is enduring. The essence of the phenomenon can be expressed by noting that the crucial factor that determines electoral decisions lies in the leader and his socio-political image (Peszyński 2012b: 173). It seems justifiable to assume that personalisation or presidentialisation can be discussed in a context of parliamentary, local and presidential elections that increasingly conform to each other (Peszyński 2013: 75-90). Associating personalisation directly with electoral competition or with marketing activities (Scheffs 2010b), we may assume that personalisation entails a concentration on individual politicians in public office while failing to account for the content of public and electoral debate (Hartliński 2012: 91). More and more publications dedicated to the issue of the personalisation of politics not only reiterate the statement that the leader is the most recognisable symbol of their party (Peszyński 2012a: 62; Scheffs 2010a: 131-140), but also note that this is an interdisciplinary issue that encompasses personalisation at the institutional and media levels, for instance, as well as in the electoral behaviour of voters and politicians (Rahat – Sheaffer 2007: 70-72).

Fully aware of the complexity of these matters as well as of the multitude of theoretical outlooks and definitions, we do not want to become embroiled in semantic and terminological discussions (Scheffs 2012: 287-304). We hold that the thesis that leaders have increasing importance on the national political stage, as noted over a dozen years or so, has been confirmed, and we do not contest the argument that when voters cast their votes, they are more often driven by loyalty and trust in a concrete individual than in some “abstract” group or other political entity. We also support the position that there is considerable evidence that political power has shifted from collective bodies – such as political parties, parliaments and local councils – into the hands of political leaders (Skiba 2010: 26).

Nevertheless, it must be stated that in order to justify our focus on this issue – and given both our personal interest and the empirical studies that we are planning – we are particularly keen to find an appropriate perspective for studying the process of the personalising of politics. Unlike other publications that we are aware of, we do not intend to study the influence that personalisation has on social, cultural and political transformations. The question of the reasons for the ongoing process of personalisation is also of secondary importance to us. These issues have, in any case, been relatively well researched and described (Blumler – Kavanagh 1999: 209-230). In our opinion, the issue of personalisation at the local level is both crucial and still awaiting proper examination (Niklewicz 2014: 2). This area of work seems compelling to us, particularly since the first studies of the personalisation of politics at regional level have recently begun in Poland though taking quite a different approach from our own (Peszyński 2011; Bukowski – Flis – Hess – Szymańska: 2011).

As has been said, our studies will focus on the subject-related dimension – that is, on the personality traits of local political leaders that voters take into consideration when making their ultimate election decisions (Turska-Kawa 2011: 165-186). This is an issue that has yet to be studied; based on our enquiries, there has not yet been a thorough analysis of the personalisation of local authorities in Poland. The situation is quite different at the national level where studies of political images and the reasons for the increased significance of this aspect of modern politics are becoming increasingly important (Pawelczyk – Jankowiak 2013: 35-43; Marciniak 2013a: 64-74).

Examining this issue also seems crucial in the context of political science’s development. An alternative outlook on local leadership – and one that involves psychological foundations – represents a new approach; this is all the more true in the context of the personalisation of politics at the local level since this issue has only been addressed at a macro level, both in Poland and abroad. This topic is especially compelling since there have only been a few international studies that take account of the specific nature of different states and the systemic solutions adopted there. In our view, this approach is important since these studies will add value to the achievements of the social sciences in Poland and abroad.

The activities that we suggest in the project represent fundamental work in the social sciences and the discipline of political science. There has been no comprehensive publication on this topic in Poland so far.

Work Plan

Our general plan includes questionnaires (surveys) and the analysis of the content of election materials. In this way, we will seek to answer the question of which personality traits voters take into consideration when making their election decisions. The studies should be conducted in Poland and selected CEE states. In choosing these states, our key consideration has been the direct election of the heads of basic units of local government. On this basis, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania have been selected. The analyses will be based on a model of conformity of electoral preferences with the personality traits that voters accurately perceive and consider when endorsing candidates for elected posts in local administration at the lowest level.

The starting point here is provided by the proven fact that voters identify with the politicians who represent them. This identification relates to personality features, and in particular, the congruency of the personalities of voters with those of the politicians they elect (support). This is the standpoint taken by Philip G. Zimbardo and Gian V. Caprara (2004), who designed a congruency model of political preferences. They noted that contemporary politics (on a micro-scale) has become personalised and that among other things, this is due to the fact that the individual features of politicians and voters have become considerably more important in political discourse. This importance is reflected in the electoral behaviour in societies. Voters frequently cast their votes so as to support the candidates whose personality features correspond with their own. In other words, this similarity is the factor behind electoral support. The congruency model of political preference, which Zimbardo and Caprara (2004: 581–94) designed and implemented, states that personality features attract more voter attention than political views and platforms and that in the course of political campaigns, candidates polarise their positions and emphasise the personality traits that voters can use to rationalise (justify) their choices.

This paradigm has been expanded by studies of the personality traits displayed by politicians and voters. Based on this work, it may be concluded that people tend to describe the personalities of others in the same terms they use to establish their own personalities. Nevertheless, politicians are perceived in terms of a limited number of dimensions. The reasons for this lower number can be traced to the selection process among other things. We cannot rule out the possibility that during the creation of a politician's image, their personality is composed from features their supporters find desirable. The consistent promotion of the same cluster of features can translate into a belief among voters that those features are all present in politicians' personalities. Another possible reason for the reduced number of perceived personality dimensions may stem from the process of perception itself. Voters frequently apply a strategy of cognitive economy. In other words, they apply heuristics (simplified rules of inference) to cope with the multitude of information they receive. This, however, results in a simplified mode of perceiving the political leader as well as the party and political movement they represent. In fact, perception is limited to those features that increase the possibility that the politician will behave in a certain way when elected to a given post (Oleś 2000: 7-18; Hornowska – Kaliszewska 2003: 7-14; Szarota 2008: 127-138; Miluska 2009: 505-521; Strus – Ciecuch – Rowiński 2011: 65-93; Strus – Ciecuch 2014: 17-49).

Taking into consideration the preliminary research that has already been conducted on a slightly different scale as well as our own inquiries which evidence the absence of comprehensive studies in the areas of interest, we intend to do the following:

- 1) demonstrate the personalisation of politics at a local level
- 2) better define the prerequisites for the advancing personalisation process.
- 3) examine the process in view of the personality traits voters attribute to different candidates
- 4) design an appropriate research tool and verify it by means of detailed empirical studies in Poland and abroad
- 5) analyse the personality traits which voters find desirable and seek out in candidates and which are then emphasised in election messages.

Research Methodology

Our studies are designed to achieve the following objectives:

- a) define the personality traits which voters take into consideration when making voting decisions and
- b) indicate the personality trait clusters that voters find desirable and which are emphasised in media messages constructed primarily during election campaigns.

To put this differently, we intend to demonstrate that both at the local level and beyond, the primary goal of the authors of what is broadly understood as political marketing is to identify the fundamental traits that voters take into consideration when making their political choices; they then emphasise (present) these traits in the media messages that they design and publicise. We realise that these messages are largely constructed around a given political leader, and thus, they are significantly related to the increasing personalisation of politics (as indicated above), a process which is also employed and applied during election periods.

Taking the above into consideration, we intend to:

- 1) design a research tool in the form of a questionnaire featuring adjectives that better identify the features that voters consider when making decisions about their support for a given candidate
- 2) apply this research tool through field research in Poland and selected CEE countries and
- 3) compare the research results collected with media messages designed in Poland.

We will be able to carry out the research efficiently in selected CEE countries based on the cooperation that Adam Mickiewicz University has established with academic centres in the respective countries.

While the plan is to conduct field research in selected CEE countries, the review of designed and published election materials will be limited to the Polish electoral market. This will be facilitated by the Content Analysis System for Television (CAST), which has been used for over a year by faculty in the political science and journalism department at Adam Mickiewicz University. The system includes two components:

- A digital repository system which makes it possible to record and search television programmes in real time and facilitates searches for individual programmes. Key functions include marking fragments, describing them with keywords, attaching comments, categorising materials and exporting clips. This system also allows for the monitoring of recurring material such as commercials and electoral spots. The CAST software is equipped with a search engine that allows for rapid searches of the database including clip descriptions and user comments.
- A speech-to-writing transcription system designed by the Poznań Supercomputing and Networking Centre (Poznańskie Centrum Superkomputerowo Sieciowe). The transcribed Polish text is attached to the description of the given programme and available at the repository.

We will limit our research to media coverage in Poland because we do not aim to achieve a comprehensive assessment of the ongoing personalisation of politics in CEE countries, a goal which seems methodologically infeasible. Rather, our purpose is to identify the premises for claiming that this process is observable and clearly present in Poland. Additionally, we assume that one of the reasons for this is the post-transformation status of Polish society. Therefore, our preliminary plan is to investigate this issue in other post-Communist countries where a similar procedure exists for electing a one-member executive body at the most basic level of local government. Another tool we find useful for such studies comes from Olga Gorbaniuk (2009), who designed a questionnaire that incorporates 148 adjectives selected in the course of a complex research process to describe the personality features of politicians taken into account by voters.

Conclusion

This article has attempted to systematise key concepts and provide an introduction to conducting advanced empirical research into the personalisation of politics at a local level in Poland and selected Central and Eastern European states.

Taking note of the transformations that are occurring in modern politics, it is becoming more and more apparent that we are facing a process of the increasing personalisation of politics. Growing circles of scholars, coming mainly from the social sciences, have referred to the issue of politics' concentration on candidates. While such analyses have taken place on a national scale in different parts of the world, examinations of this process at local government level have hitherto been both scarce and superficial. Bearing this in mind, we assume that the personalisation of politics that is happening at a local level is important and deserves attention. Local government elections have conformed to the principles of presidential electoral campaigns, resulting on the one hand in the increased importance of individual images of politicians and on the other, in the simplistic conflation of this political and electoral level with specific individuals, thus leading to institutional transformation and the direct election of communes' executive bodies.

Therefore, the primary objective of this research is to update perceptions of the place, role and importance of leaders in local government. These transformations are directly related to the continually growing importance of political marketing, the ongoing professionalisation of all activities performed within the context of local politics and current institutional transformations. These studies may mark the beginning of a broader future research project to be financed, for example, from the Standard Grants Visegrad Fund.

References

- Annusewicz, O. (2005): Dlaczego tak głosujemy, czyli przesłanki decyzji wyborczych. *Spółeczeństwo i Polityka* 3-4.
- Antkowiak, P. (2011): *Samorząd terytorialny na przykładzie miasta Konina*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe WNPiD UAM, Poznań.
- Antkowiak, P. (2012): Ewolucja samorządowej ordynacji wyborczej w Polsce w okresie transformacji systemowej. *Przegląd Zachodni* 1.
- Baines, P. R. – Harris, P. – Lewis, B. R. (2002): The political marketing planning process: improving image and message in strategic target areas. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning* 20 (1).
- Bauman, Z. (2008): *Zindywidualizowane społeczeństwo*, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk.
- Blumler, J. G. – Kavanagh, D. (1999): The Third Age of Political Communication: Influences and Features. *Political Communication* 16.
- Brenner, M. (2010): Zjawisko personalizacji politycznej. *Studia Politologiczne* 16.
- Brettschneider, F. – Gabriel O. W. (2002): The Nonpersonalization of Voting Behavior in Germany, in King A., eds., *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*, NY: Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Bukowski, M. – Flis, J. – Hess, A. – Szymańska, A. (2011): *Opcja czy osoba? Upartyjnienie versus personalizacja w wyborach samorządowych*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków.
- Caprara, G. V. – Zimbardo P. G. (2004): Personalizing Politics. A Congruency Model of Political Preference. *American Psychologist* 59 (7).
- Deegan-Krause, K. (2010): Nowe wymiary rozłamu politycznego, in Dalton, R. – Klingemann, H. D., eds., *Zachowania polityczne t. 2*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- Dobek-Ostrowska, B. (2004): *Media masowe i aktorzy polityczni w świetle studiów nad komunikowaniem politycznym*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław.
- Gorbaniuk, O. (2009): Wymiary dyferencji profili spostrzeganych cech osobowości polskich polityków: analiza danych zastanych. *Psychologia Społeczna* 4 (1-2).
- Grzesik-Robak, A. (2004): Bezpośrednie samorządowe wybory prezydentów miast 2002 – próba analizy. *Samorząd Terytorialny* 6.
- Hartliński, M. (2012): Prezydencjalizacja współczesnej polityki. *Szkice Humanistyczne* 12 (2).
- Helms, L. (2008): Governing in the Media Age: The Impact of the Mass Media on Executive Leadership in Contemporary Democracies. *Government and Opposition* 43 (1).
- Hornowska, E. – Kaliszewska, K. (2003): Neurogenetyczna koncepcja osobowości R. C. Cloningera – związki z teorią PEN H. J. Eysencka oraz Model Wielkiej Piątki w ujęciu P. T. Costy i R. R. McCrae. *Czasopismo Psychologiczne* 9 (1).
- Karwat, M. (1995): O statusie metodologicznym personifikacji, in *Historia, idea, polityka. Księga dedykowana profesorowi Janowi Baszkiewiczowi*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa.
- Karwat, M. (1996): Stereotypowa personifikacja polityki. *Studia Polityczne* 5.
- Karwat, M. (2006): Personifikacja instytucji i instytucjonalizacja osób, in: Rubisz, L. eds., *Idee – instytucje – demokracja. Instytucjonalizacja polskiej transformacji ustrojowej*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń.
- Kaase, M. (1994): Is there personalization in politics? Candidates and voting behavior in Germany. *International Political Science Review* 15.
- Karvonen, L. (2011): The Personalization of Politics What does research tell us so far, and what further research is in order?, Paper prepared for the 4th ECPR Conference: available at <http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events/generalconference/pisa/papers/PP226.pdf> (10 October 2015).
- Kolczyński, M. (2002): Marketing polityczny – w drodze do personalizacji dyskursu politycznego, in Walczak-Duraj, D., eds., *Marketing polityczny a postawy i zachowania wyborcze społeczeństwa polskiego*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe „Novum”, Płock-Łódź.
- Mair, P. (2010): Orientacje lewicowe i prawicowe, in Dalton, R. J. – Klingemann, H. D., eds., *Zachowania polityczne t. 1*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- Mandrosz, J. (2002): Czynniki ograniczające racjonalność decyzji politycznych, in Skarżyńska, K., eds., *Podstawy psychologii politycznej*, Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, cop., Poznań.
- Marciniak, E. M. (2013a): Percepcja cech osobowości Jarosław Kaczyńskiego i Donalda Tuska przez ich zwolenników. *Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politologiczne* 39.
- Marciniak, E. M. (2013b): *Personalizacja zachowań wyborczych w Polsce w kontekście Modelu Zgodności Preferencji Politycznych*, Dom Wydawniczy ELIPSA, Warszawa.
- Mazzoleni, G. (2000): A Return to Civic and Political Engagement Prompted by Personalized Political Leadership?. *Political Communication* 17.
- Michałowski, S. (2008): Uwarunkowania pełnienia ról przywódczych w samorządzie terytorialnym, in Michałowski, S. – Kuć-Czajkowska, K., eds., *Przywództwo lokalne a kształtowanie demokracji partycypacyjnej*, Wydawnictwo UMCS, Lublin.

- Mughan, A. (2000): *Media and the Presidentialization of Parliamentary Election*, Palgrave, Hamshire.
- Niklewicz, K. (2014): Sposób na wyborcę. *Analiza Instytut Obywatelski* 5.
- Oleś, P. (2000): Kontrowersje wokół „Wielkiej Piątki”. *Czasopismo Psychologiczne* 6 (1-2).
- Pawelczyk, P. (2001): Polityk czyli aktor, in Marciniak, E. M. – Mołdawa, T. – Wojtaszczyk, K. A., eds., *Etyka i polityka*, Aspra-Jr, Warszawa.
- Pawelczyk, P. – Jankowiak, B. (2013): Cechy wizerunku politycznego a emocje w głosowaniu na Bronisława Komorowskiego i Jarosława Kaczyńskiego w wyborach prezydenckich w 2010 roku. Raport z badań postaw politycznych studentów. *Przegląd Politologiczny* 2.
- Peszyński, W. (2011): Kandydat czy partia? W poszukiwaniu determinant zachowań wyborczych elektoratu. *Preferencje Polityczne* 2.
- Peszyński, W. (2012a): Personalizacja kampanii parlamentarnej w Polsce 2011 roku. *Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politologiczne* 35.
- Peszyński, W. (2012b): Personalizacja politycznych preferencji. *Preferencje Polityczne* 3.
- Peszyński, W. (2013): Prezydencjalizacja zachowań elektoratu w roku „niewyborczym” 2012. *Preferencje Polityczne* 6.
- Piechota, G. – Ratajczak R. (2012): Media samorządowe jako narzędzie kreacji wizerunku lokalnego lidera i jego otoczenia. *Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politologiczne* 34.
- Poguntke, T. (2011): The Presidentialization of Parliamentary Democracies: A Contradiction in Terms?, Paper prepared for presentation at the ECPR Workshop 'The Presidentialization of Parliamentary Democracies?': available at http://www.essex.ac.uk/ECPR/events/joint_sessions/paperarchive/copenhagen/ws7/poguntke.PDF (20 October 2015).
- Ptak, A. (2010): Ewolucja systemu wyborczego do organów samorządu terytorialnego w Polsce, in Stelmach, A., eds., *Prawo wyborcze i wybory. Doświadczenia dwudziestu lat procesów demokratyzacyjnych w Polsce*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe WNPiD UAM, Poznań.
- Rahat, G. – Sheaffer, T. (2007): The personalization(s) of politics: Israel 1949-2003. *Political Communication* 24.
- Reykowski, J. (2002): Myślenie polityczne, in Skarżyńska, K., eds., *Podstawy psychologii politycznej*, Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, cop., Poznań.
- Scheffs, Ł. (2010a): Lider polityczny w totalitarnym i demokratycznym systemie politycznym. Pozorna opozycja?. *Refleksje* 2.
- Scheffs, Ł. (2010b): Polska wideopolityka w wyborach do Parlamentu Europejskiego w 2009 roku, in Jeziński, M. –Peszyński, W. – Seklecka, A., eds., *Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego. Media i marketing polityczny*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń.
- Scheffs, Ł. (2012): Proces personalizacji polityki, in Karwat, J., eds., *Komunikowanie społeczne w badaniach młodych naukowców*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Handlu i Usług w Poznaniu, Poznań.
- Sielski, J. (2011): Liderzy partyjni we współczesnych polskich partiach politycznych, in Kowalczyk, K., eds., *Partie i systemy partyjne III RP*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń.
- Sielski, J. (2012): Przywódcy i liderzy samorządowi (lokalni). *Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie* wydanie specjalne.
- Skiba, L. (2010): *Rządzić państwem. Centrum decyzyjne rządu w wybranych krajach europejskich*, Instytut Sobieskiego, Warszawa.
- Skrzypiński, D. (2011): Marketing w lokalnych kampaniach wyborczych: faktyczne czy deklarowane działania liderów, in Churska-Nowak, K. – Drobczyński, S., eds., *Profesjonalizacja i mediatyzacja kampanii politycznych w Polsce*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Nauk Humanistycznych i Dziennikarstwa, Poznań.
- Strus, W. – Ciecuch, J. (2014): Poza wielką piątkę – przegląd nowych modeli struktury osobowości. *Polskie Forum Psychologiczne* 19 (1).
- Swianiewicz, P. – Klimska, U. (2003): Kto rządzi gminą i jak? Lokalni liderzy polityczni w teorii i praktyce samorządów w Polsce, *Studia Regionalne i Lokalne* 4.
- Szarota, P. (2008): Wielka piątka – stare problemy, nowe wątpliwości. *Roczniki Psychologiczne* 11 (1).
- Turska-Kawa, A. (2011): Osobowościowe predykatory zachowań wyborczych. Rozważania w kontekście modelu „wielkiej piątki”. *Preferencje Polityczne* (2).
- Walczak, R. (2008): Percepcja wizerunku polityka rozszerzonego za pomocą społecznie akceptowanych symboli, in Szklarski, B., eds., *Mity, symbole i rytuały we współczesnej polityce*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa.

Paweł Antkowiak is Assistant Professor in the Department of Local Government and Self-Government Studies in the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He is the recipient of a scholarship from the AMU Foundation. His academic interests address the functioning of local

government, professional associations and self-regulatory business associations and local and regional policy-making of the European Union. E-mail: pawel.antkowiak@amu.edu.pl

Lukasz Scheffs *Assistant Professor in the Political Marketing and Social Engineering Department at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He is the recipient of a scholarship from the AMU Foundation. His academic interests include political marketing, new media and different dimensions of collectivism and individualism. E-mail: lukasz.scheffs@amu.edu.pl*