
POLISH POLITICAL SCIENCE
VOL XLI 2012
PL ISSN 0208-7375

**POLISH ELECTION TO THE EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT IN 2009 AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL.
THE ANALYSIS OF COMPETITION
IN THE KUYAVIAN-POMERANIAN VOIVODESHIP**

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship constitutes one of the smallest of the Polish voivodeships. It is composed of nineteen land districts and four city counties, including Bydgoszcz, Torun, Wloclawek and Grudziadz. According to the data provided by the Public Electoral Commission (PKW), in 2009 the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship was inhabited by more than 2 million people, 1.65 million of whom had the right to vote¹.

Despite the relatively small number of inhabitants, due to provisions of the act regulating the process of voting for the Members of the European Parliament, the voivodeship in question became a separate electoral district with the electoral commission located in Bydgoszcz. This decision was influenced mostly by members of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) representing this region in the Polish Parliament². This lobbying activity seemed beneficial from the party's perspective, since SLD has been gain-

¹ <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/W/2.htm>, DOE June 2, 2009.

² It is Worth mentioning that in 2003, during the work on the act regulating the election to the EP, the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship could boast a strong representation in the most influential parliamentary club. In the Parliament, the region was

ing extraordinary support in the region³. But for this lobbying, the voivodeship under consideration would have been included in one district together with the Pomeranian Voivodeship, where the majority of voters are prone to give their support to the right-wing and centre-wing parties.

Among all the districts, the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship has the smallest number of electors, which constitutes an essential barrier for the candidates wishing to be MPs. Due to the specificity of the system according to which votes are transferred into seats, electoral success in this particular region depends on two factors. The first one is the high level of voter turnout. The second consists in the accumulation of the political support of those committees, whose votes achieved at the state level could be transferred into sufficient number of seats⁴.

As a result of the electors' decision, in 2004 the second factor did not occur simultaneously. In consequence, during the fourth term of office of the European Parliament the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship was represented by merely one person, namely Tadeusz Zwiefka (PO), known as a popular presenter on Polish Television. Still, it is worth highlighting that among all the districts, the one under consideration had the smallest representation, and that the region was given the last but one out of the

represented by 14 MPs (out of the 25 chosen in the two districts of the voivodeship) and 5 senators.

³ Apart from the success in the parliamentary election in 2001, in the first election to voivodeships sejmiks in 1998, the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship was the only province where SLD won the absolute majority of seats. Four years later the party won 13 out of 33 seats in the Sejmik of the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship (31.8% of votes) and continued the coalition with the Polish People's Party (PSL). W. Peszyński, A. Seklecka, *Przepis na egzotyczną koalicję. O wyborach samorządowych w kujawsko-pomorskim*, [in:] *Wybory do sejmików województw w 2006 roku*, eds. R. Alberski, M. Cichosz, Ł. Tomczak, Wrocław 2010, pp. 35–52.

⁴ The manner of transferring votes into seats adopted in the Polish electoral system was discussed in detail by Rafał Głajcar (R. Głajcar, *System wyborczy do Parlamentu Europejskiego w Polsce*, [in:] *Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego w Polsce 2009*, eds. R. Głajcar, W. Wojtasik, Katowice 2010, 54–66) or Bartłomiej Michalak (B. Michalak, *Model podziału na okręgi wyborcze do PE w Polsce*, "Studia Wyborcze" 2010, Vol. X, pp. 7–17.).

54 seats. For that reason, the threat of having no representation in the European Parliament at all was particularly close⁵.

Table 1. The results of the election to the European Parliament in 2004 in the second district (Bydgoszcz) in comparison to the results at the state level.

Committee	Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship		Poland		Difference in votes (%)
	% votes	seats	% votes	seats	
Civic Platform (PO)	24.01	1	24.10	15	-0.09
League of Polish Families (LPR)	15.81		15.92	10	-0.11
Self-Defense (Samoobrona)	11.79		10.78	6	+1.01
Freedom Union (UW)	10.75		7.33	4	+3.42
Democratic Left Alliance–Labour Union (SLD–UP)	10.72		9.35	5	+1.37
Law and Justice (PiS)	9.15		12.62	7	-3.47
Polish People’s Party (PSL)	6.93		6.34	4	+0.59
Social Democracy of Poland (SDPL)	4.85		5.33	3	-0.48

Source: Based on the data provided by PKW, <http://www.pe2004.pkw.gov.pl/>, May 30, 2011.

The analysis of the personal aspect of competition in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship leads to the following conclusions. The person elected MP comes from outside the region. Although Zwiefka comes from Tuchola, one of the cities situated in the province in question, at that particular time had been professionally connected to Poznan. What is more, he was the only person not directly associated with politics who achieved success in this particular election. Zwiefka was given the third position on the party’s electoral list and managed to defeat the “number

⁵ So far, both Polish elections to the European Parliament was regulated by the provisions of the act know as the European Parliament Electoral Law of January 23, 2004 (Dz. U. nr 25, poz. 219). Since August 1, 2011, all the elections and referenda will be regulated by Electoral Code of January 5, 2011 (Dz. U. nr 21, poz. 112).

one” candidate, that was Jacek Bendykowski from Gdansk⁶. What is particularly worth highlighting, Anna Sobecka (LPR, 36609 votes) and Marian Filar (UW, 29185 votes), despite having a greater number of votes than Zwiefka, lost the election⁷. This was due to the specificity of electoral law. As previously stated, the rule of proportionality accumulated with the small number of potential voters. What contributed to this situation was also a low turnout (18,7%)⁸.

In the elections that were conducted between the election to the European Parliament, in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship the same political subjects, that is PiS in 2005 (in both Torun and Bydgoszcz) and PO in the two following years, used to achieve the highest results (table 2).

Table 2. The proportional results of the parliamentary elections in 2005 and 2007 and of the elections to voivodeship sejmiks in 2006 in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship and at the state level.

	Parliamentary election 2005			Election to voivodeship sejmiks 2006			Parliamentary election 2007		
	Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship	Poland	Difference	Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship	Poland	Difference	Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship	Poland	Difference
Civic Platform (PO)	19.72	24.14	-4.42	26.56	27.35	-0.79	41.76	41.54	+0.22
Law and Justice (PiS)	23.63	26.99	-3.36	21.84	25.12	-3.28	25.44	32.11	-5.67

⁶ In the 2004 election there were four cases when the person situated with a further position on the electoral list succeeded in defeating the “number one” candidate and winning the seat in the PE. In three of them the winner occupied the second location. Zwiefka was the only one with the third position (W. Peszyński, *Pierwsze wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego w Polsce*, Toruń 2007, pp. 133–135).

⁷ See T. Okraska, *Określ wyborczy nr 2 – Bydgoszcz*, in *Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego w Polsce 2009*, eds. R. Glajcar, W. Wojtasik, Katowice 2010, pp. 285–286.

⁸ The voters turnout in the 2004 election amounted to 20.87%. The only country with a lower result was Slovakia.

	Parliamentary election 2005			Election to voivodeship sejmiks 2006			Parliamentary election 2007		
	Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship	Poland	Difference	Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship	Poland	Difference	Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship	Poland	Difference
Democratic Left Alliance (SLD)/ Left and Democracy (LiD ¹)	15.21	11.31	+3.90	20.19	14.36	+5.73	18.68	13.15	+5.53
Polish People's Party (PSL)	6.61	6.95	-0.34	12.13	13.09	-0.96	9.99	8.91	+1.08

¹ In the election of 2006 and 2007 the candidates of the Democratic Left Alliance were included on the electoral lists of the Left and Democracy coalition (SLD+SDPL+PD+UP).

Source: Based on the data provided by PKW, www.pkw.gov.pl, June 3, 2011.

The above comparison of the proportional results achieved by political parties in particular elections allows us to notice specific tendencies in the electoral behaviour of the inhabitants of the province in question. First of all, when compared to the country as a whole, the electors of this voivodeship are more prone to support the left-wing. Secondly, the rate of votes collected by PiS was relatively lower. What is more, it was as late as 2007 when PO started to achieve higher support.

2. THE STRATEGIC GOALS OF THE SUBJECTS OF COMPETITION

The second Polish election to the European Parliament opened the cycle of elections planned for the years 2009–2011. Due to the minor significance of the election in question⁹, political parties treated it as one of

⁹ The research conducted so far unequivocally shows that the election to the European Parliament belongs to the category of “second-order elections”, formulated by Kar-

a phase of long term strategy designed to achieve the highest possible results in the presidential and parliamentary elections that were to take place in 2010 and 2011 respectively.

In the second district, ten committees presented their lists and together registered 95 candidates. That was the smallest number among all the districts¹⁰. Long before the official campaign started it had been very probable that The Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship might expect a repeat of the situation that occurred five years earlier. This was caused by the then political position of PO, whose goal was to win more than half of all the seats available at state level. The party's authorities in the region in question planned to place two of their candidates in the European Parliament. What is more, due to certain conflicts that occurred in the coalition in the Sejmik of the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship (PO, PiS, SLD, Self Defense), the most popular party in the region treated the election to the European Parliament as a phase of building electoral loyalty in the perspective of the next election to the "regional parliament", which was to result in future independence in governing the region.

Although according to the preelection prognoses, PiS could expect to win several seats at the state level, due to a low popularity of this party in the region in question and a small number of voters, gaining even a single seat in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship was not an easy task for that party. SLD, in the previous elections, in the region under consideration achieved one of the highest results in Poland. Still, due to their political position at that time, in order to succeed in the election, that

lheinze Reif i Herman Schmitt (E. Dydak, *Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 86–93; R. Wiszniowski, *Europejska przestrzeń polityczna*, Wrocław 2008, p. 208). Also the analysis of the Polish election conducted by Waldemar Wojtasik confirmed the occurrence of all the elements stating for the second-class character of the election in question (W. Wojtasik, *Polskie wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego w świetle koncepcji peryferyczności*, [in:] *Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego. Prawne, polityczne i społeczne aspekty wyborów*, eds. A. Sokala, B. Michalak, A. Frydrych, R. Zych, Toruń 2010, pp. 133–148).

¹⁰ It ought to be mentioned that the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship was the only district in which three candidates could not be registered due to the fact that they were sentenced by court for intentional offences. Two of them represented the Agreement for the Future "Centre and Left" and one Self-Defense (T. Okrasa, *Okręg...*, p. 291).

left-wing party had to gain a significant number of votes in the district and win as many seats at country level as possible.

PSL treated all the elections to the European Parliament very seriously, which was reflected in placing the party's political leaders on the electoral lists. This strategy was planned to strengthen the political image of the party in the perspective of the next elections. PSL was bound to go beyond the election threshold, but had hardly any chance to win a seat in the region. The remaining political subjects hoped to cross the boundary of 5% of votes and consolidate their position before the next election, regarded as a more important one. Taking into consideration the specificity of the political market, only the four major parties were likely to win a seat in the European Parliament in this particular election.

3. THE CANDIDATES

For the political subjects competing in the proportional election, including the election to the European Parliament, the main factor that may contribute to the electoral success resides in the selection of proper candidates¹¹. This is particularly apparent in the personal strategies adopted by political parties in the elections to the European Parliament. According to Waldemar Wojtasik, when the number of seats in relatively small (50), political parties are forced to engage parliamentarians, not only from Strasburg but also from Warsaw, as their candidates¹². The next category of candidates is formed by local and regional party activists, mostly those associated with the self-government institutions. The third group includes people who became popular due to their public activity. Last but not least, there are also candidates so far not associated with politics.

In the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, two members of the European Parliament were fighting for reelection. While the candidacy of

¹¹ The subject of particular types of personal strategies is discussed in D. Skrzypiński, *Strategie partii politycznych*, [in:] *Marketing polityczny w teorii i praktyce*, eds. A.W. Jabłoński, L. Sobkowiak, Wrocław 2002, pp. 142–143.

¹² W. Wojtasik, *Polskie...*, p. 143.

Tadeusz Zwiefka from PO was expected¹³, voters would be surprised by the fact that PiS had selected Ryszard Czarnecki, who was chosen a member of the European Parliament in 2004 in the district of Wrocław, as the leader of its list. It is worth reminding, that at first PiS did not plan to place many party's leaders on the list, with the exception of Zbigniew Ziobro. This could be observed in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, where Kosma Zlotowski, the former president of Bydgoszcz, a member of the third cadence of Sejm and a senator of the fourth cadence, was to take the highest position on the list¹⁴. Therefore, the appearance of Ryszard Czarnecki on the list in the second district constituted a kind of modification of the party's personal strategy and a direct response to PO's personal shifts, that is the engagement of such renowned figures as Danuta Hübner or Marian Krzaklewski, deriving from beyond the party¹⁵. Czarnecki, who originally comes from Wrocław, did not fight for reelection in this "mother district" since, due to the appearance of the party's leaders on the list, it was Ryszard Legutko who became the "number one" candidate in the Lower Silesian and Opole Voivodeships.

In the district under analysis, four members of the Polish Sejm competed for the seat in the European Parliament¹⁶. Among them, Eugeniusz Klopotek and Janusz Zemke were the most popular ones. Although the leader of the SLD list is a citizen of Warsaw, he was not treated as a "political parachutist", since all his electoral successes were achieved in the

¹³ The central authorities of PO planned to make Paweł Zalewski from Warsaw, previously PiS member, the leader of its electoral list, which met strong objection of the local authorities of the party (AM, *PO chciała aby Zbigniew Boniek reprezentował kujawsko-pomorskie w eurowyborach*, "Gazeta Pomorska", 29.03.2009).

¹⁴ P. Przybylski, *Dzieje się w bydgoskim PiS*, "Express Bydgoski", 22.04.2009.

¹⁵ W. Peszyński, *Personalizacja zachowań wyborców i wybieranych. Analiza porównawcza polskich elekcji do Parlamentu Europejskiego w 2004 i w 2009 roku*, [in:] *Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego. Media i marketing polityczny*, eds. M. Jeziński, W. Peszyński, A. Seklecka, Toruń 2010, p. 200–201.

¹⁶ In 2004 five members of the Polish Sejm unsuccessfully fought for a seat in the European Parliament. Apart from already mentioned Anna Sobecka, they were Jerzy Wenderlich and Grazyna Ciemniak from SLD, as well as Eugeniusz Klopotek and Zbigniew Sosnowski from PSL.

district of Bydgoszcz¹⁷. This strengthened Zemke's position as a serious candidate. Kłopotek was given a different role. His participation fulfilled the personal strategy of PSL, that is to include on its list as many parliamentarians as possible¹⁸.

The remaining Members of Parliament were situated from more distant positions. Janusz Dzieciol, the candidate of the Civic Platform placed at number ten and the winner of the Big Brother show, in favorable circumstances could be successful. The participation of Tomasz Latos (the third place on the list of PiS), on the other hand, was designed to strengthen the leader's position. This candidate, however, provided that a proper strategy was applied, had a chance to collect more votes than Ryszard Czarnecki¹⁹.

During national elections, Polish political parties tend to strengthen their lists with candidates known as self-government activists. Those who planned to stand for the office of presidents of cities, mayors, village-mayors and members of city councils, treated the election to the European Parliament as an important phase in the preparation for the 2010 self-government election. This was particularly apparent among members of voivodeship councils. The vice-president of the Voivodeship Sejmik,

¹⁷ What ought to be especially highlighted is Zemke's result in the 2005 parliamentary election, at which time SLD was not particularly popular. Among all the candidates in the district, he achieved the best result (33672 votes, 11.81% of all the votes in the district), beating the leaders of other committees. In this way he helped two other SLD candidates, that is Sławomir Jędralski and Grażyna Ciemniak, to become MPs. In 2007 Zemke collected 42347 votes, which gave 10.11% of all the votes collected in the region. (Data provided by PKW, http://www.pkw.gov.pl/pkw2/index.jsp?place=Menu01&news_cat_id=21604&layout=1, [3.06.2011]).

¹⁸ A. Seklecka, *Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe – Głosuj na swoich!*, [in:] *Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego. Media i marketing polityczny*, eds. M. Jeziński, W. Peszyński, A. Seklecka, Toruń 2010, pp. 369–370.

¹⁹ It is worth mentioning at this point that one of the parliamentarians who took into consideration the participation from the list of the Agreement for the Future "Centre and Left" was Marek Borowski (M. Stremplewska, *Eurowybory. Kto wystartuje z naszego regionu?*, "Gazeta Pomorska", 8.03.2009). However, the former Marshal of the Sejm decided to stand in the Lublin region. It should be also noticed that Anna Sobecka from Toruń was registered as a number one candidate in the Greater Poland Voivodeship by the Libertas committee.

Ryszard Bober (PSL), was given third position on the party's list. The last, tenth name on that list was that of Silvana Oczkowska, a member of the voivodeship council. Among the candidates of Self Defense the most promising were Piotr Wolski, situated at number six, the vice-president of the Voivodeship Sejmik, and Bartosz Nowacki, a member of that body, located with the ninth position.

The chairperson of the Voivodeship Sejmik left-wing club, Stanislaw Pawlak²⁰, also decided to participate in the election in question. He was placed on the SLD-UP list at number four. Other self-government activists could be found among the candidates of this committee as well, including the vice-president of Wloclawek, Jacek Kuzniewicz (no.6), a member of the Golub-Dobrzyn County council, Danuta Brzostowska (no.7) and aldermen from Bydgoszcz and Torun, Anna Mackiewicz (no.3) and Jaroslaw Najberg (no.8). This strategy, that is engaging persons publicly known as members of local authorities, aimed at strengthening the leader's position. The above-mentioned candidates were fully aware of their function and often described the SLD-UP list as "Zemke Team"²¹.

As regards persons holding the highest office in self-government authorities, they were not engaged on the lists as eagerly as members of city or county councils. Apart from the already-mentioned vice-president of Wloclawek, such people appeared on the lists of PSL and PiS. The former party promoted the starost of Lipno, Krzysztof Baranowski (no.6), while the latter a Vogt of the Lubianka village, Jerzy Zajakala.

In comparison to the previous election, the number of figures connected with broadly understood popular culture, that is journalists, artists and sportspeople, were significantly smaller. This tendency was also observable in the voivodeship under consideration. Zbigniew Boniek²², one of the best Polish footballers ever, and a popular singer Maryla Rodowicz refused to participate in the election as members of PO and PdP Centre-left committee lists respectively. Instead of Rodowicz, the party

²⁰ Stanislaw Pawlak has certain parliamentarian experience, since he was an MP of the second and third cadences of the Polish Sejm.

²¹ J. Najberg, *Europoseł musi być stąd*, an interview for "Gazeta Pomorska", 30.04.2009.

²² AM, *PO chciała...*

accepted the candidacy of Władysław Gollob, a speedway coach and the father of Tomasz Gollob, the most prominent Polish speedway competitor.

Rather than celebrities, in 2009 election parties preferred to have scientists on their lists²³, which could be observed in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship as well. As its leader, the Libertas committee chose Jacek Kozłowski (AGH Cracow), whose scientific interests focused on geothermal sources of energy and who used his knowledge and experience to help Tadeusz Rydzyk doing boreholes. Such a decision could be understood as an attempt to gain the listeners of Radio Maryja as their supporters. Piotr Petrykowski, the vice-dean of the Faculty of Education Sciences of the University of Torun, was placed in second position on the PSL list. This strategy was designed to encourage people from outside the party's traditional electorate, in particular students and the citizens of Torun. The reasons why Marek Krzysztof Kolasinski, a notary public and university lecturer specializing in European law, took the second position on the PO list were of a different kind. By doing so the party wanted to send a clear message that it has competent specialists among its candidates, who are well-prepared to hold offices in the European Parliament.

It was typical of all the political subjects involved in the election in question to choose candidates associated with Bydgoszcz, such as Zemke or Kłopotek, as the leaders of their lists and to place those connected with Torun, including Kolasinski (PO), Kruszynski (SLD), Petrykowski (PSL) and Przybylski (PiS), on the second list. This strategy was justified by the willingness to encourage the voters from the two biggest cities of the region, that is one fourth of the total number of voters, to a given list. It is also worth remembering that Bydgoszcz is a city with particularly high voter turnout²⁴. Due to the total number of voters 292,000 registered in the region, it was essential to encourage as many citizens of Bydgoszcz as possible to vote for a given committee. In this aspect also the figures in

²³ W. Peszyński, *Personalizacja...*, pp. 202–203.

²⁴ In 2005 the turnout was 3.7% higher than at the country level. Two years later it amounted to 62.27% in Bydgoszcz and 53.88% in the country as a whole (data provided by PKW, http://www.pkw.gov.pl/pkw2/index.jsp?place=Menu01&news_cat_id=22&layout=1, DOE 4.06.2011).

third position on the lists played an important role. Here PiS chose Tomasz Latos, an MP, SLD-UP Anna Mackiewicz, a member of the city council and PO Konstanty Adam Dombrowicz, a son of the president of Bydgoszcz, Konstanty Dombrowicz senior²⁵.

4. THE CAMPAIGN

The specificity of the election under consideration has no influence on the strategies used by the candidates to encourage their potential supporters. In every election committees or candidates themselves try to gain support by means of public relations techniques, indirect campaigning or political advertising.

However, unlike in the case of other elections, in 2009 the campaign was dominated by certain activities aiming to increase the turnout. It was particularly visible in the region under analysis, where the electoral success of many political subjects depended on people's participation. For that reason, at the beginning of the campaign, the leaders of the four major parties signed a document which constituted an appeal to the inhabitants of the region to take part in the election²⁶. Also the authorities of Torun and Bydgoszcz tried to encourage people to vote. The two cities entered into a kind of competition and each of them took certain actions to achieve the higher turnout²⁷.

Two candidates of the Civic Platform tried to take advantage of this situation. Konstanty Dombrowicz was helped by his father, the president of Bydgoszcz, who used his authority to encourage citizens to take part in the election by means of an advertisement broadcast on local television.

²⁵ It was as late as in April when Konstanty Adam Dombrowicz appeared in the list. He replaced another figure from Bydgoszcz, Krzysztof Sikora, the chairperson of the Voivodeship Sejmik. Sikora's resignation was caused by certain misunderstandings between him and the voivodeship authorities of the party (P. Przybylski, *Dombrowicz na liście PO*, "Express Bydgoski", 6.04.2009).

²⁶ H. Walencykowska, *Na wybory chwilowo zjednoczeni*, "Express Bydgoski", 28.04.2009.

²⁷ P. Przybylski, *Głosami wspieramy region*, "Express Bydgoski", 26.05.2009.

What is more, a special issue of “Kurier Ratuszowy”, that is a paper published by the City Council of Bydgoszcz, was devoted to the subject of the election²⁸. Due to the fact that both the father and the son have the same names and surnames, this strategy was designed to gain supporters for this particular candidate. Another proof of that is that the president of Bydgoszcz’s official website, financed by the City Council, automatically directed its users to the website of Konstanty Dombrowicz junior²⁹. In Torun it was Kolasinski who tried to use the competition between cities for his own benefit. During the happening organized by Fundacja Kopernikanska he put his signature under the slogan “Who doesn’t vote is from Bydgoszcz”, by doing which he exposed himself to strong criticism from the media associated with the biggest city of the region³⁰.

The Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship constituted of very few districts where a debate between the leaders of PiS and PO, advised by Prime Minister Tusk, was organized. Zwiefka and Czarnecki met twice, on the 17th of May in Torun and two weeks later in Wloclawek. At first, the organizers of the debates planned to also invite the leaders of PSL and SLD-UP. However, both Zemke and Kłopotek boycotted the events to express their objection against Czarnecki’s candidacy³¹.

Kolasinski tried to build his political image using certain features of that of the leader of PiS. At the beginning of May he invited Czarnecki to a debate concerning the development of the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, by handing him a pair of boxing gloves³². Though the happening was fairly impressive, it did not bring the expected effect, since the politician from Wroclaw decided not to enter into political debates with candidates not in the leading positions on their lists.

The decision of PiS concerning Czarnecki’s participation in the election lead to certain conflicts within the party. As a sign of protest, Wojciech Mojzesowicz, a Member of Parliament and a former Minister of Agriculture, left the party. Kosma Zlotowski, who was previously the “number

²⁸ S. Bobbe, *Prezydent żoną cezara nie jest*, “Express Bydgoski”, 28.05.2009.

²⁹ H. Walencykowska, *Akcja dombrowicz.pl*, “Express Bydgoski”, 18.05.2009.

³⁰ N. Waloch, *Bydgoszcz wyzwana*, “Gazeta Wyborcza” (Toruń), 26.05.2009.

³¹ P. Przybylski, *Odesłać z wilczym biletem*, “Express Bydgoski”, 19.05.009.

³² K. Lietz, *Prawie jak na pojedynek*, “Nowości”, 5.05.2009.

one” on the party’s list³³, decided not to stand at all. The club was also left by two members of the Voivodeship Sejmik³⁴. Also Zbigniew Girzyński publicly expressed his disapproval for such a decision³⁵ and supported the campaign of Przemysław Przybylski. What is more, the candidate from Torun was given Tadeusz Rydzyk’s backing³⁶. The director of Radio Maryja used his medial power to campaign for Przybylski³⁷.

Rydzyk was not the only recognizable person who gave backing to the participants of the campaign. Aneta Szczepanska, who won a silver medal during the Olympic Games in 1996, supported the candidacy of Ryszard Czarnecki³⁸. Wojciech Olejniczak helped in Jarosław Najberg’s (SLD-UP) campaign. However, it was Kolasinski who collected the widest team of supporters, including Michał Zaleski, the non-party president of Torun, Piotr Calbecki (PO), the Marshal of the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, and Robert Malinowski (PO), the president of Grudziądz. Their support could be observed in the television advertisements of this candidate³⁹, broadcast by local cable TV stations. Kolasinski was also backed up by all the PO parliamentarians connected with Torun. What is more, he was supported by the guitarist of a popular music band Republika, Zbigniew Krzywanski, and Marek Kowalik, a former member of Apator Torun speedway team.

³³ P. Przybylski, *Dzieje się w bydgoskim PiS*, “Express Bydgoski”, 22.04.2009.

³⁴ At the beginning of May, as a sign of protest against giving Czarnecki the position of a leader, the club was left by Ryszard Grobelski and Regina Ostrowska, who then both supported PO.

³⁵ Z. Girzyński, *Spadochroniarz to nie to*, wywiad dla “Express Bydgoski”, 28.04.2009.

³⁶ It is worth highlighting that Rydzyk’s decision to back up Przybylski, similarly as in case of Arkadiusz Mularczyk and Urszula Krupa, constituted a sign of disapproval for Jarosław Kaczyński’s personal decisions, as only those candidates who at that particular moment were beyond the circle of Kaczyński’s favorites were supported. In that way Rydzyk wanted to show that he did not reckon with Kaczyński’s opinions.

³⁷ *Eurowybory w regionie. Świetny wynik Przemysława Przybylskiego faworyta ojca Rydzyka*, “Gazeta Pomorska”, 9.06.2009.

³⁸ M. Goździalska, *Kandydaci do Parlamentu nie próżnują*, “Gazeta Pomorska”, 1.06.2009.

³⁹ The television advertisement of Marek Kolasinski, TVK Torun, the author’s own recording.

In his campaign, Kolasinski focused on the area of the old voivodeship of Torun. The marketing aspects were based on a direct campaign, which can be illustrated with an intensive promotion of his book, devoted to journeys to certain exotic places. For this reason the candidate organized numerous meetings, mostly in small towns of the region⁴⁰. Photos taken in these exotic areas were used to promote the candidate on a popular social networking service “Nasza Klasa”, where he collected the greatest number of friends in comparison to his competitors.

Cyberspace was used by other candidates as well. The majority of them based their virtual activity on traditional forms, such as online advertisement, websites, blogs or social networking services. However, certain candidates went beyond that idea, including Najberg (SLD-UP), on whose website a quiz “Unmask the Parachutist” was placed. The main aim of this quiz, consisting of several questions, was to ridicule Czarnecki and Zwiefka.

What is worth mentioning at this point is a hacker attack on Janusz Zemke’s website⁴¹. The candidate, rather than online activity, based his campaign on advertisements published in local press (“Gazeta Pomorska”, “Nowosci”, “Express Bydgoski”) and on meetings with the inhabitants of the region. The participants in the election who were most frequently visible on billboards placed on the streets of Torun and Bydgoszcz were Czarnecki and Zwiefka. Anna Mackiewicz (SLD-UP), on the other hand, in her campaign used a car stylized on that used by the main character of the “Kill Bill” movie⁴².

The campaign under way was not free of lawsuits. The leader of Law and Order instituted an action against Lech Walesa. The reason for such a decision was the words of the former president of the Republic of Poland, who said that Czarnecki had not fought for Poland and had come to the country when everything was stable, and that he wrote blogs for money⁴³. However, on the strength of the court decision the process did not get

⁴⁰ M. Smól, *Spotkanie z podróżnikiem Krzysztofem Kolasieńskim*, “Gazeta Pomorska”, 1.04.2009.

⁴¹ H. Walencykowska, *Wyborcza wojna wirusów*, “Express Bydgoski”, 29.05.2009.

⁴² S. Bobbe, *Kampania śladem Kill Billa*, “Express Bydgoski”, 26.05.2009.

⁴³ P. Przybylski, *Do regionu tylko wpada*, “Express Bydgoski”, 22.04.2009.

started, since Walesa did not get run for a seat in the European Parliament, which gave no basis for an electoral lawsuit.

In the last week of the campaign, a legal process between Zwiefka and Radio Maryja took place. What made Zwiefka bring his action to law was the information, published after a German station RTL, that in 2008 Zwiefka during one of the sessions signed the attendance list, took his allowance and left the council-chamber⁴⁴. At first, Zwiefka addressed his suit to the district court in Torun; however, due to the fact that the candidate lived in Poznan, the process took place in that city⁴⁵. Zwiefka won the case and Radio Maryja was forced to apologize the candidate⁴⁶. In that way Zwiefka became the first politician who had the courage to take legal action against Rydzyk and in won the process.

5. THE RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN – SUMMARY

As a result of electorate's decisions and other favorable circumstances, the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship tripled the number of its representatives in the European Parliament. The voters' turnout amounted to 23.36%, that is 4.66% more than in the 2004 election, which gave the district seventh position in the whole country⁴⁷. The biggest participation of voters was noticed in the municipalities of Ciechocinek (34.14%), Torun (33.7%) and Bydgoszcz (33.29%), while the smallest was in the Radziejow district (13.71%)⁴⁸.

Not surprisingly, it was the Civic Platform that collected the greatest number of votes. What is interesting, second position was taken by the SLD-UP coalition, which taking into considerations its result at country

⁴⁴ S. Bobbe, K. Lietz, *Europoseł kontra radio*, "Express Bydgoski", 30–31.05.2009.

⁴⁵ M. W-G, *Sąd zdecydował: sprawą Zwiefka kontra Radio Maryja zajmie się sąd w Poznaniu*, "Gazeta Pomorska", 1.06.2009.

⁴⁶ P. Przybylski, *O. Rydzyk przegrywa w sądzie*, "Express Bydgoski", 3.06.2009.

⁴⁷ Data provided by the PKW, <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/F/index.htm>, 19.06.2011.

⁴⁸ Data provided by the PKW, <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/F/2.htm>, 19.06.2011.

level, constituted a real sensation, as the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship was the only region where the left-wing achieved a better result than PiS. Therefore, the characteristic tendencies observed in the region proved to be strong. PSL was classified in fourth position and its result in the region was 3% higher than in the country as a whole.

Table 3. The results of the 2009 election to the European Parliament in the district no. 2

Committee	Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship		Poland		Difference in votes (%)
	% votes	seats	% votes	seats	
Civic Platform (PO)	43.08	1	44.43	25	-1.35
Democratic Left Alliance-Labour Union (SLD-UP)	21.04	1	12.34	7	+6.70
Law and Justice (PiS)	19.40	1	27.40	15	-8.00
Polish People's Party (PSL)	10.10		7.03	3	+3.07
Self-Defense (Samoobrona)	1.84		1.46		+0.38
Agreement for the Future "Centre and Left" (PdP Centrolewica)	1.19		2.44		-1.25
Right of Republic of Poland (Prawica RP)	0.95		1.95		-1.00
Libertas	0.87		1.14		-0.27
Real Politics Union	0.87		1.10		-0.23
Polish Labour Party	0.67		0.70		-0.03

Source: Data provided by the PKW, <http://wybory2010.pkw.gov.pl/geo/pl/040000/046101.html#tabs-4>, [30.05.2011].

Table 4. The candidates with the greater number of votes in the 2004 election to the European Parliament in the district no. 2

Candidate	Committee	Number of votes	% of votes in the district	Seat in the EP
Tadeusz Zwiefka	PO	82 794	21.94	Yes
Janusz Zemke	SLD-UP	69 776	18.49	Yes

Candidate	Committee	Number of votes	% of votes in the district	Seat in the EP
Marek K. Kolasieński	PO	41 602	11.03	
Ryszard Czarnecki	PiS	27 106	7.18	Yes
Przemysław Przybylski	PiS	25 881	6.86	
Eugeniusz Kłopotek	PSL	24 408	6.47	

Source: Data provided by the PKW, <http://wybory2010.pkw.gov.pl/geo/pl/040000/046101.html#tabs-4>, [1.06.2011].

A relatively small number of political subjects whose results were higher than the election threshold and the number of committees who won seats in the European Parliament lead to the fact that three of the candidates from the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship became members of this institution. One of the seats went to the candidate of the Civic Platform, that is Tadeusz Zwiefka, whose individual result was the best one at country level. What was surprising was a particularly high number of votes collected by Kolasinski, which probably resulted from the strategy applied by the candidate, that is focusing his campaign on the area of the old voivodeship of Torun⁴⁹. Still, the fact that Kolasinski put his signature to the slogan “Who doesn’t vote is from Bydgoszcz” decreased the number of his potential supporters in the biggest city of the region⁵⁰. In that manner he joined a group of those participants of the campaign who lost their seats in the European Parliament despite collecting more than 10% of the votes in their districts⁵¹. What also contributed to the PO was the fact that

⁴⁹ Kolasieński collected the majority of his votes in Torun (18977, 35.42%) and Grudziadz (3294, 18.12%) (PKW, <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/2/W2853/2.htm>, DOE June 19, 2011). What is particularly interesting is his high result in the latter city, which may be caused by the fact that Kolasinski was given support by Robert Malinowski, the president of Grudziadz, who is very popular in that area.

⁵⁰ In Bydgoszcz Kolasinski received 2451 of votes (2.55%) (PKW, <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/2/W2853/2.htm>, June 19, 2011). Taking into consideration the facts that the number of potential voters in that city amounts to 292 thousand and that PO’s results are always particularly high in that district, Kolasinski’s result could have been substantially better, provided that he had not discouraged so many citizens of Bydgoszcz.

⁵¹ W. Peszyński, *Personalizacja...*, pp. 210–211.

it did not manage to fulfill its plan and win two seats was the lower than expected results of Konstanty Adam Dombrowicz (2.65%) and Janusz Dzieciol (2.87%)⁵².

The election under consideration proved to be particularly fortunate for PiS and Ryszard Czarnecki. The Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship was given the last of fifteen, seat in the European Parliament, which was decided by as few as 300 votes⁵³. What is more, Czarnecki's competition with Przemysław Przybylski was extremely tough, and the leader of the list collected only 1125 votes more than the latter candidate. This, apart from Kolasinski's result, constituted the main surprise of this election. It is worth mentioning that Czarnecki received approximately 14.5 thousand less votes than Kolasinski (table 4). Still, due to the rules governing the election, this situation was not an isolated case at country level⁵⁴. Tomasz Latos, on the other hand, achieved a worse result than it had been expected (2.57% of votes)⁵⁵.

The last of the seats won by the SLD-UP committee went to its Kuyavian-Pomeranian list, and to Janusz Zemke, to be more specific. Among all the candidates of the left-wing, Zemke achieved the best result in the district (table 4), and held the highest index of party personalization⁵⁶. It is worth noticing that the second result within that committee was that of Stanisław Pawlak, who collected only 2227 votes (0.56%)⁵⁷. Therefore, the strategy consisting of focusing on the leader of the list ("Zemke team") brought the expected effect. At the level of the whole voivodeship the left-wing collected the majority of votes in Bydgoszcz

⁵² PKW, <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/W90/2.htm>, [19.06.2011].

⁵³ Otherwise, instead of to Czarnecki, the seat would have gone to the MP Izabela Kloc (45573 votes, 4.89%), who achieved the second results among the candidates in Silesia.

⁵⁴ R. Glajcar, *System wyborczy...*, pp. 66–67.

⁵⁵ PKW, <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/W93/2.htm>, [19.06.2011].

⁵⁶ W. Wojtasik, *Efektywność strategii selekcji kandydatów na listy wyborcze w wyborach do Parlamentu Europejskiego 2009 roku*, [in:] *Polska scena polityczna. Środowiska – komunikacja polityczna – strategie*, eds. K. Sobolewska-Myślik, A. Hess, K. Kowalczyk Kraków 2010, pp. 394–395.

⁵⁷ PKW, <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/W104/2.htm>, [19.06.2011].

(31.53%)⁵⁸ and in Naklo County (28.71%), and received the smallest support in Torun county (9.05%)⁵⁹.

PSL achieved the best of its results in the Lipno County (32.57% votes), due to the contribution of the local starost, Krzysztof Baranowski (25.3%)⁶⁰. Traditionally, the party collected more votes in the rural areas (23.55%) than in the urban ones (5.23%)⁶¹. Unsurprisingly, it was Eugeniusz Klopotek who received the greatest number of votes (table 4). Nonetheless, the result of the whole list was about 14.5 thousands fewer votes for him to win a seat in the European Parliament⁶².

⁵⁸ In Bydgoszcz Zemke collected 28895 voted – 30.12% (PKW, <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/2/W2942/2.htm>, [19.06.2011]).

⁵⁹ PKW, <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/W104/2.htm>, [19.06.2011].

⁶⁰ Dane PKW, <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/W105/2.htm>, [19.06.2011].

⁶¹ Ibidem.

⁶² Ibidem.