

# Models of political consulting in Poland, 1989–2009, in a comparative perspective



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**ABSTRACT:** Alongside the breakdown of authoritarian regimes and the restitution of democratic order in Poland and other Central East European countries, the first open election campaigns accompanied by political consultants emerged. Since the beginning of the transition, the role of consultants as well as consultants themselves have been going through constant changes bound up with modernizing the political scene and system and ways of leading political campaigns. The present article seeks to interrogate the categories of political consulting models we have been facing in Poland and refers them to worldwide tendencies. This study analyses the ways in which political consultants have arisen, their institutional adherence, methods of action, roles in the political communication process, as well as changeovers and development tendencies to this extent. The article provides a comparative analysis of three campaign models defined by Farrell, Kolodny and Medvic and the types of political consultants reviewed by the scope literature. This study concludes with a prognosis of the development of political consulting tendencies in Poland in a worldwide context.

**KEYWORDS:** Poland, political consulting, political campaign, electoral campaign, political marketing, political communication.



## INTRODUCTION

As a country of emerging democracy, Poland is now catching up in various areas, trying to offset the losses against Western Europe and the USA. What is worth emphasizing is that such gaps were not a result of our own desire and experience. They constituted rather a result of historical developments, which, as a nation, we had little effect on. This catching-up is obviously related also to political marketing and political consulting, the areas that have been developing in Poland over the last 20 years, while they have been evolving in most developed countries for at least sixty years (Johnson, 2000; Maarek, 1995; Ulicka, 1996;). Thus, the 20 years of political consulting embraced in this study are certainly only the beginning of a road that needs to be taken in order to develop this field of study in Poland. However, this beginning is also quite dynamic and versatile, and is setting trends for the future.

The article presents the phenomena taking place in Poland in the area of political consulting from the political transition to democracy until now, and aims to put it in the frame of commonly known models and phenomena. In particular, this phenomenon will be compared to the model developed by Farrell, Kolodny, Medvic and the types of political consultations presented by them. The present study will also provide a proposal of a typically Polish, functional typology of consultants and a prognosis concerning the future development of this field.

Farrell, Kolodny and Medvic, taking into account the relationship of political parties or of candidates with political consultants, define three basic models of an election campaign: the American Exception Model, the Western European Model and the New Democracies Model (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2006, p. 257). The earliest-known model is the American one, whence it appeared in the presidential campaign of 1952, when for the first time external marketing agencies and individual consultants were hired (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2006, p. 258). However, these people had no experience in political marketing and transferred the techniques of commercial marketing to the arena of the political campaign. Political business in the US grew rapidly, not only becoming quite a significant branch of communication and political marketing, but also a permanent source of income for a large number of people. An important factor that places the Americans at the top of the list in this area is the development of new information and communication technologies, which are applicable both in the commercial and political market. It was mostly the United States that first used the marketing methods and technologies, which were then “passed on” to Europe. The American model assumes the dominance of professional advisors and campaign managers over the course of the campaign, including the politicians involved in it. Such advisors are working independently or in large companies operating in this field. They, too, at different levels, perform most of the campaign tasks: from strategy development through the preparation of the election campaign’s materials to the distribution of leaflets, or the coordination of volunteers’ work. Special attention should be drawn to the high costs of running such a campaign, as many people should receive remuneration for their involvement in it. Thus, the politicians become the executors of someone else’s strategy. And yet it is not them, the advisors, who are politically accountable to their voters and in the end they are the only ones to bear responsibility for the effects of their governance. As one can notice, the American “exception” has many advantages and disadvantages, and in the milieu of political marketing researchers and practitioners, it has probably as many advocates as opponents.

Another classic type of consulting is the Western European Model. Contrary to the one previously discussed, this model is oriented towards political parties whose resources, both material and human, constitute a base for conducting an election campaign. Such parties have their historic grounds in mass membership and the underlying emergence of a strong ideology. Initially, they would conduct the campaign using the vast masses of its members. Then the parties began to hire

external experts. However, they would get engaged in the party's structures. The result of this was the fact that a Western European consultant was permanently associated with one political party (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2006, p. 260; Herbut, 2002, p. 97–98). Nevertheless, with the weakening of political parties characterized by strong structures with a large membership base, one can observe an increased demand for independent external experts, which, however, does not indicate the switch to the US model. In Western Europe, campaigns still rely on political parties and their members. They, the party representatives, also have a major impact on the way the campaign is shaped and are accountable for it to their constituents. Therefore, the Western European model is only merely affected by the phenomenon of "Americanization" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004), much as some of the American patterns could be adapted to the needs of the old continent.

The third type is the New Democracies Model, or the model of countries developing and shaping their political system. Throughout history, they have developed neither the tradition of conducting election campaigns nor the considerably strong party structures. The access to new technologies, particularly the development of mass media and its consequences, and the mediatization of politics has allowed the societies of these countries to stay up-to-date with the phenomena occurring in election campaigns conducted around the world and to derive patterns from other countries. In comparison with others, the American campaigns appear as the most colorful, complex and dynamic in attracting crowds. Therefore, the tendency for young democracies to adopt the American and not the European models is natural. What favors this phenomenon is the fact that certain countries have a similar political system with the US, that is semi-presidential or presidential (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2006, p. 263; Mazur, 2002, p. 269). International data also indicates that politicians from young democracies are advised by many consultants from developed countries, but primarily from the US (Bowler & Farrell, 2000). All these factors make the young democracy model very similar to the American one. However, in my opinion, such proximity is rather related to the techniques and tools of political marketing which are transferred or adapted from the US, and it affects the impact of political consultants on the campaign to a lesser extent. The impact is more significant than in the Western European model, but not as profound as in the United States.

By classifying political consultants according to certain criteria, such as their affiliation with the party or the fact of working for the government, their typology was established (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2006, p. 251–256). It is important to emphasize, however, that this typology corresponds solely to the US market. The first historically constituted group comprised marketers who used to work in the economic markets and who were not affiliated with any political party. The representatives of this group worked mainly for non-governmental clients. The second group was formed by sellers, individuals or enterprises were not affiliated with political parties, but worked mainly for them and provided professional, specialized services, such

as pre-election polls, Internet communication planning, etc. The third group is traditional *politicos*, who were strongly tied to political parties and used to work for them or their leaders, but later became independent and now use their experience by establishing enterprises that provide political consulting services. Last but not least, the fourth group of consultants includes strategists, who are highly-educated, trained to operate both on the political and commercial markets, and who work for party, governmental and non-governmental clients. They are skilled professionals available for hire.

It is important to note that this typology will be applied only partially in Polish conditions, since a separate segment of political advisors working for non-governmental clients virtually does not exist in Poland. In practice, those who access their services are only political parties (including those that currently hold power) or the election committees of candidates.

Political advisors can perform their tasks individually or through companies providing these types of services. B. Dobek-Ostrowska distinguished several types of advisors according to this criterion (2006, p. 267–269). As for individual consultants, we deal with managerial, technical and consultative staff. Managerial staff coordinate the functioning of the campaign, manage the whole campaign or the individual components thereof. The representatives of managerial staff constitute the best-paid elite of political consultants. The consultation staff group comprises various professionals specialized in planning, designing, coordinating and implementing various areas of the campaign, such as specialists in strategy, planning and media buying, design and advertisement production, image consultants and make-up artists, as well as political scientists, psychologists and sociologists able to analyze the political market. Technical staff include individuals or companies that already operate various specialized services, such as television production, collecting signatures, collecting documentation, maintenance of telecommunication networks, etc.

As for consulting companies, we can distinguish global companies or companies providing fragmented services. We deal with a global company when conducting and coordinating the whole election campaign is contracted to an external company or institution. When external consultants are performing specific tasks assigned to campaign activities and provide advice under the permanent control of the campaign team of a candidate or political party, we deal with a company providing fragmented services.

To complete the picture and to show it from the angle of my own research and experience, I suggest yet another classification, based on the content of consulting services. Therefore I propose to distinguish on know-how, communication and personal consulting. Know-how consulting is transferring politicians' ideas to organizational and legal solutions, performing analysis of all aspects of political activity, such as political and party systems, legal and political system solutions, image, elections statute, etc. in political systems around the globe. Communication con-

sulting is based on planning and conducting overall political and election campaigns, from running public opinion polls, conducting research on the political and performing analysis of the initial situation, through drawing up a strategy up to selecting and implementing the tools of a political and election campaign. It also includes training for politicians and campaign teams and other services necessary in communication, such as coordinating work on campaign spots and media advertising, production of election campaign materials, or services related to image creation. Finally, personal consulting corresponds to assistance in planning and developing the careers of politicians, both beginner and experienced. To meet this goal, modern and original analytical and research methods are used. Such a type of consulting also deals with the development of personal competencies and political skills in the form of coaching.

The thesis of this research is that during the progress of political transition in Poland, political consulting and its types has had to evolve, too. To verify this thesis one should put the following questions: (1) in what features is the evolution of political consulting shown, (2) what kind of political consulting exists in Poland in the research period, (3) how the global changes in communication like professionalization, Americanization, mediatization etc. affect political consulting in Poland.

Most of the empirical data and conclusions derive from in-depth interviews with political consultants in Poland lead by me from 2000 to 2009, including 37 IDI with persons responsible for election campaigns from 1991 to 2009 in Poland. There were politicians as well as external consultants. Falsification of their opinions was based on interviews with other consultants working for the same party and on the historical mass media news.

## **THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATION IN POLAND**

Over the twenty years described in the study, 17 election campaigns took place in Poland. This number does not include the elections in 1989, since they were only partially free, and the post-communist party that was supposed to relinquish power, secured itself two thirds of the seats in the Sejm. Apart from this exception, there were 4 presidential campaigns (1990, 1995, 2000, 2005), 6 parliamentary campaigns (1991, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2007), 5 local government (1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006) and 2 European Parliament campaigns (2004, 2009). Moreover there were also 3 referendum campaigns: for general property enfranchisement of citizens (1996), Referendum on the Constitution (1997) and Polish European Union membership referendum (2003). These election campaigns can be divided into three main stages, according to the type of tools used and the manner in which they were conducted:

1. The period of “first marketing experience” between 1990 and 1994, characterized by the use of basic marketing techniques, attempts to transfer the experience of other countries on Polish ground, and the involvement of many people in the

campaign. During this period, the role of political consultants was in most cases minor.

2. The period of “catching up” corresponding to the years 1995–2003, defined by an intensive adaptation of political marketing techniques to the needs of the Polish campaign, a rising use of mass media and an increased role of political consultants.

3. The period of a “permanent campaign” in the years 2004–2009, characterized by an active use of mass communication and the “new media”. During this period the role of political consultants took on a key importance.

## THE PERIOD OF FIRST MARKETING EXPERIENCE

During the period of first marketing experience, the role of political consultants was minor in most cases. This resulted from the “new” Polish democracy, but also from the lack of adequately trained professionals in the field of political marketing. For obvious reasons, it was hard to find professionals in Poland, but foreign advisors were also rarely consulted.

The presidential campaign of 1990 was based on the merits of internal consultants, namely politicians and supporters: people endorsing the candidates, who were preparing the election programs and doing social work. External consultants were providing specialized services. For instance, the campaign team of Roman Bartoszcze hired a group of radio and television campaign experts composed of journalists and producers. The campaign of Tadeusz Mazowiecki gathered the movie director Krzysztof Krauze, the head of one of the publishing houses (responsible for campaign materials), and a journalist, Grzegorz Lindenberg, who was in charge of promotion. Lech Walesa’s team drew professionals from the media industry, among others Andrzej Drzycimski, journalist Wojciech Reszczyński and a team of psychologists from the University of Gdańsk. The only candidate who hired an external advertising agency was Stanisław Tymiński, who delegated promotion to the company Golik & Dąbrowski. He also hired journalists for cooperation with media (Cichosz, 2003; Mazur, 2002).

During the parliamentary campaign of 1991 the situation was similar, even though in public statements, most of the groups indicated full professionalism of their activities and campaign teams composed of experts only. Solidarity, for example, declared “the establishment of expert teams that prepared the election program of Solidarity” (Biskup, 2007, p. 134). The “experts” were specialists who were friends with politicians and supporters of political parties. Here are some examples: TV training for the UD (Democratic Union) was conducted by the movie director Izabella Cywińska, and TV spots were prepared by another director, Waldemar Dziki. Although officially his company, Paleograf, was hired to prepare the TV campaign, Dziki worked on the campaign team on a voluntary basis and prepared the TV spots at cost price and often at his own expense, due to his support for the UD. Similarly, a team of psychologists cooperated with the POC (Center Civic Alliance).

In fact, the team was composed of two friends working part-time for the campaign and totally free of charge.

The POC was also endorsed by a director supporting the party, Paweł Pitera. In fact, the practice of hiring professionals only on exceptional occasions and in technical matters was dominant. The KLD (Liberal Democratic Congress) hired a few experts for a training course for candidates that took place in Cetniewo. The experts' team included psychologists, sociologists, as well as a choreographer and a costume designer. However, none of them was a consultant. Usually it was the technical preparation of materials that external companies were entrusted with. SLD (Democratic Left Alliance) hired an external company to prepare TV spots, posters and folders. Similarly, SLD cooperated with several advertising agencies. During this campaign, foreign consultants made an appearance for the first time. They were independent and not affiliated to any political party, and offered free assistance. For instance, Americans from the National Institute for International Affairs offered training for all political parties. SLD received the help of the United Left (Spain).

In the parliamentary campaign of 1993 the involvement of external firms in planning and conducting the campaign increased significantly. KLD demonstrated this new phenomenon in the largest and on an unprecedented scale, by entrusting the company Saatchi & Saatchi with almost the entire campaign, from its launch through to the printing of posters and the production of TV spots. In the organizational chart of KLD's campaign, the consulting company constituted a virtually separate and parallel structure, whose recommendations were pursued by the members of the campaign's main team. Also BBWR (Nonpartisan Bloc for Support of Reforms) delegated the planning of the campaign to a marketing company. The company agreed to run the campaign at cost price, without generating benefits. However, in this case the involvement of the company in the campaign was related mainly to the preparation of graphics for the campaign's materials and, to a lesser extent, to strategic consulting. Yet, most political groups continued to depreciate the role of external consultants (Biskup, 2007, p. 138).

Similarly, there was little involvement of external consultants in conducting public opinion polls. The campaign team of Stanisław Tymiński was probably the only one to delegate this task to an external institution during the presidential campaign of 1990. During the subsequent campaigns, public *tracking* opinion polls were used, conducted each month by the Center for Public Opinion Research and the Center for Social Opinion Research, and later also by Demoskop and the Laboratory for Public Research. In 1993, the Liberal Democratic Congress for the first time commissioned to conduct a *benchmark poll*. Again, the Liberal Democratic Congress was the first to conduct a few *focus group interview* polls. To sum up, at this stage of the campaign, political consultants acted mainly as consulting staff responsible for content and communication issues. They were usually the candidates' supporters, who often worked free of charge or were recruited on an ad hoc basis.

## THE PERIOD OF CATCHING UP

The “catching up” period of 1995–2003 brought the greater involvement of mass media in the campaign, but also their greater professionalization. Foreign consultants were hired more often, while local ones became more experienced. Nevertheless, experienced party activists remained the heads and strategists of campaign teams.

An event that constituted a turning point was the victory of Aleksander Kwaśniewski in the presidential campaign of 1995. Kwaśniewski’s foreign advisor, who would come to Poland from time to time and would spend many hours with the campaign team, was Jacques Seguela, a former advisor to, among others, François Mitterrand. And even though many other external advisors were involved in the campaign, such as sociologists and psychologists from the University of Warsaw (e.g. Janusz Reykowski, Jerzy Wiatr), the major impact on the success of Kwaśniewski in the elections is attributed to Seguela. He is also considered the creator of the external image of the candidate, that is, the characteristic blue shirt and blue contact lenses. Other campaign teams also benefited from external professional assistance: for instance (Cichosz, 2003), Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Lech Wałęsa cooperated with experts associated with the British Conservative Party. The campaign of Jacek Kuroń gathered, among others, the sociologist Prof. Andrzej Rychard, movie directors Laco Adamik and Jacek Bromski, and the composer Maciej Zembaty. The journalist Henryk Sobierajski was the advisor of Waldemar Pawlak, and the image advisors of Tadeusz Zieliński were sociology professors Szczypiński and Borowicz.

In the parliamentary election campaign of 1997 external companies and advisors were hired mainly for creating strategic concepts, as well as for planning and implementing advertising activities and training courses for the candidates and the campaign teams (Biskup, 2007). UP (Labour Union) hired Grzegorz Banaszak’s Ysso Agency and took advice from the British Labour Party, and even adapted its slogan for the needs of the campaign in Poland (“You deserve better”). UW (Freedom Union) used the (partly paid) advice of Western experts. AWS (Solidarity Electoral Action) hired two advertising agencies. The leaders of AWS participated in media training conducted by well-known journalists. PSL (Polish People’s Party) wanted to hire a Spanish company that had conducted the campaign of the Spanish People’s Party, but a lack of funds made them abandon this project. PSL received assistance from individual experts, such as Andrzej Mleczo, the economist. Furthermore, training courses for less popular candidates were organized in order to increase their chances of gaining seats in the Sejm. They were trained by external experts in fields like strategy building, designing election materials, leaflets distribution, etc. External consultants also helped them to write resumes. SLD did not hire paid advisors, and took only the advice of the friendly French socialists and the Gallup Institute. Yet, the party would organize training courses for the candidates and the campaign teams. Due to a lack of funding, the Movement for Reconstruction of Poland did not hire



experts, and media training was conducted by the party's spokesman, Jacek Kurski. Western training institutes also provided many political parties with their support during the campaign, mostly for free. Scott Carpenter from the International Republican Institute provided advice to AWS, UW and ROP (Movement for Reconstruction of Poland). He trained from 150 to 200 people. Andrew Young from the National Democratic Institute, conducted training for UP, Conservative Party, the KPN (Confederation of Independent Poland), Ruch 100 (Movement 100) and ROP.

The next presidential campaign brought a further increase in the involvement of political advisors, including those more professional. The campaign team of Jarosław Kalinowski involved Gerald Abramczyk, a highly-educated consultant who gained his experience in political marketing in the United States. Marian Krzaklewski was supported by specialists in image creation and cooperation with the media, Joanna Gepfert, Piotr Tymochowicz and a specialist in public opinion polls, Bartłomiej Pawlak. Aleksander Kwaśniewski for a second time accessed the services of Jacques Seguela. During the parliamentary campaign of 2001 the biggest impact among the external consultants was made by American consultants working for UW. They played a major role in the campaign team and had an impact on all other structures at all stages of action. Other sections of the team implemented the concepts of American advisors. Other parties also benefited from external assistance, mainly from Polish companies and advisors. They benefited from the services of advertising agencies, which were entrusted with the preparation of promotional materials as well as television and radio spots. Also, individual consultants were hired in the form of companies or individual experts, as in the most famous case of Piotr Tymochowicz, working with Andrzej Lepper and Samoobrona (Self-Defense).

Throughout the local elections of 2002 and parliamentary elections of 2001 political consultants were gaining larger and larger areas of local and regional political markets. They advised, among others, candidates for councilors of different levels of government, candidates for mayors and conducted local parliamentary election campaigns. Among the external consultants certain names are especially worth mentioning. These are: Wiesław Gałązka, Marzena Cichosz, Sergiusz Trzeciak, Eryk Miste-wicz, Sebastian Drobczyński, Sylwia Wilkos and Witold Ferenc (Polcam Consulting).

During the catching-up period, the importance of external consultants soared, but it was still the best-known politicians and heads of political parties that had a decisive impact on the campaign. Moreover, the use of public opinion polls increased considerably. Ordering benchmark polls and FGI research became the norm.

## THE PERIOD OF PERMANENT CAMPAIGN

I defined the years 2004–2009 as a period of permanent campaign, as conducting campaigns in this period were characterized by significant use of the mass media (in various forms) and an ongoing use of public opinion polls, not only before the elections themselves, but also during the period between the elections (Ornstein &

Mann, 2000). Thus, communication in the campaign has become a more intense element of overall political communication.

This phenomenon is best reflected by the parliamentary campaigns of 2005 and 2007 and the presidential campaign of 2005 that coincided with the parliamentary one. The European Parliament campaigns have had a rather minor meaning, although it is interesting to note that the majority of internal advisors who had an impact on parliamentary campaigns had gained their experience in the EP elections. What is more, the year 2004 was the one when many internet communication tools were applied for the first time in a campaign.

A stabilization of consulting activities took place, reinforced by the fact that the presidential and parliamentary campaigns in 2005 were combined. The two main parties were PO (Civic Platform) and PiS (Law and Justice). In recent years, they have used the services of one permanent team of advisors, coming from the political parties and trained by them. They were assisted by a fixed set of external companies providing specialized technical services, such as the production of spots and the organization of events, such as election conventions.

In PO, those internal consultants (traditional *políticos*) represented the older generation, Rafał Grupiński, responsible for strategy and a younger generation activist, Sławomir Nowak. These party activists (particularly Nowak) had gained experience in commercial marketing activity. Apart from that, for several years the party closely cooperated with Maciej Grabowski from the United PR agency and Adam Łaszyn from the Alert Media Communication agency.

In PiS, two members of the party, Adam Bielan and Michał Kamiński, were responsible for the campaigns. For years, these politicians have been active in public activities. As representatives of the younger generation, they got acquainted with the subsequent stages of political marketing initiation along with their party. They were responsible for communication planning, as well as for organizational and technical preparation of campaigns. Adam Lipiński, representing the older generation, was the internal strategic advisor, in charge of programs and concepts. These politicians were assisted by external companies, as well as Andrzej Orłowski, permanently responsible for the production of TV spots.

Thus, it can be concluded that long-term strategic consulting was implemented in the parties and involved the same people for several years. These two political parties that have dominated the Polish political stage would often access various types of public opinion polls, using the modern techniques of “instant” short surveys, such as telephone CATI surveys or online polls. PiS has even launched their telephone survey lab, located at party headquarters.

Other parties and election committees, even though they did not benefit from permanent and multi-annual guidance, used equally modern and proven methods as well as consulting bodies. These were above all external companies specialized in PR and advertising as well as individual consultants, already mentioned in this study. They would rarely use the assistance of foreign advisers. One of the excep-

tions was the European Parliament campaign of SLD in 2009, when the Polish left again used the help of Jacques Seguela's company. The cooperation with media houses responsible for booking advertising space became the norm.

A particular importance was attached to market analysis carried out in the form of political opinion polls by different research centers. Out of approximately 120 companies performing market research and public opinion polls in Poland (data by the Polish Association of Market and Opinion Researchers), only ten receive orders from the world of politics. Recently these were: the Center for Social Opinion Research, GfK Polonia, Homo Homini, Ipsos-Demoskop, TNS OBOP, PBS DGA, Pentor, and The Polish Research Group, SMG/KRC.

## TYPES OF POLITICAL CONSULTING IN POLAND

What then, are the types and models of consulting that have been developing in Poland in recent years? One shall obtain the answer to this question by comparing the various periods of conducting campaigns and placing this comparison against a background of global phenomena. A five-degree frequency scale was implemented (never, rarely, moderately often, often and very often).

Table 1. Incidence of types of consultants in Poland, according to the typology by Farell, Kolodny, Medvic

Type of consultants	Election campaign period		
	First marketing experience (1990–1994)	Catching up (1995–2003)	Permanent campaign (2004–2009)
Marketers	often	moderately often	never
Sellers	never	rarely	often
Traditional <i>politicos</i>	never	rarely	moderately often
Strategists	never	never	rarely

Source: author.

What stems from the data in Table 1 is that the historically earliest type of consultants, that is the marketers, disappears in Polish political campaigns. On the other hand, the “sellers”, that is external companies providing specialized services for political entities, become more and more popular. In Poland, these are above all the entities involved in the production of political advertising, election market research, internet communication services and mediation in the sale of advertising space. The category of traditional *politicos* keeps on growing, although at a slower pace. What makes our country specific in this matter is the fact that *politicos* are mostly internal consultants, working within specific political parties. Few of them (mainly those less known to the public) decide to quit their job for their mother

party and establish their own consulting company. In my view, this is due to the still small segment of clients for consultants in Poland, that is a relatively low demand for their services. It is also linked with a certain “stigmatization” of consultants from political parties. They are considered advocates of one political option, permanently tied to one worldview.

Table 2. Incidence of types of advisers in Poland according to the typology by Dobek-Ostrowska

Type of consultants	Election campaign period		
	First marketing experience (1990–1994)	Catching up (1995–2003)	Permanent campaign (2004–2009)
Individual: managerial staff	rarely	moderately often	often
Individual: consultation staff	moderately often	often	very often
Individual: technical staff	moderately often	often	often
Companies: global consulting	never	rarely	rarely
Companies: fragmentary consulting	moderately often	often	often

Source: author.

Table 2 shows the increasing role of individual consultants in election campaigns, particularly of consultation staff, which in fact has been present in campaigns since 1990, and the managerial staff, whose significance rose in recent years of conducting campaigns. By contrast, consulting companies are performing much worse, as they are rarely entrusted with comprehensive political campaigns. Thus, they usually carry out only certain parts of the campaign. Moreover, they are not numerous on the market. My research indicates that as for 2001 there were approximately 20 individual consultants in Poland performing their activities on a national scale. In theory, there were about 50 consulting companies, as this is the number of ventures that declare services in the field of political marketing in their offer, but having verified the experience of these companies, it appeared that most of them have added this type of activity to their list, but they do not execute them. Therefore, the actual number of companies active in political marketing amounts to 10.

Table 3. Incidence of consulting types in Poland according to the author’s own typology

Type of consulting	Election campaign period		
	First marketing experience (1990–1994)	Catching up (1995–2003)	Permanent campaign (2004–2009)
Know-how	rarely	rarely	moderately often
Communication	often	very often	very often
Personal	never	never	rarely

Source: author.

I suggested the completion of existing types of consulting by new types in the introduction of this article. Table 3 demonstrates that supplement and shows that the most popular form is communication consulting, that is, advising on how to show, communicate or colloquially speaking, how to “sell”. Know-how consulting has a small share, as it is carried out mainly by research and parascience centers and still forming think-tanks (e.g. the Institute of Public Affairs, the Sobieski Institute, the Jagiellonian Institute, the Adam Smith Center, etc.). Finally, personal consulting is barely present, as is the career development of politicians. This type of consulting is represented by only a few cases in Poland. It is possible to estimate that after 20 years of transformation of know-how consulting corresponds to 10%, communication consulting equals 85% and 5% refers to the work of personal consultants.

## CONCLUSION

Taking the above statements into consideration and with reference to the campaign models established by Farrell, Kolodny and Medvic, one can reason that Poland corresponds to the young democracy model. The New Democracies Model is applicable, as one could distinguish such characteristic features as the quick learning of political marketing methods and techniques, or transferring the tools of American campaigns to Polish ground. On the other hand, the role of advisers, although steadily rising, is closer to the Western European model. This is because these are the party leaders, not advisers, who are responsible for election campaigns in Poland and take all the key decisions. Even the two exceptions to this rule highlighted in this study (the SLD campaign of 1993 and UW campaign of 2001) did not make a break with traditional patterns. Thus, political parties remain the base of a campaign. What can have the impact on such a lack of evolution in the direction of the American Exception Model is the fact that Poland has a parliamentary cabinet system in Poland with a significant role of the president, not the classic presidential one.

The studies presented above, as well as the careful observation and analysis of the political consulting market in Poland allow us to outline the likely vision of the development of political consulting, which can be found in the following areas:

Firstly, the number and the role of strategists as political advisors will increase. This is due to the improving training of specialists in this field, growing possibilities for international exchange and opportunities to participate in political campaigns in other countries, as well as with more better-trained local specialists in this field, who transfer their knowledge to future generations. The popularity of specializations related to marketing and political consulting is constantly rising, and university units specialized in this area are besieged with candidates. A lot of educated young people express their willingness to work for political parties and to learn this profession in practice.

Secondly, personal consulting also indicates a potential for growth. Of course, planning the career of a politician with the right expertise and research is expensive,

but Polish society is becoming more affluent and politicians will start to recognize the profitability of such expenses having political careers in perspective. They will begin to see personal consulting as an investment that might protect them from major personal and political errors.

Thirdly, a chance for the development of personal consulting will be local government elections. They remain an area irregularly penetrated by advisors, but indicate the growing need of campaign professionalization.

Fourthly, the role of long-term strategic consulting, developing coherent and durable concepts in politics, may also increase.

To conclude, political consulting in Poland has gone through a rather rapid and dynamic evolution. It has offset many historical losses against the United States and Western Europe, refusing however to accept entirely any of the principal models. By following the "third" way of new democracies we develop our specific, national models of action. Time will tell which way we go further. After all, we are only 20 years after the change in political regimes and still at the stage of transition.

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