Przegląd
Politologiczny

Political Science Review

Rada Naukowa/Scientific Board

Andrzej Antoszewski (Polska), **Timm Beichelt** (Niemcy), **Kong Fan-jun** (Chiny), **Wojciech Forysiński** (Cypr), **Jürgen Neyer** (Niemcy), **Heino Nyyssönen** (Finlandia), **Andrzej Mania** (Polska), **Andrzej Stelmach** (Polska), **Ryszard Zięba** (Polska), **Ettore Deodato** (Włochy)

Redakcja/Editorial Board

REDAKTOR NACZELNY/EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Tadeusz Wallas

ZASTĘPCA REDAKTORA NACZELNEGO/DEPUTY EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Magdalena Musiał-Karg

SEKRETARZ REDAKCJI/ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR
Elżbieta Lesiewicz

ZASTĘPCA SEKRETARZA REDAKCJI/DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR
Rafał Kamprowski

CZŁONEK/MEMBER
Zdzisław W. Puślecki, **Artur Lipiński**, **Marcin Łukaszewski**, **Marcin Rachwał, Remigiusz Rosicki, Krzysztof Duda**

REDAKTORZY JĘZYKOWI/LINGUISTIC EDITORS

Agnieszka Mielczarek, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Agnieszka.Mielczarek@amu.edu.pl
Oleg Mikhalev, Państwowy Uniwersytet w Woroneżu, mikhalev2003@mail.ru
Thomas Mehlhausen, Uniwersytet w Poczdamie, mehlhaus@uni-postdam.de
Malcolm Czopinski, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, mczopinski@hotmail.com

REDAKTOR STATYSTYCZNY/STATISTICS EDITOR
Bolesław Suchocki, b.suchocki@wp.pl

REDAKTORZY TEMATYCZNI/THEMATIC EDITORS

Teoria polityki – **Zbigniew Blok**, zbigniew.blok@amu.edu.pl
Socjologia polityki – **Krzysztof Pałecki**, palecki@if.uj.edu.pl
Partie i systemy partyjne – **Jan Piotr Iwanek**, jan.iwanek@us.edu.pl
Systemy wyborcze – **Arkadiusz Żukowski**, arkadiusz.zukowski@uwar.edu.pl
Kultura polityczna – **Helmut Juros**, h.juros@uksw.edu.pl
Międzynarodowe stosunki polityczne – **Teresa Łoś-Nowak**, tln@poczta.pl
Teoria stosunków międzynarodowych – **Andrzej Gałganek**, galganek@inpid.amu.edu.pl
Stosunki polityczne w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej – **Marian Szczepaniak**, marianszczepaniak@wp.pl
Polityka narodowościowa – **Henryk Chałupczak**, henryk.chalupczak@umcs.lublin.pl
Integracja europejska – **Józef Fiszer**, fiszer@isppan.waw.pl
Europeistyka – **Konstanty Adam Wojtaszczyk**, kaw@post.pl
Polityka społeczno-gospodarcza – **Jerzy Babiak**, jbabiak@amu.edu.pl
Najnowsza historia polityczna – **Marceli Kosman**, marceli.kosman@amu.edu.pl
Marketing polityczny – **Grażyna Ulicka**, ulicka@poczta.neostrada.pl

Wersja elektroniczna czasopisma jest wersją pierwotną

Contents

Spis treści

Rafał RIEDEL
University of Opole

Economic Nationalism and Populism – Intertwining Relations

Abstract: The objective of the paper is to analyse two very closely related categories, economic nationalism and economic populism. They intertwine both in the lived politics on the ground and in intellectual debates. Despite a rich interdisciplinary discourse, scholars interested in economic nationalism and economic populism still disagree not only how to explain them, but more fundamentally – about what they are and what their relation is. This paper answers this deficit by addressing the question of the intertwining connections between economic nationalism and populism. In the first instance it reconstructs the basic definitions of economic nationalism – its constitutive elements, its historicity and periodization as well as its main categorisations. The next section focuses on economic populism, it starts with reconstructing the general definitions of populism and then consequently emphasises its economic dimension. In the conclusive part, as well as in throughout the argumentation of whole text, the author highlights the relations between economic nationalism and populism, their overlapping components and elements that they do not share. The origins of populism (as a movement) were economic in nature. Economic populism (as an empty-hearted ideology) is intertwined with nationalism in many of its contemporary (re)incarnations. Both economic nationalism and populism are increasingly important due to their raising political popularity and they require a closer look and scholarly attention.

Key words: economic nationalism, economic populism, contents, relations, intertwining

Introduction

Nationalism and populism do not enjoy the best reputation in general. In the common language and every-day usage they both carry a dose of pejorative connotations. But subjective position towards the object of research may not act as an excuse for watering down the scientific conceptualizations and their analytical operationalizations. Therefore this study offers a closer look at the phenomena of economic nationalism and populism trying to identify their core features as well as the overlapping and distinguishing elements.

Economic populism has become almost a by-word to imply irresponsible economic decisions and policies or political pandering (demagoguery and populism are in this sense used almost interchangeably). In political rhetoric battles, many commentators try to pin it on anyone deviating from a certain economic orthodoxy ("misleading the people with false promises"). Anyone expressing fear from globalization or modernization can be labeled a populist (Mueller, 2015). Both economic populism and nationalism are based on the political-economic ideology postulating the rights of the real people ("the nation", "the locals", "the domestic capital" etc.). It became politically productive in the context of the crisis – anti-market populism has been given a boost by the economic recession. But an irresponsible, populist economic program, when implemented, may bring high vulnerability that makes further destabilisation possible. When the external shock comes, it is the earlier unsustainable policies that makes

things worse. The victims usually are the common people, to which both populists and nationalists appeal.

The theories predict that the appeal of illiberalism (to which both populism and nationalism refer to) increases together with the worsening of the economy and declines when the economy improves (Kubik, 2012). The economic crisis (2007–2013) intensified economic grievances and stimulated the populist and nationalist rhetoric and action. Prejudice and discriminatory attitudes towards out-groups spread across the European continent and in many places became the dominant narrative of mainstream politics. No matter if it is the class-based notion of economic populism or partisan elections-driven economic nationalism, there is more acceptance for both. The xenophobic and ethno-nationalist frames are employed to serve to construct meanings about the "other". The combination of nativism and comprehensive protectionism seeks to exploit the anxieties and feelings of insecurity originating from the socio-economic determinants, like globalisation, transformation or crisis (Kluknavska, 2014). The backward-looking ideas of contemporary populists go back to the economic origins of agrarian populism promoting the saving of small farm agriculture as the backbone of the economy and society. The claim that one of the first modern appearance of populism were the Russian *Narodniki* movement supports the thesis of the close relationship between nativism and populism. This short-lived movement of intellectuals articulated the idea that the true wisdom resides with the common people. The heartland population (Taggart, 2004) is the main point of reference for both populists and the nationalists. It affects politics both on the right-wing and the left-wing of the wide political spectrum. Mainstream politicians are increasingly adopting localism (Wills, 2015) and "our way of life" as a framework for policy and politics making.

The populism on the ground (as a thin-centred ideology) needs to be supplemented with additional values and beliefs. By doing this it cohabits with other more comprehensive ideologies, depending on the context. This is why populism's power (and danger at the same time) lies in its chameleonic nature, which is adapting its face according to the context and connecting itself to other political ideas or ideologies. As a consequence it is difficult to find one political arena free from populist actors, tactics or statements. We can identify agrarian populism, nationalistic populism, neoliberal populism, radical left-wing populism and so on. Very often the empty hearted or thin centered ideology of populism is filled with the nationalist contact and this intriguing cohabitation is the source of motivation for scholarly inquiery.

This paper proceeds as follows: the first section addresses the question of economic nationalism – its constitutive elements, its historicity and periodization as well as its main categorisations. The next section focuses on economic populism. It starts with reconstructing the general definitions of populism and then consequently emphasises its economic dimension. In the conclusive part, as well as in throughout the argumentation of whole text, the author highlights the relations between economic nationalism and populism, their overlapping components and elements that they do not share. The origins of populism (as a movement) were economic in nature. Economic populism (as an empty-hearted ideology) is intertwined with nationalism in many of its contemporary (re)incarnations. Both economic nationalism and populism are increasingly important due to their raising political popularity and they require a closer look and scholarly attention.

Economic nationalism – contents, periodization, categorizations

One of the most powerful ideologies of modern times, that is nationalism, has its very salient economic dimension, which is relatively poorly understood and explained in academic terms. It has to do with the fact that nationalism as a political slogan carries a strong – very often pejoratively associated – connotation. Used as an epithet in public discourse, it usually means, protective, maybe even isolationist, aggressively oriented towards others policies, actions or rhetoric. Many scholars still employ the term almost synonymously with mercantilism or protectionism (Shulman, 2000). But economic nationalism, as a scholarly concept, carries much more explanatory potential and should be dedicated organized, systematic and scientific reflection which challenges some of the conventional wisdoms.

Nationalism itself is a state of mind in which the individual identifies himself with the "we-group" to which he is loyal. Within the "we-group" prejudice and discrimination is generated by the real or hypothetical threat coming from some other "out-group". To justify the prejudice and discrimination, negative stereotypes of the "out-group" are developed (usually based on the perceived fear about the physical, social or economic health of the "in-group"). There is a number of social psychological works analyzing the link between authoritarian personality and the "in-group" – "out-group" orientations. They inform us that nationalism (including economic one) are highly and positively correlated with ethnocentrism, authoritarianism and conservatism as well as negatively correlated with internationalism.

Economic nationalism needs to be positioned very close to economic populism since nationalism is one of the ideologies that overlap and complement the thin-centered ideology of populism. It refers to the people understood as a nation as well as its economic interest and security. Especially together with the growing salience of economic security, the economic nationalism becomes and increasing component of nationalistic sentiment.

It can be most simply understood as discrimination in favor of one's own nation. It is implemented in many various forms and measures, including policy implementation, protectionism, subsidizing domestic producers and service providers, regulatory burdens, export dumping, countervailing duties and many others. Economic nationalism may also take some more soft forms, like for example favoring local products and services by consumers' choices.

Economic nationalism stands in contrast to the long-standing general trends of globalized (and ever globalizing) economy. It creates barriers for economic liberalism and liberalization, being a paradox in an increasingly borderless world (in the context of the benefits stemming from it) (Baughn, Yaprak, 1996). Sam Pryke (2012) defines it as a set of practices to create, bolster and protect national economies in the context of world markets, which resonates very well with the XXI century reality of the global economy. Even after the economic crisis 2007–2013, there has been no observed return of economic nationalism as in a generalised rise in protective policies. However, together with the growing instability and nationalist rhetoric in general, the risk of the economic nationalism resurgence is increasing.

The advent of economic globalization and the perceived threat to national identities encourage the protection of local cultures, which takes the form of nationalism, tribal-

ism or nativism. Some of the most intensive outbursts of nationalism may be observed in nations which have felt themselves exploited or have believed that the benefits of globalization are passing them. The feeling of unjust and instability is a fertile ground for religion, traditional culture and ethnicity to step in. Secularism found itself in defense and has been targeted as an enemy. The same some with other alien religions and ethnicities that are supposed to clash with ours. Self-victimization and messianism accompany very often the above-mentioned phenomena and they all support the development of nationalisms in various forms, including the economic nationalism.

Defining economic nationalism as a promotion of given nation's autonomy, unity and interests, allows to argue that nationalists potentially may have strong motivations both for and against close economic ties with foreign economies. Depending on the international position of a given national economy, nationalists may need to make trade-offs and compromises in order to optimize their strategy and tactics. The nationalist calculus of independence and interdependence or integration does not always bring about protectionist outcomes. It is because of the interdependency of the economies and complexity of global economy as such that makes it impossible to separate by nationality. In Ukraine – nationalists promote closer ties with EU as a counterbalance to the alternative – the Russian domination. In Canada, free trade is supported as a way of reducing the central state's power (Shulman, 2000). But generally it was defined in opposition to economic liberalism and therefore it means predominantly everything that the economic liberals do not like. This is also a reaction to the fact that economic nationalists built their position on criticizing liberal economic policies (*free trade imperialism* of the wealthy and powerful). In scholarly literature the phrase started to be used by international relations experts (increasingly widely in in 1970s) as an economic variant of the ideology of realism (Helleiner, 2002).

Economic nationalism so far has been regarded rather as a set of attitudes then a coherent theory, however some scholars argue (Nakano, 2004) that bringing the concept of nation into political economy may result into systematic theory of economic nationalism. Here however we are much more interested into the ideology of economic nationalism. It usually consists of protectionist and aggressive state intervention (Berend, 2000).

Political and economic nationalism are intertwined and this relation is dynamic. Economic nationalism was associated with different kinds of ideas and policies in various times and places. Economic nationalism, like nationalism in general, was linked to the development of the nation state, in this particular case – the ability to establish and run a national economy. Due to the fact that we live in a global economy, the nationalist "age of glory" fades away. So do the state-centric ways of defining economic nationalism as if it was supposed to be an idea (or maybe even ideology) according to which economic activities should be subordinate to the goal of the state building (Gilpin, 1987) and serve its interests. Many scholars (Helleiner, 2002) would suggest re-reading of Friedrich List, as the most classical and so-far prominent economic nationalist. In his most influential book *The National System of Political Economy,* written in 1844, he promotes infant industry protection (which does not place him far away from the other classics of economics, like Adam Smith, David Ricardo o John Stuart Mill) but, what is vitally important, he criticizes liberals that they put individuals in the center of their ideology, whereas in his opinion it should be the nation. His general concept of economics as a discipline was

that it should be "[...] a science which limits its teaching to the inquiry of how a given nation can obtain prosperity, civilization and power." (List, 1904, p. 97).

Since the collapse of economic Marxism, it was regarded that the economic liberalism is the only legitimate successor. It soon appeared that other strands of economic ideologies became salient and filled the vacuum, one of them being economic nationalism. Parallel to redefining their stands in the context of globalization and multiculturalism, the nation-states have to adopt their economic perspective and approaches.

Economic nationalism remains an important factor that mobilizes population around a state-sponsored economic vision. It can be economic nationalism of mineral resources, or protecting the local population from "free trade imperialism" of an economically powerful neighbor, or persuading the citizens to keep their own currency in order to preserve the rest of national sovereignty, or any other political-economic argument against the economic parasites of the true people. It may be associated with economic patriotism of those buying local products and services instead of the global brands. Economic nationalism has many faces. No question, there are elements of nationalism and economic nationalism in all countries and economies (Isaacs-Martin, 2011).

The origins of populism were economic

Despite a rich interdisciplinary discourse, students of populism still disagree not only how to explain it but more fundamentally – about what it is.[1] We seem to be witnessing a conceptual cacophony. The most common ways of understanding populism contain of its minimum components: "the good people" that is endangered by "the evil others". Such an alignment runs crosswise of established party lines. Such a definition of populism correlates with the general every day usage of this word whenever, usually for journalist purposes, we refer to a person, party, action or decision that makes claims by appealing to ordinary, non-elite people. In public discourse it is often used as a pejorative epithet implying that the accused is corrupt, cynical, opportunistic or even undemocratic. It lacks the necessary precision adequate for scientific inquiry that would allow to capture the features of this flexible way of animating politics.

Modern populism is regarded to exist already in nineteenth century (agrarian populism in USA in the form of *People's Party* or Russian *narodnichestvo*). The origins of populism itself were economic in nature – it was the political ideology of agrarian radicalism and its concept of "cooperative society" that proposed more "fair" economic redistribution of wealth in XIX America. By attacking inequalities in income, assets, and consequently influence they drew the first economic populist program of the "authentic Americans" (nativism). The other was at that time the enemies of the "ordinary people": the bankers (including funds, investors, and so on) and industrialists (including corporations, stock companies and so on). The non-aristocratic character of the American elite was not a problem for the populists as they quickly invented terms like "money aristocracy" which holds effective until today. It is surprising how the early industrialist era slogans are valid at the beginning of the XXI century: national healthcare system,

---

[1] The etymology of the term goes back to the ancient Rome where *populares*, used to be the term defining the politicians looking for public support.

eight-hour working time, obligatory unemployment and health insurance. One of the first analytical works on populism appeared in 1929 in "The American Economic Review" where John D. Black published his article on *The McNary-Haugen Movement*. He discussed political and economic aspects of the relations between the agricultural sector and commerce and industry. This field of analysis correlates very well with the populist ideology from the agrarian revolt in USA in 1890s and the accompanying concept of the two nations: the nation of the producers (the exploited) and the nation of the well-to-do elites. This distinction gave birth to the political cleavage present in populist politics that is the confrontational relation between the authentic people and the parasitical elite.

The most recognised and cited contemporary researcher of populism, Cas Mudde, defines it as a thin-centred[2] ideology that focuses on the antagonism between people and elites against the backdrop of popular sovereignty. Such conceptualisation has become the dominant position in the literature. It considers society to be ultimately divided into two homogenous and antagonistic groups "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite" (Mudde, 2004, p. 543) and politics is supposed to be an expression of the general will of "the pure people". This positions populism in opposition to elitism and pluralism. In populist politics there are less spaces left for minorities and they are often presented as traitors to the real will of the nation or even marionettes of foreign powers. There are however raising concerns about assigning populism's genus to ideology. The controversy on populism as an ideology stems from the fact that it falls short of the status of clear ideology. It went, as a concept, through a dynamic evolution, serving for various associations with fiscal irresponsibility (there is no uncontested clear line between responsibility and irresponsibility), neo-liberal extremism or xenophobic stances. It lacks a stable program (*empty hearted* ideology). As a result there is little agreement on how to conceptualise populism and it is marked by a high degree of contestability. The category of populism has been so widely used that it lost its analytical value and explanatory potential.

Some scholars claim that populism is best seen as strategy in which the government power is exercised based on direct, unmediated and very often not institutionalised support from a large number of mostly unorganised followers. Populism as a political strategy employs rhetoric which is the appeal to emotions, very often used cynically and opportunistically. As such, populism is relatively close to demagoguery that tends to promise (or overpromise) people whatever they want to hear. Some other authors see populism as a type of organisation or institution – in the wide sociological understanding of this work. A party can be populist, a movement or unified bock or movement. Undoubtedly Mudde's works had a significant impact in advancing scientific analysis of populist politics. However there is a growing scepticism against this perspective claiming that the ideological connotations of populism are ill-centered or misclassifications. Instead, proponents of frame theory, contend that the frame analysis reveals a strong fit between discursive elements and cognitive features of populism. Therefore 'discourse' is believed to be better suited to characterize the conceptual genus of populism. And pop-

---

[2] "Thin" due to the fact that its particular ideas are of limited scope, complexity and ambition, it is not a complete ideology in opposition to full ideologies, like: nationalism, socialism or liberalism. Michael Freeden explained a thin-centered ideology that is arbitrary in serving itself from wider ideational contexts, it flexibly removes or replaces some concepts, it lacks internal integrity and coherence (Freeden, 1998).

ulism itself is defined from this perspective as a discourse, invoking the supremacy of popular sovereignty to claim that corrupt elites are defrauding *the People* of their rightful political authority (anti-elite discourse in the name of the sovereign people) (Aslanidis, 2015). This approach considers populism as *anti-status quo* discourse by symbolically dividing society between "the people" and "the other" (Moffit, Tormey, 2014), validating the "them-and-us" mentality. When populists claim to speak in the name of the people, they attempt to bring "people" into being and it gives them unlimited freedom in manipulating who the "the people" are and what characteristics they have. The same with "the other" – its creation, features and performance is highly subjective and can be easily adaptable to the current needs of the populist politics. The relation between the imagined "people" (the nation, the poor, the natives, the "let down", the "badly governed", the "left alone" etc.) and equally imagined "other" (migrants, refugees, traitors, the experts, the establishment, the technocrats, the system, etc.) reveal major components of the specific populist *Weltanschaungen.*

For Jansen (2011, p. 82) a political project is populist when it is a sustained, large-scale political project that mobilizes ordinary marginalized social sectors into publicly visible and contentious political action, while articulating an anti-elite, nationalistic rhetoric that valorises ordinary people. Because of that, it is difficult to imagine democratic politics without populism. The domination of predominantly anti-populist logic – consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally – may reduce politics to an administrative enterprise with over proportionate input from colleges of experts and technocrats (depoliticised democracy, post-democracy) (Stavrakakis, 2014). The key component of populism rests with the claim to represent or act in the name of the people understood as the "common people" or the "silent majority". When minority rights are in conflict with the majority rights, populism leads to coercion aimed at oppressing the values and interests of the minority.

The core of the populist message is the rhetoric that sets up its solidary (usually national) "people" as if existing in antagonistic relationship to some kind of anti-popular "elite", often identified as an economic or political oligarchy. Typically this elite is portrayed as having disproportionate and unjustified control over conditions affecting the rights, well being and progress of the "people" (Jensen, 2011). Growing populism is usually a reaction to a crisis of a political system, salient social change that has happened or a serious challenge that is expected. This is very much visible in one of the most recent reincarnations of populism, in the post-communist world, where building on the dissatisfaction from transition and capitalist relations, populists promote ideologies that include values of strong national identity (populist nationalism), traditionalism, religion, opposition to immigration. These values have been mixed with post-socialist sentiments of universal employment, free education and other aspects of social security. Former East-block societies undoubtedly provide fertile ground for populist rhetoric.

The relations between economic and nationalist ideologies may bring explosive outcomes, as the history taught us. The crisis of liberal market capitalism produces the type of nationalism that is based on two principles: the strong authority of the state (at the expense of pluralism and the rule of law) and racism (in various variants: anti-Semitism, xenophobia or others). The associations with fascism and national-socialists are evident and were already explored by Karl Mannheim (1958). At the same time

belonging to the "people" with some protection against the "big capitalists" is the essence of populism.

Multidimensional notions define populism in general through a combination of social, political, economic and cultural characteristics. Economic populism focuses on the economic aspects of societal structures, actions, behavior and attitudes. In the practice of public life, economic populism outsources a lot from the "pub economics" (*Stammtisch*) that is a simplistic and emotional discourse based on rather primitive slogans and superficial knowledge. But it has one advantage – in the eyes of populist actors – it speaks to the people and convinces them.

More advanced way of conceptualizing it, is the definition that sees economic populism as a short-sighted, opportunistic policies that aim at quickly pleasing the people (buying their support) rather than looking rationally for the best or optimal solution (Mudde, 2004). It offers often contradictory prescriptions combining benefits for the poor without taxing the better off, undermining budget balance and fueling inflation, attracting foreign capital and favoring local entrepreneurs and many other inventions outside of the orthodox economic handbook.

As a consequence economic populism is an approach to economics that emphasizes growth and income redistribution and deemphasizes risks of inflation and finance deficit, external constraints and the reaction of economic agents to aggressive non-market policies. Liking or disliking the neoliberal paradigm, the reality shows that in a long-time perspective such a mix of policies do ultimately fail. In the end they are against those whom they are supposed to be favoring or protecting (Dornbusch, Edwards, 1991).

There is a number of similarities of economic populism that appear in various settings all over the world. First, the starting point usually is the deep dissatisfaction with the economy's performance. No matter if it is negative growth rates or positive but unsatisfactory one, very often associated with external pressures (IMF, migrants, etc.). Additionally unequal income distribution, real or imagined, is an effective boost for the economic populists' agenda. Secondly, the rejection of any previous (especially liberal) economic paradigm is validated. Defenders of the *ancient regime* are ignored, or criticized, or attacked – depending on the level of radicalism. Any constraints, internal as well as external, are treated as barriers to be demolished by the carriers of the popular legitimacy. In the third phase, when diagnosis is over, economic populist program is prescribed. It usually consists of three elements: reactivation, redistribution and restructuring. Very often they come together and are interlined – reactivation by redistribution change or revitalization of the economy by restructuring the previous economic order. The brutally simple way of correcting income redistribution is the real wage or other financial benefits increases. Even if they cause inflationary side-effects, populist policymakers will find a scape-goat, easily acceptable by the people. In many locations, like for example in Latin America, these prescriptions repeatedly ended in pervasive shortages, extreme acceleration of inflation and foreign exchange gap (Dornbusch, Edwards, 1991).

Despite of the fact that already the XIX century populism had the economic arguments at its very core, most scholars (e.g. Mudde, 2001) agree it is Latin America (1920s), where we should look for the springing of economic populism. It has to do with the specific way of defining populism in the Latin American context focusing on *ad hoc*

reformist policies and looking for a "third way" between socialism and capitalism. It was predominantly correlated with what we would call today a left-wing populism, that is: interventionist role of the state, expanding welfare provisions and redistributing the wealth to the poor.[3]

Economic populism, just like populism in general, can be right wing as well as left wing phenomenon. Understanding it exclusively as a class conflict between the labor and the liberal elites would mean oversimplification. Right-wing economic populism seeks to restrict state intervention in the economy, privilege the national over foreign capital. In this formulation "the core people" will be the entrepreneurs, the hard-working locals. "The other" will be those whose ideas intend to undermine the healthy liberal economic system. Sometimes it can be referred to as a liberal populism, however one needs to remember various ways of understanding the very notion of liberalism. In USA liberal means roughly something like in Europe "social democratic", therefore liberal populism lies in opposition to the more right-wing populism associated with the conservative camp. Whereas in Europe liberal populism refers rather to the claims built on the neoliberal dogma. Left-wing economic populism (sometimes referred to as "social populism") will attack the liberal order[4] from the egalitarian positions. Here "the people" will be the hard working labor or farmers, at the same time deprived "The others" will be the enemies of the welfare state. They will be portrayed as a cosmopolitan elite conspiring against the interests of the "real people" (robin-hooding).

Economic populism is usually legitimized by a certain reading of "Keynesianism" that gives strong (and sometimes exclusive) emphasis on the effective demand. Its extreme version is the attempt to argue for wage increases in order to promote consumption and stimulate demand. It is important to recall that Keynes has never directly recommended government deficits as a tool of economic policy. Optionally he considered them as temporary measures and when doing so he showed preference for investment over consumption spending. But economic populists ignore the fact that Keynesian analysis is useful only for short periods – they rather conceive fiscal policy as a key tool in growth strategies. As a consequence, an emerging literature has focused on the lasting problem of excessive budgetary deficits as a result of populist macroeconomic policy making. This particular approach to economics has been characterized by overly expansionist policies focusing on growth and income distribution, with little concern about such risks as inflation, budget deficits (or even deficit-debt spiral) and external constraints (Pereira, Dall'Acqua, 1991; Nicholson, 2012).

Populism is not just anti-elitist, it is anti-pluralists – and here lies its profoundly undemocratic and illiberal character (Mueller, 2015). Populist actors promise protection against the insecurities of pluralism. The "united people" rhetoric offers some kind of harmony of interest. It goes hand in hand with the overestimation, idealization and romanticizing of one's own nation and is accompanied with stereotyping and stigmatizing enemies of the nation – other nations, international organizations, capitalists, or minori-

---

[3] In late 1980s the term "neopopulism" made its debut, focusing on Latin America where neoliberal politicians, implementing austerity measures, continued to mobilize surprising levels of popular support while formulating rhetoric and pursuing policies reminiscent of a more classic Latin American populism (Jansen, 2011).

[4] Anti-TINA logic (TINA – There Is No Alternative) – oriented against cosmopolitan liberalism.

ties. Populist politicians are exploiting persistent patterns of prejudice. The regular problems of everyday life are supposedly related to the presence of foreigners or minorities or other forms of aliens. Economic populism may be to a large extend explained on the basis of latent insecurity developing as a result of the democratic rules of institutionalized conflict, struggle of interest and power shifts (Keane, 1994; Weiss, 2003). The transformation from non-democracy to democracy, and from non-capitalism to capitalism is a particularly fragile period in which the enthusiasm for democracy building may dry-out very soon in the face of the social and economic unrest. Populist, nationalistic and authoritarian attitudes can be interpreted as a sentiment reaction to the "shock of modernization".

Especially in locations, where the changes took a rapid pace, for example in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989, the populist movements take advantage of the tensions between supporters of capitalism and the socialist sentiment. The sentiment is built on the imagined picture of the past emphasising social justice, equality, security and welfare. At the same time the capitalist reality is far from what was imagined at the times of transition. Instead of wide-spread prosperity and economic effectiveness, it is very often associated with instability, unemployment and insecurity. Due to the Marxist-Lenninist legacy – an economic system promoting equality – there is a significant potential for economic populism in the whole post-soviet. East Europeans, many of whom were educated and socialized under communism, are accustomed to welfare provisions typically promised by the populist politicians. This makes former East block societies particularly prone to economic and political populism (Mudde, 2001). Important to notice, some of the communist policies – at least in theory – entailed some important overlap with economic populist policies. There is no alternative and recognized strand of economic populist theory or ideology (Karl Marx, egalitarianism, etc.) and it is not a coincidence that (left-wing) economic populism overlaps to a large extend with the socialist program which went bankrupt in any real setting when implemented. Communists and today's economic populists use a very similar vocabulary and a series of shifting arguments and concepts most often referring to economic redistribution, socio-economic control and the interventionist state. As a reaction to the failure of the socialist way of organizing the economy, the neoliberal paradigm became valid. Many aspects of it were essentially populist, for example the rejection of the so far *nomenklatura* and the utter belief in the vitality of the people who can take the initiative to build the new economic system. Together with the increasingly unpopular neoliberal dogma, market reforms found themselves on the target. Part of this criticism was justified and rationally argued whereas part of it based on populist re-sentiments towards the previous system. Hidden unemployment and underemployment (in the face of massive higher education promotion), wide-spread inequalities, large proportions of the society left marginalized, practically beyond the civilizational catch-up race. Market failures, oligarchisation, social unrest connected with shock therapy, he transformation fatigue and its consequences, all these facts and phenomena create a fertile breeding ground for economic populism.

There are also many niche-type of populism definitions in the economic context. One of the very representative ones is petro-populism which stands for the excessive use of oil revenues to buy political support (Natvik, Torvik, 2016). This stands very distant

from the core definitions of populism as such an shows how flexible the term is in its usage. The gains from natural resources help the politicians to remain in office over time does not necessarily imply populist politics. It may do so in case of framing the discourse into "our people resources" vs. "the others" who may want to take advantage of it, especially at "our" cost. The very deliberations over political rent-seeking and exploitation of natural resources are quite interesting not only in Norwegian context but may be so also in the case of Russia, Venezuela and other locations. Wherever politicians reward the voters with policies that cannot be afforded (and make them used to them) in a long-time perspective and cause excessive resource extraction.

The above-stated way of conceptualising economic populism correlates very closely with the classical electoral way of understanding it. In this meaning, economic populism is present in the initiatives launched immediately prior to elections which allow a political party or a politician to retain or assume power. The populist promises employed to generate short-term gains include subsidies (or subsidy announcements), preferential loan conditions, softening of interest rates policy (to help reduce loan pay-outs), price manipulations (where possible), etc. (Srinivasan, 2014). Populist actors ignore the long-term consequences in favour of short-term electoral benefits for themselves or their parties.

And the last, but not least, type of economic populism present in today's Europe is related to Euroscepticism. Not all Eurosceptics are populists, however the scale and intensity of populist argumentation among those actors who oppose Brussels is unprecedented. Started in the post-Maastricht period, and amplified by latter developments, including the economic recession, migration crisis, lack of solidarity, Brexit crisis, and many other problems cumulating, the anti-EU populism blossomed in the second decade of the XXI century. The intergovernmental bargaining, as a *politics behind the closed doors* method of decision taking, oriented at resolving the above mentioned problems additionally worsened the image of Brussels. And it gave fuel to the Eurosceptic populist discourse. In the context of the European integration process, it has become fashionable (at least in 1990s.) to point to the emergence of populism, with or without a nationalist component. Populism towards Brussels was usually explained with the loss of integrative impetus in the post-Maastricht period (Hayward, 1996). Additionally the discussion on democratic deficit and the disappointment connected with the enlargement fatigue in the West, and transition fatigue (largely driven by Europeanisation mechanisms) in the East, accompanied by economic recession factors like unemployment, created a solid fundaments for the emergence of the anti-EU arguments which often took the populist form. The EU with its ambition to be a value system is at the natural conflicting trajectory with the defenders of alternative value systems, including the domestic populist politicians. EU becomes a natural enemy of the populists, especially because it is equipped with some anti-populist weapons, a toolkit to protect liberal democracy and monitor compliance with the rule of law. Within a limited range of strategies for opposition available, the EU can try to apply strong pressure on a government built by a populist party or leader threatening the standards of liberal democracy (Taggart, Kaltwasser, 2016). The EU, as a regulatory super-power, provides a means to set a certain limits to populism, or it seemed so in the past (Rupnik, 2007). By doing this, it becomes the natural enemy of the populists.

Conclusions

Both nationalism and populism have a very strong economic dimension. First defined as one of the grand ideologies of our times, the second just a thin-centered ideology, both capturing the economic argumentation and persuasion. They also both exploit the similar political cleavages: winners and losers of the modernisation process, political centre and peripheries, gender divines, locals vs. aliens, Brussels vs. the rest, etc. And they are both successful enough that they have made it into the mainstream of politics. Politicians cannot afford anymore not to apply populist rhetoric. Moreover, it is the citizens who have been accepting more and more the populist discourse. In the end it is political and economic scientists who have become more tolerant towards populism in their critical analysis. The same happens with economic nationalism, no matter if in its left-wing or right-wing form, there is much more tolerance for it both in electoral politics and the intellectual debates.

Various disciplines suggest various explanations as regards the determinants of the nationalists' and populists' success. Socio-psychological factors include *authoritarian personality* traits and value orientations which are, in turn, associated with social disintegration coexistent with the times of radical change (like transformation, crisis, etc.). Isaiah Berlin claimed that populism could maintain only in societies standing at the edge of modernisation (Berlin, 1968). This way of thinking correlates with modernisation theory in which it is suggested that the rapid socio-economic change (post-communism, post-industrialisation, risk-society, etc.) makes individuals and groups aggressive and hostile. Rational choice logic points to the mechanism of scapegoating and group interest conflicts, suggesting that prejudice, discrimination and sometimes outright conflict is a natural result of competition over limited resources. Identity studies focus on perceived threats posed by migrants on the nation and its culture. Socio-structural models explain support for the populist far right by the aggregate level of immigration in a given country or locality (its height and the increasing trend), economic conditions (unemployment, wage levels) and the level of support for the political system (political discontent). Last but not least, it is the media that play a decisive role in formulating, especially young people's attitudes towards migrant and migration. Young people's support for nationalist and far right ideology consists of negative attitudes towards minorities, xenophobia, welfare chauvinism and exclusionism in relation to migrants. Ethnic nationalism, financial problems and economic insecurity (perceived competition and pressure on socio-economic resources) belong to the most important factors behind the relatively high prevalence of anti-migrant sentiments in CEE. Additionally the scholarly research results show that low interest and poor understanding of politics, together with high exposure to media (which, instead of educating and dispelling prejudice, further worsen attitudes towards minorities and migrants) go hand in hand with accepting far right populist message (Mielina, Karoleva, 2015).

Populists and nationalists usually offer a dichotomous vision of society and socio-economic relations. They both share an idea of political antagonists as enemies who are potentially traitors to the nation or the people. Populists and nationalists identify themselves with the very *heartland* of the imagined political community which they want to serve. They both use tabloid-style communication – simplified, emotional, distrusting the others, dissatisfaction-grounded. Populism grows very fast on the fertile ground of political discontent. At the same time populists, once strong, fuel the political discontent

(Rooduijn, van der Brug, de Lange, 2016). It makes populism both the source and the consequence of political discontent. This mechanism creates a vicious circle of populism and nationalism on one side and the political discontent on the other.

Bibliography

Aslanidis P. (2015), *Is Populism an Ideology? A Refutation and a New Perspective*, "Political Studies", pp. 1–17.

Baughn C. C., Yaprak A. (1996), *Economic Nationalism: Conceptual and Empirical Development*, "Political Psychology", no. 17 (4), pp. 759–778.

Berend I. (2000), *The Failure of Economic Nationalism. Central and Eastern Europe Before World War II*, "Revue economique", no. 51 (2), pp. 315–322.

Berlin I. (1968), *To Define Populism*, "Government and Opposition", no. 3 (2), pp. 137–197.

Black D. J. (1928), *The McNary-Haugen Movement*, "The American Economic Review", no. 3, vol. XVIII, pp. 405–427.

Dornbusch R., Edwards S. (1991), *The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America*, Chicago.

Freeden M. (1998), *Is Nationalism a Distinct Ideology?*, "Political Studies", no. 46 (4), pp. 748–765.

Gilpin R. (1987), *The Political Economy of International Relations*, Princeton.

Helleiner E. (2002), *Economic Nationalism as a Challenge to Economic Liberalism. Lessons from the 19th Century*, "International Studies Quarterly", no. 46, pp. 307–329.

Wendy I.-M. (2011), *National Identity and Economic Nationalism. Can an Economic Perspective Reinforce Nationalism and Nation Building?*, "Africa Insight", no. 41 (1), pp. 59–70.

Jansen S. R. (2011), *Populist Mobilisation: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism*, "Sociological Theory", no. 29 (2), pp. 75–96.

Keane J. (1994), *Nations, nationalism and citizens in Europe*, "International Social Science Journal", no. 4, pp. 169–184.

Kluknavska A. (2014), *Enemies among us: The anti-elitist and xenophobic discourses in the Czech Republic and Slovakia*, "Rexter – casopis pro vyzkum radikalismu, extremismu a terrorismu", no. 2, pp. 42–71.

Kubik J. (2012), *Illiberal Change to Liberal Democracy. The Case of Poland*, "Taiwan Journal of Democracy", no. 8 (2), pp. 79–89.

List F. (1904) *The National System of Political Economy*, translated by S. Lloyd, London.

Mielina I., Koroleva I. (2015), *Supporters for far right ideology and anti-migrant attitudes among youth in Europe: A comparative analysis*, "The Sociological Review", no. 63 (2), pp. 183–205.

Moffit B., Tormey S. (2014) *Rethinking Populism: Politics, Mediatisation and Political Style*, "Political Studies", no. 62, pp. 381–397.

Mudde C. (2001), *In the Name of the Peasantry, the Proletariat and the People: Populism in Eastern Europe*, "East European Politics and Societies" March, p. 33–53.

Mudde C. (2004), *The Populist Zeitgeist*, "Government and Opposition, no. 39 (4), pp. 542–543.

Mudde C., Kaltwasser C. (eds.) (2012), *Populism in Europe and the Americas, Threat or Corrective for Democracy*, Cambridge University Press.

Mueller J.-W. (2015), *Parsing populism. Who is and who is not a populist these days?*, "Juncture", no. 22 (2), pp. 80–89.

Nakano T. (2004), *Theorising economic nationalism*, "Nations and Nationalism", no. 10 (3), pp. 211–229.

Natvik G., Torvik R. (2016), *Petro-Populism*, "Journal of Development Economics", no. 118, pp. 1–12.

Nicholson P. S. (2012), *Who's the Party of the People? Economic Populism and the U.S. Public's Beliefs About Political Parties*, "Political Behaviour", no. 34, pp. 369–389.

Pereira B. L., Dall'Acqua F. (1991), *Economic populism versus Keynes: reinterpreting budget deficit in Latin America*, "Journal of Post Keynesian Economics", no. 14 (1), pp. 29–38.

Pryke S. (2012), *Economic Nationalism: Theory, History and Prospects*, "Global policy", no. 3 (3), pp. 281–291.

Rooduijn M., van der Burg W., de Lange S. (2016), *Expressing or fuelling discontent? The relationship between populist voting and political discontent*, "Electoral Studies", no. 43, pp. 32–40.

Rupnik J. (2007), *From Democracy Fatigue to Populist Backslash*, "Journal of Democracy", no. 18 (4), pp. 17–25.

Shulman S. (2000), *Nationalist Sources of International Economic Integration*, "International Studies Quarterly", no. 44, pp. 365–390.

Srinivasan S. (2014), *Economic populism, partial deregulation of transport fuels and electoral outcomes in India*, "Energy Policy", no. 68, pp. 465–475.

Stavrakakis Y. (2014), *The Return of the "People": Populism and Anti-Populism in he Shadow of the Europea Crisis.*

Taggart P. (2004), *Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe*, "Journal of Political Ideologies", no. 9 (3).

Taggart P., Kaltwasser R. C. (2016), *Dealing with populists in government: some comparative conclusions*, "Democratisation", no. 23 (2), pp. 345–365.

Weiss H. (2003), *A Cross-National Comparison of Nationalism in Austria, the Czech and Slovac Republics, Hungary and Poland*, "Political Psychology", no. 24 (2), pp. 377–401.

Wills J. (2015), *Populism, localism and the geography of democracy*, "Geoforum", no. 62, pp. 188–189.

Ekonomiczny nacjonalizm i populizm – przenikające się relacje

Streszczenie

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zaprezentowanie analizy dwóch, bardzo ściśle powiązanych ze sobą kategorii, nacjonalizmu ekonomicznego oraz ekonomicznego populizmu. Obie kategorie przenikają się zarówno w realnej polityce, jak i w refleksji akademickiej. Mimo bardzo bogatego dyskursu naukowego na temat obydwu, ich badacze cały czas spierają się nie tylko na temat tego jak je wyjaśniać, ale nawet co do ich zasadniczych treści. Zaproponowana analiza stanowi odpowiedź na ten deficyt i próbuje skupić się na związkach ekonomicznego populizmu i nacjonalizmu. W pierwszej kolejności dokonana została rekonstrukcja podstawowych sposobów rozumienia nacjonalizmu ekonomicznego – jego elementów konstytutywnych, jego historyczności, periodyzacji, jak również podstawowych kategoryzacji. Następna część koncentruje swoją uwagę na populizmie, eksponując jednocześnie jego wymiar ekonomiczny. W części konkludywnej, podobnie jak w całym tekście, autor uwypukla zachodzące relacje pomiędzy nacjonalizmem i populizmem ekonomicznym, ich wzajemnie nachodzące na siebie elementy oraz elementy rozbieżne. Początki populizmu (jako ruchu) były z natury ekonomiczne. Populizm ekonomiczny (jako swego rodzaju "pusta" ideologia) przenika nacjonalizm, kreując wiele z jego współczesnych (re)inkarnacji. Zarówno ekonomiczny populizm, jak i nacjonalizm gospodarczy stają się coraz bardziej istotnymi kategoriami analitycznymi, w związku z rosnącym znaczeniem sił nacjonalistycznych i populistycznych, i z tego powodu wymagają zaawansowanej refleksji naukowej.

Słowa kluczowe: ekonomiczny nacjonalizm, populizm ekonomiczny, treści, relacje

Óscar LUENGO, Belén FERNÁNDEZ-GARCÍA[1]
Universidad de Granada,[2] Spain

Political Participation and New Technologies of Communication in Spain

Abstract: The consolidation of the Internet as not only a media outlet, but also a multifunctional platform, has put into question the traditional relationship between media and political participation. The latest political developments in Spain, such as the 15-M movement or the success of Podemos, show that new technologies increase the options for new and fresh ways of political activism. This study provides a diagnosis of the role played by new technologies of communication, particularly the Internet, in political activism in Spain. The results show a noteworthy dissemination of the Internet as a political information source, as well as a platform to participate in politics. In addition, the analysis suggests that online participation is a phenomenon more popular among young people, with high studies and located on the ideological left. This profile is similar to that of citizens who support the new political forces like Podemos and the different citizens' movements which are demanding a reconfiguration of the democratic system in Spain.

Key words: Internet, new technologies, media, political activism, e-activism

Introduction

In recent years, Spain has been configured as an important reference in the study of new forms of social participation and political activism. The first significant recent event was the demonstrations on 13th March, 2004, taking place after the terrorist attacks in Madrid and three days before general parliamentary elections. The episode represented an interesting challenge for political communication research, since the call was organised via cell phones (short message services – SMS). Seven years later, taking advantage of the upcoming local elections, a group of activists called for social action on 15th May, 2011. With no institutions involved and without formal leadership, the announcement quickly spread around social networks and thousands of people were mobilised in 50 Spanish cities, with the most significant example in Puerta del Sol (Madrid). Similar movements were replicated in more than 100 Spanish cities, and in a few days all of them were operating in unison, discussing quite varied issues concerning the collective worries surrounding the outrage, within articulated public, open committees and assemblies. Moreover, this dynamic reached over 800 cities in the world (Castells, 2012, p. 118). This multifaceted and complex phenomenon soon acquired its own identity under the name of 15-M (the date of the first demonstration, 15th May, 2011), and soon after it was labelled the "Outraged Movement"[3] following the very successful tag proposed by Hessel (2011).

---

[1] We would like to thank Marta Przywara for her assistance in the translation of the abstract to Polish.
[2] Rector López Argüeta, s/n. 18071 Granada (Spain), ogluengo@ugr.es; bfgarcia@ugr.es.
[3] *Movimiento Indignados.*

Those new forms of political participation share a common feature: most of them were born and grounded in social networking. Therefore, 15-M saw a major contribution to the study of new social and political mobilisation. It promoted the creation of a group of people predisposed to social activism under the wide umbrella of concerns about the economic and political crises. These movements have been encouraged by the boom of new information and communication technologies (ICT), in particular the spread of the Smartphone, and a new sense of social awareness and collective sense perception (Luengo, Marín, 2016).

Whilst some social movement scholars were already focussing on the Internet and its role before the 2011 protest movements, informal groups have been neglected in the literature in contrast to political parties and traditional players (Van de Donk, Loader, Nixon, Rucht, 2004, p. 2). Cyberactivism, or online participation has been the main scope of research of very few studies (Bennett, 2003; van de Donk et al., 2004). The extra-parliamentarian area was identified as a realm where ICT play a more significant role, "even enabling forms of participation that would not have been possible without them" (Dahlgren, 2004, p. xiii). Therefore, the Internet helps to promote alternative or counter public spheres that can offer a new, empowering sense of what it means to be a citizen.

The Internet helps to articulate and mobilise different individuals by affinities, loyalties and compromises. The Web 2.0 has an impressive potential: the democratisation and decentralisation of big social movements. The usage of social networks and the Internet have made it possible for significant geographic areas to organise in a non-hierarchical way (Petray, 2011, p. 936).

Hence, the nature of social movements and political participation in Spain changed after the collapse of the economy a few years ago. Nonetheless, this is not only provoked by economic factors; it also has to do with the lack of confidence in traditional political institutions, and the distrust towards representative organisations and the mass media. Consequently, these important events inspired and framed notions of unfair societies, inequality, poverty and a lack of effective democracy (Luengo, Marín, 2016, p. 58).

The increasing use of new technologies of information and communication has changed the very essence of the political process in general, and social and political mobilisation in particular. As a consequence of the facts already described, we can observe in Spain interesting examples of these new dynamics: the emergence of Podemos, at the moment the third political party that has obtained power in the biggest Spanish cities (Barcelona and Madrid), rooted in the outrage movement; the organisation of new platforms that involve new ways of participation fostering the online participation of citizens, for example appgree[4] or the Madrid city-hall online space.[5]

Whilst some scholars have highlighted the increase of political disaffection over the last decades, the truth is that in this new environment more and more citizens are taking part in the political process through very varied and fresh ways of participation.

Hence, the scope of this chapter has to do with the diagnosis of the role played by new technologies of communication, particularly the Internet, in political and social activism in Spain, understanding this concept as one dimension of political participation.

---

[4] Appgree is a web and phone application, able to find the ideas most supported by an unlimited number of people. With Appgree, any community can express itself quickly and easily (https://www.appgree.com).

[5] https://decide.madrid.es/.

Theoretical framework

Many political scientists have traditionally underlined the fact that political disaffection has continuously increased in past decades. Scholars have focused their efforts in understanding the complex developments through which we have arrived at a particular pattern of conduct that could be broadly characterised by the combination of, on the one hand, low levels of electoral turnout, political participation and activism, political efficacy, political knowledge and political understanding, and, on the other hand, the firm approval of democratic principles. This dynamic has been pointed out as a potential component of the instability of the political system (Luengo, 2005, p. 59).

Social sciences in general, and political and media sciences specifically, have explored the causes of these behavioural patterns and have developed a theoretical framework to face this challenging phenomenon. The belief that the processes of political communication have substantially altered the political and civic engagement of citizens in one way or another, has become a constant conviction among scholars and journalists, especially in the North American context (Luengo, Maurer, 2009), emphasising the potential implication of media coverage in fostering those patterns of political culture.

The development of political communication as a discipline suggests some contrasting explanations around the relationship between the mass media and political engagement. On the one hand, we find some authors that accuse the media of "narcotising" the citizens, who are increasingly less participative and less trusting of political institutions, and are, in the terms of Robert Putnam, disaffected democrats (Robinson, 1976; Patterson, 1994; Fallows, 1996; Cappella, Jamieson, 1997; Putnam, Pharr, 2000; Putnam, 2000). On the other hand, some recent analyses state that the empirical evidence points in the opposite direction (Holtz-Bacha, 1990; Newton, 1999; Norris, 2000).

Theories of Media Malaise[6]

In 1976, Michael Robinson popularised the term *videomalaise*, arguing that television as a source of political information causes political disaffection. In order to explain the growth of what he called *videomalaise,* the author pointed out six interrelated factors: 1) the anomalous magnitude and shape of television news audiences, 2) the public perceptions of the credibility of networks, 3) the interpretative character of television news coverage, 4) the stress on negative elements of television news reports, 5) the emphasis on conflict and violence in network reporting, and 6) the anti-institutional theme of news programs on television (Robinson, 1976, p. 426). All these elements came together to promote political disaffection, frustration, cynicism and malaise in the general public.

This perspective made special sense in the North American political context. Television news in the U.S. does, indeed, present political life in a more negative way than newspapers do (Robinson, Sheehan, 1983). Political disaffection in the U.S. increases parallel to the increase in negative news stories about politicians and political institutions in the American media (Lichter, Amundson, 1994; Patterson, 1993). In summary, the theories of media

---

[6] This theoretical discussion can be followed in more depth in Luengo, 2005; Luengo, 2012.

malaise maintain two central assumptions: 1) the processes of political communication via mass media have a significant impact on the civic engagement of the citizens; 2) this impact heads in a negative direction or, in other words, the lack of social commitment towards the political process is determined by the process of political communication (Luengo, 2005).

Theories of Political Mobilisation

The theoretical proposal presented above is challenged by a set of scientific works, the results of which have been grouped under the label of theories of political mobilisation. Despite the fact that these new interpretations do not fully eliminate all the previous contributions, they add substantial nuances to the main *videomalaise* concerns. In other words, they suggest that the contemporary mass media have a significant impact on citizens – this point is shared with the media malaise position – but this influence is produced in a positive direction, maintaining and promoting political commitment and, hence, democratic participation.

The theories of political mobilisation appeared on the academic scene with great influence in the nineties (Holtz-Bacha, 1990; Norris, 1996; Newton, 1999; Norris, 2000), with the diffusion of some pieces of research work. We could state that the first analyses along this line arose as a result of the contrast with the media malaise hypotheses. Somehow, this explanation considers that including differences in some analytical categories, media malaise theories are not strictly applicable as they were formulated. Essentially, mobilisation theories underline that "we need carefully to disentangle the positive and negative effects of different media, messages, audiences and effects" (Norris et al., 1999, p. 99). In this sense, for example, the group of regular consumers of television news and habitual readers of the political press are – regardless of tone of media coverage – more inclined to be informed, participative, interested and committed to political life. On the contrary, citizens exposed to sensationalist content usually present levels of political disaffection, cynicism and alienation.

Finally, it is vital to mention the importance of a theory that, although framed within the theories of the mobilisation, acquires a special status, since its considerations entail significant advances with respect to the general assumptions – the theory of the Virtuous Circle (Norris, 2000). In spite of proposing a similar perspective to the contributions of the theory of political mobilisation and objecting to the conclusions of media malaise, the theory of the virtuous circle, stated by Pippa Norris, goes one step further and provides a more complete theoretical elaboration. As a result of the examination of empirical evidence derived from data analysis of the United States and Western Europe, one of the main assumptions of this theory resides in the following statement: the attention to the news in general is not configured as a factor that contributes to the erosion of support for the political system. On the contrary, those consistently exposed to news and electoral campaigns are revealed as the most knowledgeable in political terms, as most trusting of the government and the political system, and as the most participative (Luengo, 2005).

Nevertheless, it seems that the latest developments have challenged the traditional concept of political disaffection as a generalised trend in the political culture of the contemporary Western world. In the last decade, citizens in some countries, like Spain, are becoming

more and more politically active. The consolidation of the Internet as not only a media outlet, but also a multifunctional platform, has put into question the traditional relationship between the media and political participation. We have observed a profound alteration regarding what was pointed out by the media malaise theorists. The development of new media outlets, which is clearly a process, not an exclusive and isolated event, has extended the possibilities of study. We are pointing not only at the Internet itself, but also at the enormous potentiality found in social media, including Facebook and Twitter, among others.

Methodology

The aim of this study is the analysis of new means of political activism in Spain and its relationship with exposure to media content. In order to achieve this goal, we are going to run a quantitative analysis to get an approximation of the e-activist profile. Our data set comes from study no. 3126 of the Sociological Research Centre (Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas – CIS), a wide post-electoral survey of the latest Spanish Parliamentary elections. The total sample size of the survey is 6,242 interviews.

Dependent variable

Participation in political forums or discussions online was used to measure the new means of political activism on the Internet. Other questions about political activism are presented in the results to get an approximation of the dissemination of political activism on the Internet compared to other more traditional means of political activism.

The original question[7] for our dependent variable was presented in the questionnaire as follows:

> "P. 16. Please tell me if you have done the following actions that people carry out to state their opinion about a problem… P. 16.4.: Participate in a political forum or discussion online…: 1) On many occasions; 2) Once in a while; 3) Never; 9) Don't know."

In order to run the logistic regression, the dependent variable was recoded as follows: 1. Yes (categories 1 and 2); 0. No (category 3).

Independent variables

The survey includes questions on respondent exposure to media content, making a distinction between newspapers, TV and radio. The questions were:[8]

---

[7] P.16. *Me gustaría que me dijera si ha realizado en bastantes ocasiones, alguna vez o nunca, las siguientes acciones que la gente lleva a cabo para dar a conocer su opinión sobre algún problema... 16.5.: Participar en un foro o grupo de discusión política en Internet…: 1) En bastantes ocasiones; 2) Alguna vez; 3) Nunca; 9) NC* (original version in Spanish).

[8] P.19.1. *Durante esta campaña electoral, ¿con qué frecuencia ha seguido Ud. La información política y electoral a través de los periódicos de información general? ¿Y a través de la televisión?*

"P.19.1. During this electoral campaign, how often have you followed the political and electoral information in the newspapers? And on TV? And on the radio? 1) Every day or almost every day; 2) Four or five times a week; 3) Two or three times a week; 4) Only on weekends; 5) Never or almost never; 9) Don't know."

In order to get a political profile, we also included trust in the national parliament[9] and the ideological self-location[10] as independent variables. In addition, the multivariate analysis was controlled by the traditional socio-demographic variables: gender, age and education.

Results

Political activism and exposure to media content in Spain

Table 1 shows that political activism on the Internet is still less generalised among Spanish people than other types of actions, such as taking part in public demonstrations, boycotting certain products for political reasons or participating in strikes. Nearly 90 percent of the respondents have never participated in a political forum or discussion online, in contrast with the other three means of activism: between 42–49 percent of respondents have participated at some point in public demonstrations, strikes or have stopped buying certain products for political reasons. The least common political actions are the occupation of buildings and blocking traffic: 92.1 percent of respondents have never participated in this kind of protest.

Table 1

Types of political activism

N = 6242	On many occasions (%)	Once in a while (%)	Never (%)
Take part in a lawful public demonstration	12.1	37.3	50.3
Boycott certain products for environmental, political or moral reasons	10.8	29.8	58.4
Participate in a strike	8.4	33.5	57.7
Occupy buildings or block traffic	0.9	5.5	92.1
Participate in a political forum or discussion online	2.7	7.4	89.3

Source: CIS no. 3126 (January, 2016).

¿Y a través de la radio? 1) Todos o casi todos los días; 2) Cuatro o cinco días por semana; 3) Dos o tres días por semana; 4) Sólo los fines de semana; 5) De vez en cuando; 6) Nunca o casi nunca; 7) N.C. (original version in Spanish).

[9] "P. 6: Please tell me on a score of 0–10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust. 6.1.: The national parliament."

[10] "P. 35: In politics people sometimes talk of 'left' and 'right'. Using this card, where would you place yourself on this scale, where 1 means the left and 10 means the right?"

Regarding the exposure to media content, Table 2 shows that TV is the most popular media outlet in Spain: 58.5 percent of respondents followed the electoral and political information on TV every day or almost every day, in contrast to 23.1 percent of respondents who followed the electoral information daily in the newspapers or 19.8 percent who did so on the radio, respectively. On the other hand, it is especially interesting to notice how common it has become for people to use the Internet as a source of political information in electoral campaigns. As Table 3 shows, 76.4 percent of respondents followed the electoral information on the Internet at some point. Digital media (32.4 percent) and social media (20.8 percent) were the most popular websites for following electoral information during the campaign of December.

Table 2

During this campaign, how often have you followed the electoral/political information...?

N = 6242	In the newspapers (%)	On TV (%)	On the radio (%)
Every day or almost every day	23.1	58.5	19.8
Four or five times a week	4.4	10.1	3.4
Two or three times a week	6.1	7.7	3.9
Only weekends	3.3	1.6	0.9
Once in a while	8.5	9.2	7.6
Never or almost never	54.5	12.9	64.4

Source: CIS no. 3126 (January, 2016).

Table 3

Following the electoral/political information on the Internet (%)

Types of online source	Frequency abs.	% (over the total N)
Digital media	2022	32.4
Websites of political parties or candidates	426	6.8
Websites of citizen organisations or civic movements	261	4.2
Blogs and discussion forums	357	5.7
Social media	1301	20.8
Other websites	405	6.5
Total	4770 (76.4%)	N = 6242

Source: CIS no. 3126 (January, 2016).

The "e-activist" profile

The aim of this chapter is to get a profile of the political activist on the Internet, and to analyse its relationship with exposure to media content. The regression analysis that is presented in Table 4 shows an approximation of this profile: younger respondents, with higher levels of education, and who are located on the ideological left are more likely to participate in political forums or discussions online. Gender and trust in the national parliament do not maintain a significant relation with the dependent variable. However, it is interesting that the direction of the relation between trust and political activism on

the Internet is negative. In other words, the more distrustful respondents are, the more likely they are to participate in this kind of online discussion.

On the other hand, the results suggest that the respondents that follow political information in the newspapers and on the radio are more likely to participate than the respondents that watch TV.

Table 4

The "e-activist" profile.
Logistic Regression results

	B	Exp(B)	Error std.
Age	−,033	0,967***	,003
Gender (1 = male)	,117	1,124	,096
Education	,346	1,414***	,040
Ideology	−,214	0,808***	,027
Trust on national parliament	−,008	,992	,021
Newspapers	,248	1,281***	,025
TV	−,070	0,933*	,029
Radio	,082	1,085***	,023
Constant	−1,958	0,141***	,289
R² Nagelkerke (%)	21.6***		

D. V.: Participation in a political forum or discussion on the Internet (1: Yes; 0: No).
N total = 6242 (N included in the analysis = 5043).
* > 0.05 ** < 0.01 *** 0.001.
Source: CIS no. 3126 (January, 2016).

Conclusions

The latest political developments in some countries, like Spain, lead us to question the concept of political disaffection as a generalised trend in the political culture of the contemporary Western world. In recent years, we have witnessed the emergence of new and fresh means of political activism in Spain, such as the 15-M Movement, in which social media played an important role, or the emergence of Podemos, in which the online participation of its supporters was crucial. New technologies have played a central role in these new political developments inasmuch as they are a tool that allows new, and less hierarchical ways of political participation.

This study provides a diagnosis of the role played by new technologies of communication, particularly the Internet, in political activism in Spain. Our theoretical framework suggests that the different processes of political communication have substantially altered the citizen's political and civic engagement.

First, we observed that political activism on the Internet is still a minority phenomenon in comparison with other means of political activism, such as the participation in public demonstrations or strikes. Nevertheless, a noteworthy 10.1 percent of the respondents participated at some point in political forums or discussions online. On the other hand, we found a strong dissemination of the Internet as a source of political information in the campaign period of 2015: more than 76 percent followed the electoral and

political information at some point through different websites, especially from digital media and social media.

Second, we analysed the e-activist profile and the relationship between exposure to media content and online activism. The results suggest that online participation is a phenomenon more popular among young people with higher education and located on the ideological left. Surprisingly, we found that people that trust political institutions are less likely to participate in political discussions on the Internet (although this relationship was not stastically significant). This profile is similar to that of citizens who support the new political forces like Podemos and the different citizens' movements (the "Mareas ciudadanas"), who demand a reconfiguration of the democratic system in Spain. Despite high unemployment and growing social inequality following the economic crisis of 2008, the political protests in Spain have largely focused on the quality of democracy, demanding more transparency in political processes, more democracy within political parties and a less hierarchical relationship between the rulers and the ruled.

Regarding the relation between exposure to media content and political activism, several studies have addressed this topic and have reached different results. Following the so-called media malaise theories, the exposure to negative media content is related to political disaffection and political cynicism. In contrast, media mobilisation theories have shown that exposure to media content leads to well-informed and mobilised citizens. Our results are in line with political mobilisation theories (Holtz-Bacha, 1990; Norris, 1996; Newton, 1999; Norris, 2000) in the cases of exposure to newspapers and the radio: respondents who followed electoral and political information in the newspapers and on the radio are more likely to participate in political forums and discussions online, even controlling for age, gender and education. On the other hand, the logistic regression showed that exposure to TV and political activism on the Internet are negatively related. Some scholars have pointed out that television news presents political information in a more negative way than newspapers (Robinson, Sheehan, 1983). This could have a negative effect on political engagement. Taken together, these results suggest the possibility of different effects on political activism as a result of the exposure to news on different outlets.

To sum up, the consolidation of the Internet has extended the possibilities for new and fresh means of political activism, as well as the development of new sources of political information. That could have a positive effect on the political engagement of new generations that demand more transparency and civic participation within the political system.

Bibliography

Bennett L. W. (2003), *Communicating Global Activism. Information*, "Communication & Society", vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 143–266.

Cappella J., Jamieson C. (1997), *Spiral of Cynicism: The Press and the Public Good*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Castells M. (2012), *Redes de Indignación y Esperanza*, Alianza, Madrid.

Dahlgren P. (2004), *Foreword*, in: W. Van de Donk, B. Loader, P. Nixon, D. Rucht, *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements*, Routledge, London, pp. 6–17.

Dimitrova D., Shehata J., Strömback J., Nord L. W. (2014), *The effects of digital media on political knowledge and participation in election campaigns: evidence from panel data*, "Communication Research", vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 95–118.

Easton D. (1965), *A systems analysis of political life*, Wiley, New York.

Fallows J. (1996), *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy*, Pantheon, New York.

Hessel S. (2011), *¡Indignaos! Un alegato contra la indiferencia y a favor de la insurrección pacífica*, Destino, Madrid.

Holtz-Bacha C. (1990), *Videomalaise Revisited: Media Exposure and Political Alienation in West Germany*, "European Journal of Communication", no. 5, pp. 73–85.

Lichter R. S., Amundson D. R. (1994), *Less News is Worse News: Television Coverage of Congress, 1972–1992*. in: *Congress, the Press, and the Public*, eds. T. E. Mann, N. J. Ornstein, Brookings Institution Press, Washington, pp. 131–140.

Luengo O. (2005), *Media Malaise Revisited: Media Exposure and Political Activism in Europe*, "Central European Political Science Review", vol. 6, no. 19, pp. 72–88.

Luengo O. (2012), *Internet y nuevos repertorios de acción colectiva en Europa. ¿Invalida el 15M el malestar mediático?*, in: *Ciberpolítica. Las nuevas formas de acción y comunicación políticas*, ed. R. Cotarelo, Tirant Lo Blanch, Valencia, pp. 257–278.

Luengo O., Maurer M. (2009), *A Virtuous Circle for All? Media Exposure and Political Trust in Europe*, "CONfines", no. 5/9, pp. 39–48.

Luengo O., Marín J. (2016), *Communication Strategies and New Political Movements*, in: *Beyond the Internet; Unplugging the Protest Movement Wave*, eds. R. Figueiras, P. Espirito Santo, Routledge, London, pp. 53–75.

Newton K. (1999), *Mass Media Effects: Mobilisation or Media Malaise*, "British Journal of Political Science", no. 29, pp. 577–599.

Norris P. (1996), *Does Television Erode Social Capital? A Reply to Putnam*, "Political Science and Politics", vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 474–480.

Norris P. (1999), *Introduction: The Growth of Critical Citizens?*, in: *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*, ed. P. Norris, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 1–27.

Norris P. (2000), *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communication in Postindustrial Societies*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Patterson T. (1993), *Out of Order,* Knopf, New York.

Petray T. L. (2011), *Protest 2.0: online interactions and Aboriginal activists*, "Media Culture Society", vol. 33, no. 6, pp. 923–940.

Putnam R. D. (2000), *Bowling Alone*, Simon & Schuster, New York.

Putnam R. D., Pharr S. J., Dalton R. J. (2000), *Introduction: What's Troubling the Trilateral Democracies*, in: *Disaffected Democrats: What's Troubling the Trilateral Democracies*, eds. R. D. Putnam, S. J. Pharr, Princeton University Press, Princeton, pp. 3–27.

Robinson M. (1976), *Public affairs television and the growth of political malaise: The case of The Selling the Pentagon*, "American Political Science Review", no. 70, pp. 409–432.

Robinson M., Sheehan M. A. (1983), *Over the Wire and on TV. CBS and UPI in Campaign '80*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

Van De Donk W., Loader B. D., Nixon P. G., Rucht D. (2004), *Cyberprotest: New media, citizens and social movements*, Routledge, London–New York.

Yamamoto M., Kushin M. (2014), *More harm than Good? Online media use and political disaffection among college students in the 2008 election*, "Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication", no. 19, pp. 430–445.

Zhang W., Johnson T. J., Bichard S. L. (2010), *The Revolution Will be Networked The Influence of Social Networking Sites on Political Attitudes and Behaviour*, "Social Science Computer Review", vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 75–92.

Partycypacja polityczna i nowe technologie komunikacyjne w Hiszpanii

Streszczenie

Konsolidacja Internetu będącego nie tylko medium, ale także wielofunkcyjną platformą, podważyła tradycyjne relacje między mediami a partycypacją polityczną. Najnowsze wydarzenia polityczne w Hiszpanii, takie jak ruch 15-M czy sukces partii Podemos pokazują, że nowe technologie zwiększają możliwości nowych i nowatorskich sposobów aktywności politycznej. Niniejszy artykuł stanowi diagnozę roli, jaką odgrywają nowe technologie komunikacyjne, w szczególności Internet, w działalności politycznej w Hiszpanii. Wyniki pokazują godne uwagi upowszechnienie Internetu jako źródła informacji politycznych, a także jako platformy partycypacji politycznej. Analiza sugeruje ponadto, że partycypacja w sieci jest zjawiskiem bardziej popularnym wśród młodych ludzi z wykształceniem wyższym i mających poglądy lewicowe. Profil ten jest zbliżony do charakterystyki obywateli, którzy wspierają nowe siły polityczne, takie jak Podemos i różne ruchy obywatelskie domagające się przebudowy systemu demokratycznego w Hiszpanii.

Słowa kluczowe: Internet, nowe technologie, media, aktywność polityczna, e-aktywność

Piotr PAWEŁCZYK, Jakub JAKUBOWSKI
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

Political marketing in the times of big data

Abstract: Academic considerations on the topic of political marketing very often boil down to discussing the political history of the 20th and 21st centuries, while failing to account for the significant changes in the range of instruments used to implement election strategies. However, the academic discussion about political marketing as an applied sub-discipline should take into account some mechanisms for accomplishing specified tasks. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to fill this gap and try to examine the influence of the tools based on big data on the broad picture of what we name marketing activities in the field of politics. We would like to present readers with our hypothesis that the profound changes in this area that were particularly noticeable in the election and referendum campaigns in 2016 may provide a premise to identify a new paradigm in the discussion on the use of marketing strategies in political communication. It would be based on the Internet combining the function of a communication channel and a source of data about voters. This information is next used for marketing purposes. It should be emphasized that this mechanism that has been used in the field of commercial activities for almost a decade, in the field of politics produces completely new and potentially dangerous consequences for citizens.

Key words: political marketing, big data, political communication, political campaign

Introduction

The history of political marketing is actually the political history of the United States from the 1950s. This can be confirmed by the outcomes Donald Trump's presidential campaign in 2016 produced both in the US and globally. The breakthrough nature of this campaign, and the experience of Brexit, have inspired this attempt to describe a new period in the development of political marketing and to review our perception of its earlier stages in terms of the technological possibilities of communicating with the electorate and identifying their expectations. The attempts to systematize the evolution of political marketing are made with reference to the dominant medium, or the possibility of surveying the political market at any given period of time. We believe that we are entering a new era characterized by the combination of a communication medium with a source of data enabling opinion surveys to be conducted. There has emerged a two-way information channel whose throughput has not been estimated so far. Information that had to be obtained from respondents in the past (and that was frequently subjectively distorted) has currently been replaced by the data provided by their activities in social media and other online behavior. Big data, a large volume of data for analysis, whose size should be maximized in order for it to gain informative value (Tabakow, Korczak, Franczyk, 2014, p. 141), makes it possible to obtain voter profiles that are considerably more precise and reliable than those resulting from their statements in opinion polls. Then experts design the algorithms that create marketing messages which are individually adjusted to differ-

ent online recipients. This paper is an attempt at demonstrating that these innovative elements are sufficiently significant to allow us to talk about a new stage, leading towards a changed paradigm of marketing solutions present in politics.

How has political marketing, which emerged from commercial marketing tools, gained such an enormous influence? Political programs, rational arguments and truth no longer matter and have given way to the increasingly advanced technological possibilities of identifying voter expectations and adjusting messages to fit them. In order to answer this question, we suggest that four stages in the development of electoral campaigns can be distinguished.

New media, new marketing?

The United States was the first country that applied those marketing techniques that had been commercially tested before in political communication, and is where they have achieved the highest level of sophistication. In other countries, in Europe and elsewhere, the development of political marketing was delayed by several years, or even several decades, as was the case of Central and Eastern Europe. This pertained to the adaptation and application of marketing tools both for the purpose of market analysis and the implementation of strategies and running campaigns professionally (Mazur, p. 14). The application of marketing methods always strongly relied on the development of the media in a given country. M. Kolczyński believes that it is impossible to talk about electoral candidates having full access to the potential offered by the mass media without the presence of strong and competitive commercial media, television being the most important one (Kolczyński, p. 136). Talking about the 'Americanization' of electoral campaigns has become synonymous with their professionalization on the one hand and mediatization on the other. The transfer of marketing methods and techniques from the commercial market to electoral campaigns was the result of seeking efficient methods to manage the activities of political actors in the competitive market of politics.

Many scholars believe that the main reason for the changes in the communication process caused by the application of marketing methods in politics is the development of the mass media, primarily television. The turn of the 1940s witnessed an enormous technological progress in televised transmissions. Societies grew richer and the number of TV sets people had at home increased. In 1950, ca. 9% of US households were in possession of a TV set, whereas by 1962 over 90% had them (*Television Facts and Statistics*). It is commonly agreed that the 1952 presidential campaign in the US marked the beginning of 'modern' political marketing. Dwight Eisenhower's election campaign staff employed Rosser Reeves, an expert in TV commercials, who designed a series of TV spots titled "Eisenhower answers America." Reeves matched pre-recorded statements by the candidate with questions asked by ordinary US citizens who were invited to the studio for this purpose. The purpose of these recordings was to convince the electorate that the program of the Republican politician was superior to that of the Democratic candidate, Adlai Stevenson, and to advertise his personal virtues. Dwight Eisenhower's election campaign made use of methods formerly applied for commercial advertising campaigns. Election campaign teams turned to seasoned advertising agencies with experience in the

commercial market to perform the tasks of the electoral campaign. Eisenhower's victory was the outcome of an extensive survey of the political market. The campaign messages concentrated around such matters as corruption, inflation, taxes and the Korean War. At the time of the election, nineteen million people had TV sets, accounting for ca. 40% of households (Kolczyński, pp. 129–130). Another productive idea involved focusing on short advertising forms and buying the prime time. The campaign Reeves had planned was relatively short but extremely dynamic. It took three weeks during which all the scheduled activities were completed. The time was well used and conveying the message was the focus. The content was concentrated and broadcast with appropriate frequency. Long speeches were avoided and the political program was presented by means of advertising spots of 20–60 second duration (ibid., p. 130).

This new form of electoral campaign was primarily caused by the emergence of a new medium whose influence grew from year to year, although primarily in the area of commercial marketing at first. Yet the experience accumulated when shaping consumer needs started to radiate to political communication right away. The electoral campaign designed by Eisenhower's team was innovative and effective enough to make the following competitions between different candidates increasingly media-related. The importance of television grew in line with the number of TV sets, but it was also important that political leaders were used to the old forms of communicating with their electorate. In the 1950s, electoral campaigns primarily supported the traditional forms of marketing, where candidates tried to win voters' support in direct contact and by means of well-tested visual and audio advertising media. It is typically emphasized in the literature on the subject that, at this stage, the campaigns were still about political parties, while candidates only promoted the program of their respective parties. This limited the possibility to create their own image and, to some extent, forced them to be more responsible for what they were saying. Yet television rapidly gained importance as a medium of political communication and envisaged the beginning of a brand new era. Therefore, this stage could be named the *pretelevision* one. 1960 marks the breakthrough and the beginning of televised debates. The famous Nixon-Kennedy debate, which is a landmark in the history of political marketing, demonstrated the superior influence of image and non-verbal communication (peripheral route) over verbal messages (central route) that appeal to rationality to a greater extent (Petty, Cacioppo, 1986). Televised political debates and created pseudo-events symbolized this period, where the primary goal of the campaign was to appeal to voters' emotions. The negative commercial "Daisy," televised during the 1964 presidential campaign by the Democrats, marked a milestone. The spot was broadcast once only and appealed to the emotions that had already been raised in voters who were to be alerted that the election of Barry Goldwater would increase the risk of a nuclear conflict. The commercial had an electrifying impact. Not only did it end the chances of the Republican candidate but also concluded the first stage in the development of modern political marketing. Long and mundane television messages were replaced by short spots able to generate or reinforce the emotions of voters.

The period when political candidates became more like TV presenters is usually named the stage of candidate-oriented campaigns. It took around thirty years and was characterized by the advancing process of the personalization of politics. The political program was replaced by the political image of the candidate in the campaign. It has to

be remembered, however, that creating this image would have been impossible without television. Television imposed completely new standards of political communication, where the importance of form prevailed over content. Perhaps, this period symbolically culminated in 1980, when the role of the candidate for the office of President was given to Ronald Reagan, a former actor whom the cameras loved and who gracefully 'seduced' his audience-electorate without imparting too much information about his political program. The process of the personalization of politics intensified in the 1980s. It meant not only the identification of individual political actors with political groups, parties and organizations, but also the treatment of persons in the highest public offices as symbols of the State or nation.

Television became not only the dominant mass medium but actually defined the standards of political communication. Candidates who were not photogenic, or faced problems with non-verbal communication lost the chance of attracting attention, let alone winning the support of voters. This exceptionally important period in the development of political marketing can be called the *television stage*, because television became crucial in the development of processes defined as the personalization or mediatization of politics. The significance of the candidate's image in the electoral message is something obvious today, but it should be remembered that it follows from the fact that the possibilities offered by the increasingly modern television overwhelmed political communication.

In the mid-1980s, the concept of addressing television commercials at mass consumers was abandoned. The prevailing view was that the efficiency of commercials depends more on addressing a specific message at the right segment of the electorate rather than implementing the catch-all principle. This is not to mean that television played a less prominent role in the communication between politicians and voters than before, but it became technically possible to process the feedback, obtained in the form of survey results and focus group studies, in more and more detail. The identification of voter expectations supplemented the activities aimed at shaping the political image of candidates. Voter-directed campaigns emerged. The power of this new strategy was demonstrated in 1988, when George Bush Sr. defeated his democratic competitor Michael Dukakis, having acquired better awareness of American voters' fears that let him corner his political rival and stigmatize him as a politician who could not guarantee the security of American citizens. This stage in the development of marketing took ca. 25 years and can be named the *survey* period. Surveys became an idol, governing the strategies of electoral campaigns. They made it possible not only to identify the main issues in the campaign narrative, but also categorize the recipients of electoral messages more distinctly. Yet in order to make it happen, the surveys of the political market had to be assisted by the growing technological potential of data processing and addressing selected recipients with messages. Computers became an indispensable tool to run political campaigns.

The 1990s were the time when the Internet entered election campaigns, especially for the purpose of contacting voters, recruiting volunteers and organizing their meetings, as well as fundraising. Internet communication with voters revealed its efficiency as early as at the beginning of the 21st century. A good exemplification of how the tools related to the Internet could be used is provided by the campaign of Howard Dean, who managed to collect millions of dollars from 2003–2004 and exerted a significant impact on the electoral competition (Płudowski, p. 31). Another step was marked by Barack Obama's

presidential campaign in 2008. Organized by Joe Rospars, it actively involved thirteen million voters online (Makarenko, 2009). The extent to which Obama's team used the Internet brought the campaign to a new qualitative level. Interestingly, contacting web users largely served the purpose of winning individual donations for the campaign, which translated into winning voters both symbolically and in terms of finance, but did not offer too much potential to learn more about them.

The beginning of the fourth stage can be associated not only with the 2016 presidential campaign in the US, but also with the referendum campaign on Brexit in the UK, which preceded it. This unfolding stage is of particular interest here. Over the last two years, a change seems to be occurring with reference to big data, that is a vast amount of scattered data. Individually examined such data does not inform us about the world, but when collected and analyzed it displays regularities and makes it possible to design a highly precise profile of relatively small groups. Donald Trump's campaign demonstrated to the whole world the potential offered by a mass analysis of individual data generated by the traces of our online activities, especially in social media. The development of social media and the illusionary anonymity they offer allowed scattered information about us to be collected. Surveys show that what people do online is consistent with what they are like in reality (Żakowski, 2017, p. 26). Watching the online activities of Internet users helps to precisely define their opinions, attitudes and intimate features. "Instead of using survey forms, where the answers do not necessarily have to be honest, digital traces can be examined, such as emails, search history, visited websites, and so on" (ibid.). We would like to pay attention to this period in the development of political marketing. We believe that the time of big data started then. We are analyzing a reality which is changing dynamically, leading to a question whether modern political marketing is undergoing a qualitative change, related to the use of the new technologies of collecting data on voters, and the possibilities of generating individual messages to them; and whether confirming that this change is taking place translates into the need to describe a new stage in the development of political marketing campaigns. Is the use of big data for the purpose of gaining an increasingly efficient influence on voters dangerous as such, or are we more concerned that the possibilities big data offer will be used by those political options we deem to be potentially dangerous or unpredictable when elected? Finally, is there a relation between the rise of populist movements and new forms of political marketing; or rather, as has been the case so far, the tested and effective techniques of commercial marketing have been adapted to political marketing, following the logic of technological progress?

Political marketing after the big data revolution

Many marketing novelties, whether in the field of politics or elsewhere, are based on the 'promotion of marketing as such'. New terms replace old ones, thereby creating the impression that we are witnessing a revolution in this field, whereas it is rarely the case.

A similar approach can be seen in the case of marketing techniques in social media. Such trends as viral marketing, storytelling, remarketing and other fancy names seem secondary, although they suggest a new paradigm in the sales strategy of services and

products (including political products).[1] It is true, however, that the scale of these phe-
nomena has changed due to the Internet becoming increasingly socialized, making them
easier to be observed by both ordinary people and those who study these phenomena.

Political marketing experienced a clear revolution when the promotional function of
social media was combined with their potential for collecting and processing an enormous
amount of scattered data (big data) to make inferences on its basis. This information is
obtained by virtue of reverse marketing, where people seek products rather than the other
way round, and the Internet is the main search tool (Sharma, Sheth, 2004). The data web
users voluntarily or unconsciously leave behind offer an invaluable source of information
on a practically unlimited range of topics. A majority of the issues web users are concerned
with is either related to politics or provides a significant source of information to design
political marketing strategies. The former can be exemplified by web users' opinions on
different political actors and their activities, their approval or disapproval, declarations to
take part in different political events, and so on. A commentary posted on social media to
a statement made by a politician illustrates such an information unit (Fig. 1).
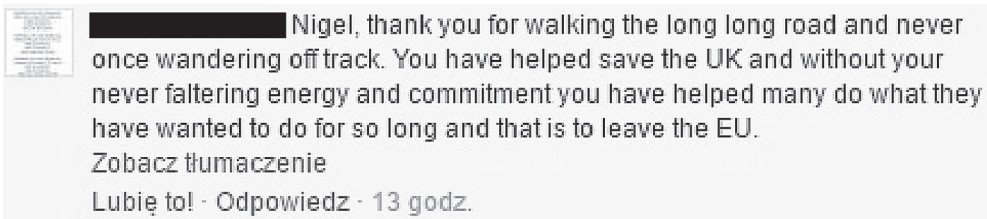
Figure 1. Commentary to Nigel Farage's statement posted by a Facebook account owner
Source: Facebook, May 23, 2017.

The latter concerns the data that makes it possible to determine political preferences on
the basis of demographic, geographic, psychographic and behavioral aspects. Web users
frequently provide such information directly (for instance their age) when setting up their
accounts on social media. Other information, such as whether or not they have children,
can be inferred by means of an algorithm that collects scattered data (such as interest in
child products in online stores, searching for soothing music for babies and so on). The
'fetish' of marketing data allows all this information to be correlated with political prefer-
ences and thereby to target appropriate advertising content at the right recipient.

Recently, this approach has been tested in the firing range of commercial activities
(Graczyk-Kucharska, 2015). The changes in political marketing naturally 'follow' the
innovations emerging in the promotion of goods and services. Those innovations that
can be adapted, after some time, become adapted to the specific requirements of a politi-
cal product. Whether in commerce or politics, the primary goal of marketing is to indi-

---

[1] Viral marketing seems to be nothing more than transferring teaser techniques online and taking
advantage of people's eternal inclination to gossip. Storytelling is the outcome of narrative marketing
that has always been a part of politics, where imposing one's own discourse is instrumental in resolving
problems and achieving goals. Also remarketing campaigns were carried out before, employing tradi-
tional mail and simplified databases about (potential) clients. What is beyond doubt, however, is that the
scale of these activities and the channel of communication has changed dramatically.

vidualize the offer appropriately (adjusting it to consumer needs) and deliver it to social media users on the basis of consumer profiles, generated by means of an automated analysis of the information they have left on the web (Borudsiak, Pierański, Romanowski, Strykowski, 2015, pp. 36–43). In political marketing it is about political preferences and an election offer that matches those preferences.

  The 'revolution' pertains not only to the phenomenon as such, but also its scale. It has to be noted that for a long time huge amounts of data have been useful when developing diagnoses and trying to improve their forecasting potential, for instance with reference to bank-

Figure 2. One variant of Donald Trump's advertisements on Facebook

Source: Facebook, May 23, 2017.

ing data (Filip, 2015). The segmentation paradigm, which has been dominant in political marketing for decades, is a perfect example here. Once again it can be said that no dramatic breakthrough has occurred. Nevertheless, the nature of the data web users voluntarily generate in natural, everyday conditions, and their amount, make it possible to talk about a qualitative change of a kind. The level of detail obtained thereby, when profiling target groups, approaches the 'single consumer, single offer' level, where the offer is as individualized as possible, given the technological and analytical possibilities. It is worth mentioning that just during the third televised presidential debate in the US, Donald Trump's team tested 175,000 different variants of an advertising post in Facebook; they differed in terms of details that were determined by the preferences of Facebook users (Grassegger, Krogerus, 2017).

When concentrating marketing techniques on political persuasion, there emerges a model of operation which can raise concerns in terms of dilemmas related to democracy, manipulation and free choice. The range of information web users provide is unlimited, as is the potential of adapting them for marketing purposes; therefore, the level of intimacy of the data used can translate into an equally personal and emotional profile of the election offer. Knowing that you have lost your job, we will promise you a new one while encouraging you to vote. You've just had children? An advertisement will offer a reduced VAT rate on child products. A close member of your family has recently passed away? A proposal to increase funeral benefits may work. The mechanism of making empty promises is not a surprising novelty, either, though (Ekman, 2003). What is new, however, is the level of detail and the individualization of this promise. This type of activity may turn out more effective than earlier political efforts because it combines advertising techniques with personal, or even intimate elements of voter behavior. Political actors have acquired the ability to hypothetically fulfill the most intimate needs. No other tool of political marketing has ensured such possibilities before, as they only offered a more or less standardized message in the form of leaflets, posters, TV commercials and online banners.

The scale of this phenomenon is driven by web users' inclination to publicize a vast amount of personal data, or their ignorance about how to use the web safely. What 'brings dividends' is also the lack of awareness that all the information voters post on the web in the public mode is useful for marketing. Media content has been assessed as excessive at every stage of media development. At present, however, with the multitude of the senders of messages and the network structure of the media, this excessive content is becoming incomparable not only to the media revolution of the 20th century, but even to the reality of the previous decade. Suffice it to say that ca. 7,500 tweets are published every second on Twitter (as on May 2017), which is so popular among politicians and journalists, yielding over 600 million tweets a day (*Internet live stats*). This 'curse of abundance' of research material is a valuable record of social reality on the one hand and, on the other, of a surfeit that has probably gone beyond the imagination of media researchers who addressed this topic not very long ago (Kopecka-Piech, 2013).

It has to be admitted that the above-described model is applicable only to quite a limited extent. There is practically no software for collecting and analyzing data, dedicated to the needs of political communication experts. In the case of Brexit and the 2016 presidential elections in the US, the instrument that played the greatest role was provided by an algorithm that makes use of psychographic, micro-targeting marketing, designed by Michał Kosiński and implemented by the Cambridge Analytical agency. It should be

pointed out that this tool was assumed to improve the targeting process in online sales of commercial goods, but it proved effective also in political campaigns.

These solutions are far from perfect, frequently forcing experts in political communication to apply marketing tools that are typically intended to support sales, protect a brand's good name and monitor one's own and competitive brands. Although such solutions can be adapted for the purpose of examining political actors, they are neither ideal nor satisfactory. Yet their use is frequently necessary, as there are no alternatives available. On the other hand, these solutions have the advantage of generating the above-mentioned surfeit, which in this case applies to the tools available.

What may raise doubts is the quality of research material for the surveys of opinion polls, social sentiments and expectations, support for ideas and political actors and many other issues that are crucial from the point of view of marketing activities. It has to be admitted that for decades such surveys have been conducted by means of the tools and techniques of social sciences (structured interviews, telephone polls, direct interviews, focus groups and so on). A certain qualitative change is worth emphasizing here which may result in a changed paradigm in the field of those surveys, although it is somewhat neglected also by Polish researchers of political communication and political sciences in general. The content we are dealing with at present, including text, pictures, films and all kinds of compiled forms of expression, is (typically) generated in the natural environment of voters (citizens), which was not a standard in the surveys conducted before the 'revolution.' Thanks to the secondary analysis of the generated content, including opinions, accounts, comments and emotions, it is possible to eliminate direct and even indirect contact with the interviewer, which has long been considered to have a potential influence on the final answers obtained from respondents (Sztabiński, 1995, pp. 81–99). The following issues can be listed as problematic during direct interviews and telephone polls on political topics:

– political correctness of respondents;
– being embarrassed about supporting political actors and ideas considered to be extremist or not favored by mainstream media;
– desire to favor the groups that enjoy the highest support and are likely to win the next election;
– the influence the survey institutions (public vs. private) have on the answers;
– problems with achieving a geographically proper quota, taking into account the popularity of mobile tools through which the interviews are carried out;
– specific demographic and psychological profile of respondents who agree to be surveyed (for instance lower level of assertiveness).

Another challenge when analyzing big data online is imperfect algorithms. Although designed by human beings, they continue to apply relatively simple categorization filters. They frequently analyze reality by means of simplified procedures, fail to take exceptions into account and cannot interpret the context of communication events. In other words, they remain machines capable of 'understanding' content in terms of cognitively simplified patterns. They form a kind of artificial intelligence, but they are nowhere near the full 'comprehension' of such communication gambits as irony or humor.

This does not change the fact that the potential of marketing analytical tools in the field of politics at the current stage of web development is so great that their role in such events as Brexit or the 2016 presidential elections in the US cannot be denied. Given

their alleged efficiency it seems that they will continue to be improved and become a permanent element of electoral and referendum campaigns. This in turn makes it possible to conclude that the change in strategic approach is so significant that it marks the beginning of a new trend, or even a new stage in political marketing.

Conclusion

The initial hypothesis that it is necessary to make an academic distinction of a new paradigm in studies on political marketing follows from the analysis of election and referendum practices in 2016. It is unfeasible to determine if/when the new approach will become universal to the point of being commonly applied also in Poland. Previous experience indicates that new solutions enter our region several years later than in the West, and their implementation depends on the properties of local political cultures, as well as the political, social and technological reality. On the one hand, we are aware that candidates and political parties have generally started to use advertising tools based on the analysis of behavioral data obtained from social media users. This can be exemplified by targeted political messages on Facebook, as illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Online advertisement of the Nowoczesna [Modern] party

Source: Facebook, May 23, 2017.

On the other hand, our contacts with practitioners of political marketing drive us toward the conclusion that they are increasingly aware of the potential of big data, although in Poland it has not been used in a systemic manner in political campaigns. It transpires that big data may be implemented in the next elections.

It should also be stressed that the implementation of this model on a wider scale, or its potential universalization, will have a strong impact on both the reality of political communication and the political system itself. The metaphor of a 'pork barrel' comes to mind, meaning unsophisticated methods used to gratify voters for their votes. It is worth considering how the system of motivation to cast a vote might change if everybody is served a dish that perfectly matches their culinary preferences (in the form of a personalized empty promise). Without an efficient monitoring system allowing voters to identify implausible information, and given the low level of their awareness, it seems that such efforts may turn out to be efficient, also in Polish conditions.

Bibliography

Borudsiak B., Pierański B., Romanowski R., Strykowski S. (2015), *Automatyzacja personalizacji reklamy internetowej*, "Marketing w praktyce", no. 3.

Ekman P. (2003), *Kłamstwo i jego wykrywanie w biznesie, polityce i małżeństwie*, PWN, Warszawa.

Filip D. (2015), *Big Data – narzędzie instytucji finansowych w dotarciu do klienta, Big Data – narzędzie instytucji finansowych w dotarciu do klienta*, "Ekonomia – Wrocław Economic Review", t. 21, no. 3.

Graczyk-Kucharska M. (2015), *Big data koniecznością współczesnego marketingu*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, t. 2, no. 875 (41).

Grassegger H., Krogerus M., *The Data That Turned the World Upside Down*, https://publicpolicy.stanford.edu/news/data-turned-world-upside-down.

Internet live stats, http://www.internetlivestats.com/one-second/.

Kolczyński M. (2007), *Strategia komunikowania politycznego*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice.

Kopecka-Piech K. (2013), *Nowe media: między nadmiarem i brakiem*, in: *Nadmiar i brak = Excess and lack*, ed. Ł. Huculak, Wyd. ASP we Wrocławiu, Wrocław.

Makarenko V. (2009), *13 000 000 przyjaciół Obamy*, "Gazeta Wyborcza" z dnia 25.03.2009.

Mazur M. (2007), *Marketing polityczny. Studium porównawcze*, PWN, Warszawa.

Petty R. E., Cacioppo J. T. (1986), *Communication and persuasion: Central and peripheral routes to attitude change*, Springer-Verlag, New York.

Płudowski T. (2008), *Komunikacja polityczna w amerykańskich kampaniach wyborczych*, PWN, Warszawa.

Sharma A., Sheth J. N. (2004), *Web-based marketing. The coming revolution in marketing thought and strategy*, "Journal of Business Research", no. 57.

Sztabiński P. B. (1995), *Efekt ankieterski: czy zmienia się tylko respondent?*, "ASK", no. 1.

Tabakow M., Korczak J., Franczyk B. (2014), *Big Data – definicje, wyzwania i technologie informatyczne*, "Informatyka ekonomiczna. Business Informatics", no. 1(31).

Television Facts and Statistics, http://www.tvhistory.tv/facts-stats.htm.

Żakowski J. (2017), *Internetowy Frankenstein*, "Polityka", no. 3.

Marketing polityczny w czasach *big data*

Streszczenie

Rozważania naukowe dotyczące marketingu politycznego bardzo często sprowadzają się do dyskusji na temat politycznej historii XX i XXI wieku z pominięciem istotnych zmian w zakresie narzędzi wykorzystywanych do realizacji strategii wyborczej. Tymczasem analiza naukowa dotycząca marketingu politycznego, jako subdyscypliny stosowanej, uwzględniać winna mechanizmy realizacji określonych zadań. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest więc uzupełnienie tej "luki" i próba zastanowienia się nad wpływem narzędzi opartych o *Big data* na szerszy obraz tego, co nazywamy zabiegami marketingowymi w obszarze polityki. Pragniemy też poddać pod osąd czytelnika hipotezę, iż daleko idące zmiany w tym obszarze, w szczególności widoczne w kampaniach wyborczych i referendalnych w 2016 r., mogą stanowić przesłankę wyodrębnienia nowego paradygmatu w dyskusji na temat wykorzystania strategii marketingowych w komunikowaniu politycznym. Jest on wynikiem połączenia funkcji kanału komunikacji (internet) z jednoczesnym wykorzystaniem go jako źródła zdobywania danych o wyborcach. Te są zaś wykorzystywane w celach marketingowych. Podkreślić należy, iż mechanizm ten, od niemal dekady stosowany w obszarze działań komercyjnych, na gruncie polityki rodzi zupełnie nowe, potencjalnie niebezpieczne dla obywatela konsekwencje.

Słowa kluczowe: marketing polityczny, big data, komunikowanie polityczne, kampania wyborcza

Aleksandra KANIEWSKA-SĘBA
Beata PAJĄK-PATKOWSKA
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

Negative recommendation in social media
– theoretical approach and case studies

Abstract: The Internet, including the social media services, has considerably changed the manner in which consumers voice favourable or unfavourable recommendations about products and services. Development of social media allowed reaching a significantly greater number of persons in a quicker way. One may also notice that the range of thematic comments has been expanded – customers speak not only about the quality of the products, their prices, service levels, but also about other aspects of how marketing companies function. Finally, it is worth paying attention to the language of these opinions, which – in the case of a negative experience with a product or retailer advertising – is often aggressive.

   With the development and dissemination of social networking, PR and marketing communications managers must learn how to communicate and satisfy customers and those who express their discontent at different stages of the purchase funnel. This is especially important in the case of negative word of mouth (NWOM) because every negative opinion can become the nucleus of major problems within brand image and the brand crisis.

   The aim of the article is to show the specificity of word of mouth in social media (sWOM) as one of the forms of electronic word of mouth (eWOM) and to depict phenomenon of NWOM in social media basing on selected case studies from the Polish market.

Key words: word of mouth (WOM), positive word of mouth (PWOM), negative word of mouth (NWOM), social media

Introduction

Development of the Internet, including the social media services, has considerably changed the manner in which consumers voice favourable or unfavourable recommendations about products and services. In the past, customers were sharing their opinions with a limited number of people – mostly with the family members, relatives and friends. Development of social media allowed reaching a significantly greater number of persons in a quicker way. One may also notice that the range of thematic comments has been expanded – customers speak not only about the quality of the products, their prices, service levels, but also about other aspects of how marketing companies function, e.g. a limited product availability, advertising campaigns or pro-social issues. Finally, it is worth paying attention to the language of these opinions, which – in the case of a negative experience with a product or retailer advertising – is often aggressive. What is more, the question arises whether it is possible to describe this type of phenomena adopted for years in the marketing literature with the term "negative word of mouth" (NWOM), or whether we need to talk about "hate speech"?

Word of mouth (WOM) has been a subject of interest for researchers and practitioners in the area of marketing for decades. With the development of the Internet, a new phenomenon has appeared – electronic word of mouth (eWOM), also known as online word of mouth (oWOM). As the results of research conducted by Trusted Trader Internet users attach great importance to opinions and comments found on the Internet. According to information gathered by Trusted Trader, 92 percent of Internet users read opinions about people, products and companies that interest them, 78 percent of them check information about the person or the company before starting cooperation, and 70 percent believe in recommendations published by completely unknown persons. In comparison, only three out of ten trust the opinions posted on the official website of the company (Szklarski, 2014). Consequently, research and business practices since several years focus on the specificity, conditions, possibilities and limitations of eWOM. In particular, due to growing popularity of social media (2.7 billion users in the world), more and more attention in the marketing literature is devoted to WOM in those communication channels (sWOM).

With the development and dissemination of social networking, PR and marketing communications managers must learn how to communicate and satisfy customers and those who express their discontent at different stages of the purchase funnel. This is especially important in the case of negative word of mouth (NWOM) because every negative opinion can become the nucleus of major problems within brand image and the brand crisis.

The aim of the article is to show the specificity of word of mouth in social media (sWOM) as one of the forms of electronic word of mouth (eWOM) and to depict phenomenon of NWOM in social media basing on selected case studies from the Polish market.

The essence of word of mouth

Word of mouth (WOM) has been named "the world's most effective, yet least understood marketing strategy" (Misner, 1999 after: Trusov, Bucklin, Pauwels, 2009, p. 90). At first, the researchers were defining the notion as a recommendation of the opinion-makers (Katz, Lazarsfeld, 1955 after: Pauwels, Aksehirli, Lackman, 2016, p. 640). Later it was extended so as to comprise "informal communications directed at other Consumers about the ownership, usage, or Particular characteristics of goods and services or their sellers" (Westbrook, 1987, p. 261). Today, the concept of WOM includes the opinions of family members, friends or simply other consumers (Childers, Rao, 1992, pp. 198–211; Godes, Mayzlin, 2005, pp. 545–560; Narayan, Rao, Saunders, 2011, pp. 368–384) and is seen as a key success factor in business, often more important than paid marketing.

We can distinguish primary and secondary WOM. The first refers to opinions, which are the result of direct consumer experience with the product. Meanwhile, the secondary WOM is information provided by customers, whose opinions about a product, service, shop etc. are based on the experiences of other people (Hornik, Satchi, Cesareo, Pastore, 2015, p. 273). Understanding of secondary WOM is important, as it is believed to cover over 70% of the online WOM (Meiners, Schwarting and Seeberger, 2010).

Researchers associate WOM communication mechanisms with dissemination of rumours (Westrbrook, 1987) because both phenomena "involve multiple actors and target, have a multi-directional flows of influence and follow an iterative and assimilative process That Develops over time" (Hornik, Satchi, Cesareo, Pastore, 2015, p. 274). In the process of transmission of information (rumours), people seem to believe in a more negative rather than positive news. Negative stories spread faster and on a larger scale. Moreover, the quality of the information may change (Royzman, Rozin, 2001, pp. 296–320). Consumers generally exaggerate the bad information (DiFonzo, Bourgeois, Suls, Homan, Stupak, Brooks, Ross, Bordia, 2013, pp. 378–399). The process resembles rolling a snowball: upon receiving a negative information, people have a tendency to "perseverate, mull it over, talk about it endlessly and explore in fantasy all possible consequences" (Allport, Postman, 1947, p. 154 after: Hornik, Satchi, Cesareo, Pastore, 2015, p. 274).

Positive and negative word of mouth

In everyday language the word "recommendation" has positive connotations and is usually associated with transmission of favourable opinions about people or things.[1] In marketing, we can distinguish both positive word of mouth (PWOM) and negative word of mouth (NWOM). In both cases we are dealing with the activity of potential, current or former clients who share their views about the company, product or service with others. The positive word of mouth, however, is the transfer of favourable opinions and negative word of mouth – the unfavourable opinions. While positive WOM (PWOM) is believed to be a result of satisfactory experiences, negative WOM (NWOM) is rather an outcome of motives and needs commonly identified as 'negativity bias' (Hornik, Satchi, Cesareo, Pastore, 2015, p. 273).

Negative recommendations usually work in opposition to positive suggestions. Studies have found largely positive consequences of PWOM for the evaluation of products and sales (e.g. East, Hammond, Lomax, 2008, pp. 215–224) and negative consequences of NWOM (e.g. Chen, Lurie, 2013, pp. 463–476). PWOM helps to attract new customers because of the reviews "from the outside", treated as a non-profit and independent of the company, which may be of interest or remove doubts in the decision-making process. Secondary (yet important) function of PWOM is to help customers moving up the ladder of loyalty (Kaniewska-Sęba, Leszczyński, 2017). NWOM may have a negative impact on the attitudes and purchasing decisions of customers, the company's image and can even lead – in a long-term perspective – to decrease in company value (Bambauer-Sachse, Mangold, 2011, pp. 38–45; Verhagen, Nauta, Feldberg, 2013, pp. 1430–1440).

It should be noted, however, that consumers do not always respond to NWOM and PWOM in such an obvious way. In the literature, there are also considerations about a situation in which NWOM can cause positive effects, and PWOM can generate negative reactions of consumers (e.g. Berger, Sorensen, Rasmussen, 2010, pp. 815–827).

---

[1] JP Dictionary defines it as "a written or oral positive opinion about someone or something; suggestion, recommendation, intercession". Rekomendacja, *Słownik Języka Polskiego* (*Dictionary of Polish language*, 2017).

Both researchers and practitioners believe that the phenomenon of negative WOM is more influential than positive WOM (East, Hammond, Lomax, 2008, p. 215). Already in 1967 Arndt (1967, p. 292) argued that NWOM has two times more impact than PWOM. Previous studies have shown that negative information surprise the recipient more and, therefore, attract his attention to a greater extent (Xia, Bechwati, 2008, p. 5), spread faster (Libai, Muller, Peres, 2013, pp. 161–176) and are more influential (Chen, Wang, Xie, 2011, p. 31).

WOM in social media

WOM in social media (sWOM) is a social activity, where customers share their opinions and experiences with other members of the network through giving a "like", commenting and conducting discussions or transferring multimedia content to other network users. PWOM and NWOM are regular phenomena occurring in such communities and their content is visible to all its members.

Customer reviews can involve advertising or other activities in the field of marketing communications (ad eWOM), its offer (brand eWOM) or experience related to the purchase (purchase eWOM). Each of these types of WOM appears on different stages of the purchase funnel (Pauwels, Aksehirli, Lackman, 2016, p. 640). Ad WOM requires no prior purchase or consumption. Its source may be people who have never used the particular brand, but, for example, saw its advertisement in social media. Purchase WOM is the result of experiences during shopping (not necessarily concluded with the transaction), and the brand WOM is the result of actual feelings associated with usability of the brand.

The main differences between "traditional" WOM and its electronic form (including sWOM) are the range and sustainability of the opinions. The information that is being exchanged online is of unprecedented scale and detail (Libai, Muller, Peres, 2013, pp. 161–176; Lovett, Peres, Shachar, 2013, pp. 427–444). While verbal recommendations in the real world have a smaller range than those present in virtual environment (e.g. references on blogs or social networks), and are generally more volatile (because they are based primarily on the oral recommendations). It should be emphasized that a face-to-face recommendations at direct contact with other people, and therefore their opinions and reactions to them, are received verbally and nonverbally, e.g. through gestures, intonation of voice and attitude (Verhagen, Nauta, Feldberg, 2013). sWOM, on the other hand, includes simultaneous or non-simultaneous communication between network members using text and multimedia. This raises the question of whether the inability to express emotions in traditional, non-verbal way (and only through words, images, or smileys) does not make part of those emotions, especially the negative, being expressed in a more bluntly verbal manner?

WOM social media is a new form of electronic world of mouth (eWOM), in many respects similar to it, yet having its own specific characteristics. It is worth paying attention primarily to the social risk. Researches indicate that the transfer of negative word of mouth in social media can make the customers who generate this type of opinions be subjected to evaluation and assessment of other members of the network (see more:

Eisingerich, Chun, Liu, Jia, Bell, 2015, pp. 120–128.). Therefore, before the client provides NWOM in social media, probably he will first consider the scale of social risk and therefore estimate the potential benefits and costs of such activity.

Basic differences between communication WOM, eWOM and sWOM have been presented in table 1.

Table 1

Comparison between WOM, eWOM and sWOM

	WOM	**eWOM**	**sWOM**
Mode	Usually oral or verbal One-to-one communication Simultaneous communication	Various online forms One-to-one and one-to-many communication Simultaneous and non-simultaneous communication	Social media platforms One-to-one and one-to-many communication Mostly non-simultaneous communication
Receivers	Individuals	Individuals, small groups or public	Individuals, social networks or public
Senders	Identifiable and accountable	Identifiable and unidentifiable	Identifiable and accountable
Scope	Geographical and temporal constrains	Limited geographical and temporal constrains	Limited geographical and temporal constrains
Connection between the receivers and the senders	Strong ties	Strong or weak ties	Combination of strong or weak ties
Risk associated with WOM	Low social risk	Low social risk	High social risk
Speed of diffusion	Slow	Fast	Fast

Source: Balaji, Khong, Chong (2016, p. 529).

Negative recommendation in social media – case studies

Issues connected with WOM and eWOM are a relatively popular topic of research in the area of marketing (see meta-analysys of De Matos, Rossi, 2008, pp. 578–596; Babic, Sotgiu, de Valck, Bijmolt, 2016, pp. 297–318; Floyd, Freling, Alhoqail, Cho, Freling, 2014, pp. 217–232; You, Vadakkepatt, Joshi, 2015, pp. 19–39). Furthermore, researchers are increasingly more interested in the phenomenon of WOM and NWOM in social media (e.g. Relling, Schnittka, Sattler, Johnen, 2016, pp. 42–58). However, there is little research that treat the subject in a holistic way and allow to understand not only the results, but also conditions behind communicating NWOM in social media (Balaji Khong, Chon 2016, pp. 528–540).

In Polish literature on marketing, the sWOM is still a relatively popular subject of study and analysis. Therefore, in the next part of this article the authors will present three case studies relating to the phenomenon of negative word of mouth on social media. The current authors referred to the most recent examples from the Polish market due to available access to online comments and observations of reaction of companies – brand owners, who find themselves in a crisis situation caused by NWOM.

In the first half of 2017 we had to deal with three major crises of Polish brands associated with negative reactions of users in social media. Such a crisis has been suffered by: Orange (February), Reserved (March) and Staropolanka (May).

On 25th of February, the Orange Poland placed on its channel on YouTube an advertising spot promoting, among others, Orange Love tariff and the Orange Finances service. The video featured Agnieszka Jastrzębska – a journalist of breakfast television from TVN channel who presents show business news. She attempts to purchase a sweatshirt for PLN490, and when it turns out that she has not enough money she uses Orange services and takes a loan in the amount of PLN1000 spread into 36 instalments. Internet users quickly and very critically responded to this advertising spot. After the film met criticisms of the network users, the operator has marked the films as invisible a day after the criticism burst out (except for the spot described above, there appeared two other films maintained similar convention).

What were the objections of Internet users against this ad? They did not like, among others, the unreliability of the situation presented. It is hard to believe that the well-known journalist cannot afford such a product ("You have a loan for an apartment, and you have a car. You even take a credit to go on vacation. TV, PC, PlayStation, and million other bullshit. Everything on a loan. Now it's time for a new level in this destructive game – buy yourself a shirt on a loan. Congrats to Orange"). Moreover, the ad suggested that the loan can be granted in a few seconds. Comments criticizing this aspect of advertisement appeared also on the Orange Poland fanpage: "As for the acceptance of a loan application in 2 seconds, you know how it really is. Sometimes it takes 15 minutes, sometimes an hour and sometimes you wait a week and at the end you get nothing"; "You advertise paying by phone, and uncoincidentally it was the iPhone 7. As of today, Apple Pay is not available in Poland. YOU MISINFORM YOUR CLIENTS. Sticking a proximity card onto the phone (together with a big Orange logo) does not make you able to pay with your phone. STILL it is a payment with a simple sticker (some time ago, the Polish PKO Bank was advertising proximity cards in the form of key fobs)." In this case, the criticism concerned the service, namely that the advertisement is misleading, suggests the product has properties which it does not have.

People did not like the unprofessional execution of the ad itself, the artificiality of the situation despite the assumed naturalness: "I have not seen something so hopeless for ages. terribly artificial. orange, have seen it at all?" "Well, we have the embarrassment of the year!", "how come that pseudo-journalist is promoted that much? The range of skills does not knock you down, she has nothing to offer except for some gossip and this glaring speech defect. Has anyone ever told her she is really annoying? I'm annoyed by people with a great urge to be on TV ... This is what the elites are supposed to be? Thank you very much! nc+ also went crazy with Cejrowski during the Oscars. This dude has just such a knowledge about movies that falls equally reliably as Jastrzebska in orange's spot." (after: *Orange wycofał spot…*, 2017).

Advertising has also been subjected to criticism by people running online blogs and websites devoted to advertising, which further increased the negative impact of the entire event. The "Advertising is exciting" blog fanpage run by Łukasz Mędrys includes the following: "Dear God, why? Why Jastrzębska? Why was it created? Why, Orange?" (facebook.com/excitingadvertising). Advertisement has also been analysed in the mate-

rial entitled "Orange ashamed of its own advertising" prepared by Maciej Budzich of the Mediafun blog.

Orange decided to remove all three ads quickly (the most popular of them had more than 155 thousand views), indicating only that they were placed on the fanpage without consent of the marketing department. On Monday, two days after publishing the advertisements, Wojciech Jabczyński, a spokesman from the Orange Poland, said that the spot was put on air without the consent of the operator's marketing department and apologized for this premature publication.

The "Polish boy" campaign of Reserved brand took place a month later. It started in an unconventional way, namely with an American model searching for a Polish boy. On 17th of March there appeared a video on the Internet in which Dee Dee, a beautiful foreigner, is seeking Polish boyfriend named Votek. She was supposed to meet him at a concert in New Orleans. They were talking the whole concert, but at the end they lost each other in the crowd. The girl did not have any contact him, and the only thing she remembered was that he was wearing jeans, a jacket and white sneakers, his name is Votek and he is from Warsaw. At the end of the ad there is an appeal for help to find the boy and share the video with others. There is also an email address for those who would like to support the girl.

Internet users responded with great empathy, passed on the girl request and the video was receiving favourable comments. In the next cutscene, the girl thanked for the support and online assistance. She informed of numerous e-mails, pictures and even love letters received from the Polish guys. At the end she announced the good news – that she is going to Poland. In the third video, Dee Dee asks the band, which was giving the concert at the time she met the boy, to go to Poland and help in finding Votek. Despite some doubts, the band agrees and they together come to Poland. They give concerts on the street of Polish cities. At the end of a nearly four-minute video there is the pair, the band and the Reserved logo with the campaign hashtag #polishboy.

Initially, the effects of the campaign were impressive. A significant reach has been built – the first video was viewed 1.7 million times in just five days. Despite doubts so as to its authenticity, which Maciej Budzich (an author of a marketing blog) has put forward, most people believed in this story and a large group became involved in helping with the search. The film has gained nearly 40 thousand likes (only 2000 negative reviews) and got nearly 5,000 comments. The action has also got media coverage – the material about searching for Polish boy was present in Teleexpres (a popular news programme broadcast on 5 p.m.), web portals, Gazeta Wyborcza newspaper and many other more or less serious placements such as gossip portals. No wonder that after the disclosure of the real purpose of the whole action, many involved has felt defrauded. There were opinions alleging the campaign creators of "playing on feelings", "fraud", "punching Poles in a bottle." The basic category, which emerges as a result of analysis of these comments, are the negative statements that allege of playing on feelings and using them for commercial purposes. The second group comprises unfavourable expressions, combined with the declaration to boycott products of the brand. The third category includes positive expressions that appreciate the idea behind the campaign (they a minority, though), while the fourth category concerns neutral feelings and the fifth – the negative responses that do not refer to the campaign itself or the brand. Comments from the latter category

had racist overtones and referred to skin colour of the band members, who came with the girl to Poland ("are those clothes for the black?", "what a pale face after seeing the rest of his family").

Table 2

The Reserved campaign – speech categories and examples of comments from given category

Category	Examples of statements
Negative assessment of the campaign, the allegations regarding play on feelings and using them for commercial purposes	"Playing on feelings and human gullibility level master Trololo."
	"Advertisement technically well made, but ruined to ashes by playing on the viewer's feelings and ruining the image of a tale, from a positive into complete negative. The creators, young people, particularly Linda Czerniawska from Warsaw Creatives who was responsible for the project, seem to take it too literally that 'no matter what they say, as long as they do' – it unfortunately does not work here that way."
	"It is cheating to make so many people believe in this sh*t and really want to help. This implies Poles are very helpful nation only it is easy to deceive us as the girl did in video. Regards."
	"Completely +antisocial+ marketing campaign. You deceived people by using their willingness to help others. Because of you, next time many of these people can refuse to help in similar cases assuming in advance it 'probably is another advertisement.' This is very immoral from you, Reserved. You disappointed me."
	"It was a long time since I was such disappointed ... I probably read too many books about love and believed in this story: D horrible ad, a play on feelings. People wanted to help in finding the perfect boyfriend, but helped in ramping up an ad of clothes and the band. A huge NO for the whole action :("
	"It is sad that we live in times when not only politicians build their brand and campaigns on a lie..."
Negative, combined with a declaration of boycotting the brand	"bravo #reserved you have fooled millions of Poles, I am sure that they will now be your clients."
	"In times of social insensitivity you make an ad that takes advantage of the remains of humanity ... you don't do that ... I hope that sales will drop ... and you face a wave of hate speech."
	"Great job, you fooled many people. Now you expect they will be your customers? I will never shop in Reserved after that lie. I hope you go and bankrupt :)"
Positive, appreciating the idea	"A marketing campaign but you have to admit that it was a pretty good idea :-D"
	"Reserved, seriously ???? I knew this was a fake ... by the way, someone who does marketing in reserved deserves congratulations :)"
	"Nice idea for an ad epic. Lot of people has been involved and Reserved showed that there are not only no-names in Poland. Well, you can do an ad without pseudo-celebrities? Yes, you can."
	"And anyway, this is fu*king great ad, you have to be a complete moron if you do not appreciate it."
Neutral	This ad gave me a nice track
Negative, not referring to the campaign or the brand	"are these clothes for black people?"
	"he went a little pale when he saw the rest of his family."

Source: Own studies based on analysis of comments from Reserved Facebook fanpage.

This campaign was also commented by those involved in the advertising and PR. Natalia Hatalska, a blogger, criticized the campaign because in her opinion it undermines public confidence which is already very low and "it bends the rules of the post-truth world." As she writes, "because of this, the Reserved campaign performed poorly. It un-

dermines trust even more, although it is already reaching the lowest levels. Companies that want to "survive" in the world of post-truth cannot bend the truth even more. And although there are many campaign strategies and rules of conduct, the overriding principle for today is transparency, honesty and integrity" (Hatalska, 2017). Maciej Budzich (2017b, c) performed a thorough analysis of the campaign on his YouTube channel at first showing evidence indicating that it was fake, and later conducted an interview with its creators – Linda Czerniawska and Paweł Walicki of Warsaw Creatives agency. He primarily criticized the mechanism, on which the campaign is based and its effects. He used a parable about a boy who was waking up the whole village shouting "Fire!" which turned out to be untrue, but when real fire burst out, no one believed in the alarm. In his opinion, the Reserved campaign may suppress natural instincts of people who will be in a similar situation in the future and will not be so eager to help. Even more critical of the Polish boy campaign was Michał Szafrański, author of the blog entitled "How to save money", who states that "Reserved has fuc*ked us up a bit." He considered behaviour of the Reserved brand as cynical and as part of a protest against such actions in the future, he declared boycotting products of this brand.

Reserved thanked those who liked the idea for positive assessment. Adverse reactions have been considered as an expression of disappointment at the end of the campaign. The company did not apology for misleading Internet users, who were involved in the search. This is the original version of the statement:

> "For a few days everyone was looking for the mysterious Wojtek. From where you took the idea for the action? To show that there are millions of such perfect young boys in Poland. The very fact that so many of you have been involved in helping DeeDee shows how GORGEOUS you are! That's why the #POLISH BOY became the hero of our new campaign. We are sorry if some of you feel disappointed. For those who liked the idea – thank you for many likes. History of DeeDee was invented, but it could really happen! See our video".

At the beginning of May 2017, equally negative reactions were caused by cooperation between Staropolanka water and controversial clothing brand Red is Bad.[2] Within 5 days from placing information about the campaign on Staropolanka fanpage 912 comments were published. Many of them had a very negative character. Unfavourable assessments of the campaign were accompanied by declarations to resign from purchasing a brand that is promoted in this manner. The statements of this type feature negative, emotional phrases as well as labelling those who have different opinions: "Oh. I see you still stand your ground. Just keep on disgusting your water even more. Just on the National Flag day you endorse cooperation with a company that disgrace the Polish Coat of Arms, **a fascist company** which produces rags, rather than clothes. Who is in charge of your marketing and social media, are you serious? Since I was a kid I can remember Your water (born in 1983), but so be it: fascist water – I do not drink," "Watch out, do not drink this shit – my friend drunk Staropolanka and began to bald and he keeps talking about the great Catholic Poland – it is probably poisoned!!!"

---

[2] Red is Bad is a clothing brand, which except for putting imprints on their own clothes that refer to the events from Polish history, shows the anti-EU manifestos and inscriptions criticizing the leftist ecological movement.

A large group, at some point comparable to the opponents of the campaign, defended the campaign idea pointing out that it promotes patriotism, not fascism or Nazism. Also the appropriateness and the strength of boycott of Staropolanka was argued. In this group there were also comments about frequent declarations of increased interest in the product being under the influence of this campaign: "Oh, and mister Marketing Specialist – 900 persons liked the Staropolanka boycott event (say: nine hundred). Even Cezik concert in Sopot had a wider audience. If this is a disaster within the brand image, it is you – the marketers – who are really needless"; "Come on, apologize to all those offended left-wing socialists for referring to national colours... if you make labels with Stalin or Che Guevara, perhaps the whole that advanced and enlightened European youth being free of racism, intolerance or fascism will be delighted."

On Staropolanka funpage, the campaign evoked a very emotional discussion. The topics quickly moved away from the core of the campaign and became the exchange of invectives between the supporters of the campaign (referred to by its opponents as nationalists) and its opponents (called the leftists). Here are few examples of this type of posts: "You look like a psycho who kills children before he rapes them and then eats them. But it is a rule among you, neo-communists. You are all alike with this madness in the eyes." In another statement of the discussion participant there is a reference to Staropolanka: "Definitely, the best water in Poland. Not only neo-communists, homo-sexuals, all sorts of degenerates, perverts, paedophiles and banned wombs are afraid of it as the devil of holy water 😊: D From now I do not drink anything else! Pain in the ass of Stalin's bastards is the best promotion in the trade ever. Thanks for the ad 😊. 'Stop water dictatorship!' Fuck it, I stop drinking! Die of thirst you communist sonsofbitches. As part of your protest just stop breathing this fascist air xD". It is also noticeable that the group includes several particularly active participants who become visible when nega-tive opinions about the campaign appear.

Table 3

The Staropolanka and Red is Bad campaign – speech categories and examples of comments from given category

Category	Examples of statements
1	2
Negative appraisal of the campaign, accusations refer-ring to relationship with a brand which produces clothes that promote na-tionalism	"and the collector's edition with a brown glass for the rightists will be available?" "Dear mother, now in spite of one of the best Polish mineral waters we will have a pro-motion of homophobia, nationalism, assaults on people, racism, rudeness, lies and ex-treme Catholicism? Do you really want to transform a decent brand into cooperation with freeloaders and socially excluded?" "What else you can do after creating such a mess, but still being a marketer from a higher school of making noise? Turn off the possibility to add a rate and keep up with this shit. I suspect that the campaign will be shown in marketing schools as a perfect example that after a marketing shot right in the knee you can still finish yourself with a headshot. Congrats. I believe it is a sparkling water?" "Staropolanka advertises through a company that divides people into better and worse Poles. I don't like it." "The company picked up a very bad way for promotion – through cooperation with a company which positions itself at the very right side of the political and social divi-sions within out country. With this co-branding, Staropolanka has taken a position at one side of the division, or even a conflict. Company has the right, but I must agree that

1	2
	politicisation of mineral water is a masterpiece – not everyone can do that. Now many of us will associate Staropolanka with a company that refuses to cooperate with the EU, promotes nationalism and randomness at interpretation of history of our country. Not to mention a fail which was to design a label in white and red colours with a the words Red is Bad. Statement issued by Staropolanka did not make up for the mistakes, but it rather drove made a great number of people. A total fail." "Oh, I'm happy it is possible again to leave a rate. I think i prefer toilet water than this water produced by a company that cooperates with nationalists, homophobes and chauvinists. Frosty regards."
Negative, combined with a declaration of boycotting the brand	"I have never drunk Staropolanka. **Now I won't buy this water which explicitly supports the far right ideology** and in this way supports racism, xenophobia, homo-, lesbo-, trans- and interphobia, misogyny, antisemitism and Catholic fanaticism. Generally we must boycott all companies and products they make which support discriminating and disgusting preferences. Are those frustrates, hypocrites and hateful people of red is bad aware that the red colour which they hate and stereotypically associate with communism constitutes a half of the Polish flag which they carry over streets promoting hatred towards people... What a falseness and conceitedness!!!" "Cooperation with a certain brand convinced me to **stop buying this water... Farewell.**" "**I no longer buy it, my family no longer buys it.** I don't know if it is a good idea to discourage regular clients to the benefit of nationalists who prefer the cheapest beers over water." "Oh. I see you still stand your ground. Just keep on disgusting your water even more. Just on the National Flag day you endorse cooperation with a company that disgrace the Polish Coat of Arms, a fascist company which produces rags, rather than clothes. Who is in charge of your marketing and social media, are you serious? I can remember Your water since I was a kid (born in 1983), but so be it: **Fascistowianka – I do not drink.**" "Watch out, do not drink this shit – my friend drunk Staropolanka and began to bald and he keeps talking about the great Catholic Poland – it is probably poisoned!!!" "Seriously?! You have been criticized like never before and in spite of issuing a statement, apologize or step back, you share your own post? Cheers for a good taste and knowledge about social media. **Of course I won't buy it anymore.**" "You have reached the top level of stupidity. I suggest changing the brand name into AllPolandka and emphasizing that it quenches thirst only among the pure nationalists. **Your water will NEVER find its place on my table...**" "A 'Nur für naziole' company? No, thank you."
Positive opinions about the campaign	"Oh, and mister Marketing Specialist – 900 persons liked the Staropolanka boycott event (say: nine hundred). Even Cezik concert in Sopot had a wider audience. If this is a disaster within the brand image, it is you – the marketers – who are really needless." "Come on, apologize to all those offended left-wing socialists for referring to national colours... if you make labels with Stalin or Che Guevara, perhaps the whole that advanced and enlightened European youth being free of racism, intolerance or fascism will be delighted." "Thanks to this pseudo-boycott I took notice of the water and today during regular shopping I choose it to fill my car trunk :) Now every company dreams of being boycotted by the leftists ." "I will not know the brand if you didn't make the campaign. Thanks, now I will be buying it :)". "Thanks to the patriotic marketing campaign you encouraged me to buy!"
Commentaries which negatively refer to criticism of the campaign	"You look like a psycho who kills children before he rapes them and then eats them. But it is a rule among you, neo-communists. You are all alike with this madness in the eyes." "Definitely, the best water in Poland. Not only neo-communists, homosexuals, all sorts of degenerates, perverts, paedophiles and banned wombs are afraid of it as the devil

1	2
	of holy water 😊: D From now I do not drink anything else! Pain in the ass of Stalin's bastards is the best promotion in the trade ever. Thanks for the ad 😊." "'Stop water dictatorship!' Fuck it, I stop drinking! Die of thirst you communist sonsof-bitches. As part of your protest just stop breathing this fascist air xD." "But you have never been buying this water, you distrustful leftist scum. Drink water from a cesspool, maybe it will be less brown."

Source: Own studies based on analysis of comments from Staropolanka fanpage.

Experts in the field of advertising and marketing differently appraise the campaign idea as well. For instance, Zbigniew Lazar, an owner and directore of Modern Corp. agency and brand image specialist, believes that Staropolanka should not be worried of how the campaign has been received, especially that negative opinions do not refer to water quality. Furthermore, some of those opinions were inspired by the manner, in which certain media have presented the campaign (e.g. Gazeta Wyborcza). He also emphasizes that the campaign could be favourable for (through the so-called "aureole" phenomenon) Red is bad company, which has been a niche brand before. Similar arguments have been put forward by Marcin Kalkoffi and Witold Koroblewski. In their opinion, such an action can encourage some customers, while discourage others. Anyway, the visible benefit will be that the brand awareness among clients will improve. However, other specialists have different views. Michał Nowosielski, for instance, stated that the action implies unnecessary risk for the brand image of Staropolanka (Goczał, 2017).

A day after publishing the information about cooperation between the both brands (i.e. on 2 May 2017), the company posted a statement on its Facebook fanpage, in which it emphasizes business nature of the cooperation and denies its ideological characteristics. Text prepared by Staropolanka was exactly as follows: "Dear Customers, Staropolanka has been cooperating with numerous companies and entities since many years and produces for them limited series of mineral waters with the customer's logo that can be seen in hotels, restaurants and supermarkets. Cooperation with Red is Bad has a similar nature. It was not our intention to create ideology which you address in the commentaries. This is strictly business cooperation that aims at offering our customers a god quality water. We are very sad that many of you is looking for a double meaning. We are not disqualify anyone on grounds of their political views or preferences. We are occupied with production of water. Good water." The disallowed possibility to rate Staropolanka has been noticed and negatively commented by the Internet users as well.

Summary and implications for managers

Discussion included in the article has a contributing nature and constitutes an attempt to fill (at least partially) a knowledge gap about the NOWM phenomenon within social media. The presented theoretical deliberations and case studies show how difficult it is for managers to manage NWOM and its effects in social media. Specificity of how information about a company function in social media has been aptly characterized by Miller (2012, p. 46): "News in traditional media have been transferred to clients and then forgotten". Currently, they are subject to different principles. Any information can be

transformed into a fierce discussion, which is independent of the original sender. Thanks to the virtual 'polyphony', the information can be counter effective to what its original sender (institution) had in mind. Moreover, due to such services like Internet Archive, which gather and store contents, the Internet memorizes everything forever." Hence, negative recommendation in social media can have a greater impact than a gossip that spreads by word of mouth due to enormous reach and pace of disseminating given information. The above should be also supplemented with multi-threading of the discussion. NWOM often comprises critical opinions about many aspects of a company.

What is more, the language of people who disseminate NWOM in social networks can also be a great challenge for the marketers. In this case, we can often talk about the hate speech. Illusive anonymousness and low level of social risk in social media increase the probability of noticing unfavourable and exaggerated opinions. Thus, it is possible that people who use hate speech would be likely to join the truly appalled or somehow offended clients. It is worth remembering that a confrontational response from the entity being criticized can intensify the whole problem and increase the power of unfavourable recommendations.

Hence, how should we deal with similar situations? When a similar situation uncovers, it is advised that the department responsible for external communication (e.g. the PR department) becomes involved. Social media is place of uncontrolled dialogue, thus we should not start solving a crisis situation from removal of negative comments. In spite of that it is better to answer the accusations in a quick and honest way. In many examples, managing crisis situation requires simple apologize and a promise to remedy for the situation. If an opinion-making entity (e.g. a well-known blogger) criticizes a product or a company, he or she should be presented with an official opinion. Lack of any response from the company will mean that it does not monitor the network and is unable to see the threat, which can lead to a crisis situation. Another mistake consists in issuing a statement and failing to answer questions and comments that arise in consequence (Miller, 2012, p. 51).

Budzich (2013) lists on his blog two examples of interesting responses of foreign brands to online critique, both of them are completely different from the Polish instances being analysed. When one of the Internet users has asked why McDonalds's hamburgers look differently on pictures and when served, the head of PR answered with a video that showed the whole process of making the picture and the reasons why they look differently from what is seen on the plate. On the other hand, the producer of Bodyform menstrual pads answered accusations of an online surfer with a video that was explaining doubts which the producer itself had in connection with information contained within the company's commercials (see also: Wyrzykowska, 2016).

Wołyniec-Sobczak (2015) presents three types of situations and the possible responses. The first case is a situation, in which we deal with a typical slander. A person or the competition disseminates information, which are not true. In this case, the best option is to talk with that person individually. What is more, it is good to inform the environment about the situation and prevent from disseminating dishonest information, preferably using social media or online media dedicated to the respective market branch. Public discussion and exchange of arguments should be avoided because such situations often create two opposing camps and exaggerate aggression. The second type of a crisis is

a situation of infringing the right to company's image or other protected goods as well as breaking of intellectual property (such as copyrights or trademarks) as a result of actions taken by third persons or third parties. In this example, the best option would be to take advice of a lawyer, who can suggest further steps. The last types of a crisis concerns situations, when the fault is on our side. If that is the case, it is advised to act according to the 5P rule formulated by Regester i Larkin (2005): (1) Show a human face; (2) Confirm that the event actually took place and apologize; (3) Take action; (4) Make up for the losses; (5) Improve to avoid repeating the event.

Bibliography

Allport G. W., Postman L. J. (1947), *The psychology of rumor*, Holt, Rinehart & Winstron, New York.

Arndt J. (1967), *Role of product-related conversations in the diffusion of a new product*, "Journal of Marketing Research", vol. 4(3).

Babic A., Sotgiu F., de Valck K., Bijmolt T. H. (2016), *The effect of electronic word ofmouth on sales: A meta-analytic review of platform, product, andmetric factors*, "Journal of Marketing Research", vol. 53(3).

Balaji M. S., Khong K. W., Chong A. Y. L. (2016), *Determinants of negative word-of-mouth communication using social networking sites*, "Information & Management", vol. 53.

Bambauer-Sachse S., Mangold S. (2011), *Brand equity dilution through negative online word-of-mouth communication*, "Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services", vol. 18 (1).

Berger J., Sorensen A. T., Rasmussen S. J. (2010), *Positive effects of negative publicity: When negative reviews increase sales*, "Marketing Science", vol. 29(5).

Budzich M. (2017a), *Orange wstydzi się swoich reklam*, http://www.mediafun.pl/, 30.04.2017.

Budzich M. (2017b), *Dziewczyna szuka chłopaka z Polski. A jeśli to fake? Poszlaki*, http://www.mediafun.pl/, 30.04.2017.

Budzich M. (2017c), *Dziewczyna szuka chłopaka z Polski to reklama marki Reserved – rozmowa ze sprawcami całego zamieszania*, http://www.mediafun.pl/, 30.04.2017.

Chen Y., Wang Q., Xie J. (2011), *Online social interactions: A natural experiment on word of mouth versus observational learning*, "Journal of Marketing Research", vol. 48(2).

Chen Z., Lurie N. H. (2013), *Temporal contiguity and negativity bias in the impact of online word of mouth*, "Journal of Marketing Research", vol. 50(4).

Childers T. L., Rao A. R. (1992), *The influence of familial and peer-based reference groups on consumer decisions*, "Journal of Consumer Research", vol. 19(2).

De Matos C. A., Rossi C. A. V. (2008), *Word-of-mouth communications in marketing: A meta-analytic review of the antecedents and moderators*, "Journal of Academy of Marketing Science", vol. 36(4).

DiFonzo N., Bourgeois M. J., Suls J. M., Homan C., Stupak N., Brooks B., Ross D. S., Bordia P. (2013), *Rumor clustering, consensus, and polarization: Dynamic social impact and self-organization of hearsay*, "Journal of Experimental Social Psychology", vol. 49(3).

East R., Hammond K., Lomax W. (2008), *Measuring the impact of positive and negative word of mouth on brand purchase probability*, "International Journal of Research in Marketing", vol. 27.

Eisingerich A. B., Chun H. H., Liu Y., Jia H. M., Bell D. J. (2015), *Why recommend a brand face to face but not on Facebook? How word-of-mouth on online social sites differs form traditional word-of-mouth*, "Journal of Consumer Psychology", vol. 25.

Floyd K., Freling R., Alhoqail S., Cho H. Y., Freling T. (2014), *How online product reviews affect retail sales: A meta-analysis*, "Journal of Retailing", vol. 90(2).

Goczał B. (2017), *Staropolanka na współpracy z Red Is Bad zyska popularność czy trwałą rysę na wizerunku?*, http://www.wirtualnemedia.pl/artykul/staropolanka-woda-z-red-is-bad-limitowana-edycja-zyska-popularnosc-czy-trwala-ryse-na-wizerunku-opinie, 2.05.2017.

Godes D., Mayzlin D. (2004), *Using online conversations to study word-of-mouth communication*, "Marketing Science", vol. 23(4).

Hatalska N. (2017), *Nowa kampania Reserved i kryzys zaufania*, http://hatalska.com/2017/03/22/nowa-kampania-reserved-i-kryzys-zaufania/, 5.05.2017.

Hornik J., Satchi R. S., Cesareo L., Pastore A. (2015), *Information dissemination via electronic word-of-mouth: Good news travels fast, bad news travels faster!*, "Computers in Human Behavior", vol. 45.

Kaniewska-Sęba A., Leszczyński G. (2017), *Pomiar marketing i sprzedaży business-to-business*, Wyd. Nieoczywiste, Warszawa (w druku).

Katz E., Lazarsfeld P. F. (1955), *Personal Influence; The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*, Free Press, Glencoe, Il.

Libai B., Muller E., Peres R. (2013), *Decomposing the value of word-of-mouth seeding programs: Acceleration versus expansion*, "Journal of Marketing Research", vol. 50(2).

Lovett L., Peres R., Shachar R. (2013), *On brands and word-of mouth*, "Journal of Marketing Research", vol. 50(4).

Meiners N. H., Schwarting U., Seeberger B. (2010), *The renaissance of word-of-mouth marketing: A "new" standard in twenty-first century marketing management?!*, "International Journal of Economic Science Research", vol. 3(2).

Miller G. (2012), *Kryzys w mediach społecznościowych. Jak nim zarządzać?*, in: *Zarządzanie w sytuacjach kryzysowych niepewności*, ed. K. Kubiak, Wyższa Szkoła Promocji, Warszawa.

Misner I. R. (1999), *The World's Best Known Marketing Secret: Building Your Business with Word-of-Mouth Marketing*, 2nd ed., Bard Press, Austin, TX.

Narayan V., Rao V., Saunders C. (2011), *How peer influence affects attribute preferences: A Bayesian updating mechanism*, "Marketing Science", vol. 30(2).

Orange wycofał spot z Agnieszką Jastrzębską (2017), http://www.wirtualnemedia.pl/artykul/orange-love-finanse-usunal-spot-agnieszka-jastrzebska-pozyczka-bluza-iphone, 04.05.2017.

Regester M., Larkin J. (2005), *Zarządzanie kryzysem*, PWE, Warszawa.

Pauwels K., Aksehirli Z., Lackman A. (2016), *Like the ad or the brand? Marketing stimulates different electronic word-of-mouth content to drive online and offline performance*, "International Journal of Research in Marketing", vol. 33.

Relling M., Schnittka O., Sattler H., Johnen M. (2016), *Each can help or hurt: Negative and positive word of mouth in social network brand communities*, "International Journal of Research in Marketing", vol. 33.

Rozin P., Royzman E. B. (2001), *Negativity bias, negativity dominance, and contagion*, "Personality and Social Psychology Review", vol. 5(4).

Szklarski M. (2014), *Gwiazdy Internetu według Trusted Trader*, http://interaktywnie.com/forum/internet/badania-internetu/gwiazdy-internetu-2013-wg-trusted-trader-348, 10.05 2017.

Trusov M., Bucklin R. E., Pauwels K. (2009), *Effects of Word-of-Mouth Versus Traditional Marketing: Findings from an Internet Social Networking Site*, "Journal of Marketing", vol. 73.

Verhagen T., Nauta A., Feldberg F. (2013), *Negative online word-of-mouth: Behavioral indicator or emotional release?*, "Computers in Human Behavior", vol. 29(4).

Westrbrook R. A. (1987), *Product/consumption-based affective responses and postpurchase processes*, "Journal of Marketing Research", vol. 24(3).

Wołyniec-Sobczak I. (2015), *Marka w kłopotach, czyli jak poradzić sobie w sytuacji kryzysowej*, https://sukcespisanyszminka.pl/marka-klopotach-czyli-poradzic-sytuacji-kryzysowej/, 2.05.2017.

Wyrzykowska W. (2016), *5 błyskotliwych reakcji na kryzys w social mediach*, http://www.brief.pl/artykul,3778,5_blyskotliwych_reakcji_na_kryzys_w_social_media.html, dostęp 4.05.2017.

Xia L., Bechwati N. N. (2008), *Word of mouse: The role of cognitive personalization in online consumer reviews*, "Journal of Interactive Advertising", vol. 9(1).

You Y., Vadakkepatt G. G., Joshi A. M. (2015), *A meta-analysis of electronic word-of-mouth elasticity*, "Journal of Marketing", vol. 79.

Negatywna rekomendacja w mediach społecznościowych – ujęcie teoretyczne i studia przypadków

Streszczenie

Internet, w tym media społecznościowe, znacząco zmieniły sposób, w jaki konsumenci przekazują pozytywne bądź negatywne rekomendacje na temat produktów i usług. Rozwój mediów społecznościowych umożliwił szybsze dotarcie z takim komunikatem do znacznie większej liczby osób. Można również zaobserwować, że rozszerzył się zakres tematyczny komentarzy – klienci wypowiadają się nie tylko na temat jakości produktów, ich ceny, poziomu obsługi, ale także innych aspektów marketingowego funkcjonowania firm. W końcu, warto zwrócić uwagę na język owych opinii, który – w przypadku negatywnych doświadczeń z produktem, sprzedawcą czy reklamą – jest nierzadko agresywny.

Wraz z rozwojem i upowszechnianiem się sieci społecznościowych, menedżerowie ds. PR czy komunikacji marketingowej muszą nauczyć się jak komunikować się i z usatysfakcjonowanymi klientami i tymi, którzy na różnych etapach lejka zakupowego (purchase funnel) wyrażają swoje niezadowolenie. Jest to szczególnie ważne w przypadku neagative word of mouth (NWOM) bo każda negatywna opinia może stać się zalążkiem poważnej akcji kryzysowej i problemów wizerunkowych.

Celem artykułu jest ukazanie specyfiki word of mouth w mediach społecznościowych (sWOM) jako jednej z form elektronicznego WOM (eWOM) oraz zobrazowanie zjawiska negatywnej rekomendacji w social media na podstawie wybranych studiów przypadków z rynku polskiego.

Łukasz SCHEFFS
Aleksandra SULIKOWSKA
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

Title: Celebritization of Polish politics, and the language of comments and Internet entries. Analysis of selected examples

Abstract: This article deals with the possible manifestations of the ongoing process of the celebritization of politics in the view of the language of comments that occur on gossip websites which, in fact, have become the places of the deliberate image-creation of people related to politics. The means of creation comes down to publishing content associated with the private or semi-private lives of people who are engaged in politics. In addition, we can also observe a far-reaching process of the vulgarization and brutalization of the language of comments and entries which is also a specific phenomenon.

Key words: celebritization, brutalization, the language of politics

Introduction

According to the data contained in the report from a study carried out by the social research team OBOP TNS POLSKA, exactly 50% of those surveyed (the nationwide survey was carried out from October 4–7, 2012 on a randomly selected sample of 1,000 Polish inhabitants aged 15 or more) defined a celebrity as a person who is well-known and often appears on television as well as in newspapers. However, the researchers found out that 10% of the interviewees provided an incorrect answer to the question, and 40% of those surveyed were unable to explain the meaning of the term. For respondents who defined this term accurately, it was clear that celebrities live in a symbiotic relationship with the media. The statement that the importance and influence of the mass media on social life is compelling, is a popular cliché (McNair, 1998). Therefore, instead of repeating the statement, it is currently more relevant to analyze the impact of the media on the transfiguration inside other social subsystems (Oniszczuk, 2011, p. 11). One of them is the political system. Once more, without additional explanations related to the interdependence of the media and politics, for instance, at the level of interests and objectives, it can be tempting to claim that the relationship between the media and the political system might take at least three possible correlations: 1) symbolic relation; 2) mediatization of politics – associated with the domination of the mass media; and 3) politicization of the media, resulting from the political systems' objective to use the media instrumentally. Therefore, from the nature of this relationship it is apparent that the media system and political system can both cooperate as well as compete (Oniszczuk, 2011, pp. 12–13). Taking into consideration the nature of this study, in its further parts we aim to focus solely on the issue of the mediatization of politics, considering its consequences as a result of cooperation and competition.

Mediatization and celebritization in Poland

Mediatization is a universal social process caused by the growing importance of the mass media for the functioning of various fields of modern society. Essentially, it means adapting such activities as politics, economy, culture and science to the conditions that are determined by the character of the impact of the media. There are different types of sources describing this phenomena:

a) sociological – this approach defines mediatization as the process of social and cultural change, in terms of which culture, everydayness, and identity of the people are transforming under the influence of media development. Mediatization leads to the human communicational environment becoming more diverse and larger; as a result, more and more people perform their social and communicational activities through some form of media.

b) communicological – according to which mediatization is described primarily as the social effects of the increasing media domination on communication processes. In this sense, mediatization makes it necessary for different participants in the process of public communication to take the concept of media logic and their specific activities into account (Oniszczuk, 2011, pp. 13–14).

It is possible to conclude that the active participation of the media, for instance, in the process of political communication – where communication can be defined as a relationship of two different systems: politics and the public sphere expressed by mass media (Piontek, 2011, p. 14) – can translate into media involvement in politics (Ossowski, Piontek, 2014, p. 235). Today the mass media have become the primary source of knowledge about politics. In other words, the mediatization of politics, as a result of the development of the mass media, goes beyond the usual descriptions of the system's needs. Mediatized politics is a politics which loses its autonomy and becomes dependent, in its central functions, on the mass media. Additionally, it is continually shaped by interaction with the media. This is based on the observation of how the mass media form the political content and become entwined with political processes (Mazzoleni, Schulz, 1999, p. 250), the consequence of which is the increasingly observable process of the celebritization of politics. Piontek postulates to perceive celebritization from the perspective of the cultural changes where we deal with the need to give a continuous performance in conditions of growing media visibility and an increasing interest in politicians, who are perceived as ordinary people, and not as members of a particular party (Piontek, 2011, p. 99). However, celebritization, as a process that occurs within mass culture, originally concerned actors, musicians, as well as business and fashion industry people. The aim of this process was to strengthen their position and increase their popularity by using information from their private lives. In extreme cases, the process contributed to obtaining fame of personal rather than professional origin. Gradually, the shifting of accents in the public communication of politicians from political to non-political and private topics has led to a fundamental change, as a result of which the concept of the celebritization of politics was constituted. Currently, the process of gaining political support often comes down to presenting attitudes, behavior and activities carried out in other social roles (Annusewicz, 2011, pp. 268–270). Otherwise, political celebrities are the people who lead political activities and support themselves using their privacy, as well as those who

exist in the minds of the public mainly due to their non-political, private behavior (An-nusewicz, 2011, p. 271).

Assuming that we are dealing with the celebritization of politics, we might be tempt-ed to say that this phenomenon occurs in at least three possible forms:

1) when a professional politician, that is a person who serves in office, or is elected in the general elections, starts to function in the world of popular culture with the aim of the effective implementation of political objectives. This type of phenomenon takes place when a politician coming from the world of popular culture uses his visibility and popularity gained as an artist to build his political position, as well as when a politician (who is not rooted in art circles) uses the tools and symbols which are typical of celebrities, for instance, takes photos with show business stars, appears at parties and takes part in public performances (e.g., as a musician, writer or actor) or uses media space previously reserved for celebrities and rising stars of pop culture;

2) when a famous person speaks on political matters, but does not apply for a political mandate (Piontek, Annusewicz, 2013, pp. 14–15);

3) it is also possible to use celebrities to support politics. In this case, it is not about their direct participation in the political game, but it is rather about arranging the commit-ment to endorse a particular politician or a particular group (Leszczuk-Fiedziukie-wicz, 2013, p. 76; Szostaczko, 2015; Olczyk 2013a).

The phenomenon of the celebritization of politics is therefore a two-way process. On the one hand, there is the celebritization of politicians, and on the other hand, the politi-cization of celebrities. Nowadays, politicians communicate in a way that is common for celebrities. It is all about the specific ways of winning attention and building an intimate relationship, with the use of tabloids, gossip websites or so-called *human interest maga-zines.* The celebritization of politicians is, therefore, a kind of communicational mim-icry. Politicians copy and adopt celebrities' behavior, usually such behavior which they consider effective when it comes to winning the attention and emotional involvement of voters. However, celebrities use the capital of the attention gained and associated emo-tional ties with large groups of recipients, in various political activities in which they are involved (Olczyk, 2014, p. 163).

Celebritization, in the broad sense, is a trend in communication about politics (Street, 2012, p. 351) leading to mediatizing politicians through the same rhetorical means, me-dia frameworks and narrative structures as are used for the presentation of celebrities. In other words, it is about building the images of political persons in accordance with the political patterns used while constructing the image of a celebrity. Therefore, celebritiza-tion defined in such a way is a product of market and socio-cultural processes which are external to political actors and media organizations.

Celebritization can also be understood as politicians using a particular, self-presen-tational practice which consists in a conscious application of the techniques and ways to communicate that are common for celebrities (Olczyk, 2013b, pp. 23–24).

Apart from the above, while selecting the strategy of celebritization, every politician uses the elements of theatrical spectacle, ideas taken from entertainment shows, theatrical props, gadgets and various elements the aim of which is to provoke a media spectacle. This is because nowadays the broadly understood self-presentation of politicians is based primarily on searching for such content and forms of announcements and statements that

attract an audience. Thereby, modern politicians become the stars of TV shows, heroes of tabloids and social networks. They are also the center of events or happenings, the main actors of political conventions, the protagonists of ranking lists and the faces of electoral lists, and so on (Łoszewska-Ołowska, 2015) becoming celebrities at the same time.

Language in the process of the celebritization of politics

One possible area of phenomena connected with the celebritization of politics could be gossip websites. In our view, this kind of social network serves as an interesting base for research concerning the process of celebritization. According to Olczyk, who has analyzed this phenomenon, gossip websites are strictly specialized in the production and distribution of information, including, for instance, information on political celebrities (Olczyk, 2013b, p. 78). Gossip websites are therefore, a classic example of a communication channel for celebrities (Street, 2004, pp. 437–438). Some people who promote themselves via the Internet, gain the status of social network celebrities and become popular both on the Internet and via the Internet, at the same time becoming part of cyberspace (Siuda, 2009, p. 31). However, we are not interested in a simple description of people who decide to be present in the media space, or on gossip sites in particular. It is also rather unimportant whether they are present there by choice or submit to the pressure of the media that search for interesting topics. The description of the language which is used in order to make this specific creation is more significant for us than the process of celebritization itself. We assume that the media presence of particular politicians is not sufficient in itself to speak about the deliberate creation of an image of celebrity. At a time when politics is focused on candidates (Wattenberg, 1991), the very language that is a part of this projection, and which is used by all Internet users, requires special attention. The inclusion of such a perspective directly derives from the conviction that one of the basic elements employed to create the desired image of the world (e.g. in line with the established political purpose) is language (Bieniewicz, 2009, p. 23). "On the one hand, language is a tool of communication between people; on the other hand, language is the true representative of reality, being the system of symbolic signs that reflect the reality" (Zalewska, 2008, pp. 255–256). In fact, the mediatization of the modern world clearly results in a considerable re-evaluation in terms of human interaction, identity, the essence of communication and language (Wileczek, 2011, pp. 82–82). Therefore, we assume that language is crucial in the process of modelling ideas about modern politicians, even if they have the status of celebrities. Today, language is an essential tool for politics, and it is considered to be an extremely powerful and dangerous weapon in the political struggle (Worobiec, 2008, p. 22). In the classical theory, the language of politics was primarily a form of implicit communication in which politicians with a wide repertoire of vocabulary and structures, such as hyperbole, parenthesis, irony, euphemism, etc., talked about someone or something. Mediality and political culture does not permit explicit language (Kwiecień, 2005). It is slightly different, however, in the case of discourse carried out in virtual space. The fact that the Internet is becoming an integral part of our working lives is undisputed (Martens, 2012, p. 20; Panek, 2016). Therefore, it is understandable that those realms of human and social activities which are strictly associated with dis-

course and politics are transferring to the Internet. When discourse is understood as a set of events the aim of which is to negotiate meanings by the actors who actively participate in it, it is possible to assume that we are constantly dealing with an attempt to appropriately moderate the messages that occur there (Balczyńska-Kosman, 2013, p. 144). However, this is not a new observation. In every society discourses were and are created in order to control, select, organize and supervise the redistribution of information, facts and ideas. Language as such is a basic tool used in the operation of politics. Additionally, it is an indispensable attribute of power and a way of modeling, for instance, the contemporary narrative concerning politics (Kosmanowa, 2010). Language is also considered to be an instrument of subordination, the aim of which is to take possession of the language that will be used to create a presentation that ensures genuineness even at the price of being absurd (Brzozowski, 2003, p. 77). What interests us most here is the progressive process of the brutalization or vulgarization of discourse and language that occurs in the entries and comments on various gossip websites (Ilnicki, 2012). Analyzing the means of the symbolic struggle implemented using such language expressions as invectives, Kołodziejek claims that "[a]nyone can offend everyone, everyone can offend all." In recent years, political life is full of emotions and feelings that must be relieved somehow, and the most common way is verbal (Kołodziejek, 1994, p. 70). The thesis about the collapse of the culture (also political) is constantly repeated. This phenomenon refers both to the so-called mainstream media as well as to the new media which communicate with vulgarisms and astound people with their verbal brutalism (Baran, 2012, p. 86). In this diagnosis, it is possible to accept the conclusion that the aggressive language of politics has entered the spirit of society through a political elite that communicates at the same, or similar, level. We can also suggest that it may be a matter of lacking political culture (or perhaps culture in general), a lack of respect for opponents during a discussion, or intolerance towards different views. Perhaps intolerance consists of rowdiness, a reluctance to compromise on something and a passion for finding the things that connect and divide (Wiśniewska, 2010, pp. 42–44). It may be appropriate to say that this is a consequence of the anarchist freedom that is associated with the Internet by some people. It seems to be founded on a demonstration of opposition towards all standards, the proof of which is the vulgarization of the language that is used both functionally and in order to highlight the intensity of the features or the intensity of a particular position. Vulgarization and the resulting deprecation of others often result from a desire to become popular through scandal, or the accumulating aggressive language that is accessible, for instance, to the users of fora, discussion groups and gossip websites. Another consequence is the process of ennobling obscene expressions (Kowalikowa, 2008, p. 86). It could be said that language used in Internet communication is defined as a linguistic "margin" (Wileczek, 2011, pp. 89–90), and is characterized by the use of vulgarisms (Miziński, 2014). Certainly, we are dealing with the pauperization of language, and so the phenomenon of the excessive use of words with strong and negative connotations (Ożóg, 2006). Therefore, we need to take a closer look at the issue of the celebritization of politics with regard to the language of online comments and entries. What is interesting is not only the mechanism of this highly personalized discourse but the narration – an integral part of discourse – which is usually associated with the term "hate" rather than with typical political argument (Niepytalska-Osiecka, 2014; Juza, 2015).

Research methodology

The Internet is full of portals that can be defined as gossip sites. The decision to carry out the analysis of Pudelek.pl was dictated by a number of reasons. The age of this domain, or the time of its first registration, was a crucial factor. An analysis tool that provides data on websites was used in order to obtain the correct data. Pudelek.pl was registered in 2005, which means that this is the oldest Polish gossip website. For comparison, such competitive sites as Plotek.pl, Plejada.pl and Kozaczek.pl were registered in 2006 and 2007. Additionally, as indicated in the report by Wirtualne Media, Pudelek. pl still ranks first among the ten sites that were looked at in this study (Wirtualne Media 2016). A summary from July 2016 showed that the site recorded more than 180 million views. By comparison, the second largest site – Plejada.pl achieved a result of over 90 million site views. In addition, Pudelek.pl is a site where network users spent the most time – the total amount was almost seven million hours. The score of Plejada.pl was almost six times lower (Wirtualne Media 2016).

Table 1

Profile of the leading gossip websites

Leading gossip websites in July 2016				
Domain	Internet users	Views	Time spent (hours)	Reach
Plejada.pl	3,509,971	92,158,359	1,l083,923	13.92%
Pudelek.pl	3,252,640	180,270,535	6,827,211	12.90%
Plotek.pl	3,145,029	76,004,944	633,719	12.48%
Gwiazdy.wp.pl	2,873,685	63,770,379	575,668	11.40%
Pomponik.pl	2,431,389	48,872,393	907,092	9.65%
Party.pl	2,068,981	15,162,569	159,859	8.21%
Kozaczek.pl	1,303,973	19,963,966	242,900	5.17%
Pudelek.tv	1,136,128	4,931,224	327,299	4.51%
Jastrzabpost.pl	882,693	4,704,751	44,500	3.50%
Eska.pl – hot plota	794,657	2.147,796	97,801	3.15%

Source: Wirtualne Media 2016.

According to the authors of the Wirtualne Media report, an average user of Pudelek. pl made on average 35.8 views and used this site for about 1.43 hours. The extended time that users spent on this website may suggest that, rather than being a passive recipient of the message, he was inclined to respond to it, or to add a comment to the site article or to share a post written by another author (Wirtualne Media 2016). The content that appeared on the website may be categorized as soft news, defined by Gay Tuchman as news associated with rumors, scandals or stories of interesting people (Ossowski, 2016, p. 114). There were 1,742 articles of this kind published on Pudelek.pl. from March 1–31, 2017. Not all of them, of course, have been analyzed. To ensure the usefulness of our research, we selected and analyzed the entries carefully. From the pool of articles selected for the study, we analyzed only those on the topic of politics or political actors i.e. professionally active representatives, politicians, people who carry out very important roles in the country, as well as people who are or were associated with politics. As Ziółkowski claims, actors who are engaged in politics carry out political functions and

perform political tasks. Defining actors as politicians, in this theatrical metaphor, draws attention to the conventionality and affectation Ziółkowski, 2016, p. 7). A theoretical proposal by Brian McNair complements this issue. He understands the concept of a political person as someone who acts in politics, in the sense of participating in making and promoting decisions which have wide ranging effects. This includes the institutions of public authority, political parties, pressure groups, social organizations and terrorist organizations (Hess, 2013, p. 55). Pisarek suggests that the representatives of authorities and candidates public positions, as well as citizens who, on the one hand are the targets of the activities of representatives and candidates, and, on the other hand, try to affect them sharing news and participating in the social process of coordinating opinions that concern politics, should be defined as political actors (Hess, 2013, p. 55).

Initially, we also chose those items which were related to political events and which appeared in the media. In March, the election of the President of the European Council was held, and women's demonstrations, as well as strikes in support of the European Union were organized. These events were commented on Pudelek.pl in 14 articles. The first selection made it possible to extract 127 texts, the content of which described politicians or the political situation in Poland or in the world. It was necessary, however, to select texts that were strictly related to figures associated with Polish politics or political activity. In accordance with the theory introduced by Marx Weber, we assumed that these figures are people who are professionally or non-professionally involved in politics. According to Sobkowiak it might be assumed that professional politicians are those whose

Figure 1. Division of publications due to the subject matter

- Articles describing Polish politics
- Articles describing foreign politics
- Articles describing political events
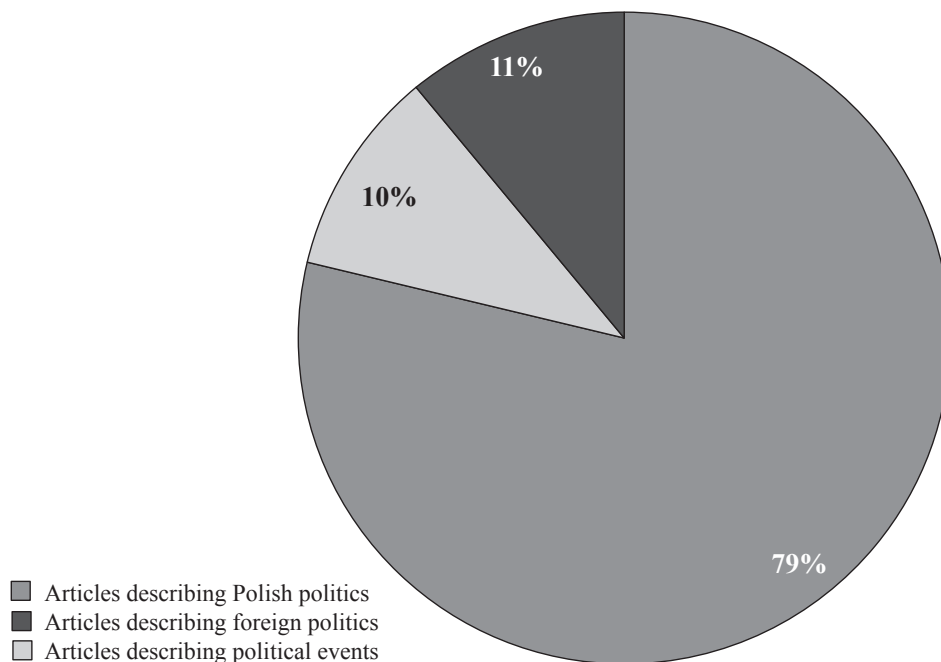
Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

main profession is politics. Sobkowiak described them as those "for whom politics is not permanently the most important thing, or for whom it absorbs all the energy of their public actions however, in certain periods of their lives they carry out important political roles. This group can be represented by people who were affiliated with the political mainstream or filled offices in the past, but today are not involved in politics either professionally or for profit. The last group represents so-called occasional politicians, defined as people acting primarily verbally, through participation in various meetings and political discussions, as well as people who take part in elections" (Sobkowiak, 1999).

The key factor in selecting the articles was the title; for instance, articles with the names of people related to the sphere of politics. This suggested that the content of the articles is directly associated with politics. We collected 113 articles of this kind. It should be noted, however, that the authors of Pudelek.pl are not confined only to commenting on people associated with national politics. From March 1–31 there were 31 publications that described the actions of foreign politicians. These were not analyzed. Three further articles were eliminated because of the video format. Therefore, from an initial pool of 127 texts, 96 were accepted for study.

These publications were later grouped by affiliation to a particular party. The classification revealed a certain regularity. The vast majority of the articles were dedicated to the activities of people in the highest offices of state, or members of the ruling party (Figure 1). Fifty-four percent of the articles concerned the representatives of Law and Justice or people associated with this party. Accordingly, the representatives of Civic Platform were described in 13% of the publications, Korwin in 12%, Kukiz'15 in 10%, Democratic Left Alliance in 5%. Another 6 articles concerned other parties which are in operation on the Polish political scene.

Figure 2. The division of articles based on party affiliation of the people described

Law and Justice
Civil Platform
Korwin Party
Kukiz'15
Democratic Left Alliance
Another
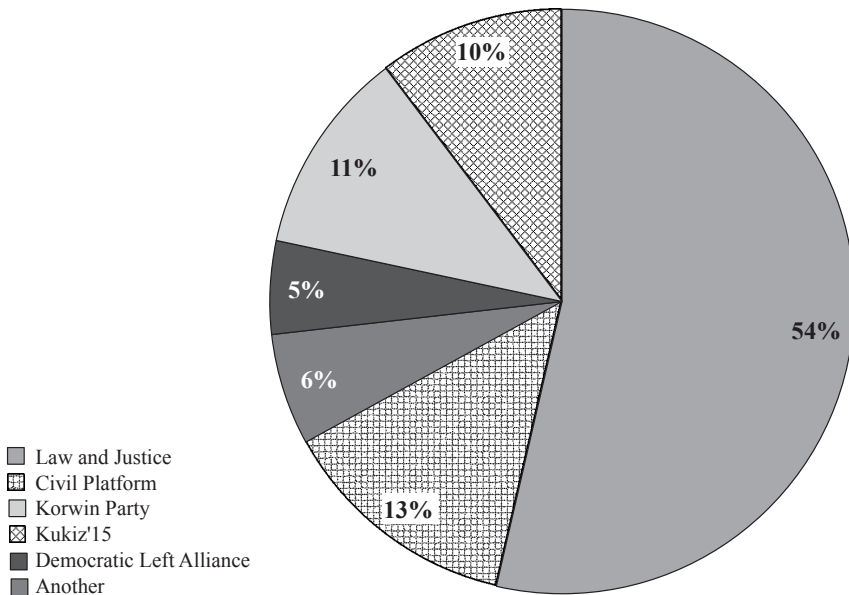
Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

Outcomes

The basis of the analysis was a comment left under the publication on the website. In order to verify the established hypothesis, the most popular comments were subjected to analysis. The website Pudelek.pl algorithmically selects the 3 to 5 comments which have received the highest number of 'likes' under each article. These are the comments that the readers liked the most. The final analysis examined 422 comments out of 458. Some of the articles did not qualify for the study because their form and content suggested that they belonged to a group of so-called advertising entries, which are published automatically by advanced algorithms and not by web users. In this study, the selected comments were assigned to the specified category. Comments were divided according to the presence or the lack of vulgarisms, invectives, nicknames and irony.

Table 2

The division of comments by forms of expression applied

	No vulgarisms	One vulgarism	More than one vulgarism	Offensive epithet that is not a nickname	Offensive nickname that is considered to be a vulgarism	Nickname given to the person	Irony, cynicism
Number of comments containing a particular phrase	398	24	1	108	17	48	64

Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

The results of the study do not aggregate to 100% due to the fact that it was possible to assign more than one of the above mentioned features to each comment. Comments that did not contain profanities or vulgarisms rarely contained invectives or nicknames. However, such cases also were recorded. According to the definition provided by the dictionary, "a vulgarism is a word or phrase which is a ripe, crude definition of phenomena that can be named using words that are stylistically neutral" (PWN 2017). In compliance with the portal's policy, profanities are dotted, censored and not fully presented. Verbal abuse targeted directly at another person was defined as invective. For the sake of the study, we also distinguished the category of ironic nicknames (PWN 2017). The nickname category was related to direct phrases that were used to describe a person and which expressed and gave people additional, usually humorous or vicious, names (PWN 2017). According to the definition provided by the dictionary, cynicism is an attitude towards life characterized by the disavowal of ethical principles and ignoring generally respected concepts, rights and people (PWN 2017). The comments also contained phrases which we could not assign to any particular group, however, their presence required noting. Words such as "sod off," "shame," "disgrace," or "I hate" are a great example of language vulgarization (these phrases are not swearwords, but are emotionally negative). They do not directly brutalize the language, but are pejorative expressions concerning the people who were described in the articles. Such phrases appeared in 107 comments. There were also some statements concerning an opinion about a particular person, such as "he/she has no sense of honor."

Table 3

**Occurrence of phrases that vulgarize the language of the comments,
but are not vulgar**

	Sod off	Disgrace	Shame	Out	I hate
Number of comments containing a particular phrase	13	7	44	11	32

Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

Pejorative comments that could be understood as a threat in conversations not held on the web were noticeable: "I will spit on your grave soon." However, it is encouraging to see that a relatively small percentage of comments contained swearwords. Internet users were more often willing to like comments that contained a more refined form of criticism. A prominent phenomenon was bestowing nicknames upon politicians, such as: "Kaczor", "Kaczafi", "Donek", "Antek", "Macier", "Misio-Pysio", "Pisiory", "Chamtforma", "Komuchy".

Table 4

The number of comments containing a nickname

	Kaczor	Kaczafi	Donek	Antek	Macier	Misio-Pysio	Chamt-forma	Komu-chy
The number of comments containing a nickname	17	4	8	12	3	14	2	9

Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

The actual brutalization of the language used by readers and those who leave comments is undeniable. The language of potentially anonymous Internet users of the Pudelek.pl site is characterized by a large amount of offensive words and phrases, direct invectives, insults and profanities. The vast majority of comments addressed at the representatives of the ruling party were pejorative and unfavorable. Fifty-eight percent of negative comments contained offensive phrases and were addressed to people associated with Law and Juice. However, it does not mean that there were no positive comments. We identified 28 positive comments that included such phrases as "bravo," "congratulations," "keep it up." It is worth mentioning that these comments were not used in an ironic or cynical way.

Table 5

The number of negative and positive comments with regard to party affiliation

	Law and Justice	Civic Platform	Kukiz'15	Democratic Left Alliance	Korwin
The number of negative comments	245	25	26	10	37
The number of positive comments	28	34	1		

Source: Own compilation based on the collected data.

Conclusions

Undoubtedly, the characteristics of mass communication have helped to produce a specific kind of language that is used by Internet users to comment on the reality described in the articles which are published on gossip sites. The dynamic development of the mass communication process and the changes that are occurring within it, as well as the widespread use of new media influence two major elements. First of all, a formerly unknown phenomenon has emerged in the sphere of mass communication. Communication, in its traditional sense, meant broadcasting a message by an author to passive recipients. Communication took place through channels that did not give the possibility of feedback, or feedback was not a direct form of reaction to a given message. Nowadays, Internet users, who are the recipients of a variety of content, have the opportunity to reply to a message or a statement. As claimed by Piontek, it is the web that gives the opportunity to respond to a message in a fast and accurate way (Piontek, 2011, p. 4). In other words, the feedback in the process of mass communication is identical for all of its various types, including political communication. Secondly, online communication gives a false sense of anonymity, which results in a sense of security and apparent intimacy. As Barłóg suggests, "people who use web communication experience a lower level of anxiety than during a face to face conversation" (Barłóg, 2014, p. 199). Therefore, it can be presumed that online communication increases self-confidence while forming messages and statements, and thus increases the likelihood of the writer being judgmental, or of the use of profanities and even the brutalization of the media. Interestingly, vulgarization of the language does not occur only through the use of profanities, or phrases commonly defined as "choice." Internet users are often very creative when giving nicknames to political actors. They usually use sophisticated forms of garbling names. In addition, we also observed the use of cynicism and irony. The most important thing is the fact that the willingness to comment and use profanities, and certainly the brutalization of the media, concerns in particular those materials which directly refer to people and political events. Therefore, we can conclude that the brutalization and vulgarization of the contemporary language of comments and entries, for example, on gossip websites, is also related to the process of celebritization which is visible on this kind of website, if the presence of politicians on them is interpreted as a manifestation of celebritization.

Bibliography

Annusewicz O. (2011), *Celebrytyzacja polityczna*, in: *Polityka na szczeblu samorządu terytorialnego*, ed. S. Sulowski, Warszawa, "Studia Politologiczne", vol. 20.

Antkowiak P., Hajder K., Ossowski Sz. (2016), *Jakość życia mieszkańców miasta Gniezna (wraz z analizą zawartości mediów lokalnych)*, Gniezno.

Bajer J. (2012), *Badania porównawcze w politologii: zagadnienia metodologiczne*, "Studia Politicae Universitatis Silesiensis", no. 8.

Balczyńska-Kosman A. (2013), *Język dyskursu publicznego w polskim systemie politycznym*, "Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne", no. 2.

Baran D. (2012), *W kulturze mediów, w mediach bez kultury – wypowiedź polityczna jako impuls publicznej pseudodebaty*, "Państwo i Społeczeństwo", no. 1.

Barłóg M. (2013), *Niektóre cechy osobowości a stopień uzależnienia od Internetu wśród studentów*, "Młoda Psychologia", vol. 2.

Bieniewicz J. (2009), *Figura wroga we współczesnym dyskursie publicznym*, "Oblicza Komunikacji", no. 2.

Brzozowski P. (2003), *Język polityki jako podstawowe narzędzie działania politycznego i nieodłączny atrybut władzy w świetle produkcji dyskursu prawdziwościowego*, "Dialogi Polityczne", no. 1.

Celebrytki i celebryci. Komunikat z badań TNS K.059/12, http://www.tnsglobal.pl/wp-content/ blogs. dir/9/files/2014/03/K.059-12_Celebryci_O10a-12.pdf.

Hess A. (2013), *Społeczni uczestnicy medialnego dyskursu politycznego w Polsce. Mediatyzacja i strategie komunikacyjne organizacji pozarządowych*, Kraków.

Ilnicki R. (2012), *Public relations jako funkcja aktywności użytkowników internetu*, "Studia Medioznawcze", no. 2(49).

Juza M. (2015), *Hejterstwo w komunikacji internetowej: charakterystyka zjawiska, przyczyny i sposoby przeciwdziałania*, "Profilaktyka Społeczna i Resocjalizacja", no. 25.

Kołodziejek E. (1994), *Językowe środki zwalczania przeciwnika, czyli o inwektywach we współczesnych tekstach politycznych*, in: *Język a kultura*, vol. 11: *Język polityki*, eds. J. Anusiewicz, B. Siciński, Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Polonistyki Wrocławskiej, Wrocław.

Kosmanowa B. (2010), *Refleksje nad językiem polityków w Polsce dawniej i współczesnej*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Cywilizacja i Polityka", no. 8.

Kowalikowa J. (2008), *O wulgaryzacji i dewulgaryzacji we współczesnej polszczyźnie*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis "Język a Kultura", vol. 20, no. 3060.

Kwiecień S. A. (2005), *Mechanizmy manipulacji językowej w nowomowie i współczesnym języku polityki*, http://uranos.cto.us.edu.pl/~dialog/kwiecien.pdf.

Leksykon politologii (1999), eds. A. Antoszewski, R. Herbut, Wrocław.

Leszczuk-Fiedziukiewicz A. (2013), *Strategie celebrytyzacji polityki na przykładzie medialnego obrazu kampanii parlamentarnej 2011 r.*, "Nowe Media", no. 4.

Łoszewska-Ołowska M. (2015), *Chory polityk, celebryta, zwykły Kowalski. Granice dozwolonego rozpowszechniania informacji o stanie zdrowia pacjenta*, "Zeszyty Prasoznawcze", vol. 58, no. 2(222).

Martens A. (2012), *Formy i normy – język komunikacji internetowej, rozważania wstępne*, Kwartalnik Internetowy "Komunikacja Społeczna", no. 2.

Mazzoleni G., Schulz W. (1999), *"Mediatization" of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy?*, "Political Communication", vol. 16.

McNair B. (1998), *Wprowadzenie do komunikowania politycznego*, Wydaw. Wyższej Szkoły Nauk Humanistycznych i Dziennikarstwa, Poznań.

Mizińska J. (2014), *Chamstwo jako objaw wyczerpania kultury*, "Humanistyka i Przyrodoznawstwo", no. 20.

Niepytalska-Osiecka A. (2014), *O fejku, laiku i hejcie w polszczyźnie internetowej*, "Język Polski", z. 4.

Olczyk T. (2013), *Celebrytyzacja polityki – politycy i ich rodziny w "Twoim Stylu" i "Vivie"*, "Media – Kultura – Komunikacja Społeczne", no. 9.

Olczyk T. (2014), *Celebrytyzacja polityki w opiniach wyborców*, "Political Preferences", no. 8.

Olczyk T. (2013a), *Poparcie celebryckie (celebrity endorsement) w komunikowaniu politycznym – doświadczenia polskie na amerykańskiej licencji*, "e-Politikon", no. 5.

Olczyk T. (2013b), *Teoria i praktyka celebrytyzacji politycznej. Celebryci polityczni w internetowych serwisach plotkarskich*, "Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne", no. 1.

Oniszczuk Z. (2011), *Mediatyzacja polityki i polityzacja mediów. Dwa wymiary wzajemnych relacji*, "Studia Medioznawcze", no. 4(47).

Ossowski Sz., Piontek D. (2014), *Co tam, Panie w polityce? Politycy w programach publicystycznych*, "Zeszyty Prasoznawcze", vol. 57, no. 2(218).

Ożóg K. (2007), *O języku współczesnej polityki*, "Polityka i Społeczeństwo", no. 4.

Ożóg K. (2006), *Pauperyzacja języka współczesnej polityki*, "LingVaria", no. 1.

Panek A. (2016), *Język w przestrzeni internetu*, "Przestrzeń Internetu", no. 1(11).

Piontek D. (2011), *Komunikowanie polityczne i kultura popularna. Tabloidyzacja informacji o polityce*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe WNPiD UAM, Poznań.

Piontek D., Annusewicz O. (2013), *Polityka popularna: celebrytyzacja polityki, politainment, tabloidyzacja*, "e-Politikon", no. 5.

Plejada.pl na czele serwisów plotkarskich, Pudelek.pl przyciąga najbardziej, mocno w górę Kozaczek.pl i Plotek.pl (TOP 10), http://www.wirtualnemedia.pl/artykul/plejada-pl-na-czele-serwisow-plotkarskich-pudelek-pl-przyciaga-najbardziej-mocno-w-gore-kozaczek-pl-i-plotek-pl-top-10#, April 30, 2017.

PWN, www.pwn.pl, April 30–May 8, 2017.

Siuda P. (2009), *O roli oraz znaczeniu sieciowych celebrytów w społeczności internautów*, in: *"Małe tęsknoty?" Style życia w czasie wolnym we współczesnym społeczeństwie*, ed. W. Muszyński, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń.

Street J. (2004), *Celebrity Politicians: Popular Culture and Political Representation*, "British Journal of Politics & International Relations", no. 6.

Street J. (2012), *Do Celebrity Politics and Celebrity Politicians Matter?*, "The British Journal of Politics and International Relations", vol. 14.

Szczepaniak K. (2012), *Zastosowanie analizy treści w badaniu artykułów prasowych – refleksje metodologiczne*, "Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Sociologica", no. 42.

Szostaczko P. (2015), *Celebryta, jako narzędzie promocji*, in: *Perswazyjne wykorzystanie wizerunku osób znanych*, ed. A. Grzegorczyk, Wyższa Szkoła Promocji, Warszawa.

Wattenberg M. P. (1991), *The Rise of Candidate-Centered Politics. Presidential Elections of the 1980s*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Wileczek A. (2011), *O języku młodego internetu*, "Zeszyty Prasoznawcze", R. 54, no. 3–4(207–208).

Wiśniewska P. M. (2010), *Agresja jako cecha języka polityków*, in: *Etyka w mediach*, vol. 7, ed. W. Machura, Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCRIPTORIUM, Poznań–Opole.

Worobiec P. (2008), *Leksykalny kod polityczny – językowy obraz wroga*, in: *Język – komunikacja*, eds. K. Kleszcz, M. Krzempek, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole.

Zalewska Z. (2008), *Perswazja w języku polityki*, "Dialogi Polityczne", no. 9.

Ziółkowski J. (2006), *Gra polityczna*, Warszawa.

_____

**Celebrytyzacja polskiej polityki i język komentarzy internetowych.
Analiza na wybranych przykładach**

Streszczenie

Artykuł traktuje o możliwych przejawach postępującego procesu celebrytyzacji polityki z uwzględnieniem języka komentarzy, jakie pojawiają się na plotkarskich portalach internetowych. Te ostatnie także stają się bowiem miejscem specyficznie rozumianej kreacji wizerunkowej osób/podmiotów związanych z polityką. Sam sposób tej kreacji sprowadza się do publikowania treści związanych raczej ze

sferą prywatną lub półprywatną, a na pewno niemającą związku z aktywnością tych osób/podmiotów na arenie politycznej. Dodatkowo obserwować daje się także daleko posunięty proces wulgaryzacji i brutalizacji języka tych komentarzy, co również jest zjawiskiem specyficznym.

Marzena BARAŃSKA
Jagiellonian University in Crakow

Advisory bodies and their role in the organizational structure of the public broadcaster

Abstract: Governance of a media company, particularly a public broadcaster, is subject to the applicable legal solutions, the economic situation of the company, the accepted management concept of this type of organization. Also of significance is the issue of the broadcaster's organizational structure, division of powers and the terms of reference of individual divisions. A specific characteristic of the organizational structure of public radio and television in Poland is the existence of Programme boards, as units empowered by the authorities to actively participate in the company management. Referring to the activities of the Polish Television SA, this paper discusses issues related to institutional models of public media and the mutual relationships between the governing bodies of the company. Considering the subject of the publication, special attention was paid to the roles, significance and practices utilized by the programme boards in performing their tasks.

Key words: television, media management, program board, advisory bodies on television

Introduction

The dual system of functioning of the media market in Europe is the basis for the parallel conduct of business of public and private broadcasters. In principle it can be stated that the subject covers the same areas of activity, ie. the provision of audiovisual services, the creation and distribution of broadcasting material. Differences exist between the subject's organizational structures, methods of financing, the catalogue of objectives, which must be performed the public broadcaster to fulfill their mission statement. In the institutional dimension, programme boards are a characteristic feature of the public media. Their duties and the role they play in public broadcaster's companies, terms of reference, way of conducting business, relations with other company divisions, the structure and selection method of the collegial body, allow to conclude that they are involved in the management and governance of a public broadcaster, influencing the decisions the company's bodies, as well as participate in shaping of public opinion. The activity and commitment of people representing different environments – as members of the programme boards – is perceived as the participation of a social factor in the decision-making process of the public broadcaster. The standard terms of reference defining the activities of television operations was assessed from a practical point of view. It was considered important to discuss the role and significance of the programming boards as subjects actively participating in the governance of a media company – Polish Television SA (TVP SA) and to clarify the mutual relationships between the governing bodies of the company, with a focus on the methods and means utilized by programme boards in the governance of the company. This issue was previously described by experts, lawyers, cultural experts, political scientists, economists, however, due to changes in the sphere of

law, politics, and taking into account the public opinion it was considered important to discuss the current status quo. The interdisciplinary dimension of the issue under analysis, its significance, requires discussion, publication of research results, reflection on the range of proposed solutions, concepts, as well as a critical assessment of achievements to date. It is another objective of this publication, which is the starting point for further inquiry and scientific studies and consequently also a critical evaluation of the scientific output. This paper was designed as a study covering matters relating to the characteristics of the media market in Poland (selected issue), clarifications of basic concepts, such as 'governance', 'management', progressing later to discussion of the position and terms of reference of programme boards in the organizational structure of TVP SA. In view of the fact that one of the objectives of the organization is the meeting of customers' needs, in this case the audience, it was deemed important to describe how society participates in directing of public television and by what means and mechanisms does it influence the decisions of the company authorities.

It follows that in practice the standard terms of reference of programme boards are subject to verification in view of, among others, the involvement of the body as such, as well as of the individuals it is composed of. For this reason, it was deemed essential to answer the question, "To what extent does the decision autonomy of programme boards of the public broadcaster TVP SA affect the governance of the company, and by what means do they fulfill the expectations and needs of the public opinion broadcaster?" Answering the above question requires the selection of appropriate research methods. It was considered purposeful to use the following methods: exegesis (analysis and interpretation) of the legal text, participant observation, comparison. As a result, the current Polish legal solutions were critically evaluated with reference to personal experience and practice relating to the functioning of these organizational units of the structure of TVP SA. The discussion of issues in this paper is not comprehensive or exhaustive in its manner, but it constitutes a contribution to further analysis.

The organizational structure of the public broadcaster in Poland

Election of the members of the seventh term programme boards prompted the consideration of the significance and role of programme boards as part of the organizational structure of public service broadcasters in Poland. Considering the experience resulting from practices to date and changes taking place in the market, the fundamental question appears to be regarding the terms of reference, mode of action and the importance of the positions of these institutions in the decision-making and the management process of the public broadcaster.

It should be noted at the outset that the current system of organization of broadcasters in Poland was established in 1993, i.e. at the time of introduction of the Bill on Radio and Television (The Broadcasting Act of 29 December 1992). Not only did the technological, social and economic changes contribute to the sequence of changes introduced in the system of functioning of the broadcasters, but the European Union legislation also had a significant influence. The directives (Directive 2010/13/EU...), recommendations (Recommendation CM/Rec (2007)3...) and other legal acts, empha-

sized the role of social bodies and their participation in the decision-making process of broadcasters.

The technological progress made in recent years in respect of the activities of the media market in the world contributes to the change of applicable legislation in this regard. The transnational character of the audiovisual media, as evidenced by the experience of recent years, is reflected in the normative solutions of transnational dimension. International, European, national, as well as internal regulations create systemic solutions in the field of audiovisual market. Their practical dimension creates the need for institutional solutions empowered to legislate as a result of consensus positions presented by individual countries. In the era of media convergence, compression and interoperability, many new issues arise, areas requiring fast and consistent response on the part of legislators and creation of solutions adequate to the needs. The internal regulations enacted by the institutions and organizations are intended to specify, clarify the rules governing the activities of created management units. Despite the dissemination of theories on multi-level governance, it is worth noting the stabilization in ensuring the participation of the social factor in directing, supervising the media. Directing should be understood as: "the impact of one subject (the director) on another (directed) aimed at achieving the behaviour (work, functioning) of the directed towards the achieving its objective" (*Advertising and marketing in practice*...). Governance is "the exercise of power by legal coercion. The source of power in this case the legal entitlement of persons to govern" (*Advertising and marketing in practice*...). Control is an activity designed for verification of existing state of affairs against a legally specified standard (see. Borowiec, 2007; Ploskonka, 2006, pp. 3–28). A special role is attributed to the concept of management control. With regard to the audiovisual market, it can be assumed to be the activity of an entitled authority undertaken in order to achieve the set development directions. Their activity is based, among other factors, on dialogue, experience, confidence, participation in the decision making process, but it need not take the form of decision-making (see. Izdebski, 2010). Control can also be described in external terms. In this context, it takes the form of verification carried out by entitled authorities or it has a social dimension, e.g. the possibility of lodging complaints and addressing requests to eligible institutions, e.g. The National Broadcasting Council (Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji – KRRiT).

In Poland, systemic solutions for the audiovisual market confirm the parallel and equivalent functioning of television broadcasters – with the status of public and private broadcaster. In this situation, the starting point for further considerations is to establish the concept of the broadcaster. The Bill on Radio and Television Broadcasting recognizes as such: an individual, a legal entity or personal commercial company "that creates and compiles the programming material and distributes it, or transmits it to others in order to disseminate" (The Broadcasting Act of 29 December 1992). Both public and private broadcasters have the organizational structure of commercial companies. This concept was developed in the early nineteen nineties. Although the legal regulatory framework was adopted in 1992, the first signs of erosion of the state monopoly was the start of the program broadcasting emissions by Poland's first private station – "Echo" in 1990 (Świętochowicz, 2000, pp. 19–20). The inaugurated process of change forced the legislator to implement the legal basis for the media market activities, in accordance with the principle of pluralism, accepted and approved in the European Union.

The previously quoted normative act introduced in 1993, clearly states that "the right to distribute radio and television programs is granted to public radio and television broadcasting units as well as individuals, legal entities and personal commercial companies which have obtained a license to do so, or – in the case of television programs transmitted solely in ICT systems – are entered in the registry of such programs" (The Broadcasting Act of 29 December 1992, art. 4, par. 1). The analysis of standard solutions is the basis for categorizing broadcasters as private, public and social (The Broadcasting Act of 29 December 1992, art. 2, par.1 and art. 4, par. 1, 1a). Whereas, regarding private broadcasters, the applicable legal and organizational form of the company was not strictly imposed, it was specified for public service broadcasting. As mandatory, it recognizes the need to operate as a public company. There is no doubt that in the face of requirements to be addressed by the applicant for the sanctioning of the organizational form, the choice was made to guarantee effective operation, both in terms of formal legal and organizational requirements (cf. *The Code of Commercial Companies* of 15 September 2000, art. 301). In the face of conducted discussions on the organizational structure, it is worth noting that at the time of creating the legal framework of the media market, we did not have any experience regarding the functioning of electronic media diversified in terms of organization, and the global and European experience needed to be adapted to the Polish socio-political, economic and legal realities, as well as those resulting from the Polish jurisprudence and doctrine.

For over twenty years, the status of a public broadcaster has been held by: Polish Radio SA and Polish Television SA, who are the legal successors of the state broadcaster functioning until 1992.

The organizational structure of the above mentioned companies consists of:
– regarding television: I and II program nationwide coverage stations and the program broadcast by satellite – TV Polonia, as well as branch divisions established in: Białystok, Bydgoszcz, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Gdańsk, Katowice, Kielce, Kraków, Lublin, Lódź, Opole, Olsztyn, Poznań, Rzeszów, Szczecin, Warsaw, Wrocław;
– regarding public radio: "Polish Radio – INC", established to create and disseminate national radio programs and programs for listeners abroad and 17 "regional broadcasting companies" (The Broadcasting Act of 29 December 1992, art. 26, par. 2) established in Białystok, Bydgoszcz, Gdańsk, Katowice, Kielce, Koszalin, Kraków, Lublin, Lódź, Olsztyn, Opole, Poznań, Rzeszów, Szczecin, Warsaw, Wrocław, Zielona Góra (The Broadcasting Act of 29 December 1992, art. 26, par. 3).

It should be emphasized that the management system practiced in television and radio is characterized by numerous differences. These conclusions are the result of the exegesis of legal texts as well the practice of activities of these entities. The greater independence and self-reliance can be discussed after a comparative analysis of the status of companies. The organizational structure alone, and therefore the status of the entities is characterized by varying levels of autonomy. In this regard, the radio has a higher degree of independence of action and freedom in making decisions. A common element is the legislator determined model of creating bodies in charge of the companies: general shareholder meeting, board of directors, the management of the company (see. *The Code of Commercial Companies* of 15 September 2000, art. 302ff). The legal regime of economic activity carried out in this form consists of universally binding legal acts as well as the internal regulations arising from the statutes and bylaws.

The company status, adopted in the form of a notarial deed, regulates the activities of a given organizational unit, provided its contents are not in conflict with the generally applicable law. The statute, as an act of internal law, establishes procedural rules for the conduct of the entities and the subject their activities.

Due to the lack of detailed regulations regarding the composition and number of members of the general meeting in the code of commercial companies, a reference should be made to the specific arrangements, in this case contained in the Bill on radio and television. Art. 29 paragraph 1. Bill on radio and television, states: "In the general meeting the State Treasury is represented by the minister responsible for the Treasury." The terms of reference are limited to controlling and supervisory activities. The contents of point 2 Article 29 of the aforementioned Bill explicitly limits the possibility of an intervention of the institution under discussion in the decision-making process of the Board concerning programming content. It should be inferred that in the best interests of the company the legislator provides this attribute to the organizational structure which consistently follows the company policy guidelines regarding the created and emitted programming material. The independence of the management is not absolute in its character, as consultative and controlling authorities are granted to other bodies, such as the Board of directors, the programme board. Practice demonstrates the sequential, secondary characteristic of control, rather than anticipatory, primary, which could be more significant as a result, e.g. for audience share results, as well as meeting the goals for this type of broadcaster. This conclusion was adopted following the normative content of the provisions and their practical application.

As mentioned earlier, the Board of directors is a controlling institution, supervisory, but also authorized to adopt resolutions on issues of importance for the companies and, therefore, jointly responsible for the management of the companies. The detailed terms of reference and duties of this body, follow from the statutes of the companies (see. *The Organizational Regulations of Polish Radio*) and their regulations (see. ...Organizational Regulations of the Company).

Management (consisting of of one or more persons) is elected for a four-year term by the Board of directors and approved by the National Broadcasting Council (KRRiT). The main tasks of the management include the implementation of adopted programs and development strategy of the company independently and jointly with the Board of directors as per terms of reference.

Managing of media companies is the legal and organizational consequence of organizational entities. Broadcasters, especially the private ones, are driven primarily by economic rules in implementing their policies. The economic success is a sum of many factors, including the results of a suitably designed programming offer, public relations activities, income derived from marketing activities, but also the effectiveness and efficiency of the activities of individual governing bodies, etc. The decision-making process is the result of adapting the procedures appropriate for the activities of commercial companies. In the end, this right is the prerogative of the owner or an entity acting on the owner's behalf and in their interest.

The organizational structure of the public broadcaster gives grounds for expressing the view that it is also an active participant in relations occurring in the economic sphere (especially the exchange of commodities and services), with the status of a joint stock company, which competes on an equal footing with other entities. The consequence is

the need to shape an efficient management system. Regardless of the number and composition of the governing bodies, as a result it should also strive for the same effect – that is, to make a profit. Uncritical acceptance of this position can lead to a mistaken belief as to the purpose and principles which should be taken into account regarding the company development directions. It should be remembered that they are obligated to implement the public mission. This term designates a catalog of tasks whose performance is the obligation of a public broadcaster.

In accordance with Article 21 of the Bill on radio and television Broadcasting, Polish public service broadcasters (radio and television) preparing the programming offer must respect the obligations arising from the public service mission. The scope of the this concept enabled specifying the tasks faced by the broadcaster.

The basic tasks in this regard were specified as:
– the creation and distribution of programming in Polish and other languages, with local, regional, or national coverage, as well as enabling the reception of programming to persons residing outside of the country;
– the creation of a diversified and high-quality programming offer including both general and specialized news and information coverage;
– guaranteeing universal access to broadcast programming through the implementation of new technological solutions in the field of broadcasting structure, as well as the creation and distribution of programming;
– promotion of knowledge and implementation of innovative solutions for the development of new techniques and broadcast distribution;
– cooperation with external entities in Poland and abroad in the audiovisual field;
– popularization of culture, art, science, sports, as well as active involvement in the implementation of such projects;
– guarantee of meeting the needs and right to information of a given national and ethnic minority through the broadcasting of programming in their language;
– allowing local communities to disseminate programs aimed at the preservation of cultural identity in the language used by this community;
– creation and broadcasting of programs addressed to the Polish community living abroad;
– ensuring access to programming for viewers and listeners with visual and hearing impairement;
– promoting media education (cf. Recommendation CM/Rec (2007)3 of the Committee of Ministers...).

The scope of the tasks stems from the implementation of the principles of a democratic state and includes such areas as culture, arts, sports, media education, technology.

Consequently, public service radio and television broadcasters are obligated to:
– accept responsibility for the word and take care of the good name of public radio and television;
– reliably and completely document and present the variety of events and phenomena in the country and abroad;
– support the free development of citizens' views and the shaping of public opinion;
– enable the citizens and their organizations to participate in public life by presenting varying views and positions and exercising the right to social control and criticism;

– serve the development of culture, science and education, which is associated with a particular emphasis on Polish intellectual and artistic achievements;
– respect the Christian system of values, accepting the universal principles of ethics;
– serve to strengthen the family, the formation of pro-health attitudes, as well as the promotion and popularization of sport;
– oppose social pathologies;
– contribute to media education (The Broadcasting Act of 29 December 1992, art. 21, par. 1).

Assistance in carrying out the legislated tasks is available from public advisory bodies, both those of permanent nature, and appointed on an ad hoc basis. Their terms of reference follow from the solutions contained in the universally applicable law, as well as in the internal regulations of the company. The former category can include the programme board, and the latter are expert advisory councils consisting of one or more members.

The status and powers of Programme boards

Art. 28 of the Bill on Radio and television Broadcasting establishes Programme boards as advisory bodies. In this case, the 15-person committee represents parliamentary groups (10 members), and individuals with achievements and experience in the field of culture and media (5 members) (The Broadcasting Act of 29 December 1992, art. 28a). Programme boards form an integral part of the organizational structure of TVP SA, including its 16 regional branches, channel TVP Polonia and TVP Polish Radio with nationwide and regional coverage.

The method of selecting members of the Programme boards sanctions the possibility of control and influence in terms of the implementation of assumptions regarding the management by political organizations, while on the other hand it is perceived as the participation of the social factor in the governance process. The adoption of the first position is the justification for the frequently critical message of the politicization of public media. Such an argument would be fully justified if active politicians were members of this body. On the other hand, the accusation of politicization is also not devoid of rationality, because it is the political parties themselves that designate the candidates to participate in the governance of public media. Knowledge and experience in the area of culture and media functions is a selection criterion not only for the representatives of the minority programme boards, but should also refer to the representatives of political parties. The statutory apolitical character of public media can be subject to critical evaluation, because of the election method of members of this structure. Despite the over twenty year history of the Bill on radio and television, the methods of selecting the composition of this body under discussion did not undergo verification.

During their 4-year term the members of programme boards assess the prepared programming offer, as well as its implementation, guided by the "public interest" (Resolution of the company 15/VII/2014 Board of directors..., para. 29, section 4) and taking into account "the expectations related to the programming activity of the company" (Ibidem).

In the absence of a single strictly valid definition, the public interest is most often analyzed in relation to the legal system, contains elements of valuation, indicates the possibility of a specific behavior of the subjects. It should be noted that the public interest is not the sum of individual interests, and as a result conflicts may arise in the understanding of the concept, and consequently discrepancies between what is important for the individual and what is of importance and significance for the majority/public. The literature clearly highlights the possibility of "stratification" of the concept, which in practice may lead to conflict and misunderstandings, especially in determining of the essence of issues and prioritizing of issues or objectives. As a result, the activity of the board refers to current affairs, but also actively participates in creating long term solutions. Defined in this fashion, the area of activity exemplifies the role of the board in the following matters:
– analyzing prices and the financial state of the company,
– budget plans,
– distribution of financial means,
– assessment of programming offer.

In this regard, the experience to date causes much controversy.

Not only does this body take action on its own initiative, but it also hears cases brought in front of it by the Board of directors or management (Rules of the Program Board of TVP S.A. of 13 January 2012, par. 5, section 2, pt. 3). This is because the programme board is a consultative advisory body (Rules of the Program Board of TVP S.A. of 13 January 2012, par. 1) for both the management of the company and its Board of directors. With respect to "TV Polonia", the duties of this organizational unit include above all: supporting the activities of the management and the station director in terms of the dissemination and creation of satellite programming (*The Organizational regulations of Polish Television, Polish Supervisory Board's*…, par. 30, section 3) and in the regional offices it fulfills its duties to the director (*The Organizational regulations of Polish Television, Polish Supervisory Board's*…, par. 31, section 4). "The Board's terms of reference include: inter alia, presenting of the resolutions, opinions and statements on matters relating to the programming activities of the Company" (Rules of the Program Board of TVP S.A. of 13 January 2012, par. 5, section 2). According to the adopted solutions, the cooperation between these bodies is both absolute and relative. Par. 22 section 2 point. 13–14 of the Statute of the Board of directors states that this body refers to the Programme board for a position before giving an opinion on issues related to:
– opinions on financial and programming plans for undertakings implementing the objectives of the public mission statement, as defined by law;
– opinions on the management reports on the implementation of financial and programming plans defined in Article 21 paragraph 3 of the Bill on Radio and Television (*The Organizational regulations of Polish Television, Polish Supervisory Board's*, par. 22, section 6; *The Organizational Regulations of Polish Radio*, par. 21, section 6).

It clearly follows from the above that the position of the programming board does, in fact, concern matters related to the mission of the public broadcaster, both in terms of financial aspects and shaping of the programming offer of the broadcaster.

The boards are entitled to present their opinions in the process of programming and financial plans arrangements (Regulation of the National Broadcasting Council of 27 April 2011 *on deadlines for submitting and the scope of financial and programming plans for*

undertakings in the field of public service missions elaborated by public broadcasting units), prepared by the management for the following year. Detailed financial analysis is impossible in the face of the confidentiality clause applicable to the budget components. As a result of the specificity of organization, particularly for a television broadcaster, the members of programme boards of the regional centers do not receive the information in the form of reports about the current economic condition of the company, but only a draft plan of financial solutions for the following year. Therefore, the lack of knowledge in this regard, is not without effect on the rational analysis of the proposals presented. On the other hand, the company management is not legally obligated to e.g. submit monthly reports on the implementation of adopted policies. In the company, legally binding solutions regarding the scope of information subject to the confidentiality clause are in favour of this negative message, supporting this interpretation of the conduct of the authorities. The final presentation of the proposed distribution of financial resources, contained in the draft financial plans, is justified by the legislature on confidentiality. In the absence of the statutory need to subject the members of the programme board to responsibility clauses for violation of company trade secrets, commercial and others, the limited form of information sharing has its rational foundation. The accepted interpretation allows for a rhetorical question concerning the merits of subjecting this matter to the evaluation by members of the programme boards. As a result, it appears this procedure should be treated as informative in character, rather than generating discussion or further evaluating the merits of the proposed financial assumptions. Moreover, members of the programme boards of the branch offices focus their efforts primarily on issues relating to the scope of function of the broadcaster, and they do not have adequate knowledge about the prospects for the development of the central management or other regional units. The limited access to information for the members of the body under discussion, resulting from company trade secrecy clauses limiting access to detailed knowledge regarding the financial policy of the organizational units under discussion, is another negative factor.

The criteria for evaluation of the programming are focused on the analysis of "[...] the level and quality of the current programming and the programming framework" (The Broadcasting Act of 29 December 1992, art. 28a, par. 3; compare: The Organizational Regulations of Polish Radio, par. 28). The Programme board is not equipped with laboratories or other research tools. The discussion generated during meetings is the basis for the evaluation of a specific issue through the process of argumentation and expanded analysis, but it can also be a source of developing opinions and expertise by the appropriate specialists from outside the company. The application for seeking an expert opinion required by the board is submitted to management by the chairman (Rules of the Program Board of TVP S.A. of 13 January 2012, par. 5, section 2). Members of the board organize seminars, conferences, discussion panels and disputes, creating thereby platforms for discussion. By initiating this type of debate they are actively participating in the discussion on the role, objectives, and significance of media in contemporary reality.

The indifferent approach to specifying the role and significance of the board in the area of evaluation of the prepared programming offer results from the lack of accurate records. Usually the board does not participate directly in the process of creating the programming offer, but it evaluates the proposed programming in its entirety. Frequently the secondary form of evaluation does not gain approval by the members. In the explana-

tory memorandum, the argument of lack of input in the design of the programming offer is raised. Eliminating the potential influence of persons representing the political circles on the shape of programming could be a counterargument. Perhaps a different approach would provide an area of increased activity in order to ensure air time for the representatives of specific organizations and groups. The possibility of designing a better broadcast plan, attractive in terms of variety of themes and journalistic form, is an argument for a joint discussion of the programming offer. In this regard, the resolutions include the evaluation of the level and quality of current programming and the programming framework (*The Organizational Regulations of Polish Television…*, par. 22, section 2, pt. 16; Rules of the Program Board of TVP S.A. …., par. 5, section 2, point 4), and in addition they can refer to the analysis of reception, level of perception and its social consequences (*The Organizational Regulations of Polish Television…*, par. 29, section 7).

The carrying out of duties would not be possible without systemic solutions in this regard. The television Programme board develops and adopts the annual plans of programming activities (Rules of the Program Board of TVP S.A. …, par. 5, section 2, point 1). Based on the adopted resolutions the Company's management ensures the provision of a technical and organizational base for the activities of the board members, including per diems and travel expenses lawfully assigned, as well as administration (Regulation of the Minister of Labor and Social Policy of 29 January 2013 *on receivables due to an employee*). The seat of the board is the area of the company. The work includes recurring meetings, scheduled at a minimum of monthly intervals. Depending on the subject, the meetings can be designated as working or special (extraordinary) meeings. The former – substantive – are convened by the chairman of his own initiative. In the opinion of the author of this paper – special meetings are convened at the request of Managing director or the chairman of the board of directors, as well as in the instances when the chairman of the KRRiT convenes and opens the first meeting – inaugurating the board activities for a new term (Rules of the Program Board of TVP S.A. …, par. 9).

Due to the collegial organizational structure, programme board positions are expressed in the form of resolutions. Their contents are communicated to the board of directors, but it should be remembered that following the principle of openness and transparency many adopted positions are made public (e.g. published on suitable media websites). Moreover, solutions regarding the programming activity of the company, adopted by the board in the form of opinions and statements (Rules of the Program Board of TVP S.A. …, par. 12) are classified as internal affairs of the company and hence practices for internal circulation of documents apply. As a result, they take on the form of letters addressed to the authorities of the company (management or board of directors), especially in the case of issues of significant importance for the company. The possibility of a programme board representative participating in the board of directors or management meeting at their request or at the request of the programme board is also not ruled out, which is reflected in the meeting programme of the above mentioned bodies. None of these bodies described are obligated to make resolutions in connection with the subject under analysis.

Verification of the assumptions and the implementation of adopted plans is performed in the mode of reporting, because it submits annual evaluations to the Management, the Board of directors and to KRRiT, in a report on its activities, containing conclusions

on matters relating to the programming activity of the Company (Rules of the Program Board of TVP S.A. …, par. 12, section 4).

Finally, attention should be brought to the position of Chairman of the Board and his impact on the perception of the board's role in governing public television. The fundamental duties are related to the organization of the board's work and representing the board both inside and outside of the company. It should be remembered that while personnel matters are the subject of trade union activities, the programming issues dominate the meetings of that body. Certainly a strong, decisive personality, a leader of sorts, a person with knowledge in the area of the media activity, company management can have a significant influence on shaping the image of this body, and the opinions expressed. Demonstrating competence in discussions with the company authorities he is certainly capable of convincing them of the arguments presented by board members, while representing the board outside the company – including sitting in on different bodies, as a permanent member or an ad hoc or guest expert – he properly represents not only the board but the company as well.

Conclusion

Development in the area of social economics is a significant element of activity and social participation in the governance process of one of the strategic companies of the State Treasury. The participation of programme boards in the decision-making process allows for the creation a space for meeting and dialogue. The area of shared references, established in this fashion, becomes even more important as the level of participation of individual members of the specific structures affects the shape and functioning of the public broadcaster. As a result, this mode of action is not without its effect on building public confidence in the media under discussion, especially in the face of the growing involvement of the social factor in the process of governance of companies.

The currently existing legal solutions allow for the perception of programme boards, as dominated by persons representing political parties. It is difficult to minimize the rational basis for this expressed position in the face of the described method of appointing board members. Such practices take place in other countries as well, and the raised objection of politicization of public media for this reason, among others, can be challenged not only by demonstrating that the board consists of persons not designated by political parties, but also by referring to the expertise, professionalism and participation of specific individuals in factual discussion. The evidence of difference in terms of performed assessments of the situation, decisions made by the board, is manifested by long-term discussions, and even resignation from participation in further work. Certainly in the future a more practical rather than declared participation of the boards in governing the company should be considered. It is the author's opinion that the terms of reference of this body should be broadened in many areas. In the area of economics members of the board should gain wider powers on assessing financial plans. Also, in the author's opinion, the matter of the financial resources necessary to sustain the activities of the board should be further clarified.

In the sphere of decision-making it should be deemed important to strengthen the position of the board in terms of the project design and financial plans of the company.

The existing terms of reference provide only the basis for notification of the proposed projects, and not participation in factual discussions, submission of proposals or demands. The records regarding competency of the candidates and their evaluation from the point of view of knowledge of media company activities should be verified, as should the solutions concerning the influence of the programme boards on filling the directorial posts of regional branches of public television. Activities in the field of public media education especially regarding the public broadcaster, should be deemed important.

The changes taking place in recent years in terms of strengthening the position of programme boards should be considered justified, although the transformations taking place both inside and outside the organization, are the starting-point for further work.

Bibliography

Act of 25 March 2011 *amending the Broadcasting Act and certain other acts*, Dz. U. 2011, No. 85, pos. 459.

Act of 29 December 1992 *on Radio and Television*, Dz. U. 1993, No. 7, pos. 34.

Advertising and marketing in practice, http://www.marketing-art.info/tutorials/engagement-position-ing-directing-making-marketing-administration, March 5, 2014.

Announcement of the Speaker of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of April 19, 2013 *on the publication of the uniform text of the Commercial Companies Code*, Dz. U. 2013, pos. 1030.

Borowiec L. (2007), *Controlling in the implementation of municipal public services*, Warsaw.

Directive 2010/13/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 10 March 2010 *on the coordination of certain provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in Member States concerning the provision of audiovisual media services* (Audiovisual Media Services Directive), O. J. L. 95/1, 14.04. 2010.

European Parliament and Council Directive no. 2010/13/EU of 10 March 2010 *on the Member States' coordination of certain provisions, regulations or administrative actions concerning provision of audiovisual media services (Audiovisual Media Services Directive) (Text with EEA relevance)*, Dz. U. L 95 of 15.4.2010.

Internal audit integrated framework concept 1992, http://www.coso.org.

Izdebski H. (2010), *New Public Governance and Public Governance in Poland and Europe*, Warsaw.

Organizational Regulations of the Company, Resolution No. 617/2014 effective from December 19, 2014.

Ploskonka J. (2006), *Concept of control in the management system*, "State Control", issue no. 2.

Program Board Rules of TVP S.A. from 13.01.2012.

Recommendation CM/Rec(2007)3 of the Committee of Ministers to member states *on public service missions in the information society*, adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 31 January 2007 at the 985th meeting of the Deputy Ministers.

Regulation of the Minister of Labor and Social Policy of 29 January 2013 *on receivables due to an employee employed in a state or self-government unit of the budget sphere for a business trip*, Dz. U. 2013, No. 0, item 167.

Regulation of the National Broadcasting Council of 27 April 2011 *on deadlines for submitting and the scope of financial and programming plans for undertakings in the field of public service missions elaborated by public broadcasting units*, Dz. U. 2011, No. 99, item 580.

Resolution No. 15/VII/2014 of the Supervisory Board of Telewizja Polska S.A. from 24 March 2014 *on the adoption of the uniform text of the Statute of the Polish Television S.A.*

Resolutions of the company 15/VII/2014 Board of directors Polish Television companies are of 24 March 2014 on the adoption of a consolidated text statute of Polish Television, http://s.v3.tvp.pl/repository/attachment/d/b/a/dba55827b0f2d95d940c1e86955112bd1395835796108.pdf.

Rules of the Program Board of TVP S.A. of 13 January 2012, http://centruminformacji.tvp.pl/15780343/regulamin-rady-programowej-tvp-sa.

Statute of the Company TVP S.A.

Statute of the Polish Radio Company S.A.

Świętochowicz T. (2000), *Under the Polsat sun – the beginnings and development of a private TV station in Poland*, Poznań.

The Broadcasting Act of 29 December 1992, Dz.U. 2011. No. 43, item 226.

The Code of Commercial Companies of 15 September 2000, Dz. U. 2000, No. 94, item 1037.

The Organizational Regulations of Polish Radio, http://www2.polskieradio.pl/_files/20110808152515/2017032203110147.pdf.

The Organizational Regulations of Polish Television, Polish Supervisory Board's resolution of 24 March 2014 on accepting the jendolite text of the Statute TVP S.A., http://s.tvp.pl/repository/attachment/d/b/a/dba55827b0f2d95d940c1e86955112bd1395835796108.pdf.

Organy doradcze i ich rola w strukturze organizacyjnej nadawcy publicznego

Streszczenie

Rządzenie przedsiębiorstwem medialnym, zwłaszcza nadawcą publicznym uwarunkowane jest obowiązującymi rozwiązaniami prawnymi, sytuacją ekonomiczną przedsiębiorstwa, przyjętą koncepcją zarządzania tego typu organizacją. Nie bez znaczenia, pozostaje kwestia struktury organizacyjnej nadawcy, podziału kompetencji i zakresu uprawnień poszczególnych organów. Specyfiką struktury organizacyjnej telewizji i radia publicznego w Polsce jest funkcjonowanie rad programowych, jako organów wyposażanych w kompetencje do aktywnego uczestniczenia w kierowaniu spółką. W artykule odwołując się do działalności Telewizji Polskiej SA, omówiono zagadnienia dotyczące instytucjonalnych rozwiązań mediów publicznych, wzajemnych relacji pomiędzy organami władzy spółki. Z uwagi na temat publikacji, szczególną uwagę zwrócono na rolę, znacznie i praktyki stosowane w zakresie wykonywania zadań przez rady programowe.

Słowa kluczowe: telewizja, zarządzanie mediami, rada programowa, organy doradcze w telewizji

Piotr POCHYŁY
University of Zielona Góra

Refugees/migrants and border security in the annual address of Poland's foreign ministers in the years 2014–2016

Abstract: The article presents the attitudes of Poland's foreign ministers towards refugees/migrants and border security in the years 2014–2016 expressed in their annual address. The research problem is to determine whether the ministers presented in their address generally accepted long-term strategies for all directions of foreign policy, or whether their activities in the analysed area were merely adaptive, adjusted to the current political situation in the world. The temporal scope is to determine the response after the annexation of Crimea by Russia in late February 2014 of the ministers of the Civic Platform – Polish People's Party (PO-PSL) government in 2011–2015, and the Law and Justice (PiS) government, that came into power on 16 November 2015. The content of the address and transcripts of the proceedings of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Polish Parliament during which the ministers discussed the theses of their speeches are the primary sources.

Key words: annual address, refugees, foreign minister of Poland, security, foreign policy of Poland

1. Introduction

The inherent responsibility of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland is to present to the Parliament the annual Information of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the tasks of Polish foreign policy – called the address of the foreign minister, usually in the first quarter of the year.[1] The speech is followed by a debate, after which a vote of confidence for the minister is held. In the analysed period, a number of conditions affected the content of subsequent annual speeches. Four speeches were made by three foreign ministries representing three governments: Radosław Sikorski, the foreign minister in Donald Tusk's government, Grzegorz Schetyna, the foreign minister in Ewa Kopacz's government, making his annual speech twice, and Witold Waszczykowski, the minister in Beata Szydło's government. This is an important aspect, because after 2007 we were accustomed to the fact that the foreign minister's office was held by one person for a longer time and to the continuity of Radosław Sikorski's work in Donald Tusk's two governments. No other minister in any Polish government after 1989 has held their office longer than Mr Sikorski.

Over the period of twenty months (8 May 2014–29 January 2016) four annual speeches on Poland's foreign policy were given. It should be explained that the first speech of minister Grzegorz Schetyna, made on 6 November 2014, was formally called the In-

---

[1] Witold Waszczykowski said: "I am in a difficult situation, because in previous years the information of the minister of foreign affairs was presented a little later during the year, but Prime Minister Beata Szydło wants to be a top student and wants the government to be a top student, therefore, she asked us to present the information as soon as possible, even in the first month of the year," see. *Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Spraw Zagranicznych (no 10) 28 January 2016*, p. 3.

formation of the Council of Ministers due to the fact that the information of the foreign minister cannot be presented twice in one year. It was related to the formation of a new government by Prime Minister Ewa Kopacz after Donald Tusk had become the President of the European Council and Radosław Sikorski had become the Speaker of the Parliament. The new minister Grzegorz Schetyna said: "It had never happened before that a few months after the address of the foreign minister the government presented information about the tasks of Poland's foreign policy" (Schetyna, 2014). Giving his speech in a turbulent time for the Civic Platform he marked his position and presented the directions of foreign policy. Due to a change in power two comprehensive annual speeches were given in a short period of time between 6 November 2014 and 23 April 2015 by the same minister. The speech made by minister Waszczykowski (Waszczykowski, 2016) is also noteworthy because as a member of the new government, formed after 2015 parliamentary election, he had to present the outlines of his foreign policy for the next four years, which made his speech different from his predecessors' speeches analysed in this paper.[2]

The last important context is the normal political competition, which should be taken into account in relation to the time a speech was made – in 2014 Radosław Sikorski gave his speech on Victory in Europe Day and at the time of the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. Another aspect was the ongoing campaign for the European Parliament (the election was held on 25 May 2014) in the context of which the fight between the main Polish parties concerning foreign policy took place. Then in 2015 Grzegorz Schetyna summed up four years of the Civic Platform rule, and his speech was also a prelude to the upcoming parliamentary campaign.

2. Causes of the crisis

Along with the process of democratic transition initiated by Solidarity and the fall of the Berlin Wall one could expect that the international situation would stabilize and the Cold War rivalry would end or, that the history we had known would end, as Francis Fukuyama predicted. First of all, the "end of history" meant the victory for the spirit of liberalism over the Soviet bloc. In the 1990s a number of independent states were formed, primarily in Europe (including Ukraine), the Caucasus and Central Asia. Some believed in the idea of universal democratization – Samuel Huntington described the third wave of democratization (Huntington, 2009), which was supposed to make the world safer, and potential crises more predictable. That did not happen.

The scale of changes in international politics in the twenty-first century calls for in-depth analysis. In terms of the topic of this publication the following events should be considered:
– the reaction of the United States and its allies, including Poland, after the attacks on the WTC in the form of the invasion in Afghanistan and Iraq, which turned into

---

[2] Grzegorz Schetyna was discouraged during the meeting of the Commission by Witold Waszczykowski, his successor, who claimed that Schetyna presented the assumptions of very ambitious policy and he would be the minister only for the next 4–5 months, see. *Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Spraw Zagranicznych (No 174) of 22 April 2015*, p. 7.

a long-term occupation of these countries and cruel internal conflicts with regional and transregional implications (including militants coming to Europe);

– "Arab Spring", which resulted in the destabilization of the EU border areas. The civil war in Syria broke out. The existing political orders in Libya, Tunisia, or temporarily in Egypt were rejected. This process also accelerated the actual disintegration of Iraq. The so-called Islamic State emerged, but some reforms (improvement of the situation of women, help for the poorest) were introduced in Saudi Arabia and the Arab states of the Persian Gulf – the fear of revolution had mobilized their governments to introduce changes;

– increased power and importance of Boko Haram Islamic extremists after 2010; they have been terrorizing the civilian population in Africa and forcing them to flee to the north, also towards Europe;

– a slowdown in the European integration process after the accession of several Central-East European countries to the EU after 2004; this resulted in structural overload of the Community and "entering" the traditional Russian sphere of influence – its "near abroad". This, in turn, caused the reaction of Russia, which increased its control over the Caucasus after the war with Georgia in 2008, annexed Crimea in 2014 and initiated the process of destabilization in the south-east of Ukraine – the step which also affected the political situation in Moldova, Armenia and the Baltic states.

One of the consequences of the economic crisis in the first decade of the twenty-first century, is the "refugee crisis" also called the "migration of peoples". In recent years Africa has been the source of mass migration to Europe. Despite what is commonly thought the migrants do not come only from North Africa or Near East. At the peak of the "migration of peoples" the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Hungary registered migrants from 104 countries, which means that a mass migration was triggered. Migrants took advantage of the time of wars in the world to improve their living conditions and there were much fewer true refugees from areas affected by wars than it had been assumed. The media collectively depicted them as "refugees" without differentiating them from economic migrants, random groups of people, or members of terrorist organisations or mafia, who simply took advantage of political turmoil to come easily to the EU. The civil war in Syria and the weakness of the central government in Iraq created a political vacuum, which was skilfully used by the creators of the idea of the so-called Islamic State. The scale of their atrocities and rapid military successes took observers and politicians by surprise, who in a short time were forced to react to their mass executions of Christians and Yazidis, and public promotion of female slavery. The reaction of the western world and major countries in the region was not adequate to the needs, and was too weak. Obama's administration lacked determination. Turkey became the main player in the region, which on the one hand tolerated/supported the existence of the Islamic State, and on the other received a possibility to affect the EU by about one and a half million refugees, who Turkey may keep in its territory for billions of euros received from the EU or help them get to the territory of the Union and create crises there.

Another factor that generated migration to Europe, especially migration to Poland, was the internal conflict in Ukraine and its regional consequences. Ukraine was the country that suffered the most in Eastern Europe during the crisis at the beginning of the 21st century – for example, in the first quarter of 2009 production in Ukraine decreased by

31.9% (*Kryzys*, 2016). The severity of the crisis resulted from the structural weaknesses of Ukraine and its low levels of wealth. Being outside the EU, having oligarchic economy, corruption and week institutions, and being under the multiple influence of Russian, Ukrainians were not able to organize an effective and efficient state, which would correspond to the needs of its citizens. The historical election of Viktor Yanukovych – full association with the EU with the prospect of becoming a member state – in short, undergoing the transformation into a member of the West or remaining in the post-Soviet zone with the guarantee of tolerance for its sovereignty for the price of a hereditary lease of the military base in Sevastopol and certain dependence in foreign policy led to the protests on the Maidan, and the president's escape. From Moscow's point of view the best solution would be the announcement of full neutrality of Ukraine and the historical denial of Ukraine's aspirations to join any alliances (NATO, the EU or regional alliances such as the Visegrad Group). This proposal was presented in Western intellectual circles, in the context of the offer for Vladimir Putin to accept the status of Ukraine similar to the status of Austria in 1945 (Mearsheimer, 2014). Incidentally, annexing Crimea, the Russians made Ukraine the state which would permanently have limited options in foreign policy. Maintaining tension in the south-east of Ukraine – either in the form of a continuous armed conflict of low or medium intensity in a limited area, or even an official end to the fighting and acceptance of some autonomy, that is a federal or confederal model of future Ukraine – gives the Russians instruments for permanent and effective intervention in the internal politics of Ukraine, and for control, even without pro-Russian forces in power in Kiev.

3. Poland's stance on refugees / migrants and border security

Polish governments also had to face the above outlined problems between 2014–2016. In their annual speeches the foreign ministers frequently referred to refugees/migrants and border security issues, paying a lot of attention to them, and sometimes making the reactions to them one of the most important elements of Polish foreign policy. For example, minister Waszczykowski developed his speech around three crises in Europe: the crisis of the continent's security, the crisis of neighbourhood and the crisis of the European project itself, which are closely connected with this article (Waszczykowski…, 2016). In a letter published in several newspapers around the world he also declared his willingness to develop a common foreign and defence policy of the EU and solve the problem of migrants (Waszczykowski, *What*).

At the beginning of his address Radosław Sikorski stated that "[...] international situation in our neighbourhood deteriorated. Before our very eyes history has accelerated" (Sikorski, 2014). Since 2014 successive foreign ministers of Poland have been operating in this increasingly "uncertain world", a phrase used by former foreign minister Adam Daniel Rotfeld a decade ago in the title of his book (Rotfeld, 2006), and this period of "uncertainty" seems endless. As G. Schetyna stated: "Today diplomacy often means managing instability" (Schetyna…, 2014).

It should be emphasized that while spreading democracy, promoting good political changes in neighbouring states, especially Ukraine, the politicians of which minister

Sikorski repeatedly admonished (Sikorski, 2011; Sikorski, 2012), were the priorities of Poland's foreign policy. However, engaging in the Middle East (migration from the region to Europe since 2015) was generally incidental and apart from support for the peace process between Palestine and Israel it was random and limited in time (dominated by invasion in Iraq in 2003 and its occupation in subsequent years) (Pochyły, 2016). In fact, the region has not been and is not considered a priority by Poland. Contacts with some countries of the region, mostly the richest and most stable ones, particularly in the Persian Gulf, intensified a few years ago and was connected with acquiring investors (Euro 2012, Qatari gas to the LNG terminal in Świnoujście), and markets for Polish products, especially food after Russia had introduced sanctions on Polish products in 2014. However, migrants coming to the EU since 2015 do not generally come from Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. It is noticeable that the perception of directions in Polish foreign policy has changed and the need for all-party consensus appeared, which was signalled by Grzegorz Schetyna at a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament: "In Poland it is not right that everything that was earlier is treated as bad and policy is created from the very beginning. It is not like this and we all know it. We are talking without journalists, so we can say it. I wish that this belief was in all of us. Asia, Far East. After 2020 the EU funds will run out. We need to build a strategy for Poland for the next years, decades. We must create this vision now. This is the right time" (*Pełny*, 2015).

Africa is another area of secondary level of interest. Despite "Go Africa" programme Poland has only 10 diplomatic posts (there are 53 African states) (*Polskie*, 2016), which is particularly important in "recognizing" problems and potential threats and coordinating actions if any refugees/migrants are accepted. The only positive element is that Poland has embassies in countries lying close to the EU, that is in Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia and Egypt. It is of particular importance that there are Polish embassies in Tunisia and Egypt due to increased tourist traffic from Poland to these two countries. In the author's opinion, it is less important that Poland is not the target destination and therefore consequences of mass migration are not a big "threat" as for Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom. However, one must be aware that sooner or later the problems of others will become ours, directly or indirectly. We will not be "a lonely island".

In the context of the analysis of the speeches, the refugees/migrants aspect should be divided into two parts. On the one hand, there is preparing, assuming that Poland will need to accept civilians trying to get there from Ukraine (not only in an emergency situation), but the creation of conditions for a long-term controlled process of Ukrainian arrivals in Poland for various reasons, which in turn will require regulated relations with Kiev. On the other hand, there is a reaction to the influx of refugees/migrants to EU countries since 2015 and support for internal refugees in the Middle Eastern countries (mainly Kurds and Yazidis), especially in Iraq and in Syria.

As for the part concerning Ukraine, Polish ministers did not discuss the issue directly, but focused on the implementation of all opportunities that could strengthen Ukraine in a complex way, from the development of civil society to developmental support. As G. Schetyna said in 2015, Ukraine was a priority area for the Polish development and humanitarian policy, and he widely discussed assistance for Ukraine (Schetyna, 2015). The attention was also drawn to the EU financial resources given to Ukraine (exten-

sive excerpt: Sikorski..., 2014; Schetyna..., 2015) as well as the political aspect – pro-democratic changes. These changes are permanently expected and supported in Polish foreign policy. In 2014 minister Sikorski was pleased that for several years the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had been expanding the network of diplomatic posts in Ukraine locating consulates in Donbas and Sevastopol, which, in his opinion, would help Poland avoid being surprised by events in Ukraine in contrast to the West (Sikorski…, 2014). This gives rise to the conclusion that the Ministry and the Minister was getting ready to various challenges in Ukraine, especially concerning support for Polish citizens (e.g. the rebirth of Polish culture in Vinnytsa).[3] During the discussion at the Committee of Foreign Affairs the minister was criticized for the visa process in Ukraine carried out by a private operator (*Pełny*, 2014).

As G. Schetyna said: "Poland is greatly interested in transforming our neighbour into a modern and stable state, based on the rule of law, which will participate in European cooperation" (Schetyna..., 2014). It should be borne in mind that Ukraine is a country of a considerable size (the official area is more than 603 thousand square kilometres, but since 2014 Ukraine has not had a real control over 47.8 thousand square kilometres, that is less than 13%), therefore it has been quite easy to locate the population in safe areas of the country as the area involved in the conflict is still limited. However, internal migration can be observed there. In May 2016 Radosław Sikorski, already the ex-foreign minister, gave an interview for the Swedish newspaper "Svenska Dagbladet" in which he claimed that Ukraine should accept the loss of the disputed territories, as it would be economically beneficial and focus on the development of the areas remaining under its control (*R. Sikorski*, 2016).

The relations between Poland and Ukraine – despite the act that Ukraine signed the political part of the Association Agreement with the EU, have not been very good, due to the differences in the perception of historical policy, the perception of "Volhynian massacre" or the cult of Stepan Bandera in Ukraine, which was publicly presented by Jarosław Kaczyński, the leader of Law and Justice, when he said "the president of Ukraine must realize that Poland cannot accept the situation when torturers, mass murderers and predators are heroes in Ukraine, that the promotion of such behaviour is unacceptable in the civilized world" (*Kaczyński*, 2017).

Importantly, the migration of Ukrainians to Poland has been and still is almost "invisible" in the media because it has been taking place continuously and for several years, and as Ukrainians cross the border legally having visas to Schengen area states, usually issued by Poland, they find jobs. So far they have not been a major problem for law enforcement agencies and aid organizations. Additionally, there is a significant proportion of students from Ukraine, which has helped some universities to survive during the period of demographic decline. During the debate on Poland in the European Parliament in January 2016 Prime Minister Beata Szydło claimed that Poland had already accepted a million refugees from Ukraine – against which Andrii Deshchytsia, ambassador of

---

[3] He said: "We have adapted the network of Polish diplomatic posts to the needs. They must be in places where Poland has its interests, where Poles invest, work and have a holiday, visit families and friends. Elimination of some institutions was followed by the formation of new posts in Sevastopol, and Vinnytsa, and soon in Donetsk […]", see. R. Sikorski, *Informacja Ministra spraw zagranicznych o założeniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2012 roku*, 29 March 2012.

Ukraine, protested saying that they were economic migrants, not refugees (*Ambasador*, 2016), and this number was given as a lower estimate – no one is able to give the exact number of Ukrainians residing in Poland, including the ambassador of Ukraine (*Ambasador Ukrainy*, 2016).

It is not surprising that the ambassador defines the newcomers as economic migrants. Firstly, these people come to Poland to work – their employment is usually legal and prepared beforehand, they earn money and return to Ukraine or settle and transfer the money to their homeland. Secondly, the promotion of this concept for a state that is involved in a war would be unfavourable for its image. Additionally, Ukrainians hardly seek asylum in Poland (in recent years there have been only a few thousand applications) – the first EU country to which they come, therefore, from a legal point of view, they are not refugees and Prime Minister Szydło used the wrong term – over ninety percent of them are economic migrants. However, Poland's government needed that kind of narration (that followed the adopted tactics: we have already accepted a significant number of "our" refugees, comparable to that accepted by wealthy Germany) to control the requests of the EU officials and Member States politicians to change Poland's stance on accepting refugees from the Middle East within the EU's solidarity.

In the annual speech of Minister Sikorski in 2014 a significant emphasis was put on the political situation in Eastern Europe, primarily Ukraine and the relations between Ukraine and Russia, as well as Poland's relations with those countries. It can be said that the whole speech, given almost in the middle of the year on 8 May, was marked by the rhetoric of threat, the reaction to the return of tensions in Poland's immediate neighbourhood, which in the opinion of the minister resulted in a very difficult situation for Poland. He said emotionally that "the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe are the foundation of the diplomacy of free Poland. And in the name of these principles we will defend peace in Europe. Because no country in our continent knows its value as we do" (Sikorski..., 2014). During the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee before the Parliament debate Sikorski said that "[...] the crisis in the territory of the eastern neighbour is a kind of 'stress test' for all Europe, including our foreign policy [...]. This has been the most serious crisis in Europe since the end of the Cold War and Russia's actions in Ukraine violate the principle of the peaceful coexistence of nations. This is a signal to the world that in the post-Soviet area there are no longer secure borders, and it is a warning to us that our sense of security can easily erode" (*Pełny...*, 2014). At the same meeting the minister discussed the main theme of his annual speech. He admitted that every year he chose one theme to which he referred Poland's policy – in the text analysed in the article the main theme was the 10th anniversary of Poland's accession to the EU in connection with the Ukrainian crisis (in 2011 the minister focused on the Polish vision of the European Union, in 2012 he concentrated on what to do to make "us be regarded a serious country, that is, one whose foreign policy stems from its growing potential", and in 2013 on the fiscal strength of the state as one of the measures of its sovereignty and importance) (ibid., p. 3). This declaration allows a different look on the analysed speeches – at least the speeches of Mr Sikorski, because it means that the main theme of the speech was chosen intentionally in relation to specific events and problems, which, in turn, suggests an adaptive

nature of the annual Information on Polish foreign policy, but also demonstrates the minister's confidence in his position in the government.

Another interesting aspect appeared at the meeting when Sikorski said: "Mr Chairman Iwiński is asking about the vision of the European Union. I am not going to refer to this issue in this annual speech. I talked about this in previous speeches and our vision does not change from year to year" (ibid., p. 10). This shows the minister's long-term plan to systematize Poland's foreign policy and select the speech theme in relation to current political needs on the one hand, and on the other predictable principles of Poland's foreign policy as a whole. Minister Sikorski gave one of his most popular speeches during his career in diplomacy on 28 November 2011 in Berlin at the Forum of the German Association of Foreign Policy "about Poland and the future of the European Union," widely commented and well received in the world, in which he claimed that in the context of contemporary security Poland feared German power less than German inactivity (*Sikorski, Polska*, 2016).

The analysis of the content of the minister's meetings with the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament concerning the theses of the minister's annual speech – the Committee's members are customarily familiarised with the main theses the day before the debate in the Parliament – is not directly related to the subject of this publication, but it is an essential aspect that complements the main analysis.

Radosław Sikorski also referred to the message of the Constitution of 3 May saying that "the nation has the right to protect itself against attacks and guard its integrity."[4] He stressed that "only an internally stable country that rebuilds its power can count on allies" (Sikorski…, 2014). This thought should be seen as a need for (economic, military) self-sufficiency, as only a self-sufficient country could resist future problems (economic crisis, conflicts of local character), but also count on help from others. The minister's frequent references to the economic position of the state should also be understood in this way. In his opinion, the economic position of the country was not to increase funds in diplomacy, but to meet a wide range of needs related to security (military, economic, energy and food security).

As for the border security, Minister Sikorski paid a lot of attention to the idea of the Eastern Partnership (supporting networks of buffer states separating Poland from Russia) and presented it as an interesting project that despite many opinions met the expectations. He said that "not everyone in Poland supported the Partnership project. It was criticized as a 'German project'. Some imagined that the quick EU membership of the states in Central and Eastern Europe as well as the Caucasus should be an alternative. However, **the real alternative was to strengthen the European border on the Bug River**" (*Pełny…*, 2014, p. 4) [bolded by the author]. According to this concept, the Eastern Partnership was invented to attract countries from Eastern Europe and the Caucasus, but it could not be categorically assumed as an element of future EU accession of these countries – Sikorski said these words to Law and Justice politicians. In this way he also criticised the concept of former President Lech Kaczyński and his environments that supported it (*Polityka*, 2016; Światłowski, 2016; Dziubek, 2016). A year later MP Krzysztof Szczerski from Law and Justice came back to it during a debate on

---

[4] It is the beginning of chapter 11 – "National Armed Force".

G. Schetyna’s annual speech: “Over the past years the hateful Polish-Polish war with late Lech Kaczyński was more important to you then listening to his voice – the voice that was right” (*Szczerski*, 2017)**.** These words, however, referred to a much greater extent to R. Sikorski as a long-time creator of eastern policy. Interestingly, the day before his annual address, in a closed circle of the Foreign Affairs Committee Minister Sikorski noticed that in relation to the Eastern policy, there was a consensus in Poland – fidelity to the ideas and values of Jerzy Giedroyc, and politicians differed only in terms of tactics and implementation of the concept (*Pełny*, 2014).

The “limes on the Bug river” means determining for the next decades the eastern border of Poland and also the EU, leaving Belarus or Ukraine on “the other side”, not mentioning other entities. Apart from all political aspects it is difficult to imagine that a state could be involved into a real integration project without the physical territorial border with any of the member states (Georgia, Armenia?), therefore only the accession of the countries in Western Balkans seems realistic (Wroński, 2016), though it does not cause much enthusiasm. In this context, Poland was located as a bulwark, a border state of the EU, affecting the immediate surroundings in terms of attracting to the EU, though the minister stated that “[...] we can finally say that we live in an ordinary country – not on the ramparts or bulwarks, but just in an ordinary country” (Sikorski…, 2014). Talking about the limes seemed to contradict the declaration of the “ordinary country” because, after all, Poland as a border state of the EU is exactly in the same place as the “limes of Europe on the Bug River”.

Grzegorz Schetyna fully supported Sikorski when he referred to the criticism of the Partnership, intensified after the invasion of Crimea. He stressed that most of the development aid funds went to countries covered by this programme, mainly to Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova. In his opinion, Russia made a mistake when instead of accepting the offer of cooperation from the EU it adopted a confrontational attitude with shaping international relations by force. However, “East European nations have the right to choose the path of their development. Poland is ready to support them in this, both within the EU and bilateral relations” (Schetyna…, 2015). Witold Waszczykowski also declared that he would use the positive aspects of the Eastern Partnership to build a new instrument of influence on the EU’s eastern neighbours in his annual speech and at a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee (Cf. *Pełny*, 2016, p. 4; Waszczykowski…, 2016).

During the meeting of Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament in 2014 MP Iwiński accused Sikorski that he did not present any principles of migration policy in his address (*Pełny…*, 2014, p. 6). However, both in his reply and the next day in his speech before the Parliament the minister referred to the act on foreigners, the possibility of obtaining the residence right by people of Polish origin and granting the Polish Card. Attracting young people of Polish origin living in other countries and attempting to “capture” African students, who used to study at Ukrainian universities (until 2014), mainly through the organization of the reunion for the African graduates of Polish universities and the popularization of Poland in that region, were the foundation of the migration policy presented by Sikorski.

His successor Grzegorz Schetyna supported Ukraine publicly in 2015 and did not exclude a stronger support for Ukraine, including the defence sector, if there was a re-escalation of the conflict. He diagnosed two major tasks for the foreign policy of Poland:

addressing the issue of Ukraine and the so-called Islamic State, because there was a "destruction of the political order, which had provided peace and stability to Eastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa over the past decades, and thousands had been killed, tens of thousands injured, there are millions of refugees" (Schetyna…, 2015). In his previous speech he even called for "an ambitious European security strategy" (Schetyna…, 2014), which would be a reaction to the crisis in Ukraine, because it would be important for Poland to establish security in its neighbourhood.

As for Witold Waszczykowski, he linked the development of Poland's security directly with increasing the cooperation with NATO partner countries, one of which is Ukraine, and offering help in enhancing their sense of security. He even assumed offering help to Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. He presented the intensified economic cooperation between the EU and Ukraine, also owing to the introduction of visa-free traffic, as the basis for success and a chance to stop the destabilization process. He declared that in the implementation of reforms in Ukraine Poland was supported by the US, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand (Waszczykowski…, 2016). An apparent disadvantage of this group of countries was their non-European location, which reduced their political capabilities in direct interaction.

Another element that traditionally secured the interests of Poland was NATO, which was always presented as the guarantor of Poland's sovereignty. Radosław Sikorski called it "simply the best defence treaty that Poland had ever concluded in its history" (Sikorski..., 2014). Since joining the Treaty every foreign minister of Poland expected support from NATO, emphasized the importance of its existence, even if they happened to notice any irregularities and weaknesses in its functioning. In fact, apart from direct, usually "strategic" relations with the United States, NATO has been the primary formal and declarative guarantor of Polish existence, including the security of Polish borders. Therefore, the visit of Barack Obama in Warsaw (and Tallinn) in June 2014 was very important from a propaganda point of view, as well as his words: "We stand together for our freedom is yours, Poland will never stand alone, and other countries of Central Eastern Europe will not stand alone" (*Barack*, 2016).

The three foreign ministers, mentioned in this article, perceived the development of NATO, the development of defence systems and forces of rapid reaction located in Poland and in other Central European members as security guarantee for Poland and the guarantee of support. This would protect the territory of Poland from sudden attack and would involve all the allies, especially the US, into a guaranteed potential defence of the territory of Poland. The more permanent military infrastructure, equipment, and in the first place the higher possible number of troops permanently residing in Poland, the more chances to meet the guarantee.[5]

The ministers paid a lot of attention to the other aspect of the foreign policy of Poland that is migrants from the Middle East and Poland's response to this phenomenon. As Grzegorz Schetyna said at the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee "the Islamic State was the cause of great humanitarian disaster" (*Pełny…*, 2015, p. 5). Waszczy-

---

[5] This should be seen as the source of delight declared by Polish politicians after the arrival of American troops at the beginning of 2017 to bases in western Poland. Another thing is the fact that the outgoing US President Barack Obama hastened to send US troops into Poland. Probably he was afraid that his successor would block the decision.

kowski discussed the consequences of this disaster in his speech annd the roots of the crises affecting the EU. When talking about the Islamic State he said that "Poland is a member of the global coalition fighting against that criminal group. We support our allies and partners in the fight against international terrorism. In this context we remind that religious minorities, especially Christians, need to be protected. We also participate in providing humanitarian aid to the victims of the terrorist war" (Waszczykowski…, 2016). Since the beginning of the "Islamic State" Poland has been supporting Christians, Kurds and Yazidis materially and demanded that their rights should be respected, and declarations of such assistance and its real effects can be found in the speeches of all three ministers.

By defining the three crises minister Waszczykowski was able to trace their sources largely in the emergence of the refugees from the Middle East, because the crises of safety, neighbourhood and European project became more severe, and by some were first noticed in 2015 (Cf. Pochyły, 2016, pp. 137–146). Suddenly, the importance and scope of the problem were noticed, when it turned out that after the economic crisis the EU had weak links such as Greece, it was politically struggling with Brexit, it was not far from wars and their consequences, and the paralysis of decision-making and a kind of infantilism among some elites led to a political turning point, the consequences of which would be difficult to predict. The minister diagnosed the problems as stemming largely from internal factors, the weaknesses and political divisions of the member states. The future actions of Poland seemed controversial – Poland wanted to remain in the EU, but the minister wished that the European policy should shift to "rooting foreign policy in the political will of sovereign states" (Waszczykowski…, 2016), based on strengthening the economic cooperation with some political loosening, that is, in the spirit of realism – the EU as an instrument to pursue interests, the idea of "first us" and the Polish national interest. Such statements generally meet the expectations of the citizens of each country, but shouldn't governments be more circumspect than bystanders, involved in politics at random and perceiving it as slogans? Will this "loose" Union be able to face future challenges similar to the 2015 migration crisis, the growing rivalry between the greatest powers in the world, or a greater interference of Russia in Central Europe?

4. Conclusions

Did the annual speeches of three foreign minister of Poland have a common element? In the author's opinion, apart from being members of different parties the ministers are noticeably different, but the differences are not big enough to put a thesis about a significant change in foreign policy after 2015, but rather about evolutionary movements in some sections, change of accents. There is a lot of media confusion, tension is created, there are sometimes unnecessary tirades, but the principles remain the same. Poland is active in the EU, NATO, and in the Visegrad Group, it is involved in Ukraine – Poland just has to do it. Even if Law and Justice and its voters have objections against the cult of Bandera this direction in foreign policy cannot be abandoned. After a momentary confusion Germany remains Poland's most important European partner, because the economic dependence cannot be just cut. Pointing in Waszczykoski's speech to the UK as a strate-

gic partner for Poland ended in the same way as the initiatives of Kazimierz Marcinkie-
wicz's government – in a short-term marriage, although due to the tension between Rus-
sia and the UK, Poles living in Great Britain and the common interests in NATO Poland
will be interested in good relations with Great Britain despite Brexit.

Because of the crisis situation Sikorski's task was the most difficult as he had to react
directly after the tensions in Ukraine, and it is not surprising that the analysis focused so
much on its consequences. The speeches of the ministers were focused on the current se-
curity of Poland in the aspects which appeared dangerous, that is they were of interven-
tion nature, adopted to the changing international situation, though they contained some
creative elements (loans for Ukraine, an attempt to establish a new doctrine of European
security, the construction of a political bloc on the basis of the Visegrad Group consisting
of the southern states (Romania, Bulgaria) and northern states (Sweden, Finland)) and
preventive measures in the form of opening Poland's diplomatic posts in Ukraine when
Sikorski was the foreign minister. On the other hand, it is important that some policies
are permanent, continuous, and have signs of predictability, all-party consensus, which
must be seen as beneficial and desirable (e.g. the development of the economic context
of foreign policy, growing importance of non-European countries).

Our greatest interest and financial expenditures are directed to the countries of Cen-
tral and Eastern Europe and the Caucasus, and this is due to the geography of immediate
danger. The problem of refugees and migrants, which appeared in the public debate in
2014 forced the foreign ministers to respond and correct the directions and instruments
of the foreign policy. It also contributed to the change in the perception of Russia by
Warsaw – the illusions ended.

The analysis shows that in relation to the issues specified in the title of the article the
foreign ministers of Poland adopted in the analysed period a generally adaptive attitude
towards refugees and migrants, and a strategic, long-term attitude to border security
(increased importance of NATO, regional cooperation). A common feature of all the
speeches is striving to increase the role of Poland in the region as a political leader,
strengthening the position of Poland in NATO and the EU – the ministers only differed in
the choice of allies and the belief that Poland needed to support the existence of a group
of countries in Central and Eastern Europe, which would have common interests with
Poland, and some of them would directly separate Poland from Russia.

Bibliography

Ambasador Ukrainy: Milion Ukraińców w Polsce to migranci ekonomiczni, http://wpolityce.pl/
polityka/278866-ambasador-ukrainy-milion-ukraincow-w-polsce-to-migranci-ekonomiczni,
29.12.2016.

Ambasador Ukrainy: W Polsce znacząco wzrosła liczba Ukraińców, https://wirtualnapolonia.
com/2016/05/25/ambasador-ukrainy-w-polsce-znaczaco-wzrosla-liczba-ukraincow/,
29.12.2016.

Barack Obama w Warszawie: Polska nigdy nie zostanie pozostawiona sama sobie, http://wiadomosci.
onet.pl/tylko-w-onecie/barack-obama-w-warszawie-polska-nigdy-nie-zostanie-pozostawiona-
sama-sobie/9wfjd, 28.12.2016.

Dziubek M., *Polityka zagraniczna Lecha Kaczyńskiego była jednak właściwa?*, http://www.realpolitik.
pl/polityka-zagraniczna-lecha-kaczynskiego-byla-jednak-wlasciwa/, 28.12.2016.

Huntington S. (2009), *Trzecia fala demokratyzacji*, Warszawa.

Kaczyński ws. prezydenta Przemyśla: należy się zastanowić, w którą stronę skręca Ukraina, http://rzeszow.onet.pl/jaroslaw-kaczynski-o-sprawie-prezydenta-przemysla/mcks4v7, 29.01.2017.

Kryzys niszczy rządy. Skutki globalnej zapaści finansowej w Europie Wschodniej oraz liberalne recepty na wyjście z kryzysu, http://liberte.pl/kryzys-niszczy-rzady-skutki-globalnej-zapasci-finansowej-w-europie-wschodniej-oraz-liberalne-recepty-na-wyjscie-z-kryzysu/, 28.01.2017.

Mearsheimer J. J., (2014), *Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault. The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin*, "Foreign Affairs", September/October.

Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Spraw Zagranicznych (nr 10) 28 stycznia 2016 r.

Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Spraw Zagranicznych (Nr 174) z dnia 22 kwietnia 2015 r.

Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Spraw Zagranicznych (Nr 130) z dnia 7 maja 2014 r.

Pochyły P. (2016), *Problematyka bliskowschodnia w "Informacjach" ministrów spraw zagranicznych RP o zadaniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej przed i po inwazji na Irak w 2003 roku – porównawcza analiza exposé ministrów spraw zagranicznych Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej w latach 2001–2014*, in: *Polityka zagraniczna Polski. 25 lat doświadczeń*, eds. M. Pietrasiak, M. Stelmach, K. Żakowski, Łódź.

Pochyły P. (2016), *Refugees from the Middle East and the security of Poland and its place in the European Union – on the "mini" address by Minister Witold Waszczykowski of 29 January 2016*, in: *Europa wobec problemu uchodźców w XXI wieku*, eds. A. Wojtaszyk, J. Jartyś, A. Krawcewicz, Szczecin.

Polskie placówki dyplomatyczne w Afryce, http://www.goafrica.gov.pl/polskie_placowki_dyplomatyczne#, 30.12.2016.

Polityka Lecha Kaczyńskiego zawierała najlepsze europejskie wartości, http://www.prezydent.pl/aktualnosci/wydarzenia/art,90,w-polityce-lecha-kaczynskiego-zawieraly-sie-najlepsze-europejskie-wartosci.html, 28.12.2016.

R. Sikorski: Ukraina powinna pogodzić się z utratą Krymu i Donbasu, http://www.kresy.pl/wydarzenia,polityka?zobacz/r-sikorski-ukraina-powinna-pogodzic-sie-z-utrata-krymu-i-donbasu, 10.12.2016.

Rotfeld A. D. (2006), *Polska w niepewnym świecie*, Warszawa.

Schetyna G. (2014), *Informacja Rady Ministrów o zadaniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w latach 2014–2015*, 6 listopada 2014.

Schetyna G. (2015), *Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych o zadaniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2015 roku*, 23 kwietnia 2015.

Sikorski R. (2011), *Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych o założeniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2011 roku*, 16 marca 2011 r.

Sikorski R. (2012), *Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych o założeniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2012 roku*, 29 marca 2012.

Sikorski R. (2014), *Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych na temat polityki zagranicznej RP w 2014 roku*, 8 maja 2014.

Sikorski R. *Polska i przyszłość Unii Europejskiej*, https://www.msz.gov.pl/resource/c2a33d88-7b8d-4fa5-8680-a67a4b2b38af:JCR, 30.12.2016.

Szczerski po expose Schetyny: "Prowadzi pan politykę symboliczną. Powiedział pan co odnotowujemy, ale nie powiedział pan czego chcemy!, http://wpolityce.pl/polityka/241956-szczerski-po-expose-schetyny-prowadzi-pan-polityke-symboliczna-powiedzial-pan-co-odnotowujemy-ale-nie-powiedzial-pan-czego-chcemy, 4.02.2017.

Światłowski B., *Podmiotowość polityki zagranicznej Lecha Kaczyńskiego*, http://www.teologiapolityczna.pl/bartosz-wiat-owski-podmiotowo-c-polityki-zagranicznej-lecha-kaczy-skiego/, 28.12.2016.

Waszczykowski W. (2016), *Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych o zadaniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2016 r.*, 29 stycznia 2016 r.

Waszczykowski W., *What Union does Poland want?*, http://www.msz.gov.pl/en/news/what_union_ does_poland_want____minister_witold_waszczykowski_in_an_article_for_foreign_press, 4.01.2017.

Wroński P., PAP (2016), *Spotkanie dyplomatów w Warszawie. Grupa Wyszehradzka wspiera Bałkany w integracji z UE*, http://wyborcza.pl/7,75398,21049006,spotkanie-dyplomatow-w-warszawie-grupa-wyszehradzka-wspiera.html, 30.12.2016.

––––––––––––––––––––––––––––––

Kwestia uchodźców/migrantów i bezpieczeństwa granic państwowych w exposé ministrów spraw zagranicznych Polski w latach 2014–2016

Streszczenie

Od 2014 roku mieliśmy do czynienia w Europie z "gwałtownym przyspieszeniem". Rosja zajęła Krym, wybuchł konflikt na Ukrainie. W roku następnym wystąpił kryzys uchodźczy. Cel artykuł to przedstawienie stosunku ministrów spraw zagranicznych Polski w latach 2014–2016 do uchodźców/ migrantów i bezpieczeństwa granic państwowych w dorocznych exposé. Ministrowie spraw zagranicznych Polski realizowali w analizowanym okresie generalnie adaptacyjny charakter polityki w odniesieniu do kwestii uchodźców i migrantów, a strategiczny wobec zabezpieczenia granic (wzrost znaczenia NATO, współpraca regionalna).

Słowa kluczowe: exposé, uchodźcy, minister spraw zagranicznych Polski, bezpieczeństwo, polska polityka zagraniczna

Adam SZYMAŃSKI
University of Warsaw

Jakub WÓDKA
Polish Academy of Science

Manipulation of Vote Choice
– Impediment to the Electoral Integrity in Turkey?[1]

Abstract: Turkey has had a fairly long tradition of regular, competitive polls and multi-party democracy begun in 1946. However, in the last decade, with the consolidation of Justice and Development Party's (AKP, *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*) grip on power, there has been a growing concern about the integrity of elections in this state. In subsequent elections the ruling party resorted to a plethora of means inhibiting their competitiveness. Thus, the article seeks to survey the extent of election malpractices in Turkey with the focus on manipulation of vote choice as most disturbing group of electoral malpractices and, without prejudging, to address the fundamental questions about whether elections in Turkey, notwithstanding the irregularities, still meet democratic, international standards, or whether Turkey is sliding into electoral autocracy.

Key words: elections, electoral malpractice, democratisation, Turkey, Justice and Development Party

Turkey has had a fairly long tradition of competitive polls and multi-party democracy begun in 1946, with the then decision to hold "regular […] free and fair elections, a major turning point in Turkey's recent political history" (Sayarı, 2012, p. 183). Some students of modern Turkey claim that the 1950 elections were a "more important divide in Turkish political history than the more commonly recognized official demise of the Ottoman Empire and declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923…usher[ing] in a new political era" (Tachau, 2000, p. 130).

Ever since, altogether 19 parliamentary ballots have been held, as well as numerous local elections. As a result of a 2007 nation-wide referendum and an amendment introduced to the Turkish constitution, the presidential elections in August 2014 were the first direct ballot of the president of the Republic of Turkey by popular vote, hitherto elected indirectly through a parliamentary nomination.

Indeed, in the last decades, Turkey has been a country where ruling parties – the incumbents have been losing elections, ceding power to opposition political forces – a fundamental attribute of a democratic system, according to the classical definition of Adam Przeworski (Przeworski 1991, p. 10). Suffice to say that in the post-war era, alternation in power and government turnover has taken place through elections, with no single party in Turkey staying in power (either in a single party government or in a coalition cabi-

---

net) for more than 10 years. Naturally, Turkey's democratic trajectory has been upset by military interventions, direct or indirect, yet, in times of civilian rule, there was a genuine competition between political parties, with the elections as the only means of acceding to political power and their fairness never seriously questioned (Erisen, Kubicek, 2016).[2]

Notwithstanding the fact that Turkey has been holding elections which genuinely reflect the popular will, in the last decade, with the consolidation of AKP's grip on power there has been a growing concern about the integrity of the electoral process whose deficits supplement the long list of the current Turkish problems in the democratization process. It is not that the AKP does not enjoy public support; it does, and probably – as the public opinion shows – even without the election swindles, it would garner the largest number of votes. Yet, tinkering with ballots, we believe, contributed substantially to AKP hitting the jackpot in subsequent elections, which leads to an ever increasing domination of the AKP in the Turkish political system.

The existing scholarship on Turkish elections (for example by Ali Çarkoğlu; Kerem Yıldırım; Sabrı Sayarı) (Çarkoğlu, Yıldırım, 2015, pp. 57–79; Sayarı, 2016, pp. 263–280) concentrates rather on the traditional description of the elections, their results and political ramifications, implications for the inter-party rivalry and cultural or sociological aspects.[3] Thus, the article seeks to fill this gap and survey the election malpractices in Turkey and, without prejudging, to address a fundamental question about whether elections in Turkey, notwithstanding the irregularities, still meet democratic, international standards, or whether Turkey is sliding into electoral autocracy. The goal is to investigate the phenomenon of "electoral malpractice" understood as the violation of electoral integrity, which means the violation of internationally accepted standards of elections throughout the whole electoral cycle. There is a difference between the notion of "malpractice" and "mispractice" – the flaws in elections that are not deliberate, but resulting from an unintentional error or other impediments. Flaws in one of the phases of the electoral cycle mean that the elections have been flawed. It is particularly important in the case of Turkey because the observation of elections in this state leads to the conclusion that most problematic in the context of electoral integrity are not manipulations of the voting act but malpractices concerning voter's choice. The article is aimed at confirming this observation through a thorough analysis of different types of manipulation of vote choice in Turkey. It will help us to answer the question about their impact on the electoral integrity in this state.

We vet primarily the March 2014 local elections and August 2014 presidential elections, as well as the June and November 2015 general parliamentary elections, as our aim is to catalogue AKP's electoral stratagems as comprehensively as possible. For the sake of objectivity, we put our analysis in a broader historical context, as Turkey has a legacy of undemocratic electoral institutions, with the 10 percent election threshold as only one example of the designs, inherited by AKP (and unsurprisingly unaltered by the ruling party), which have distorted the broadly understood fairness of political competition.

---

[2] For a more cautious and skeptical assessment of the fairness of the elections in Turkey in the last 50 years, see: Sayarı, 2002; Sütçü, 2011, pp. 341–356.

[3] There are only a few exceptions of articles concerning electoral integrity as the main research topic, e.g. Aygül, 2015, pp. 181–201. Most of them have not been even published yet. See e.g. Akkoyunlu, 2017, forthcoming.

To begin with, we offer a snapshot on our understanding of electoral malpractices, underpinning the analysis. Next, the empirical part follows, with a detailed scrutiny on the manipulations of vote choice. Finally, in the closing section, we synthesize the findings and draw generalisable conclusions.

Theoretical Framework of Electoral Malpractice

At the beginning of the 21st century we can observe an increasing number of states in which elections are held but which do not meet standards of liberal democracy. This has led to the proliferation of theoretical studies, published e.g. by Andreas Schedler as well as Sarah Birch, Pippa Norris and Alberto Simpser (Birch, 2011; Schedler, 2002; 2006; 2013; Norris, 2014; 2015; Simpser, 2013), who focus on the issue of the electoral integrity vs. electoral malpractice, including their conceptualization, indicators and typologies. What is particularly interesting from the point of view of science political is the case of the extensive use of different types of measures (legal, procedural and administrative instruments, financial resources, communication tools, first of all media and other measures influencing the voters) by the most influential political forces, usually the incumbent to distort the level playing field between the parties and to enable the forces holding power to keep it for the next legislative period. In electoral autocracies or other regimes of this kind, electoral laws, as well as the procedures favour the ruling party, giving it a leverage over rivalling parties; there are limitations on voter and party registration; the dominant party is also favoured as far as the electoral campaign and the financial resources are concerned; there are irregularities in the voting process, including the counting of votes; and the electoral officials lack impartiality and independence. The use of these measures in turn leads to the domination of certain political forces within the party and political system in a long-term perspective.

Researchers of electoral studies have come up with different taxonomies and categorizations of electoral malpractices, which merit a brief review. Norris, in her broad-ranged Electoral Integrity Project, on the basis of expert surveys, gauges the legitimacy of elections across 11 categories reflecting all stages of the electoral cycle: pre-election, campaign, polling day, and its aftermath.[4] Schedler, on his part, presents the "chain of democratic choice", comprising seven "links" which, for the elections to be "democratic", have to remain unbroken – "no links to be added, none to be taken away" (Schedler, 2002, pp. 36–50).[5] These conditions lead Schedler to define the "menu of manipulation" – various forms of norm violation, such as reserved positions and reserved domains – limiting the scope and jurisdiction of elected offices; exclusion of opposition forces;

---

[4] These 11 categories are: election laws; electoral procedures; boundaries; voter registration; party and candidate registration; campaign media; campaign finance; voting process; voting count; results and electoral management bodies.

[5] These are: empowerment – the elected must wield real power; free supply – the voters have to have a real choice – a pool of candidates to chose from; free demand – voters must shape their preferences freely; inclusion – the franchise must be universal; insulation – voters must be able to cast ballots freely without being coerced or intimidated; integrity – casted votes must be counted honestly and weighed equally; irreversibility – those winning the franchise must be able to access office and exercise effective decision-making power till the end of the term.

repression and unfairness with regard to access to media and financial resources; formal and informal disenfranchisement; coercing and corrupting the voters; electoral fraud and institutional bias; tutelage and reversal – preventing the winners from assuming power. Finally, Alberto Simpser enumerates the following incidences of electoral manipulation: stuffing ballot boxes; falsifying results; tampering with voter registration lists; vote buying before and during the election; creating obstacles to voter and candidate registration; intimidating voters before and during elections; intimidating candidates; voting multiple times; voting by those who are ineligible (Simpser, 2013, pp. 35–36).

Our paper, drawing on the vast scholarship on the electoral integrity gauges the electoral malpractices in Turkey according to Birch's threefold categorization (Birch, 2011, pp. 29–38). Birch singles out three areas of electoral manipulation:

a) manipulation of the law: it is about the manipulation of electoral legislation, such as gerrymandering and malapportionment; additionally, this category could cover the manipulation of the criteria that determine the active and passive right to vote, campaigning as well as standards concerning opinion polls;

b) manipulation of vote choice: this category pertains to the violation of the right of the voters to access to adequate information about the policy proposals. Most manipulations of vote choice take place during the electoral campaigns (unbalanced media coverage of electoral campaign favoring the ruling party/candidate), mishandling of resources (breaching of the regulations governing the use of campaign resources), vote buying and voter intimidation;

c) manipulation of the voting act: this dimension deals with the violation of the principle that all votes must have equal weight. The dimension of "effective aggregation" includes the counting and tabulation of votes and their appropriate conversion into seats. This component may include the obstruction of ballot access by potential candidates; the manipulation of voter registration and/or the electoral register; the manipulation of voting and of the process of counting and tabulation of votes.

In our analysis we would like to focus on the second group of the electoral malpractices as, in our opinion, they have been the most extensive ones in recent years and at the same time most disturbing in the context of the electoral integrity.

Electoral Malpractice in Turkey in Reports and Surveys

Although there is no consensus among those studying Turkish politics as to the assessment of electoral integrity in Turkey, most of them share the opinion that their fairness in the AKP era leaves much to be desired (Kalaycıoğlu, 2015, p. 162; Çarkoğlu, Yıldırım, 2015, p. 62). Such mistrust of the fairness of the Turkish elections is confirmed in more comprehensive studies, such as those run under the Electoral Integrity Project,[6] which takes elite opinions as a point of reference. The presidential elections in Turkey in August 2014 were ranked 86th out of 127 states, with both parliamentary elections in 2015 assessed even more critically – Turkey was ranked 101st among 135 states (Norris, Martinez, Nai, Grömping, 2015, pp. 10 and 17; 2016, pp. 22 and 51–53). When it comes

---

[6] For methodology and empirical findings, see: https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/.

to the elements of the electoral process, the lowest scores were given to media coverage and campaign financing – the issues included in the second category of malpractices presented by Birch (manipulation of vote choice). The third most important problem is the content of electoral laws. The OSCE reports on subsequent elections in Turkey (also parliamentary election in 2007 and 2011) correspond to these findings. Although they recognize some positive legal changes concerning different phases of the electoral process (e.g. lowering voting age, giving voting rights to Turkish citizens living abroad, the possibility of use of other languages than Turkish in the election campaign, etc.), the broad-ranging electoral legislation still contains regulations which undermine electoral integrity. On the one hand, this pertains to some provisions which are not in accordance with electoral integrity rules. On the other hand, the lack of certain regulations (e.g. with reference to use of media in campaign, financial matters, including reporting on campaign expenditures or appealing procedure in the case of the decisions of the Supreme Board of Elections) and ambiguous provisions (e.g. the regulations on competences of election authorities) should be mentioned. All of these laws lead to a different type of electoral malpractice. The OSCE reports also point out to substantial problems with regard to the use of media and financial resources in electoral campaigns. However, what is even more important, they show that together with the growing authoritarian tendencies in the AKP era, Turkey has seen a significant increase in the electoral malpractices, limiting more and more fair competition between parties and favoring the incumbent (*Republic of Turkey, Presidential Election*, 2014; *Early Parliamentary Elections*, 2016).

Manipulation of Vote Choice in Turkey

The second category of electoral malpractices singled out by Birch, i.e. the manipulations of the voter (vote choice), show very well the problems with the fairness and competitiveness of elections in Turkey. Birch divides these malpractices into two groups: "manipulation of genuine preferences" and "undue influence". AKP, very often abusing incumbency advantage, takes various measures to keep its support intact or even to increase it – to the detriment of other parties whose resources are limited. It should come as no surprise then that, as mentioned before, some malpractices within this category are classified as the most disturbing for electoral integrity in Turkey.

Manipulation of Genuine Preferences

Without any doubt **media bias** belongs to the "manipulation of genuine preferences". The OSCE reports concerning subsequent elections in Turkey show that different media outlets were not impartial during the election period, which was also due to the ambiguity of the term "impartiality" as it stands in the election laws. Apart from some media that tried to be more or less objective (e.g. newspaper *Hürriyet*), there were such media as public TV channel TRT1, private channel ATV or newspaper Sabah, which clearly favored AKP, the government and President – both when it comes to airtime/length of the text devoted, and the tone (positive or neutral), while being very critical of the opposi-

tion parties (*Republic of Turkey. Parliamentary Elections 7 June 2015*, 2015, pp. 15–18; *Limited Election Observation Mission*, 2015).

This reflects the de-democratisation process in Turkey which also includes the freedom of media, which implies that the ever increasing number of media outlets is under the government and AKP's *de facto* control. One would struggle today to find independent TV channels, newspapers or even individual users of social media which dare criticise the government. The ban on websites or publications, the seizure and closure of media, censorship or self-censorship, increasing number of lawsuits against journalists and other persons for defamation, insulting the President as well as legal cases against journalists based on the Criminal Code and Anti-terror law are only a few examples of restrictions on the freedom of expression and media – with a rising tendency after 2011 (Yılmaz, 2016, pp. 147–161).

This creates a substantial problem for the fair competition regarding the use of media in the election period. The incumbents are favoured in an increasing number of TV channels and newspapers during this time (the tendency has been growing since 2011 elections). Other parties and candidates very often have limited access to the media (with the worst situation of independent candidates who e.g. have not been granted any free TV airtime) (Kalaycıoğlu, 2015, pp. 161–162; Çarkoğlu, Yıldırım, 2015, p. 77). When it comes to the presidential elections in 2014, it appeared that there was no regulation clarifying whether the broadcasting time should be provided to the individual persons or political parties. This, in turn, gave rise to irregularities connected with the use of the office by the president and Erdoğan's impact on the media. It resulted in a triple presence in the TV news of the AKP leader in comparison with the main opposition candidate – Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu. Erdoğan had over 47,000 broadcasting time units, İhsanoğlu – 16,000 units (*Erdoğan*, 2014). When the election campaign in June 2015 is taken into consideration, there is an impression that there was actually only one party running – the incumbent AKP. It was so because Erdoğan's party dominated the private advertising in many channels – with such extreme cases as ATV (100 per cent of political adverts) and TRT1 (91 per cent of political adverts). It was possible due to the gaps and ambiguity of the election law (blurred regulations on the proper implementation of the definition of equal or equitable coverage, limited media reporting and sanction mechanisms) and the privileged financial position of the governing party (*Republic of Turkey. Parliamentary Elections 7 June 2015*, 2015, pp. 15–18). The most critical situation was during the November 2015 election period due to the particular election environment (fight against PKK, terrorist attacks) when also the anti-terror law and Criminal code were used against the media. The pro-Kurdish media were raided by the police and many Kurdish journalists were arrested. It substantially limited the use of media in the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP, *Halkların Demokratik Partisi*) campaign. All this makes the Electoral Integrity Project assess the fairness of media coverage in Turkey lowest among all indicators (Norris, Martinez, Nai, Grömping, 2015, p. 10).

The second and third type of electoral malpractice within the manipulations of genuine preferences of voters concern the financial issues. It pertains to **the misuse of state resources** during the campaign and **violation of campaign finance regulations**, which can be traced during the election periods in Turkey. It is clearly indicated by different reports, including the Electoral Integrity Project surveys in which the campaign financ-

ing is the second worst indicator (Norris, Martinez, Nai, Grömping, 2015, p. 10). For instance, Erdoğan as the Prime Minister and the presidential candidate in 2014, used his public appearances, some of them state-financed, for election purposes. To give a few examples – the opening ceremony of Istanbul's third airport in June or the launch of a high-speed train line in late July. He used his prime ministerial jet to address supporters, actually beginning his campaign before the formal date of the beginning of the election campaign. It was not in accordance with articles 64–66 of the Law on Basic Provisions on Elections and Voter Registers (*Republic of Turkey, Presidential Election*, 2014, p. 13). He managed to take advantage over other candidates beforehand, as they had to wait to raise the funds and make expenditures until 11 July 2014 – the date of the official announcement of the list of candidates. As Kalayçioğlu claims, "it appeared the AKP candidate was able to use the resources of his governmental office while the other candidates were not. This seems to have undermined the fairness of the election and its democratic credentials" (Kalayçioğlu, 2015, pp. 161–162).

Similar phenomena could be observed during the 2015 parliamentary elections. During the election campaigns Erdoğan as the President took part in different gatherings. Officially, they were labelled as national rallies with Turkish flags, which the president held to meet citizens and thank them for voting for him at the presidential elections, in reality though they were part of AKP's election campaign (Bardakçi, 2016, p. 7).

The AKP used its privileged position as the governing party as well. The ceremonies of opening of infrastructural projects, which helped to show the government's effectiveness, were organized before the beginning of official election campaigns both in 2011 and 2015 (Aslan-Akman, 2012, p. 89). The AKP "made the most out of its access to state resources in its election campaign: the governing party used public employees to inform and mobilise the voters, its officials travelled in planes and cars belonging to the state, and its campaign activities benefited from free access to the resources of municipal and local governments" (Sayarı, 2016, p. 271). When it comes to public employees, they were more eager to help the party in elections, e.g. when they had their permanent status extended (in cases of work on a contract basis) or when they were paid from the public resources for gasoline in the case of travelling on their own to election rallies (Aslan-Akman, 2012, p. 89).

When it comes to the violation of campaign financing regulations, it usually pertains to overspending and/or failing to declare expenditure or contributions. Again, the August 2014 presidential election provides a very good example. The financial regulations in the relevant election law stipulate that financing candidates by parties or through loans is not possible and that the individual support with the use of special bank accounts is allowed. However, the lack of well-defined limits ("up to the highest monthly salary of the best-paid civil servant" could not serve as a clear indication) could in practice lead to large disparities between candidates, depending on their "fund-raising" potential. It was noticeable during the 2014 election campaign, in which Erdoğan, being the Prime Minister, received much more financial support than other candidates, with the support from companies being part of the patronage system (which we will tackle in more detail below) and the aforementioned public resources. When it comes to the individuals' support, he received about 24 million Turkish liras while İhsanoğlu – 2.1 million Turkish liras (*Turkish Elections. Presidential Elections*, 2014).

The violation of campaign finance regulations is possible also in the case of parliamentary elections due to lack of some important limitations and sufficient reporting on expenditures. The OSCE report from November 2015 elections indicates that: "There are no limitations on general party and campaign-related expenditure. Political parties are required to declare their campaign funds solely through annual party financial reports submitted to the Constitutional Court. Independent candidates declare their campaign funds through personal tax declarations. […] Incomes and expenditure of parties and independent candidates during the campaign were not publicly available" (*Early Parliamentary Elections*, 2016, p. 13). During the same elections some parties which were under particular attack from the governing party did not receive on time the state funds they were supposed to receive according to the relevant regulations. Only after the elections did the HDP get the funds. As the authors of the OSCE report rightly state, "it limited their campaign abilities and placed them at a disadvantage compared to parties entitled to state support" (*Early Parliamentary Elections*, 2016, p. 13).

The advantageous financial position of the AKP having large state and private financial resources (the latter thanks to the developed patronage system in Turkey) is visible at the election rallies, which can gather thousands of people transported with the use of the party resources. They take part in the mass events during which they can get free party gadgets, toys for children, or food and drinks, which may seem negligible, but indeed attracts voters. The same refers to the election campaign in the streets of towns. AKP is the most visible party thanks to numerous flags as well as big posters and banners placed almost everywhere, also on special election vehicles – buses or vans. Other parties, though also present in the streets, are far less visible. The voters can have a similar impression as in the case of the media coverage dominated by the AKP – there is actually only one main party to vote for. The same observation can be attributed to the August 2014 presidential elections. The OSCE observed in its report that campaigns of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and Selahattin Demirtaş "have been active, but with limited visibility" (*Early Parliamentary Elections*, 2016, p.6).

The next feature of election campaigns in many countries is **the "black arts" of manipulative campaign tactics**. It is not a key issue in Turkey in comparison to previous aspects but it can also shape the preferences of voters. As it goes beyond the scope of this paper, we would like to give just a few examples. In the case of the August 2014 presidential elections the smear campaign took place against the journalists opposing the government (*Republic of Turkey, Presidential Election*, 2014, p. 13). When we take a look at the November 2015 elections, there were cases of untrue media coverage regarding some parties. For instance, the Rights and Liberties Party was reported to have withdrawn from elections while it was still taking part in them. When it filed a complaint to the Supreme Board of Elections, the Board did not take any decision. It was an example of the lack of effective handling of election complaints. This dilemma and the problems indicated by a number of organizations monitoring elections in Turkey related to the quick rejection of complaints by the Board without sufficient examination or their too long considerations led to a disadvantageous position of candidates or parties lodging complaints (*Early Parliamentary Elections*, 2016, p. 6). It did not have any impact on the results but it looked different when the manipulation of electoral preferences

took place as the result of spreading information concerning the main opposition parties as it was the case of pro-government media outlets, which, during the November 2015 elections, presented the opposition parties, namely the Republican People's Party (CHP, *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*), Nationalist Action Party (MHP, *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*) and HDP as factions responsible for the rise in instability in the country (Çarkoğlu, Yıldırım, 2015, p. 75).

However, the cases of **intimidation of candidates or obstruction of their campaign activities** are more disturbing in terms of fairness of elections. We can identify the most striking example thereof during the November 2015 elections, with measures taken against HDP, which became the main adversary of the governing party following the June 2015 elections. The AKP aim was to bring the support of the HDP below the 10 per cent threshold, which would give the former a sufficient majority to govern on its own again. It must be underlined that political parties held only limited campaigns at the time of conflict with PKK and terrorist attacks, concentrating their efforts on strategic provinces where they had lost or won seats in the previous elections with slight vote margins, and in large cities that host a significant proportion of the electorate. However, the HDP campaign activities were even more limited by different actions against its candidates and members (it is also the case of the 2017 constitutional referendum campaign). The intensification of negative media coverage was very clear in the pro-government media reporting on HDP, in comparison to the June 2015 elections (*Early Parliamentary Elections*, 2016, pp. 2–5 and 8). It can be pointed out that from 187 attacks against political parties during the election period, 168 were directed against HDP politicians. More than 5,000 members of the party were taken into custody. This substantially limited HDP's campaigning potential and also had a negative impact on electoral choices in the situation of charges of a terrorist organisation membership against more than 1,000 HDP activists (Çarkoğlu, Yıldırım, 2015, p. 62; Bardakçı, 2016, p. 14). In many provinces, the attacks against the activists of HDP supporting its candidate Demirtaş for President were observed also during the August 2014 elections (*Republic of Turkey, Presidential Election*, 2014, p. 14).

Undue influence

The second group within the category of "manipulation of vote choice" is undue influence which has two forms of so the called "carrots" and "sticks." In the first case it pertains to **vote buying,** having different forms in the Turkish case. On the one hand, there are many examples of distribution of goods to citizens, who are becoming party supporters thanks to the goods received. This has created an advantage for the AKP, which has large financial resources at its disposal. Apart from the above mentioned goods handed out at the election rallies, during the whole election period the AKP governments have distributed consumer durables, coal and food to the poor, vouchers as well as substantial agricultural subsidies (Akarca, 2015, p. 88).

On the other hand, there are many examples of particular forms of vote buying on a larger scale, resulting from the well-developed patronage system in Turkey. As Ali T. Akarca writes:

"the incumbency advantage involves the ability to indulge in transfer activities such as providing services, subsidies and patronage, and picking locations for government investment and public work projects to attract supporters of other parties. There is a lot of anecdotal evidence of all Turkish incumbent parties, especially those in coalition governments, engaging in such activities. Financial support, interest-free loans and tax advantages promised to women and young entrepreneurs, and reductions in the social security and health insurance premiums promised to small business owners and their elimination for new university graduates, increases in the scholarships given to university students by the AK Party before the November 2015 election are some examples of these" (Akarca, 2015, p. 88).

The patronage system is then not the AKP specificity. Yet, Erdoğan's party has been able to use the particular kind of patronage relationship to its electoral advantage perfectly. A very good example, reflecting both the patronage and clientelism mechanism, is the work of the Turkey's Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ), with the mechanism of distributing different material means (contracts, jobs and subsidised housing) for consolidating and expanding the electoral strength of the AKP. Construction companies have been receiving contracts from the government and in return have been more eager to support and finance the governing party activities and election campaigns. All this leads also to boosting the local economy. Thanks to these mechanisms the incumbents have regular supporters during the elections (Marschall, Aydoğan, Bulut, 2016, pp. 201–212). Surely, in Turkey the patronage mechanisms are much more developed than the ones that we touched upon, and guarantee the electoral support of broader groups of conservative economic elites as well as religious brotherhoods and movements which, for example, receive land for their dorms and schools. Their support will not cease as thanks to the AKP staying in power they can survive and develop their activities (Taş, 2015, pp. 785–786).

The "sticks" in turn concern **voter coercion and intimidation**. Already in the case of the 2009 local elections many examples of this kind of electoral malpractice could be observed. Apart from attacking and fining the liberal media (Doğan Group) for not reporting correctly, similar measures were taken against individuals. Citizens ready to express their dissatisfaction with the economic policy of the government were not allowed to do it, with police clamping down on protesters at the election rallies. Apart from using physical violence or arresting people, the AKP politicians threatened citizens that in case they did not vote in local elections for the AKP candidates, the municipalities would be deprived of public services (Eligür, 2009, p. 478). The atmosphere of fear was prevalent among civil servants or public sector employees, threatened they would lose their job should AKP lose the franchise. When it comes to the presidential campaign in 2014, Erdoğan and other AKP politicians threatened the conservative electorate that they would be discriminated by the secular elites (Kalaycıoğlu, 2015, p. 169).

Conclusion

Turkey under the AKP has witnessed many legal deficits and "mispractices" concerning different stages of the electoral process. However, different types of malpractices can be identified as well. A lot of them refer to the manipulation of vote choice (the second

category of the electoral malpractice according to Birch's categorization) with particular negative role of the use of media coverage and campaign resources. These most important electoral malpractices are usually connected with activities of the single-party governments of the AKP, which uses the incumbency advantage (through the use of different resources being mainly at the disposal of the governing party) in order to preserve the support of the electorate or even increase it and at the same time restrict the area of party competition and electoral chances of the opposition. These manipulations go much beyond the time of the official election campaign and even the whole election period. They also include long-term measures taken during the whole legislative period, such as the strengthening of clientelistic and patronage networks, embracing a growing number of social groups being to a large extent dependent on incumbents and, therefore, forced to vote for the AKP. This would is the case with coalition governments, with the coalition partners, political contenders after all, check and mitigate one another.

The manipulations of vote choice calls the electoral integrity in Turkey into question. However, the long- and short-term electoral malpractices also contribute substantially to the process of shifting of pre-dominant party system to the dominant one. It is the next phase of the long-term process of strengthening majoritarianism after the 1980 military coup in Turkey – through such measures as introduction of the 10 percent electoral threshold in general elections and regulations of Law on Political Parties (Aslan-Akman, 2012, p. 81). The AKP era brought about the development of the aforementioned malpractices connected with incumbency advantage, leading to increasing domination of the governing party in the party system (together with gradual marginalization of the opposition) and political system as a whole. This poses a challenge for unconsolidated democracies, particularly when the malpractices are also about the use of clientelistic networks and are accompanied by populist policy (Aslan-Akman, 2012, pp. 80–81).

This negative impact in Turkey is twofold – direct and indirect. The electoral manipulations are themselves manifestations of authoritarian tendencies developing in Turkey particularly in the second decade of the 21st century (Esen, Gümüşçü, 2016). However, even more dysfunctional is the indirect effect of malpractices on the political regime. An ever increasing domination of the AKP in the Turkish party and political system consolidated as a result of subsequent elections as well as more and more restrictive political "level playing field' have an adverse effect on the political regime due to specter of "tyranny of majority." According to such authors as Leah Gilbert and Payam Mohseni, when the competitiveness is minimised, the regime cannot be called hybrid any more and is becoming authoritarian (Gilbert, Mohseni, 2011, pp. 281–293). On behalf of the majority the measures are taken by the AKP to strengthen the authoritarian tendencies. The 2017 referendum campaign on the constitutional changes introducing the so called presidential system became a new arena of different malpractices (again with particular negative role of the manipulation of vote choice) connected with incumbency advantage, which can be decisive as far as the change of the regime is concerned.

Bibliography

Akarca A. T. (2015), *Putting Turkey's June and November 2015 Election Outcomes in Perspective*, "Insight Turkey", vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 81–104.

Akkoyunlu K. (2017), *Electoral Integrity in Turkey: From Tutelary Democracy to Competitive Authoritarianism*, in: *Authoritarian Politics in Turkey: Elections, Resistance, and the AKP*, eds. B. Başer, A. E. Öztürk, I. B. Tauris, London (forthcoming).

Aslan-Akman C. (2012), *The 2011 Parliamentary Elections in Turkey and Challenges Ahead for Democratic Reform Under a Dominant Party System*, "Mediterranean Politics", vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 77–95.

Aygül C. (2015), *Electoral manipulation in March 30, 2014 Turkish local elections*, "Turkish Studies", vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 181–201.

Bardakçı M. (2016), *2015 parliamentary elections in Turkey: demise and revival of AKP's single-party rule*, "Turkish Studies", vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 4–18.

Birch S. (2011), *Electoral malpractice*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Çarkoğlu A., Yıldırım K. (2015), *Election Storm in Turkey: What do the Results of June and November 2015 Elections Tell Us*, "Insight Turkey", vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 57–79.

Early Parliamentary Elections, 1 November 2015, OSCE/ODIHR Limited Election Observation Mission. Final Report (2016), Warsaw 28 January, http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/turkey/186031, 10.01.2017.

Eligür B. (2009), *Turkey's March 2009 Local Elections*, "Turkish Studies", vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 469–496.

Erdoğan medya ile beyin yıkıyor (2014), "Zaman" of 19 August, http://www.zaman.com.tr/gundem_erdogan-medya-ile-beyin-yikiyor_2238375.html, 12.01.2017.

Erisen C., Kubicek P. (eds.) (2016), *Democratic consolidation in Turkey: Micro and macro challenges*, Routledge, London–New York.

Esen B., Gümüşçü S. (2016), *Rising Competitive Authoritarianism in Turkey*, "Third World Quarterly", vol. 37, no. 9, pp. 1581–1606.

Gilbert L., Mohseni P. (2011), *Beyond Authoritarianism. The Conceptualization of Hybrid Regimes*, "Studies in Comparative International Development", vol. 46, pp. 270–297.

Kalaycıoğlu E. (2015), *Turkish Popular Presidential Elections: Deepening Legitimacy Issues and Looming Regime Change*, "South European Society and Politics", vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 157–199.

Marschall M., Aydoğan A., Bulut A. (2016), *Does housing create votes? Explaining the electoral success of the AKP in Turkey*, "Electoral Studies", vol. 42, pp. 201–212.

Norris P., Martínez and Coma F., Nai A., Grömping M. (2015), *The World's Flawed and Failed Contests. The Year in Elections, 2014*, The Electoral Integrity Project, February, https://research.hks.harvard.edu/publications, 15.01.2017.

Norris P., Martínez and Coma F., Nai A., Grömping M. (2016), *The Year in Elections, 2015: The expert survey on perceptions of electoral integrity*, The Electoral Integrity Project, February, https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/27030113, 15.01.2017.

Norris P. (2015), *Why elections fail*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Norris P. (2014), *Why electoral integrity matters*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

OSCE/ODIHR Limited Election Observation Mission to Turkey, Parliamentary Elections 2015, Media Monitoring Results (2015), http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/turkey/177926?download=true, 10.01.2017.

Przeworski A. (1991), *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Republic of Turkey. Parliamentary election 7 June 2015, OSCE/ODIHR Limited Election Observation Mission Final Report (2015), Warsaw, 18 August, http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/turkey/177926?download=true, 10.01.2017.

Republic of Turkey, Presidential Election, 10 August 2014, OSCE/ODIHR Limited Election Observation Mission, Final Report (2014), Warsaw 18 November, http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/turkey/119672, 10.01.2017.

Sayarı S. (2016), *Back to a predominant party system: the November 2015 snap election in Turkey*, "South European Society and Politics", vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 263–280.

Sayarı S. (2012), *Political Parties*, in: *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey*, eds. M. Heper, S. Sayarı, Routledge, London–New York, pp. 182–193.

Sayarı S. (ed.) (2002), *Politics, parties and elections in Turkey*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder–London.

Schedler A. (2006), *Electoral authoritarianism: the dynamics of unfree competition*, Lynne Rienner Publisher, Boulder–London.

Schedler A. (2002), *The Menu of manipulation*, "Journal of Democracy", vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 36–50.

Schedler A. (2013), *The politics of uncertainty*: *sustaining and subverting electoral authoritarianism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Simpser A. (2013), *Why governments and parties manipulate elections: Theory, practice, and complications*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Sütçü G. (2011), *Playing the game of democracy through the electoral mechanism: The Democratic Party experience in Turkey*, "Turkish Studies", vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 341–356.

Tachau F. (2000), *Turkish political parties and elections: Half a century of multiparty democracy*, "Turkish Studies", vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 128–148.

Taş H. (2015), *Turkey – from tutelary to delegative democracy,* "Third World Quarterly", vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 776–791.

Turkish Elections. Presidential Elections (2014), Rethink Institute, Washington DC, August, http://www.rethinkinstitute.org/turkish-elections, 12.01.2017.

Yılmaz G. (2016), *Europeanization or De-Europeanization? Media Freedom in Turkey (1999–2015)*, "South European Society and Politics", vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 147–161.

**Manipulowanie preferencjami wyborczymi
– czynnik ograniczający uczciwość wyborów w Turcji?**

Streszczenie

Od 1946 r., Turcja jest demokracją wielopartyjną – w państwie tym regularnie odbywają się wolne, konkurencyjne wybory. Jednak w ostatnim dziesięcioleciu, wraz z konsolidacją władzy przez Partię Sprawiedliwości i Rozwoju, pojawia się coraz więcej wątpliwości co do uczciwości wyborów. Partia rządząca zaczęła uciekać się do szeregu środków, ograniczających ich konkurencyjność. Celem artykułu jest ukazanie skali nadużyć wyborczych w Turcji, z naciskiem na jeden z trzech głównych obszarów manipulacji wyborczych, to jest manipulowanie "preferencjami wyborców" (*vote choice*), który wydaje się być najbardziej problematyczny. Ambicją autorów jest udzielenie odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy wybory w Turcji, mimo obserwowanych nieprawidłowości, nadal spełniają międzynarodowe standardy, czy też Turcja staje się 'wyborczą autokracją'?

Słowa kluczowe: wybory, nieprawidłowość wyborcza, demokratyzacja, Turcja, Partia Sprawiedliwości i Rozwoju

Joanna MARSZAŁEK-KAWA, Ahmet BURAK
Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń

The Landscape after Brexit as Seen from Ankara.
Will the UK's Divorce from the European Union Additionally Loosen Tights Between Europe and Turkey and Have an Impact on the Future of the Continent?

Abstract: On 29 March 2017, President of the European Council Donald Tusk received a note from UK Ambassador Tim Barrow. Under the document, the procedure of UK's leaving of the European Union was initiated.[1] Gideon Rachman from "Financial Times" compared Brexit to a divorce, stating that the representative of the British government "granted the divorce papers", thus beginning a "long (planned for two years) attempt to redefine mutual relations" (*Rozpoczyna się Brexit*…, 2017). In his announcement for the press, Donald Tusk commented: "There is no reason to pretend that this is a lucky day, both in Brussels and in London […] Most Europeans, including almost a half of British voters, would prefer us to be still together" (*Wielka Brytania rozpoczyna*…, 2017). The stance of the European Council clearly mirrors the moods caused by the decision on Brexit, which are prevailing among all EU member states. It should be noted, however, that leaving the EU by the Brits not only has an impact on their political situation, but it also determines the actions of states aspiring to become members of the Community. The aim of this paper is to discuss the reasons for Brexit and to present the position of the Turkish government on this issue on the basis of the analysis of press articles and politicians' speeches. The hypothesis we posed assumes that Brexit meant Turkey losing its most important advocate in the Union. Thus, the future of accession negotiations between Turkey and the European Union has been called into question. One should also wonder to what degree Turkey's foreign policy priorities, which have already been redefined under the influence of the war in Syria, the battle with ISIS, the immigration crisis and the futile accession process so far, will be affected by the United Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union. Will Turkey choose to follow the so-called Trexit route, giving up its membership in the EU?

Key words: Brexit, United Kingdom, Turkey, European Union

The issue addressed in the paper is important inasmuch as Brexit significantly reduces the military strength of the Union. There are opinions that the British absence will entail the necessity of finding an alternative – replacement. Some European politicians, including Polish MEP Bolesław Piecha from the Law and Justice party, remind that the European Union signed an agreement with Turkey concerning the immigration crisis caused by the civil war in Syria (*Brexit szansą*…, 2016). The content of this accord,

---

[1]   The United Kingdom European Union membership referendum was held on 25 June 2015. The registered turnout was 72.2% (46,500,001 of people eligible to vote), and the majority of those voting, i.e. 17,410,742 (51.9%) expressed their approval of the idea of leaving the EU (with 16,141,241, i.e. 48.1% of those voting against) (see: The Electoral Commission…, 2017). The supporters of Brexit were particularly convinced by the argument that British people are a "free and sovereign nation. We don't join our partners, because we constructively seek ways of developing and balancing our business through trade and cooperation with other sovereign states"(Białek, 2017).

which was supposed to limit the inflow of refugees from war-stricken areas to Europe, provides the foundations for the law which would allow sending back to Turkey each immigrant who illegally entered the territory of Greece. As compensation, Turkey will receive financial aid, the opportunity to implement solutions which would ensure that its citizens can freely travel in Europe without visas. Turkey was also promised that accession talks would be accelerated (see European Council of…, 2016).

As it was indicated earlier, Brexit made EU politicians remember how strategically important state for Europe Turkey is, especially in the face of current threats to security. Thus, one should agree with the hypothesis of Daniel Kawczyński, member of the British House of Commons from Shrewsbury and Atcham district. He pointed out that Greece should be treated as a "zone of relative stability, which is our only hope for overcoming violence coming from the Middle East" (Białek, 2017).

Great Britain strongly supported Turkey, a country with 80 million citizens, in its efforts to join the European Union. In January 2017, Theresa May said that "Turkey is one of the UK's oldest friends – our relations stretch back over 400 years – but there is much that we can do in the future to build on that relationship together. I'm proud that the UK stood with you on 15 July last year [2016, authors' note] in defence of democracy, and now it is important that Turkey sustains that democracy by maintaining the rule of law and upholding its international human rights obligations as the government has undertaken to do" (*Theresa May signs…*, 2017). As a result of Brexit, Turks were deprived of their biggest ally in Europe. Analysing comments coming from Turkey, it must be said they are quite moderate. President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated that the UK's decision to leave the Community was a surprise for him. In his opinion, it is the European political elites and their policy which should be blamed for this situation. According to Erdogan, if "the EU does not fight its contradictions, there will be more departures" (*Brexit szansą…*, 2016).

Turkey is a member of all the most important international organisations (Jurkowska, 2010; Ambroziak, 1996, p. 1). The association agreement between the European Economic Community and Turkey was signed on 12 September 1963 (it entered into force on 1 December 1964). Art. 28 of this act stipulated that Turkey may become a full-fledged member of the EEC in future (Jurkowska, 2010). The Turkish government, tired with a lengthy, futile and bureaucratic negotiation process, is becoming less and less interested in joining the European Union. Such feelings are not also reflected in public opinion polls, but they are increasingly often accentuated by politicians, who are nervously responding to the inefficiency of accession talks that began in 2005. What should be emphasised, this lack of progress results from, among other things, from disputes concerning sphere of human rights or the issue of Cyprus. In his recent public statements, the president of Turkey has often indicated that the European Union uses double standards. Referring to the British "divorce" referendum, he noted that "the EU's approach to Turkey is marked by islamophobia. That is why all possible efforts are made to delay our accession to the EU" (*Brexit: czy w Europie…*, 2016).

Turkey has been a candidate for European Union membership for over 60 years (see Kaleağası, 2010). Political uno.est in the Middle East and instability on the South-East border of the country (Syria and Iraq), as well as the problem of the inflow of refugees to Turkey (Burak, 2016, pp. 52–78) and Europe, have led to a change in the foreign policy

of Turkey and made it cement its relations ties with the East, especially Russia (*США: ЕС отвечает…*, 2010). The Turkish government believes that the strengthening of ties with Russia is detrimental to Europe and will result in the establishment of the new order and leadership in the Middle East. It is indicated that the improvement of relations with Moscow not only goes in line with the interests of Turkey, but it will also bring benefits to Turkish peoples inhabiting the regions of the Caucasus, Central Asia and East Turkestan (see Mikail and others, 2015).

On 23 June 2016, British people voted to leave the EU. This decision shook the global markets, particularly affecting the value of pound sterling (*Brytyjczycy wybrali…*, 2016).

Turkish Prime Minister Binali Yildirim instantly reacted to the result of the referendum, criticising his British equivalent David Cameron for playing the key part in Brexit. Binali Yildirim pointed out that it was an important signal for the EU to change its policy. Turkey is for a strong European Union – he added (Köylü, 2016). Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey Mehmet Şimşek noted, that by voting to leave the EU, British people opened Pandora's Box. The other deputy, Nurettin Canikli, used stronger words, tweeting that the referendum means the beginning of the process of the disintegration of the European Union. "Great Britain was the first to leave the ship" (*Mehmet Şimşek ve…*, 2016). Turkish Foreign Affair Minister Mevluta Cavusoglu said that the British referendum surprised everyone, including Turkey, which wants to be a member of this alliance (*Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu'ndan Brexit…*, 2016).

On the day before the referendum in the United Kingdom, the President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan said that the EU is a project of Christian expansion and that it is a community the aim of which is to defend Christian ideals and continue its reign over the world. "Europe does not want us because the majority of our population are Muslims." Erdogan proposed that citizens should vote on the issue of Turkey's membership in the EU. One of the options is so called **Turexit**. "Just like Britons, we can ask the society about our future" – R. T. Erdogan concluded (Altun, 2016).

When commenting on the Brexit campaign in the UK, the Turkish Minister for EU Affairs Ömer Çelik indicated that it was full of Islamophobic motifs and anti-Turkish slogans, which were aimed to inspire anti-immigrant feelings. It should be mentioned that the "**Leaving**" campaign played on voters' fears connected with immigration, warning them against terrible consequences of the inflow of Muslims, including 79 million of Turks, who would come to the EU (Kasapoğlu, 2016). It is obvious that the United Kingdom was one of the main protagonists of Turkey's membership in the European Union from the start, but in the course of the Brexit debate the immigration from Turkey was used as a threat. Ankara was particularly angered by former Prime Minister David Cameron's meaningful words concerning the risks that Turkey's accession to the European Union entails. Referring to the possible date of Turkey's joining the EU, he said that it would "probably [happen – authors' note] around the year 3000" (*Cameron: Türkiye AB'ye…*, 2016).

The Turkish opposition also criticised the UK's referendum campaign. According to Öztürk Yılmaz from the Republican People's Party (tur. *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, **CHP**), the supporters of the idea of leaving the EU used Turkophobic slogans (*CHP'den Brexit...*, 2016). Mehmet Günal, the opposition politician from the National Action Party

(tur. *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*, **MHP**) pointed out that the result of the referendum in the United Kingdom revealed the British nation's real attitude towards the European Union. He said that Turkey should make the same decision and break off the 50-year engagement as there is still no wedding (Şimşek, 2016).

Photo 1. A poster used before the Brexit referendum: "Turkey (population 76 million) is joining the EU. Vote leave, take back control" (*Vote Leave embroiled...*, 2016)

As can be seen, the UK's leaving the Community opens a new chapter in Turkeys' mutual relations with the European Union. The British referendum campaign was full of negative opinions referring to Turkey, which was noticed by Turkish media. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that it was the United Kingdom that was the sole supporter of Turkey in its efforts to gain the status of EU member, being in opposition to countries that rejected the idea, especially France and Germany (Örmeci, 2016, p. 603). After Britain decided to leave the Community, Turks have lost their main ally and a number of Turkish politicians see no point in waiting further for EU membership. The implications of Brexit make this alliance lose in importance. The public opinion surveys conducted by Turkish polling agencies in recent years show that less than a half of the society have supported Turkey's membership in the EU (see Alkan, 2013, pp. 1–28). Galip Dalay said that the UK's leaving the EU represents one of the most difficult tests in the integration process. Some Turkish politicians believe that, paradoxically, the decision to leave the EU may bring benefits to Ankara, which may skilfully take advantage of Brexit (Dalay, 2016).

The Turkish government declares that Turkey will build new bilateral relations with the United Kingdom in the atmosphere of friendship. Economic ties will play a key part as the cooperation with Britain is important for Turkey mainly because of business reasons (in 2016, the UK market accounted for 8.2% of Turkish export) (Jarosiewicz, 2017). There are 2,760 British companies in Turkey, including British Airways, HSBC, Tesco, BP, Shell, Vodafone, Marks and Spencer, Harvey Nichols and Commercial Union (Örmeci, 2016, p. 597). What is important, each year almost 2 million Brits spend holidays in Turkey and 100,000 Turks go to Britain on business or for holidays (Örmeci, 2016, p. 598).

The Turkish Minister of Economy Nihat Zekbekci asserts that Turkey is ready to implement comprehensive trade agreements with the United Kingdom as soon as it leaves the European Union. The government representatives emphasise that bilateral involvement is conducive to an increase in the number of common investment projects and strengthens Turkish-British relations (*Турция готова реализовать...*, 2016).

On 25–27 September 2016, former Mayor of London and the new Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom Boris Johnson paid an official visit to Turkey. He met, among others, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister for EU Affairs Ömer Çelik, Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (*Birleşik Krallık Dışişleri...*, 2016). Johnson assured that the United Kingdom would continue to support Turkey's efforts to become a member of the Union structures. The main subjects of the meeting included the issue of Syria, the war against terrorism and the Islamic state, and the immigration problem. Johnson stressed that Turkey has to be a good partner for Britain, which is one of the biggest markets for Turkish products. He joked that he himself had a "beautiful and very reliable Turkish washing machine at home" (*Boris Johnson zrobił...*, 2016).

It should be noted, however, that some unfortunate comments have also appeared in the course of a lively debate and they have had an impact on British-Turkish relations. In may 2016, British weekly "The Spectator", which has been published since 1711, organised a contest for its readers. The rules were simple – one had to make a poem referring to the Turkish president's controversial statement. Boris Johnson presented a four-verse poem in an interview for a Swiss newspaper. It depicted "love that flourished between the Turkish president and a goat." It made the Turkish people outraged, especially as the mayor of London was granted a prize of one thousand pounds for winning the contest (*Poezja wulgarna...*, 2016). The situation was even more awkward as Boris Johnson's great grandfather, Ali Kemal, was Turkish (liberal politician and journalist). During his visit to Turkey, Boris Johnson emphasised the importance of economic relations between the United Kingdom and Turkey. According to Ndie.pl, the British minister of foreign affairs did his best to improve his reputation after he had implied in his poem that President Erdogan had made love to a goat (*Boris Johnson: Wielka...*, 2016).

As it was mentioned before, the United Kingdom has been a long time ally of Turkey and supported its attempts to obtain European Union membership. On 28 January 2017, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan met British Prime Minister Theresa May in his presidential palace. The fact that she had planned to visit Turkey just after meeting President Donald Trump in Washington, where she discussed some key trade agreements that were to strengthen her position in negotiations with the European Union about Brexit, is a proof how important for London good relations with Ankara are (*Brytyjska premier: Turcja...*, 2017). During her visit to Turkey, Theresa May admitted that as a result of Great Britain's decision to leave the EU Turks had lost the biggest advocate of their interests in Europe. The comments of Turkish politicians have been quite moderate so far. May declared that both countries agreed to establish a joint work group to stimulate trade relations in the period after the UK's leaving the EU. Erdogan declared that trade exchange between Turkey and Britain would reach the level of 20 billion dollars (compared to 15.6 billion at present) (*May zaapelowała...*, 2017). What is more, the prime ministers of both countries addressed the issue of the war against terrorism (Jihadists),

the situation in Cyprus, trade, immigration crisis and questions concerning the Middle East. Turkey and the United Kingdom signed a 100 million pound contract concerning the cooperation in the development of Turkish air fighters (*Турция разработает…*, 2017). President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said that the UK's decision to leave the Community was a surprise for him. He blamed the European elites and their policy for what had happened. According to Erdogan, if "the EU does not fight its contradictions, there will be more departures" (*Brexit szansą…*, 2016).

It should be noted that the Turkish president, on 25 March 2017, at the British-Turkish political-cultural-economic forum in Antalya in the south of the country, proposed a nationwide referendum, modelled after the British one (referred to as Turkish "Brexit" vote in Turkish media) (Web-videos, n.d.), in which citizens would be asked to express their opinion on the issue of the continuation of accession talks with the European Union (*Turkey's Erdogan wants…*, 2017).

* * *

To conclude, it is obvious that Turkey's foreign policy priorities (see Misiagiewicz, 2009; Gwiazda, 2005, pp. 3–10; Konopacki, 2005, pp. 49–62), including the decision whether to continue the negotiation process with the EU, will be largely influenced by the EU's redefined policy after the UK leaves the Community. What additionally makes the situation worse is the recent tightening of relations with Germany and the Netherlands, which have refused to allow Turkish politicians to enter their territory as a protest against the constitutional referendum (held on 16 April 2017) on changing the political system of Turkey from the parliamentary-cabinet one to the presidential regime (*Turkey's Erdogan wants…*, 2017). At present, EU-Turkey relations are not quite friendly. There are a variety of reasons for such a state of affairs and Turkey is responsible for many of them, but there is no doubt that European politicians are not faultless, either. They often pass judgements concerning Ankara quite severely and brusquely, which leads to the cooling of mutual relations. As Sir Alan Duncan accurately remarks, "there has been insufficient understanding in many quarters, particularly within the membership of the European Union, about what Turkey had to face and still faces […] What was important with the Turks was to ask the questions and understand first, before criticising later. The EU was overcritical too quickly […]. Our judgment in making it absolutely clear that we [the UK] understand what they [Turkey] have been going through has been the right one. I am pleased to say that they appreciate it and we appreciate their appreciation" (*House of Commons Foreign…*, 2017).

Turkey is undergoing another crisis. It is a state with a huge potential and for Great Britain it is one of the most dynamic partners among developing markets. After Brexit, the UK government needs to make every effort to strengthen its position at the international arena. Theresa May's visit to Turkey appeared to be the first step on the way of seeking a new format of the policy of cooperation with the main partners in Europe and focusing on bilateral ties. The British prime minister's talks in Ankara, just after her visit to the US, should thus be seen as the beginning of building a new strategy. The model of Turkish-British ties may become an example for relations within the Community.

In the face of the approaching 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey various aspects of Turkish policy are becoming subject to change. Turkey is putting increasing emphasis on Eastern security policy, thinking of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation as an alternative to membership in the European Union (see Burak, 2015, pp. 56–65). For Turkey, Brexit was a signal that revealed the weakness of EU structures and made politicians reflect on the direction of changes. The future will show whether Turkish politicians are right predicting that Brexit is the first stage on the way to the inevitable disintegration of the European Union. A lot depends on politicians and their ability to work out compromises, willingness to conduct dialogue and to cooperation, professionalism. UE-Turkey relations can still be improved. What is needed are good will and understanding for particularist interests. There is no doubt that mutual trust may serve as the foundation for building future partner relations. A question arises whether in such turbulent times the Union can afford to lose Turkey as its member and let it seek cooperation with Eastern partners instead, which will also involve a risk of having to admit immigrants from Syria. If an agreement is not reached, the Turkish prediction may come true. The European Union, thus also the European security system, may not bear a double shock: Brexit and the further worsening of relations with Turkey – a country located in the strategic region of the Middle East.

Bibliography

Alkan M. N. (2013), *Türkiye'deki Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Avrupa Birliği Algısı*, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V., Ankara.

Altun M. (2016, June 23), *Avrupa Birliği'ne referandum resti. Sabah Gazetesi*, http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/06/23/avrupa-birligine-referandum-resti, 4 April 2017.

Ambroziak A. A. (1996), *Nowe wyzwania dla Turcji i UE w ramach unii celnej* (I), "Wspólnoty Europejskie – Biuletyn Informacyjny", no. 1, p. 13.

Białek M. (2017, March 25), *Relacje Turcja – Wielka Brytania w kontekście BREXITu, the opinion of D. Kawczyński, member of the British House of Commons*, http://www.wiadomosci24.pl/artykul/relacje_turcja_wielka_brytania_w_kontekscie_brexitu_360241.html, 2 April 2017.

Birleşik Krallık Dışişleri Bakanı Boris Johnson 25–27 Eylül 2016 tarihleri arasında Türkiye'yi ziyaret etti (2016, September 29), "Birleşik Krallık Ankara Büyükelçiliği", https://www.gov.uk/government/world-location-news/uk-foreign-secretary-boris-johnsons-visit-to-turkey.tr, 22 March 2017.

Boris Johnson: Wielka Brytania pomoże Turcji przystąpić do UE (2016, September 27), "ndie.pl", https://ndie.pl/boris-johnson-wielka-brytania-pomoze-turcji-przystapic-ue/, 30 March 2017.

Boris Johnson zrobił Brexit teraz chce Turkentry (2016, September 28), "Euro Islam", https://euroislam.pl/boris-johnson-zrobil-brexit-teraz-chce-turkentry/, 22 March 2017.

Brexit: czy w Europie jest jeszcze miejsce dla Turcji? (2016, June 28), "Onet.pl", http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/swiat/brexit-czy-w-europie-jest-jeszcze-miejsce-dla-turcji/tj91be, 6 April 2017.

Brexit szansą dla Turcji na członkostwo w UE? (2016, June 29), Radiowa Jedynka, "Wprost.pl", https://www.wprost.pl/swiat/10013066/Brexit-szansa-dla-Turcji-na-czlonkostwo-w-UE.html, 30 March 2017.

Brytyjczycy wybrali Brexit (n.d.), "tvn24", http://www.tvn24.pl/raporty/brytyjczycy-wybrali-brexit,606, 4 April 2017.

Brytyjska premier: Turcja musi przestrzegać praw człowieka i zasad praworządności (2017, January 28), "Polskie Radio", http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/1721231,Brytyjska-premier-Turcja-musi-przestrzegac-praw-czlowieka-i-zasad-praworzadnosci, 30 March 2017.

Burak A. (2015), *Euroazjatycka Wspólnota Gospodarcza i Szanghajska Organizacja Współpracy jako alternatywa dla Turcji wobec braku członkostwa w Unii Europejskiej*, "Nowa Polityka Wschodnia", no. 2 (9), pp. 56–65.

Burak A. (2016), *Wpływ kryzysu syryjskiego na emigrację uchodźców do Turcji*, in: A. Burak, N. Gburzyńska, *Turcja w XXI wieku*, Adam Marszałek, Toruń, pp. 52–78.

Cameron: Türkiye AB'ye 3000 yılında üye olur (2016, June 20), "AHaber", http://www.ahaber.com.tr/dunya/2016/06/20/cameron-turkiye-abye-3000-yilinda-uye-olur, 5 April 2017.

CHP'den Brexit değerlendirmesi (2016, June 29), "AB Haber", http://www.abhaber.com/chpden-brexit-degerlendirmesi/, 6 April 2017.

Dalay G. (2016, June 12), *Brexit may be a good thing for Turkey*, Al Jazeera, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/07/brexit-good-turkey-160711124421322.html, 5 April 2017.

European Council of the European Union, U-Turkey statement (2016, March 18), http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18-eu-turkey-statement/, 2 April 2017.

Gwiazda A. (2005), *Członkostwo Turcji w Unii Europejskiej – szanse i zagrożenia*, "Wspólnoty Europejskie", no. 10 (167), pp. 3–10.

House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee (2017, March 25), *The UK's relations with Turkey. Tenth Report of Session 2016–17*, Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 21 March 2017, HC 615, https://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmfaff/615/615.pdf, 7 April 2017.

Jarosiewicz A. (2017 February 1), *Turcja i Wielka Brytania: współpraca bez Brukseli*, "OSW", https://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2017-02-01/turcja-i-wielka-brytania-wspolpraca-bez-brukseli, 4 April 2017.

Jurkowska B. (2010, August 26), *Proces integracji Turcji z Unią Europejską*, http://stosunki-miedzynarodowe.pl/unia-europejska/1078-proces-integracji-turcji-z-unia-europejska, 5 April 2017.

Kaleağası B. (2010), *Nolcak Bu AB İşi?*, Boyut Yayın Grubu, Istanbul.

Kasapoğlu Ç. (2016, June 17), *İngiltere'nin AB referandumu ve Türkiye tartışmaları*, "BBC Türkçe", http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2016/06/160616_ab_referandum_turkiye, 5 April 2017.

Konopacki S. (2005), *Droga Turcji do Unii Europejskiej*, "Studia Europejskie", no. 1, pp. 49–62.

Köylü H. (2016, June 24), *Brexit Türkiye'yi nasıl etkileyecek?*, "DW", http://www.dw.com/tr/brexit-t%C3%BCrkiyeyi-nas%C4%B1l-etkileyecek/a-19355865, 2 April 2017.

May zaapelowała do Turcji o przestrzeganie praw człowieka (2017, January 28), "rp.pl", http://www.rp.pl/Swiat/170128928-May-zaapelowala-do-Turcji-o-przestrzeganie-praw-czlowieka.html#ap-1, 29 March 2017.

Mehmet Şimşek ve Nurettin Canikli'den Brexit tweeti (2016, June 24), "Karar Gazetesi", http://www.karar.com/ekonomi-haberleri/hukumetten-ilginc-mesaj-168686, 2 April 2017.

Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu'ndan Brexit ardından ilk açıklama (2016, June 24), "Haber Türk", http://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/1258436-mevlut-cavusoglundan-brexit-ardindan-ilk-aciklama, 21.03.2017.

Mikail E. H., Künü S., Durmuş S., Karabulut A. (2015), *Türkiye'nin Kafkasya ve Orta Asya Ülkeleri İle Siyasi-İktisadi-Kültürel İlişkileri*, Derin Yayınları, Istanbul.

Misiagiewicz J. (2009), *Polityka zagraniczna Turcji po zimnej wojnie*, Adam Marszałek, Toruń.

Örmeci O. (2016), *Son Yıllarda Türkiye-Birleşik Krallık (İngiltere) İlişkileri: İlişkilerde "Altın Çağ Dönemi Mi?"*, "Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi", vol. 21, no. 2, p. 603.

Poezja wulgarna – Boris Johnson z nagrodą za… wiersz o seksie z kozą (2016, May 19), "Express Polish", http://www.polishexpress.co.uk/poezja-wulgarna-boris-johnson-z-nagroda-za-wiersz-o-seksie-z-koza, 30 March 2017.

Rozpoczyna się Brexit, czyli wyjście Wielkiej Brytanii z UE. Co to oznacza w praktyce (2017, March 29), "Newsweek Polska", http://www.newsweek.pl/swiat/polityka/brexit-czyli-wyjscie-wiel-kiej-brytanii-z-ue-co-to-oznacza-,artykuly,407297,1.html, 1 April 2017.

Şimşek Y. (2016, June 24), *MHP'den AB yorumu: Uzun nişanlılığı töremiz kaldırmaz. evleneceksek ev-lenelim*, "Sputnik", https://tr.sputniknews.com/politika/201606241023548979-mhp-ab-evlilik/, 6 April 2017.

The Electoral Commission (n.d.), *EU referendum results*, http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/eu-referen-dum/electorate-and-count-information, 4.04 2017.

Theresa May signs £100m fighter jet deal with Turkey's Erdoğan (2017, January 28), https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jan/28/theresa-may-signs-100m-fighter-jet-deal-with-turkeys-erdogan, 6 April 2017.

Turkey's Erdogan wants Brexit-like vote on pursuit of EU membership (2017, April 4), "Deutsche Welle", http://www.dw.com/en/turkeys-erdogans-wants-brexit-like-vote-on-pursuit-of-eu-membership/a-38122493, 6 April 2017.

Vote Leave embroiled in race row over Turkey security threat claims (2016, May 21), "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/21/vote-leave-prejudice-turkey-eu-security-threat, 25 March 2017.

Web-videos (n.d.), *Erdogan proposes Turkish 'Brexit' vote*, http://www.dw.com/en/turkeys-erdogan-wants-brexit-like-vote-on-pursuit-of-eu-membership/a-38122493, 6 April 2017.

Wielka Brytania rozpoczyna Brexit. Tusk: W tym procesie nie ma nic do wygrania i mówię tu o obu stronach. W istocie chodzi o ograniczenie szkód (2017, March 29), "Newsweek Polska", http://www.newsweek.pl/swiat/polityka/donald-tusk-o-brexicie-wielka-brytania-wychodzi-z-unii-,artykuly,407886,1.html, 5 April 2017.

США: ЕС отвечает за изменение внешней политики Турции (2010, June 9), "ЛІГАБізнесІнформ", http://news.liga.net/news/world/483907-ssha-es-otvechaet-za-izmenenie-vneshney-politiki-turtsii.htm, 4 April 2017.

Турция готова реализовать широкомасштабный торговый договор с Великобританией после «брексит» (2016, November 11), "РИА Новости", http://novostink.ru/mir/180470-turciya-gotova-realizovat-shirokomasshtabnyy-torgovyy-dogovor-s-velikobritaniey-posle-breksit.html#ixzz4d2DPefey, 1 April 2017.

Турция разработает с Британией новый истребитель (2017, January 28), "Корреспондент", http://korrespondent.net/world/3807312-turtsyia-razrabotaet-s-brytanyei-novyi-ystrebytel, 30 March 2017.

Krajobraz po Brexicie obserwowany z perspektywy Ankary. Czy "rozwodowa" decyzja Wielkiej Brytanii dodatkowo rozluźni więzi UE–Turcja i wpłynie na przyszłość Europy?

Streszczenie

29 marca 2017 r. szef Rady Europejskiej Donald Tusk otrzymał od brytyjskiego ambasadora Tima Barrowa pismo, które uruchamia zapisaną w artykule 50 traktatu lizbońskiego procedurę wystąpienia Wielkiej Brytanii z Unii Europejskiej. Gideon Rachman z "Financial Times" porównał Brexit z roz-wodem, stwierdzając, że przedstawiciel rządu brytyjskiego w Brukseli "wręczył papiery rozwodowe" i tym samym zapoczątkował "długotrwałą (na razie zaplanowaną na ponad dwa lata) próbę poukładania

sobie stosunków na nowo”. Z kolei w oświadczeniu dla prasy D. Tusk skomentował to wydarzenie w następujący sposób: “Nie ma powodu, żeby udawać, że to szczęśliwy dzień, zarówno w Brukseli, jak i Londynie […] Większość Europejczyków, włączając w to prawie połowę brytyjskich głosujących, wolałaby, żebyśmy zostali razem”. Z całą pewnością stanowisko RE odzwierciedla nastroje wywołane przez decyzję o Brexicie, które są i będą odczuwalne dla wszystkich państw członkowskich Wspólnoty. Warto jednak zauważyć, że opuszczenie przez Brytyjczyków UE oddziałuje nie tylko na sytuację polityczną ich samych, ale także określa działania władz państw aspirujących do członkostwa we Wspólnocie. Celem niniejszego artykułu nie jest omówienie powodów Brexitu, ale zaprezentowanie postawy tureckiego rządu. W tym kontekście na podstawie analizy artykułów prasowych oraz wystąpień polityków omówiona zostanie prawdopodobna strategia Ankary. Teza, którą postawiliśmy, zakłada, że wraz z Brexitem Turcja straciła jedyne poparcie na drodze wejścia do Unii Europejskiej. Turcja zaczyna nowy etap w stosunkach między UE i Wielką Brytanią. Należy się również zastanowić, jak Turcja postrzega i ocenia prowadzoną obecnie politykę zewnętrzną, zredefiniowaną przez trwający konflikt w Syrii, walkę z ISIS i problem imigracyjny, oraz bezcelowość procesu prowadzącego do opuszczenia Unii Europejskiej przez Wielką Brytanię. Jaki będzie kierunek tureckiej polityki zagranicznej w relacjach z Zachodem? Czy Turcja odejdzie od statusu kandydata unijnego (tzw. Turexit)?

Francisco GÓMEZ MARTOS
Brussels, Belgium

China's "One Belt, One Road Initiative": challenges and requirements for its successful implementation in Central Asia[1]

Abstract: Twenty five years after the dissolution of the former Soviet Union and the reemergence of the Central Asian Republics as independent States, this region continues to be the scene of rivalries amongst the big powers (Russia, China, the European Union, USA, India, Japan, Turkey and Iran) competing in a sort of a "new Grand Game" to increase their geopolitical and economic influence in the region. Its geography, diverse and rich natural resources, like oil and gas, explain the ongoing hidden rivalries.

Despite its common historical and cultural past, Central Asia constitutes a heterogeneous region with a multiethnic and multi-linguistic composition and a low degree of physical, economic and trade integration. The lack of mutual trust, the persisting tension over borders and the use and sharing of natural resources, as well as different levels of economic performance have so far jeopardized the development of genuine regional cooperation.

Against this background, the idea behind the Chinese OBOR Initiative to develop rapid transportation, if well implemented, could theoretically, by improving interregional connectivity, develop the Central Asia regional market and foster intergovernmental cooperation and people-to-people contacts within the region.

In this context, could we expect that the ambitious Chinese OBOR Initiative will boost geopolitical stability and promote shared economic and trade benefits in Central Asia? What are the conditions for that need to be fulfilled?

The author analyzes in depth certain crucial political, economic and institutional requirements for the successful implementation of the OBOR Strategy and concludes, however, that three years after the launching of this crucial instrument of the Chinese "*globalization without democracy*" model, its implementation faces major problems and thus raises more doubts than certainties.

Key words: One Belt, One Road Initiative; Silk Road Economic Belt and Central Asia; Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank; Eurasian Economic Community

I. Introduction: the Launching of the Chinese Initiative and The Regional Context

In September 2013, in a speech entitled "Promote People-to-People Friendship and Create a Better Future" at Nazarbayev University of Astana in Kazakhstan, President Xi Jinping launched a grand Chinese development strategy, the "*Silk Road Economic Belt*" – and one month later the "*21st Century Maritime Silk Road*" during a speech to the Indonesian Parliament – to be pursued in the coming three or four decades.

The idea behind this new Strategic Concept is to develop high-speed transportation and other infrastructure investment projects improving connectivity between China and

---

[1] The paper has been written under a project financed by the National Science Centre: The European Union's attitude towards Central Asia – regional and international determinants; 2014/15/B/HS5/01591.

most of the Asian countries, reducing the time to reach Europe, which is the "terminus station" of the Initiative (Wang, 2015).

From the Middle Ages, the old "Silk Road" already played the role of connecting Europe with China through this strategic land bridge that was defined by Halford Mackinder as the "Heartland" at the beginning of the 20th century.

Currently, the Central Asia region continues to be the scenario of rivalries amongst the big powers (Russia, China, European Union, USA, India, Japan, Turkey and Iran) competing in a sort of a "new Grand Game" for increasing their geopolitical and economic influence in the region. Its geography, diverse and rich natural resources, like oil and gas, explain the ongoing hidden rivalries (Mori, 2016).

Furthermore, the Central Asia region itself is increasing its political and economic weight in the international arena following the dramatic changes in the Middle East in recent years. In this regard, it is worthwhile to note the significant role carried out by Kazakh diplomacy in facilitating the recent negotiations between Russia and Turkey, and thus resolve the Syrian conflict (Gurcan, 2017).

How could the OBOR Initiative influence the Central Asia region, in particular the future prospects and challenges of the five ex-Soviet Republics, as regards geopolitical and economic dimensions?

Actually, three years after the launching of the OBOR Initiative in Astana, the region is facing a much more complex scenario both regarding the remaining unsolved internal challenges (lack of regional cooperation on sustainable management of natural resources, lack of economic diversification and regional integration, stagnation in political transition to democratic regimes and open civil societies) as well as external factors: the fall of oil, gas and other commodity prices, the Western sanctions on the Russian economy following the annexation of Crimea and the potential geopolitical consequences of the redistribution of power on the world stage, notably the renewal of Russia's role as a protagonist in the Syrian conflict.

This paper tries to identify the main challenges and requirements to be met by the Chinese OBOR Project for its successful achievement in Central Asia, taking into account the internal needs of the region and learning from the EU experience of regional cooperation. These countries are the "neighbors of our neighbors," and thus the EU Strategy for Central Asia must also be taken into consideration in order to compare it with Chinese Strategy.

Firstly, it seems necessary to analyze briefly the current internal context of the region and its links with China. According to the latest estimates included in the Asian Economic Integration Report 2016 (Asian Development Bank, 2016), the five Central Asian countries represent a 68.7 million-strong partner with an overall GDP of 302.4 billion dollars. However, the region only holds the equivalent of 5% of the Chinese population and 2.8% of its GDP. In other words, the Central Asia region has a rather weak structural position, with relatively small critical mass, facing a strong asymmetry in its ongoing economic and future trade negotiations with China.

Secondly, after the collapse of the Moscow-led, soviet planned economy in 1991, most Central Asian countries have been enjoying a phase of sustained economic growth during the last two decades, even during the last global economic recession. In fact, in the period from 2011–2015, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have been growing at an average

rate of 9.5% and 8.1% respectively, slightly higher than the Chinese average rate (7.4%), while the other countries have achieved growth rates between 3.9% and 6.4%. However, economic performance is still extremely reliant upon a handful of commodities (gas, oil, cotton, gold) which represent the bulk of their exports, as well as a significant share of the countries' GDPs (Garcés de los Fayos, 2016). In 2015, the economic growth of these countries dropped sharply, hit by external macroeconomic shocks: the fall of commodity prices, the recession in Russia following Western sanctions and slower growth in the PRC (Asian Development Bank, 2016).

Twenty five years after independence from the Soviet Union, the majority of these countries are far from being genuine market economies, as the State continues to interfere excessively and to control some key decisions concerning prices and free competition between public and private firms. In this regards, *mutatis mutandis,* Central Asian economies and the Chinese economy share common features that limit their full integration in the multilateral trade system set up by the WTO. Consequently, only three countries – Kazakhstan, the leading country in the region, and Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan – joined this organization, in 2015 and 1998 and 2013 respectively. Uzbekistan has observer status.

Similarly (although being member of WTO from 2001), none of the big trade powers agree to grant China Market Economy Status (MES).

Thirdly, the insufficient and ineffective liberalization reforms, the remaining state control of the economy and the limited diversification of economic models explain why these countries are only partly integrated into the world trading system, therefore forming a source of economic and social instability (Zogg, 2016). The lack of political will and dynamism in the path to the economic modernization goes hand in hand with the stagnation of political and social reforms impeding these countries to close the 25 year period of post-Soviet Union transition and to embrace modernity.

Fourthly, China has become the main trade partner for the Central Asia region, ahead of the European Union, which still holds first place in Kazakhstan. Russia is the third largest trade partner for this region.

The growing involvement of China in the region, through FDI and trade flows, seems to be seen positively, and cautiously accepted by the political establishments. However, the potential future elites appear to be divided about Chinese influence, while public opinion, also divided, has more reservations about the Sino-Kazakh relationship, in particular with regard to Chinese migrants and the leasing of land, according to the findings of a pilot test conducted in Kazakhstan (Yu-Wen Chen, 2015). This result demonstrates how important it is for the Chinese leadership to take into consideration the interests and perceptions of other countries on China's rise and the ability of the "Silk Road Economic Belt" to foster greater regional integration in Central Asia.

Fifthly, standing on average at USD 4,402, the GDP *per capita* of Central Asian countries represents 55% of that of China, the lowest being recorded by Tajikistan (USD 926) and Kyrgyzstan (USD 1,102) and the highest in Kazakhstan (USD 10,514, nearly 25% bigger than that of China). The GDP *per capita* of Turkmenistan comes closer to that of PRC (USD 6,946). Nevertheless, Uzbekistan, the most populated country of the region (31.1 million), is lagging far behind (USD 2,131) with GDP *per capita* statistically more typical of the region. These figures implicitly show the huge differences

amongst the countries of the region, running at differing stages in their development path, and demonstrating rather limited "medium" human development index (placed from 109 to 129 out of 188, while China achieved 90th place), with the exception of Kazakhstan (56/188) benefiting from a "high" index similar to that of Russia (50/188) – as reported in the United Nations Development Programme 2015. Furthermore, these average figures hide greater wealth inequalities and the need to address potential civil unrest within the poorest countries immediately. Obviously, in view of the implementation of foreign assistance programs, the priorities, targets and the timeframes should be precisely defined through individual and tailor-made country action plans, such as the European Union used to apply (European Parliament, 2016).

Sixth, if all the big powers have strong strategic, political and economic interests in strengthening their bilateral and multilateral relations with the Central Asian countries, only the European Union has a Policy Strategy based on common values in the fields of democratization, preventing and fighting corruption, free and fair elections, human rights, rule of law, respect for labor rules and good governance. These common values are stated in the existing Partnership and Cooperation Agreements between the EU and Kazakhstan (recently replaced by the new Enhanced Partnership and Cooperation Agreement), Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and the agreement not yet in force with Turkmenistan. Some analysts consider that the EU's political conditionality does not help the authoritarian political regimes in place to evolve. However, the EU's consistent efforts complemented with the Council of Europe's institutional and legal technical assistance have brought, without doubt, some positive concrete results.

For instance, the European Parliament (EP) decided in December 2011 to postpone its decision on the ratification ("consent") of the EU-Uzbekistan Textiles Protocol and concluded in its interim report that it would only consider the consent "if the ILO observers have been granted access by the Uzbek authorities to undertake close and unhindered monitoring and have confirmed that concrete reforms have been implemented and have yielded substantial results in such a way that the practice of forced labour and child labour is effectively in the process of being eradicated at national, viloyat and local level". Five years later, in its Resolution of 14 December 2016, am EP report said it "stresses the importance of the action taken by the Government of Uzbekistan to authorize the ILO to monitor the cotton harvest and to engage in broad cooperation with ILO through a Decent Work Country Programme" and welcomed the substantial progress that had been made in the country since 2013, including the adoption of laws which prohibited the use of child labor, achieving its almost total eradication. Therefore, because of these efforts by the Government of Uzbekistan, the EP advised granting consent to the EU-Uzbekistan Textiles Protocol, which relates to the main sector of trade between the EU and this country (European Parliament, 2016). Furthermore, the EU is bringing a very significant increase in bilateral aid, concentrated on empowering the local population to alleviate the deep rural poverty.

The second successful example concerns Kyrgyzstan. On April 2014, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) decided to grant The Kyrgyz Parliament "Partner for democracy status", an important incentive to further develop democracy, the rule of law and protection of human rights in Kyrgyzstan. Even if this country "still has a long way to go towards democracy" (Gros, 2014), PACE acknowledged that this is the

only Central Asian country to have opted for a political system based on parliamentary democracy, and the letter from its Speaker emphasized that it shared the Council of Europe's values, as evidenced by the abolition of the death penalty in 2007, or efforts to promote the equal representation of women and men in public and political life (Parliamentary Assembly Council of Europe, 2014).

Obviously, neither Russia nor China, the two main big powers playing the new game in the Central Asia region, are interested in setting up any democratic conditionality in their bilateral assistance programs.

For the successful implementation of the EU Strategy in Central Asia (Council of the European Union, 2007 and 2015), it is indeed of paramount importance that its ongoing efforts to facilitate the political transition to modernity and open societies in these countries, which are relatively open and enjoy some degree of civil society involvement, should not be undermined either by the negative propaganda against the EU model and its institutions or, on the other side, by the usual administrative opacity of the Russian and Chinese authorities.

It goes without saying that all these internal structural features of the Central Asian countries will determine the viability of the implementation of Chinese OBOR Initiative in the region.

II. Geopolitical and security implications of the "OBOR" Initiative for the region

There is no doubt that China has viewed its ongoing and impressive economic growth in recent decades as "an opportunity to restore its glorious past as the regional, if not global, power, an aspiration long awaited by this country" (Ding, 2008). The launching of the OBOR Initiative constitutes a powerful instrument to achieve this ambitious strategic objective.

Moreover, President Xi Jinping's leadership is fully determined through this strategy to see China become, in two or three decades, the world's strongest economic superpower, surpassing the United States' economy, even if by 2030 or 2040, Chinese *per capita* income will continue to lag behind the American one.

In foreign policy, China continues to follow the Deng Xiaoping guideline to "hide our capabilities and bide our time" formulated in 1989 (Teng-Chi Chang, 2013). Nevertheless, with its assertive leadership, the Chinese "hidden" ambitions became evident. There are three main intermediate objectives:

Firstly, China wants to show its "power ideology" in Asia and promote its ideological model, image and strengthen its political influence.

Secondly, in geopolitical terms, the OBOR Strategy is also aimed at countering the Russian influence in Central Asia and limiting Chinese over-dependence on Russian energy and trade routes to Europe. In fact, the rise of China in the region has revealed undisguised concern in Russia and India. The recent military pivot of Russia to the Caspian Sea (Doix, 2016) and the renewed strategic interest in its Central Asian "back yard" demonstrate Russia's determination to defend its influence in the region. As regards India, it has emerged as global player largely in response to China's rise and has its own

regional and trade initiatives ("the Indian Cotton Route"), which underlines the attitude of mistrust and rivalry towards China's OBOR Strategy (Dar Firdous, 2014).

Thirdly, China is very concerned about separatist movements in Xin Jiang, as well as the risk of seeing Islamic terrorism crossing the border and spreading into this region. This explains China's domestic priority objective to develop, and thereby stabilize, its Western regions by integrating them into international trade routes, and by developing Asian markets to enable easier access to Chinese goods. As regards the so-called "three evil forces" (separatism, extremism and terrorism) Beijing intends to advance the multi-lateral role played by the CICA ("Conference on Interaction and Confidence Measures in Asia"). As underlined by Zogg (2016), the threat of Islamist terrorism is also a common and important source of concern for Central Asian governments.

For Central Asian countries which try to apply a relatively independent, multi-vector foreign policy, the implementation of OBOR raises a number of questions: will the Chinese initiative increase political stability in the region or provoke even more geopolitical rivalry and competition between Russia and China, thus creating a more unstable regional order in Central Asia?

Central Asia is a strategic "land bridge" region where the current convergence of Russian and Chinese interests is more apparent than real. Actually, the launching of OBOR does not reflect either a common vision of both countries on how to shape together a future regional order in Central Asia, nor the will to build an Anti-American coalition seeking to undermine USA influence, especially in Central Asia and South East Asia.

Conversely, one could easily imagine that OBOR is aimed at proving Chinese economic superiority, and a way of exerting a strategic influence in Central Asia, taking historical revenge on Russia. It is worth remembering that China's relations with its neighbors, notably Russia, have been always haunted by history – a long history of conflicts and territorial disputes (Hyer, 2005).

In conclusion, China's strategic global rise in Central Asia through OBOR could radically change the regional balance of power in Central Asia, creating more rivalry and instability between the military "hard power" of Russia and the strong economic leverage of China. In this context, the EU's "soft power" could perhaps appear more attractive.

In any case, one crucial political requirement for the successful implementation of the OBOR investment projects concerns internal security. As recent experience shows in the China-Pakistan corridor, the increasing cost of security is one of the key managing factors in protecting infrastructure investment projects from potential terrorist attacks.

III. Regional economic integration, trade and sustainable development implications of the "OBOR" Initiative for the region

Despite its common historical and cultural past (the colonization by the great Oghuz federation of nine Turkic tribes from the 8th century on and the introduction of Islam, the Silk Routes and ex-Republics of the Soviet Union) (Hattstein, 2000), Central Asia constitutes a heterogeneous region with a multiethnic and multi-linguistic composition (Russian is however the *lingua franca*) and a low degree of physical, economic and trade

integration. The lack of mutual trust, the persisting tensions over borders and the use and sharing of natural resources, as well as the differing stages of economic performance, have so far jeopardized the development of a genuine regional cooperation and integration model.

This conclusion is also confirmed by the relatively poor interregional connectivity data. According to the findings of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in its 2016 annual report on Asian Economic Integration, the Central Asia sub-region is the least integrated geographic area within and across the other sub-regions of Asia, in particular the South East Asia region; the other key axis of the Chinese OBOR Initiative. All the indicators (trade, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), migration, remittances, tourism) confirm this assessment.

Furthermore, this sub-region presents the lowest logistic performance index in Asia (from 57.1% in Kyrgyzstan to 69.8% in Kazakhstan being 100% that of the European Union, while China (91.3%), the European Union (100%) and most of the South East Asian countries, with the exception of Lao PDR (61.8%), offer very good scores (e.g. Vietnam: 81.6%; Thailand: 88.7% and Malaysia: 92.9%).

It is worth remembering that Central Asia shows a higher degree of integration with the rest of the world than other Asian sub-regions, due to the importance of its flows of trade, FDI, migration, tourism and remittances with Russia and the European Union.

Against this background, the idea behind the Chinese OBOR Initiative to develop rapid transportation, if well implemented, could not only unlatch the region, reinforcing its integration with the rest of Asia, but also improve the interregional connectivity of these countries, developing the Central Asia regional market and improving mutual trust, intergovernmental cooperation and people-to-people contacts within the region.

For Chinese leadership, OBOR is seen as an opportunity to export overcapacity abroad, and offer loans to developing countries, without imposing political conditions, which would then contract Chinese firms for major infrastructure projects (so-called "High-Speed Diplomacy") in order to secure access to new sources of energy (a permanent obsession of Chinese leaders) as well as raw materials and foodstuff. In order to achieve this objective, China's rulers are using four key instruments.

First, competing for economic and trade hegemony in Asia through the setting up of an OBOR Mega Trade Block: The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), as an alternative, and a competitor to the TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership Mega deal). If TPP was designed by the Obama Administration to isolate China and is due to be withdrawn by the Trump Administration, Beijing argues that its RCEP proposal is inclusive, and thus open to all Asian partners, independent of their degree of development. Are Central Asian economies prepared to join the Chinese-led mega trade block in the near future? And how are they to reconcile successfully their potential participation in RCEP with membership in the Putin-led Eurasian Economic Union?

Secondly, the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) as a genuine, new Asian financial instrument to reshape the global financial order in Asia and to avoid over-dependence on existing international financial institutions in the region (Asian Development Bank, World Bank) currently controlled by the American and Japanese leaderships. What is the financial strength and voting power of Central Asian countries within the Board of the new Chinese AIIB?

Thirdly, the creation of an Asian Financial Market with the renminbi as a reference currency. The fascination of the Chinese leadership with the "Renminbi financial and monetary area" is not only an issue of international prestige (upgrading the status of its currency as one of the three international currencies with the dollar and the euro), but also a tool to internationalize the Chinese economy and spread the risks of OBOR investments. Are Central Asian countries ready to assume these financial risks?

Fourthly, as Chinese diplomats are used to saying, OBOR is aimed at creating a new "Common Destiny" in Asia, and has the capacity to ensure a "win-win" solution to the current problems of the region, promoting shared economic and trade benefits for all countries concerned. The rationale behind this seems less promising. In fact, by building its own "economic hinterland" in Central Asia, China will delocalize, towards low wages neighboring countries, the uncompetitive and polluting industrial sectors in the global chain of added value.

One could wonder whether this is really a kind of development strategy needed by Central Asian countries that are still suffering the consequences of a terrible past marked by ecological disasters, such as the drying up of the Aral Sea, following wrong political decisions taken outside the region by the former Soviet Union. In Central Asia, water allocation is an instrumental issue and needs to be solved jointly, in close cooperation inside the region among all partners concerned, putting them on an equal footing with Russia and China. In this context, the basic question from the European Union's perspective is to know how OBOR might contribute to promoting regional cooperation and integration amongst Central Asian countries.

One relevant requirement for a successful trade and economic scenario in Central Asia is to conciliate the future RCEP Agreement with the Russian-led Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) (with some potential members, such as Uzbekistan or Turkmenistan, that have not yet joined the WTO, as indicated above). Actually, despite Russian efforts to regain economic influence in the region, trade within the EEU in 2015 is at its lowest level (6.1%) and is tending to diminish further, possibly leading to the conflict of interest within the trade bloc and the dissatisfaction about the current integration pattern and Russian dominance (Kinyakin, 2016). For the time being, the EEU has not yet proved its viability in becoming a solid regional economic organization in Central Asia. The negotiations on the RCEP Agreement in its current configuration (ten member States of ASEAN and the six states with which ASEAN has existing free trade agreements) has not still been concluded, and most trade analysts underline that the "noodle bowl" of Asian bilateral and semi-regional Preferential Agreements and Free Trade Agreements could trigger potentially harmful effects arising from differing and competing tariffs, rules of origin and other standards and official requirements under various agreements.

Making use of the bilateral and semi-regional PA and FTA requires Central Asian firms and administrative stakeholders to be well informed about how these accords operate and how to take advantage of them (Asian Development Bank, 2008).

Another requirement of paramount importance concerns the equal structure of representation, and the functioning of the new Chinese-led AIIB. Russia and most of the Central Asia countries (with the exception of Turkmenistan) are members of the bank. However, their joint voting share or political quota (1.92%) is marginal, and even with the "theoretical" support of Russian voting power (5.93%), their common negotiating

power is weak and unable to influence financial decisions relevant for the region to be adopted by the Bank's Board.

Actually, no one could challenge the diktat of China through coalitions. With an over-rated 26.06% of voting share, while representing only 23.2% of the GDP of all members of the Bank, China has a power of veto (the veto threshold is 25%) on all key financial operational decisions to be adopted by the Board. Conversely, the 15 European Union members of the Bank got an under-rated voting share of 20.17%, while representing 37.19% of the GDP of all members of the AIIB, and therefore are paying the consequences of Chinese overrepresentation.

Furthermore, with the launching of the AIIB as an international financial institution, China has inaugurated a new phase of "globalization without democracy." It is enlightening to take note of the Agreement establishing the Bank and to verify that there is no reference in its political mandate to the commitment of signatory countries to "the fundamental principles of multiparty democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and market economics" as is clearly stipulated in the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development's (EBRD) Agreement, set up in 1991 in the aftermath of the fall of communism and the dissolution of the USSR.

In order for the Chinese OBOR Strategy of engagement in Central Asia to be a success, it depends also, to a great extent, on the methodology to be implemented. There is a high degree of uncertainty concerning the institutional governance of the project, and the main document "Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Road" lacks an articulate vision for dealing with the decision-making process and the functioning of its instruments, with the exception of the AIIB analyzed in precedent paragraph. Up to now, on the basis of recent concrete examples, one can demonstrate that China's leadership has failed to address appropriately the concerns of less powerful third countries involved in OBOR.

The recent failure of a Chinese project in Thailand (Crispin, 2016) shows the Chinese "insensitivity to foreign sensitivities," in the words of Luttwak (2015). Let us recall a concrete example: China asked for the granting of commercial-land developments rights as collateral for funding a railway project. Moreover, the operational methodology of the OBOR Initiative should work on the basis of a "bottom up" approach from the assisted countries, and not "top down" from the Beijing leaders and the Chinese Administration, as is the case at present.

The European Union's experience in the context of the definition and implementation of the Southern and Eastern Neighbourhood Policy, in particular, its institutional and administrative governance structures, could inspire and give useful suggestions to this complex and ambitious geopolitical strategy.

An Institutional Common Framework of the OBOR Initiative is additionally required to share and coordinate plans and the operational implementation of concrete infrastructure investment projects with the national authorities of the partner countries involved. Notwithstanding the high expectations created by OBOR, the Chinese authorities have not yet been interested in putting in place institutional, structured cooperation in this field.

In my view, a successful outcome of the OBOR Initiative requires that China does its outmost to ensure good coordination between the economic, transport and trade policies of all Asian countries covered by the Chinese Initiative.

Furthermore, there is a growing inconsistency between the official declarations of the Chinese leadership on a "Common Destiny" for all Asian countries involved in OBOR, and the real possibilities of framing and implementing a common, "win-win" sustainable development cooperation strategy in trade and economic areas at the level of the Central Asia or Southeast Asia region.

It is becoming ever clearer that China must demonstrate that, through building infrastructures and delocalizing some mature industrial sectors towards low-wages neighboring countries, it is pursuing a genuine and balanced partnership between equals, and not a strategy of primacy in Central Asia, looking first and foremost for the improvement of its overall competitiveness, following a "center-periphery scheme" and reinforcing its hegemony in the region.

There is no doubt that the Chinese perception of the Central Asia region as its "own economic backyard" may easily increase nationalistic feelings in some countries (such as the leasing of land by the Kazakhstan government to China) (Yu-Wen Chen, 2015 aforementioned) as we have seen in recent years in Pakistan (Rafi, 2016), Thailand, Myanmar and Vietnam, and recently in Sri Lanka (The Economist, 2017).

All these preconditions seem not to be given much importance by China. As the Chinese policy of cooperation in Latin America and the African continent shows, the Chinese have a tendency to dictate the content and modalities of cooperation assistance, which has caused some tensions in both regions. It also made evident the imbalanced nature of trade relationships where China's interest prevails by securing key commodities.

IV. Conclusion

To be successful in implementing the OBOR Initiative, China has to demonstrate its capacity, on the political side, to enforce peace and stability, contributing to solving the remaining regional conflicts in Asia.

On the economic side, the Chinese Project has to ensure a balanced economic and trade impact, promoting greater social cohesion and prosperity in its neighborhood to Central Asia and South East Asia, the two main axes of the Initiative.

Unfortunately, it does not seem that China will go this way, as it demands a greater sense of responsibility for world affairs than they want to assume at present. The recent failure of the Chinese project in Thailand shows that China's "assertiveness" leads to an "insensitivity to foreign, third countries' sensitivities" as demonstrated when the Chinese authorities asked for the granting of commercial-land development rights as collateral for funding the railway project.

The operational methodology of the "One Belt, One Road" Initiative should work on the basis of a "bottom up" approach from the assisted countries, and not a "top down" approach from the Beijing leaders and Chinese administration as is currently the case.

The lack of a Common Institutional Framework and Common Administrative structures is one of the major problems in the successful implementation of the OBOR Initiative. In my view, China, focusing on its own national interests, notably on its internal political stability, is neither a predictable nor a credible partner. Therefore, the implementation of OBOR raises, at this initial stage, more doubts than certainties.

Bibliography

Asian Development Bank (2008), *How to Design, Negotiate and Implement a Free Trade Agreement in Asia*, Office of Regional Economic Integration, April.

Asian Development Bank (2016), *Complete Asian Economic Integration Report 2016*, AEIR.

Council of the European Union (2007), *The EU and Central Asia: Strategy for a New Partnership* (Doc 10113/07), 31 May 2007.

Council of the European Union, *Council conclusions on the EU Strategy for Central Asia* (Doc 10191/15), 22 June 2015.

Ding A. S. (2008), *Sino-US Competition in Strategic Arms*, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, 24 April 2008.

Doix V. (2016), Strategie *de la mer Caspienne: le dernier avatar de la mainmise russe*, "Diploweb.com. La revue géopolitique", 25 September 2016.

European Parliament (2016), *Resolution on the Implementation and review of the EU-Central Asia Strategy*, P8_TA(2016)0121.

European Parliament (2016), *Resolution on EC-Uzbekistan Partnership and Cooperation Agreement and bilateral trade in textiles*, P8_TA-PROV(2016)0490.

Firdus Ah Dar (2014), *India's response to new great game in Central Asia*, "Journal of South Asian Studies", no. 02(01), pp. 33–44.

Garcés de los Fayos F. (2016), *Uzbekistan: Succession issues at the heart of Central Asia*, European Parliament, Policy Department, Study, October.

Gurcan M. (2017), *Russia scores diplomacy points by mentoring Kazakhstan on Mideast*, Al-Monitor, 03 January 2017.

Hattstein M. (2000), *Central Asia and Asia Minor: the Great Seljuks, the Anatolian Seljuks and the Khwarazm-Shahs: History*, "Islam, Art and Architecture", Könemann Verlagsgesellschaft mb.H., Cologne, pp. 348–353.

Hyer E. A. (2005), *Haunting by history: China and its North Western Neighbours*, Historia Actual On-line, Núm. 7, Primavera, pp. 83–92.

Kinyakin A. (2016), *The Eurasian Integration: Challenges and Opportunities for the EU*, Working Paper presented at the 16th International Academic Conference on "Security of Europe, EU and Poland in the face of new challenges. Status Quo and Futures Scenarios", organized by the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, Adam Mickiewicz University, Collegium Polonicum, Słubice, February 4–5.

Luttwak E. N. (2012), *The Rise of China vs. the Logic of Strategy*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, p. 12.

Mori S. (2016), The *New Great Game: An Opportunity for the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy*, European Institute for Asian Studies, Briefing paper, June.

Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe (2014), *Resolution 1984(2014) on The request for Partner for Democracy status with the parliamentary Assembly submitted by the Parliament of the Kyrgyz Republic*. Text adopted by the Assembly on 8 April 2014. See also Doc. 13461, report on the Committee on Political affairs and democracy, rapporteur: Mr Andreas Gross.

Rafi S. (2016), *"Punjab-centric" China-Pakistan Economic Corridor exposes political divisions*, "Asia Times News § Features", 14 September.

Shawn W. C. (2016), *China-Thailand Railway project gets untracked*, "Post Publishing PCL", 1 April 2016.

Suchjov M. A. (2016), *Putin lays out Moscow's new Mideast strategy*, "Al-Monitor", 12 December 2016.

Teng-chi Chang S. (2013), *A "responsible great power" not hiding light anymore? –China's Foreign Policy after the Xi-Li Administration's inauguration*, "Prospect Journal", College of Social Sciences, National Taiwan University, pp. 77–106.

The Economist (2017), *Anti-Chinese protests in Sri Lanka. Deep water*, p. 45.

United Nations Development Programme (2015), *Human Development Report 2015, Work for Human Development*, New York.

Wang Y. (2015), *Reviving the Silk Road: What is behind it?*, "Madariaga College of Europe", 24 April 2015.

Yu-Wen Chen (2015), *A Research Note on Central Asia Perspectives on the Rise of China*, "Issues and Studies", vol. 51, no. 3, September 2015, Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University, Taiwan.

Zogg B. (2016), *Putin's Next Step: Central Asia and geopolitics*, CSS Analyses no. 200, ETH Zurich, December 2016.

Chińska inicjatywa „jeden pas, jedna droga": wyzwania i wymagania dotyczące jej skutecznego wdrożenia w Azji Środkowej

Streszczenie

Dwadzieścia pięć lat po rozwiązaniu byłego Związku Radzieckiego i ponownym zaistnieniu republik Azji Środkowej jako niezależnych państw region ten nadal jest sceną rywalizacji wielkich mocarstw (Rosji, Chin, Unii Europejskiej, USA, Indii, Japonii, Turcji i Iranu) konkurujących w swego rodzaju „nowej wielkiej grze", mającej na celu zwiększenie wpływów geopolitycznych i gospodarczych w regionie. Trwające ukryte współzawodnictwo wyjaśniają jego geografia, zróżnicowane i bogate zasoby naturalne, takie jak ropa naftowa i gaz.

Pomimo wspólnej przeszłości historycznej i kulturowej Azja Środkowa stanowi zrónicowany region o wieloetnicznej i wielojęzycznej strukturze oraz niskim stopniu integracji fizycznej, gospodarczej i handlowej. Brak wzajemnego zaufania, utrzymujące się napięcia dotyczące granic oraz wykorzystania i współużytkowania zasobów naturalnych, a także różne poziomy wyników gospodarczych stanowiły jak dotąd zagrożenie dla rozwoju prawdziwej współpracy regionalnej.

W tym kontekście chińska inicjatywa OBOR (*One Belt One Road* – jeden pas, jedna droga), mająca na celu rozwój szybkiego transportu, teoretycznie mogłaby – w przypadku właściwej realizacji – poprawić połączenia międzyregionalne, rozwijając w ten sposób rynek Azji Centralnej oraz wspierając współpracę międzyrządową i kontakty międzyludzkie w regionie.

Czy możemy w takim razie spodziewać się, że ambitna chińska inicjatywa OBOR zwiększy stabilność geopolityczną i pomoże uzyskać wspólne korzyści gospodarcze i handlowe w Azji Środkowej? Jakie są przesłanki, które należałoby spełnić?

Autor szczegółowo analizuje pewne kluczowe wymagania polityczne, gospodarcze i instytucjonalne niezbędne w celu skutecznego wdrożenia strategii OBOR stwierdzając jednak, że trzy lata po uruchomieniu tego kluczowego instrumentu chińskiego modelu „globalizacji bez demokracji" jego wdrożenie stoi w obliczu poważnych problemów, budząc tym samym większe wątpliwości niż pewność.

Słowa kluczowe: inicjatywa „jeden pas, jedna droga"; Ekonomiczny Pas Jedwabnego Szlaku i Azja Środkowa; Bank Inwestycyjny Infrastruktury Azjatyckiej; Eurazjatycka Wspólnota Gospodarcza

Rusif HUSEYNOV
ThePoliticon.net, Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan – Kazakhstan relations: current situation and prospects[1]

Abstract: Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan should not be seen as two states which are close because of their Soviet past. In fact, the titular ethnic groups of Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan – Azerbaijanis and Kazakhs – come from a greater Turkic family. Azerbaijani-Kazakh brotherhood takes its roots from the very origins of the Turkic peoples that spread from the Altai Mountains and has been cemented by the Islamic factor.

Maintaining maritime borders through the Caspian Sea, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan are important nations for one another. Azerbaijan is seen as a bridge for Kazakhstan to access Turkey and Europe, while Kazakhstan offers Azerbaijan routes to Central Asia and China.

The two countries attach great importance to their mutual relations, both bilateral and within various international organizations. These relations have only increased and not experienced any downturns or problems in the past 25 years. Kazakhstan recognized the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, which is an important deal for Azerbaijan in its current conflict with neighboring Armenia. The countries even reached an agreement on the legal status of the Caspian Sea quite rapidly, while similar accords are still absent with other littoral countries. They are both interested in developing an East-West transport and energy corridor, enjoying a favorable geopolitical location that could serve as a bridge between the continents.

Key words: Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Aliyev, Nazarbayev, Nagorno-Karabakh, Turkic, Caspian, oil, Kashagan, Silk Road

Introduction

In different periods of history, the territories of Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan were part of the same empires, including czarist Russia and the Soviet Union most recently. Following the collapse of the USSR, both Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan declared their independence, giving a start to mutual relations in almost all spheres of their activities.

However, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan should not be seen as two states which are close because of their Soviet past. In fact, the titular ethnic groups of Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan – Azerbaijanis and Kazakhs – come from a greater Turkic family. Labeled *'dili bir, dini bir'*, or "having the same language and the same religion", Azerbaijani-Kazakh brotherhood takes its roots from the very origins of the Turkic peoples that spread from the Altai Mountains and has been cemented by the Islamic factor. Despite the fact that Azerbaijani and Kazakh belong to different groups of the Turkic language family and are not mutually intelligible, and that the Azerbaijanis adhere to Shia branch of Islam, while the Kazakhs are Sunni Hanafi, many factors that are in common in both lands motivate them to regard to each other as more than being a partner country.

Maintaining maritime borders through the Caspian Sea, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan are important nations for one another. Azerbaijan is seen as a bridge for Kazakhstan to access Turkey and Europe, while Kazakhstan offers Azerbaijan routes to Central Asia and China.

The two countries attach great importance to their mutual relations, both bilateral and within various international organizations. These relations have been developing only upwards and have not experienced any downs or problems over the past 25 years. Kazakhstan recognized the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, which is an important deal for Azerbaijan in its current conflict with neighboring Armenia. The countries even reached an agreement on the legal status of the Caspian Sea within a short time, while similar accords are still absent with other littoral countries. They are both interested in developing an East-West transport and energy corridor, enjoying a favorable geopolitical location that could serve as a bridge between the continents.

Moreover, Kazakhstan is home to at least 100,000 people of Azerbaijani origin, who also strengthen the brotherly and friendly relations of the two countries.

Political relations

A couple of months before the ultimate collapse of the USSR, a delegation of Soviet Azerbaijan paid a visit to Soviet Kazakhstan. The 10-year agreement which was signed as a result of the visit on October 1, 1991, mutually recognized each other's territorial integrity and pointed to the necessity of cooperation in the spheres of defense and security.

Diplomatic relations, however, between an independent Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, were founded on August 30, 1992. The Kazakh embassy in Azerbaijan was opened on January 9, 1993, the Azerbaijan embassy in Kazakhstan on March 1, 2004. The Azerbaijani consulate general was inaugurated in Aktau on September 6, 2008 (*Azərbaycan-Qazaxıstan*, 2014).

During the period of the Popular Front, which came to power in Azerbaijan in the wake of post-Soviet nationalistic tendencies, Kazakhstan was of great interest for Azerbaijan in terms of promoting the bigger Turkic world. The Popular Front and its leader Abulfaz Elchibey, an ardent supporter of Turkic union, were interested in establishing closer ties with Turkey and the Central Asian republics and establishing joint institutions. In the first summit of the Turkic-speaking states held in Ankara in 1992, Elchibey proposed to apply to the UN to recognize Turkish as an official language of the organization. Nursultan Nazarbayev, Kazakh president, embraced the idea and asked each of the Turkic states to support this proposal at UN level.

After Heydar Aliyev, an ex-Politburo official, ascended to power in Azerbaijan in 1993, a more balanced foreign policy was chosen as a priority, as Baku decided to play with all actors interested in the region. The relations with Kazakhstan, developed both bilaterally and within international institutions, would be important for Azerbaijan mainly for political support in the Nagorno-Karabakh issue and economic projects. These mutual ties were further cemented by the personal relationship of Heydar Aliyev and Nursultan Nazarbayev, prominent members of the former Soviet nomenklatura.

The relations have been maintained at a high level ever since, while official visits of heads of state and government have taken turns. The Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev paid official and working visits to Azerbaijan in 1996, 2000, 2005, 2009, 2010 and 2013, while Azerbaijani president Heydar Aliyev (1993–2003) and Ilham Aliyev (since 2003) were on official and working visits in Kazakhstan in 1997, 1998, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011 (*Azərbaycan-Qazaxıstan*, 2014).

During the first ever official visit by Nursultan Nazarbayev, a number of agreements that established the contractual-legal basis for the two countries, were signed. Among them were the Agreement on the basis of the relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Agreement on promotion and protection of investments, the Agreement on cooperation in the oil and gas industry, the Joint declaration on the Caspian Sea issues, the cooperation agreements between the ministries of foreign affairs, national security organs and central banks.

Another series of documents signed the following year during Heydar Aliyev's return visit to Kazakhstan further reinforced the bilateral relations: the Declaration on further development and deepening of cooperation, the Memorandum of cooperation on transportation of Kazakh oil to world markets, the Agreement on bilateral visa-free regime, the free trade agreement, the treaty on legal assistance and legal relations in civil matters, the agreement on basic principles of cooperation in the field of petroleum engineering, etc.

The successful cooperation of Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan also generated an agreement on the division of the Caspian Sea which has been impossible to reach with other littoral countries such as Iran and Turkmenistan. Between 2001 and 2003, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Russia reached a breakthrough on the legal status of the Caspian Sea, as the countries managed to divide the seabed along the median line and agreed to a solution about their sectors. Each sector, with all its resources and surface, is an exclusive zone of its state. The objection of Iran and Turkmenistan to such a division has prevented all five littoral countries adopting a convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea.

Following Ilham Aliyev's election as president in Azerbaijan in 2003, when the oil projects started yielding tangible results and bringing remarkable profits, thus, pushing an oil boom in the country, Azerbaijani-Kazakh relations continued to improve and reached a new level, in which the development of an energy and transport corridor became a key issue for the both parties.

During President Ilham Aliyev's working visit to Kazakhstan in June 2006, two major documents dealing with transporting Kazakh oil via the Caspian Sea and Azerbaijan's territory, through the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline, were signed.

As of 2016, the contractual-legal basis of Azerbaijani-Kazakh relations is based on over 100 agreements. The most important of them is undoubtedly the Agreement on Strategic Partnership and Allied Relations, which demonstrates the character of the relations. It was signed during Nursultan Nazarbayev's visit to Azerbaijan in 2005 (*Azərbaycan-Qazaxıstan*, 2010).

Many experts, especially on the Azerbaijani side, consider the relations strategic and dare to call Kazakhstan Azerbaijan's closest ally in Central Asia (*Azərbaycan-Qazaxıstan*, 2010), while Nursultan Nazarbayev referred to Azerbaijan as Kazakhstan's major part-

ner in the Caucasus. These relations have only increased and have not experienced any downturns or problems over the past 25 years.

The relations between the two countries have also developed within international organizations. Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan are members and participating states in several universal and regional entities, including the United Nations and its agencies, Commonwealth of Independent States, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Economic Cooperation Organization and Turkic Council.

Positioning itself as "the most European country" in Central Asia, Kazakhstan is very interested in cooperating with Western institutions dealing with security issues. It was the first of the republics of the former Soviet Union to take over the chairmanship of the OSCE in 2010 – Azerbaijan fully supported the idea in relevant sessions and meetings of the organization. The foreign ministry of Kazakhstan then elaborated a special program named "Path to Europe," the priorities of which are EU-Kazakhstan economic collaboration and improvement of the Kazakhstan governance system. Western countries and institutions, in their turn, have demonstrated a lot of interest in Kazakhstan and the whole of Central Asia. Therefore, the only real bridge in this connection avoiding the Russian or Iranian route would be via Azerbaijan.

Although Kazakhstan chose to be a part of Eurasian integrational processes by joining Russia-led organizations, its policy towards Azerbaijan is not expected to undergo any drastic changes. In its turn, Azerbaijan also seeks to maintain smooth relations with Kazakhstan, as well as all regional actors, including Russia, Iran, the USA and European Union. This foreign policy is close to the philosophy of the Kazakhstan leadership. In addition to this, the authorities in both countries are very similar in terms of governing the country and appreciating inner stability above everything else.

It is most likely that Azerbaijan-Kazakhstan relations will develop in several main directions in the coming period, one of which is the project for energy and transport corridors, which serves European interests in terms of ensuring energy security and Chinese interests in promoting their new Silk Road Economic Belt, but contradicts Russia's interests. There is also an opportunity regarding Turkic integration, which is gradually emerging. Although both countries acknowledge the importance of such integration based on common roots, it is proceeding more slowly due to a number of factors.

Kazakhstan's role in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict

Kazakhstan demonstrated active involvement in the early stages of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, a territorial and ethnic dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh, which is *de facto* controlled by the self-declared Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and totally backed by Armenia, but is internationally recognized as part of Azerbaijan. The conflict began in 1988 and escalated into a full-scale war in the early 1990s. Sporadic tensions and border skirmishes have continued in the region continuously, causing human losses despite an official cease-fire signed in 1994.

In autumn 1991, both Kazakhstan and Russia offered their intensive mediation services. Such an involvement, however, might have been generated by the personality of

Kazakh leader, Nursultan Nazarbayev, who enjoyed great prestige along with Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation in the post-Soviet space.

Therefore, both leaders, upon agreement with the Azerbaijani and Armenian sides, took upon themselves the role of mediators. It was the major mediation effort following the internationalization of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

From September 20, 1991, they conducted shuttle diplomacy between Armenia and Azerbaijan. On September 20–23, 1991, the mediating mission led by Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev visited Baku and Yerevan.

Taking the principles of territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs of sovereign states and observance of civil rights as the starting point, a breakthrough was achieved on September 22 when Armenia renounced all its claims to Azerbaijani territory. This allowed the parties to agree to a joint communiqué the next day, committing both sides to disarm and withdraw militias, allow the return of refugees and IDPs, re-establish the Soviet-era administrative order of the Nagorno-Karabakh oblast and set up delegations to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. Soviet army and internal troops would still remain in the conflict zone and the process would be supervised by Russian and Kazakh officials. The peace communiqué was signed by Levon Ter-Petrosian (Armenia), Ayaz Mutallibov (Azerbaijan), Nursultan Nazarbayev (Kazakhstan) and Boris Yeltsin (Russia) (Zheleznovodsk Declaration, 1991). On September 25, the parties signed a cease-fire amid reports of ongoing battles on the front.

When Azerbaijani and Armenian leaders met for follow-up talks on October 25, fighting had intensified. The talks produced little more than an agreement to continue talking. The final blow to the Yeltsin-Nazarbayev peace effort came on November 20 when an Azerbaijani helicopter on the way to peace talks was shot down over over Karakend village in the Martuni District in uninvestigated circumstances while carrying Russian and Kazakhstani observers and the Azerbaijani interior minister and deputy prime minister (Eichensehr, Reisman, 1998, p. 54).

Popular demands that the Azerbaijani government respond, led to a blockade of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. On November 27, the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, in a symbolically important move, annulled the autonomy of Nagorno-Karabakh. By December, Azerbaijan had begun mobilizing for war by nationalizing military hardware and recalling Azerbaijani conscripts from the Soviet army.

The failure of the Yeltsin-Nazarbayev mediation effort, in retrospect, appears unavoidable and overdetermined. Two factors in particular contributed to the failure: (1) all sides lacked centralized control over the military units on the frontlines; and (2) even had they held command authority, it is questionable whether Armenian and Azerbaijani leaders were committed to ending the conflict at this early stage.

As a result, Kazakhstan's intermediation did not last as long as other big powers, such as the United States and France, who have stepped in and assumed the role of mediators within the OSCE Minsk Group since 1994.

However, the endless negotiations mediated by the Minsk Group have not yielded any tangible results for over 20 years. Consequently, many experts and societies in both warring countries, especially Azerbaijan, are demanding the reformation of the Minsk Group.

Some argue that the failure of the Minsk Group has caused the belligerent parties, especially Azerbaijan, to search for more effective mechanisms and new approaches. The replacement of the co-chairs (France, Russia, the United States) of the Minsk Group, or the addition of new ones are the most commonly voiced ideas. As the present mediators would probably not withdraw or terminate their involvement, since their national interests are at stake in the region and they do not want another mediator to undertake initiation, the most feasible proposal is to include new co-chairs in the Minsk Group.

In one of his recent articles, the author of this chapter called Kazakhstan a potential candidate for the co-chairmanship of the Minsk Group should the organization undergo any changes (Huseynov, 2015). A large, Eurasian country and big actor in the post-Soviet area, Kazakhstan suits perfectly the role of mediator in the conflict. While Kazakhstan's titular population is Turkic and shares the same language, religion and roots with the Azerbaijanis, the country itself is a member of several Kremlin-led organizations together with Armenia. It also has a very large population of Russians who share a religion with the Armenians. Therefore, Kazakhstan could be equally close or distant to either warring side. Add to this Kazakhstan's previous experience in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and they are clearly the best choice to join the group and help bring peace to the region.

Some claim that Nursultan Nazarbayev could seek to partially take over the function of holding negotiations between Azerbaijan and Armenia as there is some discomfort over the fact that Russia is the only active mediator in the region and it bears too much responsibility in looking for ways to resolve the Karabakh problem (*Will Nagorno-Karabakh*, 2016).

The fact is that the formula of collective Eurasian security, which is developing in two directions – the northern part of the Middle East and the EEU – is being approved in the Caucasus. In terms of such collective security it would be right if Putin were not the only one who takes part in the negotiations between the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia, but that other leaders in the Eurasian space are engaged too, that means, of course, Nazarbayev.

Therefore, on the one hand, they need to ensure the geopolitical vector of displacement of all kinds of western intermediaries from the area and, on the other hand, to form various economic ties between states in the region – not only logistical but also energy ones, because all the major states are involved in either the export or the transit of hydrocarbons. Kazakhstan is also very interested in developing relations with Azerbaijan based on good neighborliness and economic partnership lines and that there will be peace in the Caucasus (*Will Nagorno-Karabakh*, 2016).

Interestingly, during Armenia's accession to the Eurasian Economic Union in 2014, one of the founding states of which is Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev once again openly defended the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and prevented Armenia from entering the entity with the occupied territories of Nagorno-Karabakh (*Карабах – Назарбаев*, 10.08.2014). It means that Kazakhstan has quite big weight in the post-Soviet space and can influence the developments going on in the region. Therefore, the country's involvement in the settlement and peace process around Karabakh should be considered quite natural.

Turkic Council

The idea of Turkic integration emerged in the early 1990s with the independence of the new Turkic countries from the dying Soviet Union. The major locomotives of the idea were Turkey, which found it a great opportunity for creating its own sphere of influence and Azerbaijan led by the romantic nationalistic Popular Front and its leader Abulfaz Elchibey.

One of the first attempts at such integration was the International Organization of Turkic Culture or *Türksoy* for short (Goble, 2009). It is a cultural entity that incorporates not only independent nations but also non-recognized Northern Cyprus and several autonomies inside Russia and Moldova. However, further development of the idea did not go beyond cultural issues. Due to the lack of self-identity in the newly independent republics, different directions in foreign policy and the presence of other ethnic groups, the initiative faded away and slid off the agenda, although leaders and officials still kept assembling at high level.

However, in the 2000s, the idea was brought back again onto the agenda. As a result, the Turkic Council, an intergovernmental organization, whose overarching aim is promoting comprehensive cooperation among Turkic states was established on October 3, 2009 by the Nakhchivan Agreement signed by Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey. According to Halil Akinci, the founding Secretary-General of the organization, "the Turkic Council has become the first voluntary alliance of Turkic states in history."

Within the framework of the organization Kazakhstan hosted two summits (Almaty – 2011 and Astana – 2015) and Azerbaijan one (Qabala – 2013). Each country also hosts the offices for Turkic Council-affiliated organizations: the International Turkic Academy is located in Astana, while the Parliamentary Assembly of the Turkic Speaking Countries is in Baku.

Kazakhstan, due to its central location, size and abundant natural resources, could be a key actor within this organization, however, Turkey with an older and more fundamental statehood, is the central one at present. Azerbaijan is probably the most important country in this alliance, as a bridge that links European and Asian members of the Turkic world on both sides of the Caspian.

Nazarbayev is also the only head of state who has participated in all Turkic summits since 1992. This should come as no surprise, since Kazakhstan, once the most russified of the non-Slavic Soviet republics, has strived to strike a balance between different powers and geopolitical interests. Kazakhstan's multi-vector foreign policy has been instrumental in serving the nation's economic interests, as well as avoiding significant tension with any country. The Turkic vector, and particularly multilateral cooperation within the framework of the Turkic Council, is, therefore, viewed as an important dimension diversifying Kazakhstan's foreign policy "basket" and opening up additional room for maneuver (Bayaliyev, 2014).

At the moment, four out of the six fully recognized Turkic states – Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey – are in this union. Their combined area is approximately 3.8 million sq. km, the current population is over 100 million. The combined GDPs of the member-states, as of 2016, are USD 900 billion.

The importance of this organization is expected to grow as there is a revival in the Turkic identity and an acknowledgement of its roots. These linguistic and religious roots promise more integration. More steps are taken to get these countries closer. Loosely modeled on the EU, the union has centralized structures (e.g.: parliamentary assembly) and plans for unifying other institutions.

For instance, establishing a unified alphabet for Turkic countries is on agenda. The draft, based on Turkish Latin script, was proposed back in 1993. It is worth noting that Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan acted quickly after the 1991 Soviet collapse to embrace Latin script, Kazakhstan took a more cautious route: it did not want to alienate its large Russian-speaking population. Switching the Kazakh alphabet to Latin is very popular and supported in some circles as it would provide a means for Kazakhs to change the Soviet (colonial) identity, which still largely dominates the national consciousness, to a sovereign (Kazakh) identity. Among the many arguments in favor of switching the Kazakh alphabet to Latin, boosting the national identity of the Kazakh people is the main and decisive one. Cyrillic facilitated and facilitates the orientation of the Kazakh national consciousness towards the Russian language and Russian culture. As a result, Kazakh identity as such remains largely undefined. On this level, moving to Latin will make it possible for Kazakhs to form a clearer national identity (Bartlett, 2007).

For many Turkic nationalists, a revival of Turkic identity could lead in the long-term to the emergence of another global superpower capable to compete with the likes of the United States, China, the European Union and Russia in the heart of Eurasia.

However, too many obstacles hinder this desire. First of all, there is the difference in the socio-economic levels of the member-states and different priorities in foreign affairs. For example, two of the member-states (Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan) are already part of Russia-led geopolitical and military blocs. The interest of big regional actors and their actions to prevent such an alliance should also be taken into consideration.

Moreover, not all independent states (Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) distance themselves from the union, while dependent Turkic communities in Russia, China, Ukraine, Afghanistan, Iran, Moldova and other countries are not represented in the union, thus undermining the current importance and scope of this alliance.

Economic relations

Brotherly bonds, huge resources, sea borders, the Azerbaijani diaspora in Kazakhstan, the geostrategic position on the historic Silk Road are the main driving forces behind the mutual economic relations between Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. Trade, industry, energy, transport and agriculture are priority directions of bilateral cooperation.

Today, there is a fairly well-developed legal framework between Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan in the field of economic relations, more than 25 agreements signed on investment protection, avoidance of double taxation and a host of other contracts that have a positive impact on the development of mutual trade.

Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan have been enjoying intensive economic and trade relations, with turnover usually high, but decreasing during crises. Kazakhstan sells Azer-

baijan mostly grain, barley, tobacco, electric equipment, rolled steel carbide, oil and hydrocarbons and natural chemical compounds. Kazakhstan plays an important role in Azerbaijan's food security. The country's annual demand for wheat is 3 million tons (metric tons), half of which was imported from Kazakhstan both in 2015 and 2016 (Qazaxıstanın qadağası Azərbaycanı…).

Meanwhile, major exports from Azerbaijan to Kazakhstan include oil products from bituminous materials, polymers of ethylene, car and machinery components, pumps and hoists of fluids, combined building construction.

Between the years 2001–2011, trade turnover between Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan increased by 2.6 times, reaching USD 276 million, consisting of USD 218 million (increased by 2.2 times) from Kazakhstan to Azerbaijan and USD 58 million (increased by 8.8 times) in the opposite direction.

Table 1

Trade turnover between Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan (by years)

Year	From Kazakhstan to Azerbaijan	From Azerbaijan to Kazakhstan	Total
2005	USD 129 million	USD 3 million	USD 132 million
2009			USD 236 million
2011	USD 218 million	USD 58 million	USD 276 million
2012	USD 340.56 million	USD 52.87 million	USD 393.43 million (Ministry of Economy of Azerbaijan, 2012)
2013	USD 306.76 million	USD 64.23 million	USD 370.99 million (Ministry of Economy of Azerbaijan, 2013)
2014	USD 220.03 million	USD 32.1 million	USD 252.1 million (MFA of Kazakhstan, 2014)
2015	USD 98.92 million	USD 17.96 million	USD 116.88 million (Ministry of Economy of Azerbaijan, 2015)
2016 (January–June)	USD 63.847 million	USD 7.657 million	USD 71.5 million (Statistical Committee of Azerbaijan, 2016)

Source: Statistical Committee of Azerbaijan, 2016.

ccording to the Statistics Committee of Azerbaijan, the trade turnover between Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan for six months (January–June) of 2016 was equal to USD 71,505,620 (from Kazakhstan to Azerbaijan – USD 63,847,810, from Azerbaijan to Kazakhstan – USD 7,657,810) (Statistical Committee of Azerbaijan, 2016).

Table 2

Major export products of Kazakhstan to Azerbaijan (2016)

No.	Product	Amount (in USD)
1	Natural gas (gaseous)	19,129,780
2	Wheat products	12,523,450
3	Crude oil and bituminous materials from the raw oil products	12,154,330
4	Rolled steel	8,088,870
5	Natural barium sulphate (barite)	3,571,440

Source: Statistical Committee of Azerbaijan, 2016.

Table 3

Major export products of Azerbaijan to Kazakhstan (2016)

No.	Product	Amount (in USD)
1	White sugar and sucrose	4,100,860
2	Ferrous metal products	1,063,300
3	Furniture and furniture components	306,020
4	Optical media (discs for laser reading systems) and others	287,150
5	Tomato products	150,590

Source: Statistical Committee of Azerbaijan, 2016.

At a business forum in 2013, it was revealed that 37 companies operating with Kazakh capital were represented in Azerbaijan, while 46 companies with Azerbaijani capital have been registered in the western region of Kazakhstan alone (*Azərbaycanla Qazaxıstan arasında...*).

In 2014, Aktau hosted a Kazakh-Azerbaijani business forum featuring officials and business circles from both countries. According to the data revealed in the forum, Kazakh investments in Azerbaijan's economy amounted to USD 5.2 million in 2002–2013. The investments flowing from Azerbaijan into Kazakhstan were much higher; USD 132.8 million just in 2011–2013 (Эфендиев, 2014).

As of 2016, more than 700 operating companies with Azerbaijani capital have been registered in Kazakhstan, some 60 companies with Kazakh capital have been registered in Azerbaijan (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan to mull, 2016). Those companies were mostly engaged in the spheres of trade, transport, industry, agriculture, services, banking, insurance and construction.

Investments by Azerbaijani companies in Kazakh economy have exceeded USD 130 million since 2005, while the relevant figure for 2013 came to USD 40 million (*AZPROMO*).

The most recent – 13th Azerbaijan-Kazakhstan intergovernmental commission on economic cooperation, which has been functioning since 1999, was held in Astana in September 2016. The event was co-chaired by Azerbaijani energy minister Natig Aliyev and his Kazakh counterpart Kanat Bozumbayev. The agenda for the session included issues on collaborating in a number of areas, including economy, energy, transport, agriculture, environmental protection and culture. They also discussed issues regarding migration, the space industry, high technology, science and education. Transportation of Kazakh oil and oil products to the world market through the territory of Azerbaijan was also the focus of attention (*Azerbaijan-Kazakhstan intergovernmental*, 2016).

Economic relations will acquire greater scope after the inception of the largest projects on both sides of the Caspian Sea. Both Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan are eager to be key actors in the shortest East-West transport corridor, given their favorable geographic location as a bridge between Europe and Asia. Currently, energy and other goods produced in Kazakhstan are carried to Europe via Azerbaijan. Launching the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railroad, which is a priority for Azerbaijan in terms of enhancing the capacity of the transit corridor, opens up promising prospects for Kazakhstan as well. The exploitation of huge reserves of Kashagan and Tengiz oil deposits further create demand for this corridor. The

increase in the westward flow of Kazakh oil and other goods will make Kazakhstan an interested party in this field. The new international port of Baku, after the commissioning of the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars project, as well as development of transport infrastructure in Kazakhstan, will serve further development of cooperation in this field and increase the importance of these countries as a transit corridor. And this, in turn, will not only boost the economies of both parties but also attract foreign companies and capital into this region.

Energy and transport projects

Energy and transport projects have been key issues in Azerbaijan-Kazakhstan relations since the 1990s: Kazakhstan's major goal was to obtain secure access to Western markets for exporting its hydrocarbon resources. Azerbaijan offered itself as a reliable transit bridge in this direction.

The first attempt at a common energy project was made in 1997, when the Memorandum of cooperation on transportation of Kazakh oil to world markets was signed by the leaders of the two countries. However, the idea gained more impetus when an Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey oil pipeline became feasible.

The relevant Ankara Declaration was adopted in October 1998 by President of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev, President of Georgia Eduard Shevardnadze, President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev, President of Turkey Süleyman Demirel and President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov. The declaration was witnessed by the United States Secretary of Energy Bill Richardson, who expressed strong support for the pipeline. The intergovernmental agreement in support of the pipeline was signed by Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey in November 1999 in Istanbul. At the summit, the Government of Kazakhstan documented its interest in participating in the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline (Aydın, Erhan, 2004, p. 137).

The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline, which has been an irritating issue since its conception for the likes of Russia and Iran who have interests in the region, is a product of the balanced policy for Azerbaijan. Participation in the pipeline also helped Kazakhstan to diversify its multi-vector foreign policy.

The pipeline is supplied with oil from Azerbaijan's Azeri-Chirag-Guneshli oil field in the Caspian Sea. The project is also a great opportunity for Kazakhstan, as it offers to deliver oil from Kashagan and other oil fields in Central Asia.

In 2006, Nursultan Nazarbayev signed an agreement on Kazakhstan's accession to the project (*Kazakhstan hops*, 2006). The following year Kazakhstan's national company KazMunayGas concluded a memorandum of understanding on creating a Trans-Caspian system for transporting oil which would make it possible to dispatch Kashagan and Tengiz oil through the Eskene-Kyrik-Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan line. The plan was to transport 25 million tons of oil annually in the initial phase, increasing to 38 million tons later. Design, construction and commission of the project were to be confined to the beginning of production in the Kashagan field in 2010–2011, but Kazakhstan encountered difficulties in development. Moreover, opposition from both Russia and Iran also created obstacles for the Trans-Caspian project.

However, Kazakhstan started transporting oil to the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline by tanker, across the Caspian Sea in 2008.

2012 was a year of intense negotiations on the fate of the Trans-Caspian oil pipeline. In the context of the unresolved legal status of the Caspian Sea and the lack of consensus between member-states regarding the financing of the project components of the project, the issue was never realized.

During the most recent meeting of the Azerbaijan-Kazakhstan Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation, which was held in Astana in September of this year, delivering Kazakh oil and oil products to world markets via Azerbaijan was again the key issue of the agenda, as transporting hydrocarbon raw materials through the Trans-Caucasian corridor is one of the main directions of the current cooperation. 2.9 million tons of oil, oil products and liquid gas were transported from Kazakhstan to the port of Batumi, Georgia, through the territory of Azerbaijan in 2015. The relevant figure for the first six months of the present year is 1.6 million tons (*Qazaxıstan-Azərbaycan*).

The parties agreed to explore joint opportunities in terms of energy projects, to expand cooperation in the delivery of oil and oil products, aimed at the diversification of routes from the Caspian region to the world and European markets, as well as issues of transport through the Batumi Oil Terminal liquefied petroleum gas of Azeri origin.

According to the latest news, Kazakhstan may start oil exports from its large Kashagan field through Azerbaijan in 2017. Noting that "Kashagan oil may be transported by means of Azerbaijan's railways or pumped through pipelines of the country," Kazakh Energy Minister Kanat Bozumbayev said that the volume of production is expected to increase in the short term (*Kashagan oil*, 2016).

Kashagan is a large oil and gas field in Kazakhstan, located in the north of the Caspian Sea. The geological reserves of Kashagan are estimated at 4.8 billion tons of oil. Total oil reserves amount to 38 billion barrels; some 10 billion of which are recoverable reserves. There are large natural gas reserves at the Kashagan field – over one trillion cubic meters. The preliminary volume of production will stand at 75,000 barrels per day (*Kashagan to produce*, 2016).

Kazakhstan's generally proven reserves of hydrocarbons account for 5.5 billion tons of oil and 3 trillion cubic meters of gas. In other words, it is possible for the country to produce 33.6 billion cubic meters of gas and 80 million tons of oil annually, however, the country has no guaranteed independent, reliable and secure oil export route except the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline (*Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan to lay*, 2016). Even though Kazakhstan utilizes different pipelines for exporting its oil, they are considered insufficient to meet the export potential.

Therefore, the Kazakh authorities are focusing on the Kazakhstan Caspian Transportation System (KCTS) or trans-Caspian route. The KCTS envisages construction of the Eskene-Kuryk-Baku pipeline with a length of 739 kilometers. The feasibility study of the Eskene-Kuryk section of the pipeline envisages construction of an oil pumping station at the Tengiz field, the Tengiz-Oporny-Uzen-Aktau main oil pipeline, an oil terminal and a new port in Kuryk village, as well as reconstruction and expansion of the port in Aktau. The construction of this pipeline will enable Kazakhstan to export its oil to ports in Georgia and Turkey. The initial capacity of the new pipeline will amount to 23–25 mil-

lion tons per year with the possibility of future expansion to 56 million tons (*Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan are planning*, 2016).

The KCTS is to ensure the export of Kazakh oil to international markets mainly from the Kashagan field (second and third phase) via the Caspian Sea, through the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline and other oil transportation systems both in Azerbaijan and other transit countries.

These plans may be postponed due to problems with the development of the Kashagan field. In the best case, Kazakhstan will be able to produce 20 million tons in the field per year by 2020. They will be able to reach the level of commercial production, which is 75,000 barrels per day for Kashagan, only at the end of this year, only 5 million tons are planned for 2017. According to some experts, less than one-fifth of this amount will be delivered to foreign markets. Nevertheless, the development of Kashagan opens up a new route for Kazakh-Azerbaijani oil cooperation (*Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan to lay*, 2016).

As we can see now, the transportation of Kazakh oil via Azerbaijan fell sharply due to a drop in oil prices, Therefore, we should not expect that significant volumes of Kazakh oil will be delivered to world markets via Azerbaijan in a short time, claim some experts.

Kazakhstan participates in another important endeavor of the Azerbaijani government, the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway system. This project is set to complete a transport corridor linking Azerbaijan to Turkey (and therefore Central Asia and China to Europe) by rail. The line is expected to transport an initial annual volume of 6.5 million tons, rising to a long-term target of 17 million tons (Uysal, 2014).

Although mainly three countries (Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey) are involved in this project, several other railway systems which are under construction or under discussion in other countries may extend the coverage of Baku-Tbilisi-Kars line. Kazakhstan completed a west-east rail connection, which may be a strong alternative for connecting Turkey to China via the Caspian Sea. Two new lines, Zhezkazgan-Beyneu and Arkalyk-Shubarkol, both of which will strengthen Kazakhstan's position especially in transit loads by rail, were opened in 2014 (Uysal, 2014).

The Zhezkazgan-Beyneu railway is 988 km long, creating a continuous corridor in an east-west direction. This new line shortens the distance for loads transported from China to the Caspian Sea by 1000 km. Although the section between Zhezkazgan and Saksaulskaya may also aid the China-Europe railway connection via Russia, the complete lines will surely play a key role in the alternative route from China to the west via the Black Sea. After the completion of the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway project, Turkey will have an alternative connection via the Caspian Sea to Kazakhstan and China, which is called the "Iron Silk Road" in Turkey (Uysal, 2014).

The other newly opened line is the Shubarkol-Arkalyk railway, 214 km long with a south-north trajectory. That link provides a connection from central to northern Kazakhstan. That line may be an alternative route to the currently used China-Russia-Europe connection via Astana (Uysal, 2014).

Launching the new railroads will not only give an impulse to the development of Central and Western Kazakhstan, but also will increase the transit potential of the trans-Kazakhstan transport corridors passing from China in the direction of Russia and further Europe.

Once the Marmaray tunnel in Turkey is opened, the BTK railway could connect to the European railway system, which will undoubtedly help integrate the South Caucasus with the European economic space.

According to the Kazakh ambassador to Azerbaijan, both Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan plan to become large transit hubs. He noted that the Silk Road project through Kazakhstan and the Caucasus will enable the transit of goods from China to Europe in 12–15 days, while currently it takes 30–45 days by sea. "Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey are interested in developing such methods of transportation," he added. Azerbaijan is now finalizing the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway project and the construction of a large seaport near Baku (*Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan develop*, 2015).

New ferries will run between the Baku International Sea Trade Port in Alat and the port of Kuryk in Kazakhstan, which is currently under construction. Cargo transshipments through Alat increased by over threefold, which is linked with the increase of cargo transportation on the Baku-Aktau-Baku route. Both the already operating and new ferries will run between the ports of Baku and Kuryk. Moreover, a free trade zone will be created at the Kuryk port following the example of Baku. The ferry complex in Kuryk is considered a strategically important object as it will allow the transport of goods to neighboring countries without unloading cars. The new ferry terminal is expected to allow the country to export oil, polyethylene, iron ore and concentrates to world markets through Baku, Azerbaijan (*Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan to launch*, 2016).

The ferry complex is due to be commissioned in December 2016. The capacity of the port is expected to reach the amount of 4 million tons of freight per year (*Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan to launch*, 2016).

The Baku International Sea Trade Port is located in the Alat settlement, 65 kilometers south of Baku. The construction of the Baku International Sea Trade Port started in November 2010. Being located at a crossroads of Europe and Asia nearby important markets such as China, Turkey, Iran and Russia the new port has huge opportunities to become one of the leading trade and logistics hubs of Eurasia. The free trade zone to be created here is expected to make a huge contribution not only to the economy of Azerbaijan, but the whole region (*Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan to launch*, 2016).

The transport corridor created by Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan is gaining more importance not only regionally, but globally, as China has initiated the creation of a new silk road that will link Asia and Europe.

Interestingly, Chinese President Xi Jinping was the first to announce the initiative to create a transport and trade corridor (the Silk Road Economic Belt) between Central Asia and Europe during his visit to Astana, Kazakhstan, in September 2013.

The new route is believed to allow the redirection of cargo flows in an eastern direction, bypassing the territory of the Russian Federation, which has banned the transit of any goods from Ukraine through its territory, regardless of the country of final destination (*First container*, 2016).

Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan are ideal partners for construction of the Belt due to their favorable location en route from East to West, within the convergence area of Europe, Russia and China and for their interest in large-scale transnational transportation systems. Azerbaijan usually strives to find a balance between the EU and Russia, while Kazakhstan, just like other Central Asian countries, does the same thing between Russia

and China. With China's continuous growth, the convergence point of the three circles will move westward and the position of Azerbaijan, as well as the western shore of the Caspian Sea, will become a new joint area.

Azerbaijan is the pivotal country in the China-Central Asia-West (CCW) economic corridor. This corridor is one of the Belt and Road's six economic corridors, involving Central Asian countries, Iran and the Gulf region, Transcaucasia and Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula. Traditionally, transport between China and West Asia takes place mainly through maritime routes, whereas the CCW corridor is a land-based alternative to traditional maritime routes. The shortest route from China to West Asia is going via Baku. To date, the railways leading to the ports of Aktau and Turkmenbashi have opened up and cargo may be transported by ferry to the new Baku International Sea Trade Port, and then westwards onto Turkey and Europe (Lianlei, 2016).

In August 2015, Azerbaijan received the first container train from China, which is a pilot train on the Trans-Caspian international transportation route. The container train proceeded from China to the port of Aktau in Kazakhstan, from where it was transferred to the capital of Azerbaijan.

In addition, the port of Turkmenbashi in Turkmenistan, which connects to a railway running from Kazakhstan, provides an alternative route and is therefore a competitor to the Aktau option. The competition between these two ports on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea has undoubtedly strengthened the position of Baku as a transport hub. The North-South Transport Corridor (NSTC), currently under development, has Azerbaijan as a joint point connecting Russia and Iran and is designed to provide Indian Ocean countries with land-based access to Europe and Central Asia. Once complete, the NSTC will further consolidate the geo-economic role of Baku.

In January 2016, a trial container train linking Ukraine to China through the Black and Caspian Seas departed from the Baku International Sea Trade Port to Aktau, Kazakhstan. The container train, which consists of 20 containers, delivered cargo from Illichivsk, Ukraine, to Dostyk, a Kazakh city on the Chinese border within 11–12 days (*First container*, 2016).

In October 2016, the railway administrations of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Georgia signed a memorandum on the Trans-Caspian International Transport Route Association and adopted its charter. The Association will aim at attracting transit and foreign trade cargo to the route, as well as at the development of TITR's integrated logistics products. The association's office will be located in Astana. The entity is expected to develop an effective tariff policy, optimize the costs and value of integrated services, create a single technology for the transportation process, facilitate the reduction of administrative barriers linked with border and customs procedures and processing of cargo and containers in the ports (*Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Georgia*, 2016).

The participants in the meeting also discussed the establishment of competitive rates for TITR. The parties agreed preferential tariff rates within the territories of the TITR participating countries for a number of export-oriented Kazakh goods, including grain, petroleum products and nonferrous metals (*Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Georgia*, 2016).

The Trans-Caspian international transportation route runs through China, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Georgia, and then through Turkey and Ukraine to Europe. The project enjoys an opportunity to become one of the most attractive and profitable routes

for consignors from European countries, while approximately 300,000–400,000 containers are expected to be transported via TITR by 2020, bringing huge financial profits to all participating countries. Given the potential of the iron Silk Road to shorten the Sino-Europe transportation time to six days, the potential of the NBIST port as a pivot has attracted significant attention from China (*Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Georgia*, 2016).

Speaking of the Chinese transport and logistics projects in this region, it is worth mentioning one of the most ambitious initiatives of Beijing. In August 2015, the mass media reported China's grandiose plans to construct a bridge over the Caspian Sea which could become one of the main channels of the Silk Road Economic Belt. Nevertheless, it is still unknown how real the implementation of such a large-scale infrastructure project could be.

The Silk Road initiative aims at reviving a route that connects China and Europe via Central Asia and the Middle East, as well as a path through Southeast Asia and Africa. Critics from countries including Kazakhstan and India say the main purpose of the plan is to boost China's geopolitical influence and export China's excess industrial capacity to overseas countries. Doubts also exist over the feasibility and security risks of the initiative (Shi, 2016).

While Beijing insists its Silk Road plans are not a geopolitical gambit, some parties are wary of China expanding its economic presence. The creation of financial architecture to fund "One Belt, One Road" – including the USD 40 billion Silk Road Fund and the USD 100 billion Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank – met resistance from Washington and Tokyo. In Russia, which is promoting its own integration project, the Eurasian Economic Union, China's plans received a cold reception and were "perceived as 'they're trying to steal central Asia from us'," says Alexander Gabuev at the Carnegie Moscow Centre think-tank (Farchy, 2016).

International logistics projects are an effective tool to enter new markets, which is especially important in the time of crisis in the economies of Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. They possess unique opportunities to intensify bilateral trade and to recover trade turnover through international transport corridors. At the same time, in the face of declining world prices for energy resources, it is important to increase the volume of trade of non-raw goods, which seems much more difficult. The Chinese government has identified the Belt as a priority of foreign affairs and will inject sustainable resources to advance it. Given these favorable conditions, the Belt can become a long-term project from which Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan stand to benefit (Lianlei, 2016).

The first dividend from the interconnection is a streamlined trans-Eurasia transportation system. The main focus is on East Asia and the Western Europe, while Central Asia and the South Caucasus act as a bridge between the two. The streamlined trans-Eurasia transportation will first benefit the transit countries, for which transit fees could offer a significant source of fiscal income. This has been demonstrated by Kazakhstan's experience, where the transit fee reached USD 1 billion in 2014. Azerbaijan has not yet reached its full potential as a transit state; however with the development of the trans-Caspian transport system and NSTC, Azerbaijan will benefit from its position as a hub on the western shore of the Caspian Sea. According to estimates, the trans-Caspian route alone could transport approximately 300,000–400,000 containers by 2020, bringing hundreds of millions of manats in profit for Azerbaijan (Lianlei, 2016).

Azerbaijani diaspora in Kazakhstan

The Azerbaijani diaspora in Kazakhstan is one of the most significant ethnic groups in Kazakhstan. According to unofficial data, around 100,000 Azerbaijanis live in Kazakhstan, while others claim this figure to be at most at 300,000 (*Azərbaycan-Qazaxıstan münasibətləri*, 2010). However, the 2012 official statistics informed about 93,490 ethnic Azerbaijanis living in Kazakhstan. In his interview in 2012, the Kazakh ambassador to Azerbaijan mentioned that over 130,000 people of Azerbaijani origin reside in his country (Primbetov, 2011).

In the early 20th century, the number of the Azerbaijanis in Kazakhstan was quite low: according to the 1926 Soviet All-Union census, only 46 Azerbaijanis were present in Kazakhstan (Solonets, 2013).

The formation of the Azerbaijani diaspora in Kazakhstan started in the 1930s, when thousands of Azerbaijanis were expelled from Azerbaijan and sent to the Kazakh steppe during Stalin's Great Purge. In the 1939 census, 12,996 Azerbaijanis were living in Kazakhstan (Solonets, 2013).

The second wave of emigration took place in 1944, when the ethnic Azerbaijanis of Georgia, another Soviet republic, were resettled in Kazakhstan. Finally, a third wave took place in the mid-1950s, when thousands of enthusiastic young people arrived in Kazakhstan during the Virgin Land Campaign (Sidelnikova, 2007).

According to official figures, some 15,000 Azerbaijanis were living in Kazakhstan at the turn of the 1950–60s. In later years, this number would only grow: 56,166 in 1970, 73,345 in 1979 and 90,083 in 1989 (Solonets, 2013). The main areas of employment of Azerbaijani migrants were construction, services and trade. A number of prominent specialists also came to Kazakhstan to create new production facilities, research and development of mineral deposits. In general, the Azerbaijani population of Kazakhstan increased 6.9 times between 1939 and 1989.

In the postwar period, a tendency of assimilation of Azerbaijanis was noticed during their integration with the local society. Between 1950 and the first half of the 1980s, immigrants from the Caucasian republics, not being able to create cultural and educational institutions, could scarcely preserve their national identities. For migrants from Azerbaijan who were fluent in Russian and adhering to a secular life, it was relatively easy to adapt to the social and cultural environment of Kazakhstan. The absence of ethnic communities also contributed to the loss of a sense of national belonging.

A new wave of migration to Kazakhstan was caused by severe socio-economic and ethno-political processes in Azerbaijan at the end of the 1980s–1990s. The main reasons for the mass migration of Azerbaijanis at that period were the ethnic conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh and the economic crisis in Azerbaijan accompanied by mass unemployment and falling living standards. In this regard, the majority of migrants were Azerbaijani refugees who left their homes in Armenia and Armenian occupied Azerbaijani territories from the border with her Azerbaijani regions (Solonets, 2013).

A huge influence on the increase in the influx of migrants was exerted by personal connections between visitors and representatives of the Azerbaijani diaspora on Kazakh soil. Wealthy members of the Azerbaijani community would help their relatives and friends with resettlement and employment. Migration factors resulted in the formation of

compact living groups of Azerbaijanis in many regions of Kazakhstan (Solonets, 2013).

Due to the beginning of the oil boom in Azerbaijan in the 1990s, some diaspora members left Kazakhstan to return to the home country. However, by 2009 increased natural growth helped offset losses from emigration and even exceeded them.

Chart 1

Changes in the numbers of the Azerbaijani population of Kazakhstan

Growth of Azerbaijani diaspora in Kazakhstan
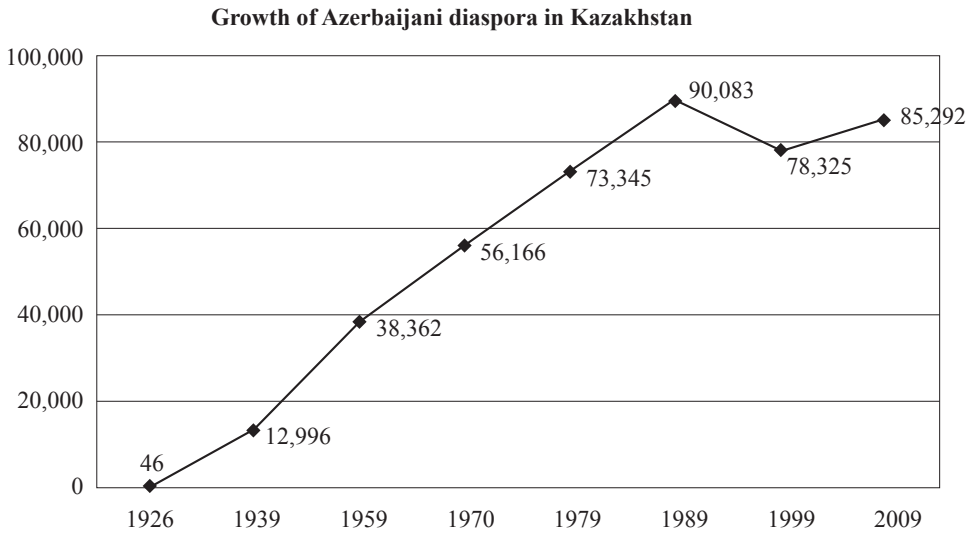
Source: Solonets, 2013.

The processes in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union created favorable conditions for the revival of the national identity of the Azerbaijanis living in Kazakhstan. One of the main directions of preserving ethnic identity was their active involvement in cultural life. In the 1990s and early 2000s, national cultural centers that seek to preserve the Azerbaijani language and traditions emerged in various cities of Kazakhstan.

In May, 1992, an Azerbaijani cultural center "Turan" was registered in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Its organizational charter set out the following aims: to promote the improvement of ethnic relations in the Republic of Kazakhstan and the active involvement of Azerbaijanis in all spheres of social and cultural life. In a short time, similar Azerbaijani cultural centers appeared in other regions of Kazakhstan: "Azeri" in Zhambyl, "Vatan" in Pavlodar, "Heydar" in Kostanai, "Dostluk" in Mangistau, "Gobustan" in Almaty, "Nakhchivan" in Taldykorgan, etc. Since June 2007, a trilingual newspaper (Azerbaijani, Kazakh and Russian) has been published by "Vatan" (Sidelnikova, 2007).

The activities of these organizations are aimed at carrying out cultural and sports activities, opening schools, releasing periodicals in the Azerbaijani, Kazakh and Russian languages. Some communities in the Almaty and Pavlodar regions have also launched Sunday schools, which offer the Azerbaijani language, literature, history, customs, traditions and art. Besides Kazakh holidays, significant Azerbaijani dates such as 28 May (Republic Day), 20 January (Black January) and 31 December (Solidarity Day) are also

celebrated by the Azerbaijanis in Kazakhstan. At the same time, the national-cultural centers, attracting representatives of the Azerbaijani diaspora to participate in citywide and nationwide cultural events, promote its integration into the local community (Sidelnikova, 2007).

Currently, Azerbaijanis live in all oblasts, but mainly in South Kazakhstan, Zhambyl, Almaty and Kyzylorda. These regions were the destinations of the first wave of the forced relocation. Their descendants are now old-timers among the Azerbaijani diaspora who have integrated into Kazakhstan most fully. They live close together in the villages of Southern Kazakhstan, they are well rooted in the country and are traditionally engaged in agriculture. But Azerbaijanis in Kazakhstan are also widely employed in industry, trade and services, too.

Despite the large number, the Azerbaijani community does not have a big influence in Kazakhstan's political life. At the moment, one Azerbaijani – Maharram Maharramov (Kazakhstan Communist Party) is serving in the Kazakhstan parliament. Another Azerbaijani Maarif Farajov is a member of a local self-government body (Qazaxıstan Parlament Məclisinə…).

Bibliography

Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan are planning to lay new Eskene-Kuryk-Baku oil pipeline, Neftegaz, 7 October 2016, http://neftegaz.ru/en/news/view/154068-Azerbaijan-and-Kazakhstan-are-planning-to-lay-new-Eskene-Kuryk-Baku-oil-pipeline, 14.04.2017.

Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan to lay new oil pipeline, "Vestnik Kavkaza", 6 October 2016, http://vestnik-kavkaza.net/news/Azerbaijan-and-Kazakhstan-to-lay-new-oil-pipeline.html.

Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Georgia establish transport association, Azernews, 10 October 2016, http://www.azernews.az/business/103491.html, 14.04.2017.

Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan develop air bond, Azernews, 16 March 2015, http://www.azernews.az/business/79098.html, 14.04.2017.

Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan to launch new ferries, Azernews, 2 August 2016, http://www.azernews.az/business/100257.html, 10.04.2017.

Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan to mull energy, transport co-op, Trend News Agency, 17 September 2016, http://en.trend.az/business/economy/2661376.html, 14.04.2017.

Azerbaijan-Kazakhstan intergovernmental commission on economic cooperation convenes in Astana, Azerbaijan State News Agency, 22 September 2016, http://azertag.az/en/xeber/Azerbaijan_Kazakhstan_intergovernmental_commission_on_economic_cooperation_convenes_in_Astana-994894, 18.04.2017.

Azərbaycanla Qazaxıstan arasında ticarət dövriyyəsi 42,8% artıb, http://www.azadinform.az/news/a-47101.html, 14.04.2017.

Azərbaycan-Qazaxıstan münasibətləri (Azerbaijan-Kazakhstan relations), "Heydar Aliyev Heritage International Online Library", 26 July 2010, http://lib.aliyev-heritage.org/az/549420.html, 18.04.2017.

Azərbaycan-Qazaxıstan münasibətləri (Azerbaijan-Kazakhstan relations), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan, 18 September 2014, http://www.mfa.gov.az/files/file/Azerbaycan_-_Qazaxistan_munasibetleri_18.09.2014.pdf, 18.04.2017.

AZPROMO: Azərbaycan sahibkarları Qazaxıstan iqtisadiyyatına 130 milyon dollardan artıq sərmayə yatırıb, 28.02.2014, http://az.trend.az/business/economy/2247287.html, 14.04.2017.

Aydın M., Erhan Ç. (2004), *Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Future*, Routledge, London, Great Britain, ISBN 0-7146-5273-3.

Bayaliyev A. (2014), *The Turkic Council: Will the Turks Finally Unite?*, The Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst, 19 February 2014, https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/12916-the-turkic-council-will-the-turks-finally-unite?.html, 14.04.2017.

Bartlett P. (2007), *Kazakhstan: Moving Forward with Plan to Replace Cyrillic with Latin Alphabet*, Eurasianet, 3 September 2007, http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav090407.shtml, 14.04.2017.

Eichensehr K., Reisman W. M. (1998), *Stopping Wars and Making Peace: Studies in International Intervention*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Эфендиев М. (2014), *Казахстану и Азербайджану нечем похвалиться (наш комментарий)*, http://haqqin.az/news/25448, 14.04.2017.

Farchy J. (2016), *China seeking to revive the Silk Road*, "Financial Times", 10 May 2016, https://www.ft.com/content/e99ff7a8-0bd8-11e6-9456-444ab5211a2f, 14.04.2017.

First container train from Ukraine to China passes through Azerbaijan, Xinhuanet, 24 January 2016, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2016-01/24/c_135039015.htm, 14.04.2017.

Goble P. (2009), *Turkic republics reaffirm ties to Turkishness at Nakhchivan*, Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy, vol. 2, no. 20 (October 15, 2009), http://biweekly.ada.edu.az/vol_2_no_20/Turkic_republics_reaffirm_ties_to_Turkishness_at_Nakhchivan.htm, 15.04.2017.

Huseynov R. (2015), *Time to Reform the Minsk Group*, Vostokian, September 2015. http://vostokian.com/time-to-reform-the-minsk-group/, 10.04.2017.

Карабах – Назарбаев Опустил Саргсяна и армян на землю. Армения и Евразийский союз. Таможенный Союз, 10.08.2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9FdoyuYHqxY, 14.04.2017.

Kashagan oil maybe transported via Azerbaijan, Azernews, 23 September 2016, http://www.azernews.az/oil_and_gas/102703.html, 14.04.2017.

Kashagan to produce up to 1.1 million of oil till year-end, Azernews, 21 November 2016, http://www.azernews.az/oil_and_gas/105413.html, 14.04.2017.

Kazakhstan hops on the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Line, Kommersant Russia's Daily Online, 19 June 2006, http://www.kommersant.com/p683264/r_1/Kazakhstan_Hops_on_the_Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan_Line/, 14.04.2017.

Lianlei B. (2016), *Azerbaijan in the Silk Road Economic Belt: A Chinese Perspective*, Caucasus International, July 2016.

Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Azerbaijan (2012), *2012-ci ildə Azərbaycan Respublikasının Qazaxıstan Respublikası ilə ticarət əlaqələri haqqında (About trade relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and Republic of Kazakhstan in 2012)*, http://www.economy.gov.az/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=508:qazaxistan&catid=98:2012&lang=az, 14.04.2017.

Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Azerbaijan (2013), *2013-cü ildə Azərbaycan Respublikasının Qazaxıstan Respublikası ilə ticarət əlaqələri haqqında (About trade relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and Republic of Kazakhstan in 2013)*, http://www.economy.gov.az/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1234:qazaxstan2013&catid=111&Itemid=263&lang=az, 14.04.2017.

Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Azerbaijan (2015), *2015-ci ildə Azərbaycan Respublikasının Qazaxıstan Respublikası ilə ticarət əlaqələri haqqında (About trade relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and Republic of Kazakhstan in 2015)*, http://www.economy.gov.az/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3315:qazaxistan2015&catid=122&Itemid=263&lang=az, 14.04.2017.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan (2014), *Sotrudnichestvo Respubliki Kazakhstan s Azerbaydzhanskoy Respublikoy (Cooperation of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the*

Republic of Azerbaijan), http://mfa.gov.kz/index.php/ru/vneshnyaya-politika/sotrudnichestvo-kazakhstana/sotrudnichestvo-so-stranami-sng/12-material-orys/424-sotrudnichestvo-respubli-ki-kazakhstan-s-azerbajdzhanskoj-respublikoj, 14.04.2017.

Primbetov S. (2011), *Kazakhstan – Azerbaydzhan: prochniy most druzhbi* (*Казахстан – Азербайджан: прочный мост дружбы*), http://www.lawinrussia.ru/node/168293, 11.04.2017.

Qazaxıstan-Azərbaycan iqtisadi əməkdaşlıq üzrə hökumətlərarası komissiyanın 13-cü iclası keçirilib, 22.09.2016, http://azertag.az/xeber/Qazaxistan_Azerbaycan_iqtisadi_emekdasliq_uzre_hoku-metlerarasi_komissiyanin_13_cu_iclasi_kechirilib-994773, 14.04.2017.

Qazaxıstan Parlament Məclisinə azərbaycanlı deputat seçilib, 25.03.2016, http://azertag.az/xeber/Qazaxistan_Parlament_Meclisine_azerbaycanli_deputat_sechilib-937605, 14.04.2017.

Qazaxıstanın qadağası Azərbaycanı taxılsız qoymayacaq, 16.04.2008, http://www.azadliq.org/a/443730.html, 15.04.2017.

Sidelnikova M. (2007), *Azerbaydzhanskaya diaspora Kazakhstana (Азербайджанская диаспора Казахстана)*, 25 December 2017, http://ia-centr.ru/archive/public_details8e00.html?id=1094, 14.04.2017.

Shi Ting (2016), *Xi Seeks to Address Concerns Over China's New 'Silk Road' Plan*, Bloomberg, 17 August 2016, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-08-18/xi-seeks-to-address-con-cerns-over-china-s-new-silk-road-plan, 10.04.2017.

Solonets M. (2013). *Iz istorii formirovaniya azerbaydzhanskoy diaspori v Kazakhstane v XX – nachale XXI vekakh (From history of formation of Azerbaijani diaspora in Kazakhstan in XX – early XXI centuries)*, http://www.vkoem.kz/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1551%3Asolonecz-m-iz-istorii-formirovaniya-azerbajdzhanskoj-diaspory-v-kazaxstane-v-xx-nach-ale-xxi-vekax&catid=85%3A2010-03-09-10-07-22&Itemid=93&lang=ru. 8.04.2017.

Statistical Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan (2016), *Azerbaijan's Foreign Trade Relations*, January-June 2016, http://www.stat.gov.az/source/trade/az/f_trade/f_trade_II_2016.pdf, 8.04.2017.

Uysal O. (2014), *Kazakhstan to Strengthen China Europe Corridor*, "Rail Turkey", 17 September 2014, https://railturkey.org/2014/09/17/kazakhstan-opens-new-railway-lines/, 8.04.2017.

Will Nagorno-Karabakh conflict see 'Kazakhstan Autumn'? (2016), Vestnik Kavkaza, http://vestnikka-vkaza.net/news/Is-Nagorno-Karabakh-conflict-awaiting-Kazakh-Autumn.html, 8.04.2017.

Zheleznovodsk Declaration (1991), *Text of Zheleznovodsk Declaration, 23 September 1991*, http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Azerbaijan_ZheleznovodskDeclaration1991.pdf, 8.04.2017.

Stosunki Azerbejdżan–Kazachstan: obecna sytuacja i perspektywy

Streszczenie

Azerbejdżanu i Kazachstanu nie należy postrzegać jako dwóch państw, które są bliskie sobie tylko ze względu na radziecką przeszłość. W rzeczywistości zamiszkujące Azerbejdżan i Kazachstan grupy etniczne – Azerowie i Kazachowie – pochodzą z większej rodziny narodów tureckich. Braterstwo azero-kazachskie datuje się od samych początków narodów tureckich, które rozprzestrzeniły się z Gór Ałtaju i zostało ugruntowane przez czynnik islamski.

Mające wspólną granicę morską na Morzu Kaspijskim Azerbejdżan i Kazachstan są dla siebie ważnymi narodami. Azerbejdżan jest postrzegany jako pomost dający Kazachstanowi dostęp do Turcji i Europy, zaś Kazachstan oferuje Azerbejdżanowi połączenie z Azją Centralną i Chinami.

Oba państwa przywiązują wielką wagę do swoich wzajemnych relacji, zarówno dwustronnych, jak i w ramach organizacji międzynarodowych. Relacje te stale się rozwijają i w przeciągu ostatnich dwudziestu pięciu lat trend ten nie zmienia się, ani nie napotyka żadnych przeszkód. Kazachstan uznał

terytorialną integralność Azerbejdżanu, co stanowi dla Azerbejdżanu ważne osiągnięcie wobec obecnego konfliktu z sąsiednią Armenią. Oba kraje szybko osiągnęły nawet porozumienie w sprawie statusu prawnego Morza Kaspijskiego, podczas gdy w innych krajach nadmorskich podobnych porozumień nie udało się wypracować. Oba państwa są zainteresowane rozwojem korytarza transportu i energetyki Wschód–Zachód, pozwalającego wykorzystać ich korzystną lokalizację geopolityczną, dzięki której mogą służyć jako pomost między kontynentami.

Ewelina WAŚKO-OWSIEJCZUK
University of Bialystok

Is America safer today? The first changes to U.S. foreign and security policy during the presidency of Donald Trump

Abstract: This article describes the first months of Donald Trump's presidency. It presents his most important decisions on U.S. foreign and security policy, the voices of those critical and supportive of him, and possible implications for U.S. security. Even during his election campaign, some of Trump's proposals raised concerns among the international community and many questions about past alliances. He has announced the introduction of laws for the immediate removal of illegal immigrants from the United States, and the reintroduction of torture as a tool for fighting terrorism. He has criticized the current policy of cooperation with allies, and the provision of security to other countries at the expense of the United States. The decisions made during Donald Trump's first 100 days affect the internal situation of the United States, both in the context of national security and the political system, due to the emerging constitutional crisis and the friction between the executive and the judiciary branches. His decisions also affect relations between the United States and its allies, transforming America's role in the world and the impact of the superpower on the collective system of security.

Key words: Donald Trump, United States, Syria, terrorism, U.S. foreign and security policy

Introduction

Even during his election campaign, the republican candidate for president of the United States proposed changes in foreign and security policy that caused anxiety among the international community and raised many questions about existing alliances and the functioning of the collective security system. Donald Trump, among others, announced that he would call for the immediate deportation of illegal immigrants from the U.S., for the restoration of the use of torture against terrorists, for the renegotiation of relations with Russia and closer cooperation in the fight against terrorism in the Middle East, and the construction of a wall on the border with Mexico. He undermined current policies of cooperation with allies, challenged the policy of providing security to other countries at the expense of the United States, and even played with the idea of the U.S. eventually withdrawing their support for South Korea and Japan, which would have far-reaching consequences for the international order.

Although the announcements themselves may have caused some anxiety, it was assumed that the election campaign was governed by rules entirely different from those used for the actual governance of the state and the hope was that the candidate's promises would never be put into action. However, the decisions taken by the president during the first 100 days in office may indicate that Donald Trump intends to carry out his campaign promises. In the first week of his presidency, Trump signed a series of executive orders that put into effect the radical announcements of his election campaign.

The purpose of this article is to present the first series of changes made by president Trump in foreign and security policy, and to analyze possible repercussions, as well as to show the opinions of supporters and critics. The analysis will serve to answer the following questions: what changes in foreign and security policy does Donald Trump wish to introduce? Will the proposed changes strengthen U.S. security? What will Trump's doctrine be? What implications for U.S. relations with other states will the changes in legislation bring about?

The role and position of the president in U.S. foreign and security policy – theoretical aspects

The influence and role of the U.S. president in creating foreign and security policy is superior to that of other organs of public authority. This is mainly due to the specifics of the presidential system and the U.S. Constitution, which assigns him a wide range of power as chief executive. It is worth noting that the U.S. Constitution details the powers of Congress in detail. This is not the case for the function and position of the president, where the wording is very general, leaving a wide field for arbitrary interpretation, which is the starting point for extending the capabilities and power of the president (Dziemidok-Olszewska, 2009, p. 154 et seq). Thus, the president of the United States has quite a diverse role as a symbol of the state and the people of the United States, as the head of the armed forces, chief of diplomacy, leader of the party, chief executive, national spokesman, promoter of economic development and world leader (Amos, Jordan, Taylor, Meese, Nielsen, Schlesinger, 2009, p. 77). As some researchers point out, the broad powers conferred on the president make him the most important actor in U.S. foreign and security policy (Ulrich, 2012, p. 63).

While serving as head of state and head of government, the U.S. president is responsible for the preparation and implementation of the budget, nominating powers (e.g. the nomination of the secretary of state) and the administrative activities of overseeing the cabinet, agencies and executive committees (Wordliczek, 2003, pp. 96–118). Such strong power in the presidential system carries the risk of abuse. Thus, a braking mechanism is needed, which in the U.S. is the principle of *checks and balances* between the executive, legislative and judiciary branches of government (Hill, 2001, p. 43). In the context of foreign and security policy, Congress carries out their control function by accepting presidential nominations or receiving reports on the activities of government agencies (Waśko-Owsiejczuk, 2014, p. 87). However, the most important element of control the legislative body has over the executive body is the right to declare war and to allocate a budget for it, which is the responsibility of Congress and not the president (Michałek, 2005, pp. 65–66).

In order to implement foreign and security policy, the president is equipped with important tools, including executive orders and presidential directives. Executive orders, which do not require congressional approval, are usually directed at federal agencies. Often these are important decisions that cause changes in American legislation. Presidential directives are also an important security policy instrument. Although signed or endorsed by the president of the United States, this document is usually handled by the

National Security Council. Presidential directives are often secret and, although they are usually targeted at specific government agencies, their scope includes the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the federal government, as well as state and local governments (Waśko-Owsiejczuk, 2014, p. 58).

Apart from the legal position of the president in shaping foreign and security policy, non-constitutional factors also play a role, such as the personality of a given president, his skills and style of governance, and the situational context in which leadership is exercised (Antoszewski, 2014, p. 23). President Harry Truman's assistant, Richard Neustadt, once said: "Americans like to judge their leader not in terms of competence or incompetence, but in terms of strength or weakness" (see: Czulda, 2010, p. 60). The personality characteristics and predispositions that one should have in order to function effectively as the head of a superpower include strength, courage and confidence. Less important is competence, or whether the candidate in question is an economics or foreign policy expert, since he is assisted by a wide circle of trusted associates. This must be a strong leader who cares for citizens' security and the development of the country. The president of a superpower should also have charisma and be a good speaker, thus exciting his listeners (Waldman, 2000, p. 105). What is more important than political correctness are attributes such as decisiveness and firmness in the leader of the most powerful state in the world (Ludwikowski, Ludwikowska, 2009, pp. 122–123). There is even a concept called the *imperial presidency*, referring to the position and function of the U.S. president. Here, it is understood that the president is seen as almost predestined to be the leader of an international empire (Shafritz, 1993, pp. 378–379). Americans are able to forgive their president many things, but not weakness and the inability to exercise power.

The external environment plays an important role in the process of shaping foreign and security policy. The political parties and Congress can be either a partner or opponent to the president. The media, public opinion, interest groups, and the international community (see: Amos, Jordan, Taylor, Meese, Nielsen, Schlesinger, 2009, p. 77) can all exert pressure, thus influencing the decision-making process of the White House. Another important group is the National Security Council, whose main purpose is to advise the U.S. president on state security, taking into account internal, national, foreign and military policies. This group includes the vice president, the secretary of state, the treasury secretary, the defense secretary and the president's national security adviser (Shafritz, 1993, p. 317; Best, 2011, p. 1 et seq).

The unique (privileged) position of the United States in the international system also has influence on the role and position of the president in foreign and security policy. Since the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union, the United States has become a superpower[1] with a dominant role in the international system.[2] Two factors – military and political – play a crucial role here. U.S. defense expenditure accounts for nearly 50% of global defense spending (Roser, Nagdy, 2017). Its enormous military

---

[1] Power in foreign policy refers to states that can decide on world war and peace, have global interests, and determine the world order. The strength of the state is understood as the real and potential ability to use all its assets and liabilities to achieve goals and meet their needs in an international environment (see more: Włodkowska, 2004, pp. 163–170; Włodkowska-Bagan, pp. 199–202).

[2] The international system consists of elements (participants), related to each other (see more: Pawłuszko, 2014, pp. 9–28).

potential and modern military technology provide the United States with a dominant international position. Americans want to maintain their status as the most powerful military in the world not only to deter potential enemies from attacking the U.S., but also to enable military action in almost every region of the world. The military potential of the superpower is so large that it is the only state in the world which has armed forces capable of carrying out military operations on a global scale. According to the doctrine of *two and a half wars*, the superpower can simultaneously carry out two wars and one conflict in any part of the world (Balcerowicz, 2010, pp. 74–77).

Equally important is the political factor. The power of the United States is also manifested through its role and position in international organizations. It is difficult to imagine the functioning and smooth operation of organizations without U.S. involvement, especially those that originated from their own initiative, such as the UN, NATO and NAFTA. The strength of the position of the U.S. on the international stage can be observed not only through records and regulations, or through its permanent membership on the UN Security Council, but also through the actions of the superpower. For example, one of its actions was the unlawful invasion of Iraq in March 2003, despite criticism and opposition from the international community, including most of the members of the UN Security Council. The actions of the United Nations after the U.S. invasion of Iraq were also important in showing the strength of the position of the U.S. in the international system. Not only did the United States face no consequences, but the UN called on other states to support the efforts of the U.S. coalition to rebuild Iraq (Waśko-Owsiejczuk, 2016b, pp. 133–153). As it turned out, the UN was completely helpless against the unlawful actions of its strongest member.

The dominant position of the U.S. in the world, coupled with the strong position of the president in a presidential system of government, not only makes the role of the leader of the superpower superior in creating foreign and security policy, but is of crucial importance for the whole international system. Thus, the decisions and actions of the U.S. president have a significant impact and implications not only on the internal security of the country, but also on the other participants of international relations.

What will Trump's doctrine be?

After Donald Trump's inauguration as the 45th president of the United States, a short note appeared on the White House website, highlighting the main foreign policy goals of the new administration, which included: peace through strength; defeat of radical Islamist terrorist groups, using aggressive coalition operations if necessary; the liquidation of the sources of income for terrorists; the rebuilding and enlargement of the U.S. military; the construction of a modern missile defense system; renegotiation or withdrawal from NAFTA (*America First Foreign Policy*, 2017).

This short message cannot even be called an outline of the White House conception for U.S. foreign policy, it is rather a duplication of the election slogans without the provision of any details. Trump's foreign policy vision was not precisely defined during the election campaign, nor was it clarified in the first few months of his presidency. Unlike the administration of his predecessors – Barack Obama and George W. Bush, who had

clearly defined goals and successively realized them, the Trump administration is having problems in defining a coherent foreign and security policy. The biggest discrepancies are between the president and a group of his closest advisers, with the exception of the dismissed national security adviser, Michael Flynn, whose views can be considered consistent with Trump's. President Trump's position varies with that of defense secretary – James Mattis, who has repeatedly emphasized the threat posed by Russia and the inviolability of U.S. alliances, has called Putin "delusional" for breaking all the rules of international diplomacy, and has claimed that among the world's threats "the most dangerous might be Russia" (Scarborough, 2016). A similar point of view is held by vice president – Mike Pence, secretary of state – Rex Tillerson, and the newly appointed national security advisor to the president – Herbert McMaster. The president's position on U.S.-Russian relations is significantly different from his advisers. Even during his election campaign, he announced his desire to cooperate with Russia in the fight against the terrorist organization called the "Islamic State" (*Donald Trump*), and his wish to improve relations between Washington and Moscow, expressing great respect and sympathy for president Putin (Pengelly, 2017). In turn, Trump's associates criticized Russia for violating international law, for its aggressive and destabilizing actions, and emphasized the inability of the United States to engage in military cooperation with Russia. They expressed their deep skepticism over Russia's ability to comply with its earlier commitments to the United States, and over the actual intentions of Russia in Syria, where more than 80 percent of Russian raids were directed against rebels fighting the Assad regime and not jihadists (Masters, 2017; Shinkman, 2017).

Trump's pro-Russian stance could be considered a solid point in his conception of U.S. foreign policy if not for the recent commentary by the U.S. president, where he criticized Russia's seizure of Crimea, asking whether former U.S. president Barack Obama was too mild towards Russia in the context of these events. This commentary is quite surprising, since during his campaign Trump declared that Ukraine mattered the least to the United States out of all of the NATO countries, and the solution to this problem and the burden of responsibility should not belong to the U.S. (LoBianco, 2015). Of course, it cannot be ruled out that the colder attitude towards Moscow is due to recent events, which were heavily covered by the media, namely the the resignation of national security presidential advisor Michael Flynn, who lied about having contact with Russia before Donald Trump took over the presidency (see: Haberman, Rosenberg, Apuzzo, Thrushf, 2017).

Similar divergences and contradictory signals can be seen in Trump's election statements in the context of NATO and in the statements of his administration, especially comments made by the secretary of defense. During his campaign, Trump claimed that the North Atlantic Alliance was outdated, criticized the excessive involvement of the U.S. in NATO, even though this alliance has been the basis of Western security policy since the Cold War. He announced a reduction on spending on NATO, and a desire to focus on internal affairs (Sanger, Haberman, 2016), which sent a signal to other nations that the United States would not be the "world's policeman" under Trump's rule. He weakened the guarantee of the provision of international security by the U.S., making it dependent on the ability of individual countries to fulfill their financial commitments to the Alliance. It now seemed that a U.S. response to possible aggression towards other

NATO members depended on the country's regulation of financial dues, according to the principle: "If you pay we will defend you, otherwise you are on your own." The secretary of defense for the Trump administration issued a very different declaration, where he confirmed the commitment of the United States to engage in the North Atlantic Alliance as a loyal ally (Brook, 2017). He also expressed the view that Vladimir Putin was trying to destroy the alliance between the U.S. and Europe, with the hope of breaking up NATO (Ackerman, Gambino, 2017).

Donald Trump's speeches and statements on foreign policy raise many doubts and questions, including whether the U.S. will continue to guarantee international order and whether NATO members can count on the help of America when faced with aggression. What will the relationship between Brussels and Washington be like for the next four years? Trump's win was not met with much enthusiasm in the European Union. Out of all EU leaders, only Italian Prime Minister – Matteo Renzi publically supported Hillary Clinton, but privately an overwhelming majority of EU rulers sided with her in the election. Only a minority of EU leaders sided with Trump, which should not be surprising, given the critical remarks made by the republican candidate about the European Union, where he wished its quick disbandment. Trump did not hide his support for Brexit in the UK, saying that the European Union was on the verge of collapse, and urged other member states to follow suit (Stewart, Yuhas, Walker, 2017). Trump's enthusiasm was not shared by other politicians, and not just in the European Union. United States Ambassador to the European Union, Anthony L. Gardner, stated: "To think that by supporting fragmentation of Europe we would be advancing our interests would be sheer folly. It's lunacy" (Dominiczak, 2017).

It is not only Europe that is concerned about the direction of foreign policy of the superpower. The neighbors of the U.S. are also concerned. The more so, in that Trump's statements indicate major changes in the North American Free Trade Agreement, which he termed "the worst trade deal maybe ever signed anywhere" (see: Withnall, 2017). Mexican authorities are rebelling against Trump's announcement of building 1,000 miles of a border wall between the countries, for which Mexico is to pay for. An additional regression in relations between the two countries has been prompted by the introduction of a 20% tax on the import of goods from Mexico (Jacobs, Rushe, Agren, 2017).

Relations between Washington and Beijing are also unclear. During his campaign, Trump threatened to introduce higher customs tariffs if the Chinese government refused to renegotiate the trade deals that existed between the two countries. At the same time, he announced an increase in U.S. military presence in the South Sea, which would prevent China's territorial expansion in the artificial islands there. Much concern was also caused by the announcement that Trump wishes to break the nuclear deal with Iran, or force an eventual renegotiation, to which Trump wants to force onto Iranian authorities by doubling, or even tripling, sanctions. He has threatened to withdraw the U.S. from the World Trade Organization and the International Agreement on Combating Climate Change. Concerns were also raised about his declaration to restore torture as an effective tool in the fight against terrorism (Fisher, 2016). Trump also announced a desire to reduce, or eventually completely abandon U.S. commitments to long-term U.S. allies Japan and South Korea. However, the recent reaction by U.S. authorities to North Korea's missile tests, which was to launch the first elements of an anti-missile system to South

Korea, and president Trump's confirmation of the United States's solidarity with Japan and South Korea, calmed their allies, signaling that in case of aggression they could count on the support of the Americans (Gearan, Morello, 2017).

After taking office, the Trump's rhetoric has also changed in the context of the U.S. intelligence services, which he had severely criticized and disregarded during the election campaign, even comparing their actions to the policies of Nazi Germany. However, after taking office he stated that he felt safe with the U.S. intelligence services "having his back" and that "he supports them 1,000 per cent" (Ackerman, Siddiqui, 2017), which at least for now has silenced the debate over an open conflict between the president and U.S. intelligence.

Donald Trump's first 100 days in office failed to answer many of the most pressing questions in U.S. foreign and security policy. We still do not know what will be the Trump doctrine, whether the United States will in fact focus on internal problems, limiting its international role, and whether its domain will be *hard* or *soft power*.[3] It is not surprising that the newly elected president of the United States did not specify the basic assumptions of the superpower's foreign policy within three months of taking office, as he has changed his views during the election campaign and presented ambiguous, sometimes contradictory proposals. Yet lack of consistency and of a shared position between the president and his closest associates cause confusion and anxiety. In such important matters for the state, the president's administration should speak with one voice. The question seems to be whether the newly elected U.S. president can count on Congress to support his policies? Considering that the Republican Party has a majority in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, implementing the president's policies should theoretically go smoothly, as they are all from the same party. However, given that Trump's statements and campaign slogans aimed directly at the Washington establishment, not only the Democratic Party but also the Republican Party, it may turn out that the lack of consensus and cohesion among Trump's closest associates will not be the only obstacle to the implementation of president Trump's U.S. foreign and security policy.

The first months of Donald Trump's government – the most important decisions in U.S. foreign and security policy

Since the inauguration of the 45th president of the United States, Donald Trump has signed dozens of executive actions, including executive orders, presidential memoranda, presidential proclamations and presidential notices of varying importance and scope. Some of them are strictly administrative (such as the relocation of individual units). Some are Trump's election promises, but not all are controversial, such as the creation of task forces at the Justice Department to fight drug cartels, and to reduce crime and attacks on the police. Others cause astonishment, such as the memorandum directing the

---

[3] *Soft power* should be understood as "the ability to get what you want through attractiveness rather than coercion. It is the result of the attractiveness of the culture and political ideals." The opposite of *soft power* is *hard power*, which involves the use of coercive means, especially the military, during implementation of foreign policy of the state (see: Nye, 2007, p. 9).

secretary of defense to draw up a plan within 30 days to defeat "Islamic State". The surprise comes from the fact that during the election campaign Trump asserted that he had a "secret plan for the fight against the Islamic State" (Schmidt, 2017) and even that he knew more about "Islamic State" than the generals did (Miller, 2017). But here, Trump's memorandum orders the generals and security advisers of the president to provide him with a plan, within a month, to beat the jihadists. It seems that the "secret plan" was one of Trump's electoral slogans, with no basis in reality. What's more, the initial plans presented by the Pentagon point to a continuation of Obama administration tactics, the same tactics that Trump criticized during his election campaign. The plan is mainly based on the continuation of bombing of jihadists' positions; support for local forces; elimination of the sources of funding for terrorists, and the stabilization of areas taken away from ISIS (McFadden, Arkin, 2017).

One of Trump's first decisions was to start the procedure for the withdrawal of the United States from the multilateral trade agreement of the Trans-Pacific Partnership, signed in October 2015 by twelve countries.[4] Acting on the assumption that traditional bilateral trade agreements are more beneficial to America, Trump rejected an agreement that, according to Barack Obama, would create an economic defense wall against China's growing power. Experts have pointed out that Trump's decision has begun to transform America's role in the global economy, "leaving an opening for other countries to flex their muscles," which could directly affect the United States and its ability to maintain influence and leadership in both economic and political affairs (Mui, 2017).

Another Trump decision concerns one of the flagship slogans of his election campaign, namely the construction of a wall on the border of the United States with Mexico. The U.S. president expects that the financial burden (estimated at over $20 billion) will be taken up by the Mexican government. The wall is supposed to stop the influx of illegal immigrants and drug smugglers into the U.S. (Apuzzo, 2017). During his election campaign, Trump made a number of controversial claims, i.e. that Mexicans are rapists and only bring drugs and violence into the U.S., thus provoking indignation among Mexicans and Latinos. The statistics of the Federal Bureau of Investigation do not support his claims, showing that as the number of illegal immigrants in the United States increased from 3 to more than 11 million (1990 to 2013), there was a significant decrease in the crime rate by as much as 48%, with fewer recorded robberies, thefts, rapes and murders. A similar decrease of 41% could be seen in the number of car thefts and burglaries. This discrepancy between statistical data and the president's statements can also be heard in the speeches of former president Truman, who called immigrants from Mexico "out of control," and who also promised to "take our country back." The Pew Research Center reported that the number of illegal immigrants from Mexico living in the United States fell by one million to 5.9 million in 2012. In 2010, more Mexicans left the U.S. than entered the country. Trump accused Mexicans not only of criminal activity, but also of harming the American economy through the relocation of U.S. companies to Mexico due to more favorable conditions. Trump used such sharp words as: "they're killing us economically." The facts, however, are that the GDP of the U.S. is 13 times greater than that of Mexico, and the income per capita in the United States is four times that

---

[4] Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, the United States and Vietnam.

of Mexico. More importantly, Mexico is the third largest trading partner with the U.S., after Canada and China. And just as Mexico is not able to "kill the U.S. economy," such sharp statements and Trump's actions can adversely affect relations between the two countries. Mexican authorities have already announced they are not going to pay for the construction of the wall, calling it a "blatant monument to anti-Mexican hostility" (Estevez, 2015).

President Trump's next decision concerned the withdrawal of federal funds for so called "sanctuary cities", asylum cities whose authorities refused to cooperate with the government in prosecuting and deporting illegal immigrants. The list included a few hundred cities and counties, including New York and Los Angeles, which, in light of Trump's executive order, provided shelter for undocumented migrants, thereby violating U.S. immigration laws. According to statistics, there are more than 11 million illegal immigrants in the U.S. at present, and Trump's order intends to intensify their deportation. Existing regulations required the deportation of persons who "have committed acts that would constitute a chargeable criminal offense" or that an immigration officer has judged that such person constitutes a threat to public security. The changes will lead to the deportation of people who have no legal documentation and have had any sort of interaction with local law enforcement agencies and have been written up. Some say that the inclusion of local police in the deportation process will cause illegal immigrants to avoid contacting the police even if they need help or wish to report a crime. Opponents of the change refer to statistics that indicate that "sanctuary cities" have lower crime rates than the national average. They point out that when the police become the gateway to deportation, it undermines the principle that the legal system protects everyone (Cameron, 2017). While the president can count on support from the republicans in this case, democrats criticize these actions, pointing out that Trump's tightening of the rules will lead to the separation of many families, thereby "turning his back on both our history and our values as a proud nation of immigrants" (Laughland, Wong, Siddiqui, 2017).

Another decision made by the U.S. president was to increase the number of border guards by an additional 5000. It would seem that this issue would be the least controversial from a security point of view. However, as experts and practitioners point out, this decision may not reduce the level of crime, but may even increase it. The reason is the difficulty in verifying applicants for the position of a border guard. The latest attempt to increase their numbers did not eliminate those sentenced later for corruption, drug trafficking and human trafficking through checkpoints. Statistics show that since 2004, a total of 197 Customs and Border Protection employees have been arrested and sentenced for corruption. Experts point out: "The presence of even one corrupt agent or officer deployed at the border has the potential to completely undermine whatever level of security has been put in place" (Holpuch, 2017).

Another decision by the U.S. president was to end the practice of what in his election campaign Trump called "catch and release." This refers to the situation where illegal immigrants are released after being caught and must wait to be questioned. The release is due to the fact that there is not enough room to accommodate everyone at detention centers. U.S. immigration authorities can not immediately deport people back to Mexico due to humanitarian concerns. Most of the detainees have fled the country due to poverty and violence. Equipped with an electronic bracelet on the ankle they are released

pending the date of appearing in an immigration court. Cases take a long time due to the fact that many immigrants are asking for asylum. Trump's executive order obliged the secretary of homeland security to check whether immigration laws, which guarantee people conditional release or asylum on the basis of fear of persecution in their home country, are not being used to block deportation. After the change, the rules would apply only to persons with an urgent humanitarian cause or significant social benefits derived from such a conditional exemption (Kopan, Shoichet, 2017). Opponents of the change are alarmed that the forced detention of all illegal immigrants in the centers will make it difficult for them to reach an independent legal counsel and will mean that many of them may face deportation without complying with United States legal obligations under the UN Refugee Convention (Laughland, 2017).

One of the most controversial decisions made by the new U.S. president, which has caused enormous public outrage and protests not only in the United States but around the world, has been the ban on entry into the U.S. for travelers who are the citizens of seven countries: Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Somalia and Sudan. Trump explained that this was intended to prevent "radical Islamic terrorists" from entering the U.S. He added that U.S. authorities would agree to accept only those refugees who would "support and deeply love the United States." Priority should be given to Christian refugees and other religious minorities over Muslims. Many experts perceive this as religious discrimination, and therefore a violation of the U.S. Constitution. This order was harshly criticized by human rights activists who accused the U.S. president of sanctioned religious persecution under cover of security, a "euphemism for discriminating against Muslims" (Shear, Cooper, 2017).

The president's order obliges officials to impose additional checks on refugees "to ensure that those approved for refugee admission do not pose a threat to the security and welfare of the United States." Trump caused controversy when he referred to the September 11, 2001 attacks when announcing the change. The problem was that the majority of the 19 aircraft hijackers who destroyed the World Trade Center and Pentagon towers came from Saudi Arabia, the rest from the United Arab Emirates, Egypt and Lebanon. None of these countries were included in the list of citizens forbidden to enter the United States. Some say that the reason for this is that Trump had business contacts in Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates. Why did the U.S. presidential administration choose these seven states? In the official statement, it was claimed that the governments of these countries were "unable or unwilling to provide the information we need." As it turns out, it is of little important that none of the citizens of these banned states contributed to the death of even one American as a result of a terrorist attack in the United States since 2001(Shear, Cooper, 2017).

Due to the sudden entry into force of the decree, many people were detained at U.S. airports. Because of the lack of clarification, the entry ban was also applied to those who had already received entry visas into the United States, or initially also to holders of Green cards. Despite opposition from the federal appeals court, which blocked the decree, arguing that it violated the right to "do justice to the United States Constitution," Donald Trump questioned and criticized the judge's opinion, calling it "ridiculous", declaring at the same time that he will appeal the decision. Experts claim that the United States is currently facing a constitutional crisis. "This is an epic confrontation between

the presidency and the constitution," and the disrespectful nature of the president's approach to legislation is very dangerous, since it can lead to chaos in the state (Walters, 2017).

Eventually, the president issued a new executive order, which banned the entry into the United States from the six countries listed in the previous list, excluding Iraq. The decision was explained as a result of collaboration between the United States and Iraq in combating the "Islamic State," and an agreement with the Iraqi government, which had pledged to increase cooperation with America in the verification of Iraqi applicants to the United States. Permanent residents and current visa holders were excluded from the ban. Also, a complete ban on refugee entry from Syria was removed and replaced with a 120-day suspended entry period required for verification and renewal. A record from the previous document was kept, which reduced the number of refugees admitted to the U.S. each year from 110,000 to 50,000 (Thrush, 2017). Trump's second order was also blocked by a district court judge who accused him of discriminating against Muslims, stressing: "We can not fault the president for being politically incorrect, but we do fault him for being constitutionally incorrect" (*Hawaii judge*).

In the context of Trump's electoral statements regarding the limited (conditional) involvement of the United States in solving international problems, his rapid decision of April 7, 2017 to bomb Syrian Air Force al-Shajrat was quite a surprise. This was in response to the use of chemical weapons against civilians on April 4, 2017, where at least 86 people were killed, for which Trump's administration unequivocally accused Bashar al-Assad's regime. The quick reaction of the American president may be surprising given that this decision was not made within the framework of the UN, after an investigation and the explicit exclusion of other options. His predecessor – Barack Obama – was in a similar situation in 2013, when more than 1,400 people were killed as a result of the use of chemical weapons in Ghouta near Damascus. However, Obama decided not to respond with a military attack. Instead, he chose the diplomatic route, which resulted in the Syrian president's commitment to liquidate the Syrian chemical arsenal. The entire arsenal was to be liquidated by the end of June 2014. Despite assurances from the Pentagon that Russian forces were warned about plans to bomb the base in Syria, the Kremlin's reaction was unequivocally critical of U.S. activities, calling them "aggression against a sovereign nation," which could consequently lead to a halt in military cooperation between Russia and the U.S. in Syria and seriously undermine relations between the two countries. All the more so since the Russian government called the chemical attack in Syria a "provocation" by rebels fighting with Assad, thereby denying the Syrian government's participation in it (see: Sengupta, Macfarquhar, Steinhauer, 2017).

It is worth pointing out that the bombing of the Syrian base was the first direct U.S. attack on the Bashar el-Assad regime since the beginning of the six-year war in Syria. Trump's decision may seem surprising when compared to his earlier pro-Russian stance, at the same time raising many questions about further U.S. military engagement in Syria: will there be an intensification of attacks or was the bombing a one-off project? Whether strong or weak, Russia's response to U.S. actions, which can be seen in terms of a trial of strength, will have significant consequences and affect Russia's position in the international system. All the more so since the American administration informed the Russian authorities that they must choose whose side they wish to be on in the Syrian conflict,

while announcing the approaching end of the Assad regime. Thus Trump's decision raises questions about further relations on the Washington-Moscow line.

The decision-making process at the White House is also brought into question, given the impression that Trump's decision to bombard Syria seemed to have been made impetuously, without much reflection, calculation or analysis of possible repercussions. And as some researchers and journalists point out, "the emotional president is easily manipulated" (Milewski, 2017). In this context one might wonder whether Trump's decision was influenced by his closest associates whose approach to the Kremlin's policies differ significantly from that of the president of the United States. Perhaps Trump wanted to minimize criticism from Congress, including the republicans, who accused him of a passive stance on the Syrian conflict. Perhaps in a symbolic way Trump also wanted to end suspicions of Russian influence on the White House. Perhaps it was a show of strength, independence and determination by the superpower leader. Perhaps he wanted to show that, unlike Barack Obama, who in 2012 drew a "red line" against the use of chemical weapons, after which the U.S. was to react strongly to the Assad regime, yet in reality showed a passive attitude, Trump will react immediately to provocation. No matter the impetus for this decision, the U.S. president once again surprised the international community, raising even more doubts and questions about what the Trump doctrine will be.

The implications of Donald Trump's foreign and security policy for the United States – conclusions

One of the most important questions in the context of recent changes in U.S. foreign and security policy is: is America more secure today? Although Trump's most controversial order banning entry to the United States for the citizens of six Muslim countries has been blocked by law, the president's administration has not given up and is fighting for new legislation. The question seems to be: will the ban on entry into the United States increase the security of the superpower, protecting Americans from further terrorist attacks? According to reports from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and State Department, the answer is: not necessarily. This is due to the fact that citizenship is an "unlikely indicator" of a terrorist threat to the United States. Statistics show that few people from these states have been involved in terrorist activities in the United States since the civil war started in Syria in 2011. As pointed out in the report of 82 people who, according to the government, were influenced by a foreign terrorist group to conduct or attempt to attack on an area in the U.S., more than half were U.S. citizens, born in the United States. The rest came from Pakistan, Somalia, Bangladesh, Cuba, Ethiopia, Iraq and Uzbekistan. One person from Iran, Sudan and Yemen each was involved in terrorist activities. None were from Syria, whose citizens are now completely banned from entering the U.S. The report emphasized that terrorist organizations in Iran, Libya, Somalia and Sudan are focused on their own regions, while groups in Iraq, Syria and Yemen pose a threat to the United States (Salama, Caldwell, 2017; *Country Reports on Terrorism 2015*).

Another important question in the context of the Trump ban is: can it lead to an increase in attacks on the U.S.? Even in the ranks of the republicans, Trump's decision

alarmed many who believed it was a great propaganda boost for the "Islamic State," which, in the name of injustice, by announcing anti-American slogans, could recruit new members to the organization and motivate them to attack the United States (Yuhas, 2017). The order concerns six nationalities, and covers all professional and social groups, including academics, students, doctors, and specialists, who came to the United States in search of a "better life" (Dehghan, 2017). Separation of families, and "pigeonholing" people of certain nationalities or religions as potential terrorists, may prove to be counterproductive, and lead to trauma and hostility towards people of different ethnicities. This may result in the radicalization of various people living in the United States, who otherwise would not have thought about committing acts of terror. Trump's decisions are plagued by rhetoric which reinforce the propaganda of the "Islamic State," which falsely claim that the United States is at war with Islam (Loffredo, 2017). Closing doors for refugees to the United States may weaken the nation's ability to lead the world, for they are turning away from the problems of their allies. This has a destabilization effect on allies' security. The paradox of the situation is that the U.S. government, and specifically the administration of president George W. Bush, led to the emergence of an "Islamic State" (Waśko-Owsiejczuk, 2017, pp. 7–31), destabilizing the entire region and triggering a wave of refugees, and now the new president has made a decision to turn away from the problem the U.S. created themselves.

The closing of borders or building walls on the border with Mexico will not solve the problem of crime in the United States, but will certainly affect the deterioration of relations between states. Employing an additional 5,000 border guards will not eliminate the problem of corruption which allows drug trafficking and human trafficking to be conducted among the U.S.-Mexican border. An outline of Trump's doctrine illustrates another face of America, one which renounces international obligations and pursues unilateral politics in the name of Trump's "America first." In a narrower perspective, withdrawing from international agreements and commitments may strengthen the position of the United States, which, as a superpower, will be able to dictate their conditions to others; but in a broader perspective, this will only weaken U.S. allies while strengthening their enemies. After World War II, the United States, as the strongest and most influential member of the United Nations and NATO, became the guarantor of international security. The introduction of a business system in the operation of these organizations, where a reaction to aggression will depend on the contributions paid, will only accelerate the erosion of the collective security system. Trump's view of foreign policy seems to be very short-sighted, in believing that cutting the U.S. off from the rest of the world will bring it security and prosperity. In times of the "global village," the problems of Europe or the Middle East are also the problems of the U.S. Without international cooperation, no nation can feel safe today.

On the one hand, Trump's recent decision to bomb the Syrian base may be a signal of reassurance to the international community that the superpower will react to the use of chemical weapons against civilian populations and defend human rights. On the other hand, the decision may be a cause of concern, since it was made outside the international framework, without consultation with the United Nations. Although welcomed by many world leaders as an adequate response to the use of forbidden chemical weapons, the bombing of the Syrian base by the Americans was imperious, and denounced by Rus-

sian authorities as illegal, in violation of UN law. Remembering the aggressive politics of George W. Bush's administration, which was characterized by an illegal invasion of Iraq, the Russians are alarmed that the scenario may be repeated and the Americans may return to unilateral and imperious actions (see: Savage, 2017).

Trump is changing the face of America not only in terms of its international, but also its internal, approach. In less than 100 days after the takeover of power, the United States is heading for a constitutional crisis in which a clash between the executive and the judiciary branches could affect the entire political system of the state. What is troubling are the attacks on judicial independence and disregard for judicial power, which is a peculiar position for the president of a superpower to take. Also unsettling are the president's opinions about the power of the president, the division of power, respect for the Constitution, and the principle of *checks and balances*, which is supposed to be a deterrent mechanism to control executive power. Trump's first decisions seem to confirm the fears cited after his victory that the first U.S. president without any political experience may have problems managing the state. It seems that Donald Trump forgets that superpower management is not the same as the management of a company, where any word of criticism can cause the dismissal of an employee. America has repeatedly experienced that the use of *soft power* is a much more useful tool than the use of *hard power*. But diplomacy does not seem to be a strength of the new U.S. president, who openly declares that he supports torture as an effective tool for combating terrorism, despite the fact that the 2014 Senate Intelligence Commission Report claimed that torture victims provided false testimony and Osama Bin Laden's hideout was discovered through traditional intelligence (eavesdropping) and not through torture (Waśko-Owsiejczuk, 2016a).

Trump undoubtedly wants to rule with a hard hand, changing the face of America to one that closes and isolates itself from its allies, and bases its actions, including its response to aggression, on money and not on values or the law; which as a country built by immigrants closes its doors to them, including such injured and vulnerable groups as refugees; where executive power disregards the powers of the courts and trivializes its decisions. In this way Donald Trump will not strengthen America, but will only weaken it. Ruling a superpower requires deliberation, and Trump's first decisions may be proof that deliberation will not be the main feature of his presidency, but rather governance through unpredictability and short-sightedness.

Bibliography

Ackerman S., Gambino L. (2017), *Russia is trying to smash Nato, James Mattis says in confirmation hearing*, 12.01.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/12/james-mattis-mike-pompeo-confirmation-hearings-russia, 19.03.2017.

Ackerman S., Siddiqui S. (2017), *Donald Trump speech at CIA memorial risks fueling intelligence feud*, 22.01.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/21/cia-donald-trump-first-meeting, 15.03.2017.

America First Foreign Policy, The White House, https://www.whitehouse.gov/america-first-foreign-policy, 14.03.2017.

Antoszewski A. (2014), *System polityczny jako przedmiot badań politologii i nauki prawa konstytucyjnego*, in: *Rozprawa o metodzie prawa i polityki*, eds. M. Sadowski, A. Spychalska, K. Sadowa, Wydział Prawa, Administracji i Ekonomii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław.

Apuzzo M. (2017), *Trump Orders a Wall Built, but Congress Holds the Checkbook*, 25.01.2017, "The New York Times", https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/25/us/politics/donald-trump-mexico-border-wall-congress.html, 23.03.2017.

Balcerowicz B. (2010), *Siły zbrojne w stanie pokoju, kryzysu, wojny*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa.

Best R. A. (2011), *The National Security Council: An Organizational Assessment*, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, Washington.

Brook T. V. (2017), *Defense Secretary Mattis emphasizes NATO commitment on first day*, 23.01.2017, "USA Today", http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2017/01/23/mattis-support-nato/96971878/, 18.03.2017.

Cameron D. (2017), *How sanctuary cities work, and how Trump's executive order might affect them*, 25.01.2017, "The Washington Post", https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/sanctuary-cities/, 23.03.2017.

Country Reports on Terrorism 2015, United States Department of State Publication Bureau of Counterterrorism and Countering Violent Extremism.

Czulda R. (2010), *Polityka bezpieczeństwa militarnego Stanów Zjednoczonych 2001–2009*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa.

Dehghan S. K. (2017), *Trump travel ban will hit Iranian critics of regime hardest, analysts warn*, 9.03.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/mar/09/trump-travel-ban-iranian-students-critics, 1.04.2017.

Dominiczak P. (2017), *Donald Trump 'wants EU to break up in wake of Brexit vote', outgoing US ambassador in Brussels suggests*, 13.01.2017, "The Telegraph", http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/01/13/donald-trump-wants-eu-break-wake-brexit-vote-outgoing-us-ambassador/, 19.03.2017.

Donald Trump Would Consider Alliance With Russia's Vladimir Putin Against Isis, 25.07.2016, "Newsweek", http://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-vladimir-putin-isis-syria-iraq-moscow-islamic-state-democratic-483826, 14.03.2017.

Dziemidok-Olszewska B. (2009), *System polityczny Stanów Zjednoczonych*, in: *Współczesne systemy polityczne*, eds. M. Żmigrodzki, B. Dziemidok-Olszewska, PWN, Warszawa.

Estevez D. (2015), *Debunking Donald Trump's Five Extreme Statements About Immigrants And Mexico*, 5.09.2015, "Forbes", https://www.forbes.com/sites/doliaestevez/2015/09/03/debunking-donald-trumps-five-extreme-statements-about-immigrants-and-mexico/2/#10576e121ce1, 23.03.2017.

Fisher M. (2016), *What Is Donald Trump's Foreign Policy?*, 11.11.2016, "The New York Times", https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/12/world/what-is-donald-trumps-foreign-policy.html, 21.03.2017.

Gearan A., Morello C. (2017), *Trump administration calls North Korea a 'pariah'*, 7.03.2017, "The Washington Post", https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-administration-calls-north-korea-a-pariah/2017/03/07/47d0aa48-0377-11e7-b9fa-ed727b644a0b_story.html, 22.03.2017.

Haberman M., Rosenberg M., Apuzzo M., Thrushf G. (2017), *Michael Flynn Resigns as National Security Adviser*, 13.02.2017, "The New York Times", https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/13/us/politics/donald-trump-national-security-adviser-michael-flynn.html, 17.03.2017.

Hawaii judge refuses to overturn block on Trump travel ban, 30.03.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/mar/30/hawaii-judge-refuses-overturn-block-trump-travel-ban, 31.03.2017.

Holpuch A. (2017), *White House plan to hire more border agents raises vetting fear, ex-senior official says*, 26.02.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/26/trump-plan-border-agents-vetting-james-tomsheck, 24.03.2017.

Jacobs B., Rushe D., Agren D. (2017), *Trump-Mexico relations hit new low after 20% border wall tax mooted*, 27.01.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/26/trump-calls-for-20-tax-on-mexican-imports-to-pay-for-border-wall, 21.03.2017.

Jordan A. A., Taylor W. J., Meese M. J., Nielsen S. C., Schlesinger J. (2009), *American National Security*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Kopan T., Shoichet C. E. (2017), *Key points in Trump's immigration executive orders*, 25.01.2017, "CNN", http://edition.cnn.com/2017/01/25/politics/donald-trump-immigration-executive-orders/, 24.03.2017.

Laughland O. (2017), *US could face human rights crisis after Trump's xenophobic immigration orders*, 26.01.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/26/trump-immigration-border-detention-migrants-catch-release, 24.03.2017.

Laughland O., Wong J. C., Siddiqui S. (2017), *'Sanctuary cities' endangered by Trump order threatening to cut federal funds*, 25.01.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/25/sanctuary-cities-trump-executive-order-immigration, 24.03.2017.

LoBianco T. (2015), *Donald Trump: Crimea is Europe's problem*, 31.07.2015, "CNN", http://edition.cnn.com/2015/07/31/politics/doanld-trump-crimea-europe-problem/, 17.03.2017.

Loffredo N. (2017), *Trump Travel Ban Weakens National Security, Foreign Policy Experts Argue*, 11.03.2017, "Newsweek", http://www.newsweek.com/trump-travel-ban-weaken-national-security-foreign-policy-experts-566722, 1.04.2017.

Ludwikowski R., Ludwikowska A. (2009), *Wybory prezydenckie w USA na tle porównawczym*, Wydawnictwo Prawnicze LexisNexis, Warszawa.

Masters J. (2017), *Trump defense chief Mattis: US not ready for military cooperation with Russia*, 16.02.2017, "CNN", http://edition.cnn.com/2017/02/16/politics/mattis-russia-military-cooperation/, 14.03.2017.

McFadden C., Arkin W. M. (2017), *Trump's Pentagon Presents ISIS Plan That Looks Much Like Obama's*, 17.03.2017, NBCNews, http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/trump-s-secret-plan-beat-isis-looks-lot-obama-s-n735171, 22.03.2017.

Michałek K. (2005), *Konstytucja Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*, in: *Konstytucja oraz inne podstawowe dokumenty i symbole amerykańskiej kultury patriotycznej*, red. K. Michałek, Wydawnictwo Mada, Warszawa.

Milewski P. (2017), *Amerykanie zaatakowali Syrię*, 7.04.2017, "Newsweek", http://www.newsweek.pl/swiat/polityka/atak-usa-na-syrie-amerykanie-zaatakowali-syrie,artykuly,408416,1.html, 10.04.2017.

Miller Z. J. (2017), *President Trump Orders 30-Day Review of Strategy to Fight ISIS*, 28.01.2017, "Time", http://time.com/4652696/president-trump-isis-review/, 22.03.2017.

Mui Y. Q. (2017), *Withdrawal from Trans-Pacific Partnership shifts U.S. role in world economy*, 23.01.2017, "The Washington Post", https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/withdrawal-from-trans-pacific-partnership-shifts-us-role-in-world-economy/2017/01/23/05720df6-e1a6-11e6-a453-19ec4b3d09ba_story.html, 23.03.2017.

Nye J. (2007), *Soft Power. Jak osiągnąć sukces w polityce światowej*, Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne, Warszawa.

Pawłuszko T. (2014), *Użyteczność analityczna kategorii systemu międzynarodowego*, "Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations", no. 1 (t. 49).

Pengelly M. (2017), *Donald Trump repeats respect for 'killer' Putin in Fox Super Bowl interview*, 6.02.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/05/donald-trump-repeats-his-respect-for-killer-vladimir-putin, 14.03.2017.

Revesz R. (2017), *Donald Trump's new 'Muslim ban' still does not include countries that have produced terrorists*, 6.03.2017, "Independent", http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/donald-trump-muslim-travel-ban-countries-terrorists-immigration-order-a7614701.html, 25.03.2017.

Roser M., Nagdy M., *Military Spending*, https://ourworldindata.org/military-spending/, 12.03.2017.

Salama V., Caldwell A. A. (2017), *Homeland Security Intelligence Report Disputes Terror Threat for Countries Included in Travel Ban*, 24.02.2017, "Time", http://time.com/4682723/homeland-security-intelligence-report-travel-ban/, 1.04.2017.

Sanger D. E., Haberman M. (2016), *Donald Trump Sets Conditions for Defending NATO Allies Against Attack*, 20.07.2016, "The New York Times", https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/21/us/politics/donald-trump-issues.html, 18.03.2017.

Savage C. (2017), *Was Trump's Syria Strike Illegal? Explaining Presidential War Powers*, 7.04.2017, "The New York Times", https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/07/us/politics/military-force-presidential-power.html, 10.04.2017.

Scarborough R. (2016), *Trump's Pentagon pick says Russia 'dangerous,' Putin possibly 'delusional'*, 6.12.2016, "The Washington Times", http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/dec/6/donald-trump-james-mattis-differ-on-vladimir-putin/, 14.03.2017.

Schmidt M. S. (2017), *Trump's Plan to Fight ISIS Includes Calling It by That Name*, 29.01.2017, "The New York Times", https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/29/us/politics/trump-isis-isil-name.html, 22.03.2017.

Sengupta S., Macfarquhar N., Steinhauer J. (2017), *U.S. Airstrikes in Syria: Fallout Around the World*, 07.04.2017, "The New York Times", https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/07/us/politics/trump-syria-airstrikes.html, 10.04.2017.

Shafritz J. M. (1993), *The Harper Collins Dictionary: American Government & Politics. A Wealth of Information on National, State and Local Government and Politics*, HarperPerennial, New York.

Shear M., Cooper H. (2017), *Trump Bars Refugees and Citizens of 7 Muslim Countries*, 27.01.2017, "The New York Times", https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/27/us/politics/trump-syrian-refugees.html, 25.03.2017.

Shinkman P. D. (2017), *Cooperation with Russia in Syria Off the Table for Trump Team*, 13.03.2017, "USNews", https://www.usnews.com/news/politics/articles/2017-03-13/trump-team-isnt-considering-cooperation-with-russia-in-syria-sources-say, 15.03.2017.

Stewart H., Yuhas A., Walker P. (2017), *Donald Trump's first UK post-election interview: Brexit a 'great thing'*, 16.01.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/15/trumps-first-uk-post-election-interview-brexit-a-great-thing, 19.03.2017.

Thompson Hill K., Hill G. N. (2001), *The Fact On File Dictionary of American Politics*, Checkmark Books, New York.

Thrush G. (2017), *Trump's New Travel Ban Blocks Migrants From Six Nations, Sparing Iraq*, 3.03.2017, "The New York Times", https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/06/us/politics/travel-ban-muslim-trump.html, 27.03.2017.

Ulrich M. P (2012), *National Security Powers: Are The Checks In Balance?*, in: *The U.S. Army War College Guide To National Security Issues. Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy*, ed. J. B. Bartholomees, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle.

Waldman T. (2000), *The Best Guide to American Politics*, Renaissance Books, Los Angeles.

Walters J. (2017), *'An epic confrontation': has travel ban put White House and courts at odds?*, 4.02.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/04/donald-trump-travel-ban-constitutional-crisis, 25.03.2017.

Waśko-Owsiejczuk E. (2014), *Polityka bezpieczeństwa narodowego Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki w latach 2001–2009*, Avalon, Kraków.

Waśko-Owsiejczuk E. (2016a), *Globalizacja tortur – o programie tajnych więzień CIA na świecie*, "Politeja. Pismo Wydziału Studiów Międzynarodowych i Politycznych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", no. 45.

Waśko-Owsiejczuk E. (2016b), *Misja Wsparcia Narodów Zjednoczonych dla Iraku – cele, zadania i inicjatywy ONZ po zakończeniu II wojny w Zatoce Perskiej*, "Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations", nr 3 (t. 53).

Waśko-Owsiejczuk E. (2017), *Wpływ polityki USA na powstanie "państwa" islamskiego. O spuściźnie prezydentury George'a W. Busha*, "Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politologiczne", vol. 53.

Weaver M., Spencer A. S. (2017), *Trump claims torture works but experts warn of its 'potentially existential' costs*, 26.01.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/26/donald-trump-torture-absolutely-works-says-us-president-in-first-television-interview, 2.04.2017.

Withnall A. (2017), *Donald Trump to sign executive order signalling intention to rip up Nafta*, 23.01.2017, "Independent", http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/donald-trump-tpp-nafta-president-trade-deals-mexico-canada-china-executive-order-a7541611.html, 21.03.2017.

Włodkowska-Bagan A. (2015), *Ambicje imperialne Rosji i innych mocarstw w przestrzeni poradzieckiej*, in: *Rosja. Rozważania imperiologiczne*, eds. S. Bieleń, A. Skrzypek, Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, Warszawa.

Włodkowska A. (2004), *Mocarstwowość w polityce zagranicznej państw*, in: *Wstęp do teorii polityki zagranicznej państwa*, ed. R. Zięba, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń.

Wordliczek Ł. (2003), *Kształtowanie się uprawnień prezydenta USA w polityce zagranicznej*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków.

Yuhas A. (2017), *Trump defends travel ban and lashes out at GOP critics McCain and Graham*, 29.01.2017, "The Guardian", https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/29/trump-muslim-country-travel-ban-john-mccain, 1.04.2017.

Czy Ameryka jest teraz bezpieczniejsza? O pierwszych zmianach w polityce zagranicznej i bezpieczeństwa USA za prezydentury Donalda Trumpa

Streszczenie

Artykuł opisuje pierwsze miesiące prezydentury Donalda Trumpa. Przedstawia jego najważniejsze decyzje w zakresie polityki zagranicznej i bezpieczeństwa USA, głosy krytyczne i wspierające oraz ewentualne implikacje dla bezpieczeństwa USA.

Już podczas kampanii wyborczej niektóre propozycje Trumpa wywoływały niepokój społeczności międzynarodowej i wiele pytań w kontekście dotychczasowych sojuszy. Zapowiedział m.in. wprowadzenie rygorystycznych przepisów w prawie emigracyjnym, niezwłoczną deportację nielegalnych imigrantów z USA, przywróceniem tortur jako narzędzia walki z terrorystami, podważał ponadto dotychczasową politykę współpracy z sojusznikami, kwestionując dążenie do zapewniania bezpieczeństwa innym krajom na koszt USA. Podjęte podczas pierwszych 100 dni urzędowania Donalda Trumpa decyzje wpływają nie tylko na sytuację wewnętrzną USA, zarówno w kontekście bezpieczeństwa kraju, jak i systemu politycznego, ze względu na rodzący się kryzys konstytucyjny i tarcia pomiędzy władzą wykonawczą i sądowniczą. Jego decyzje wpływają również na stosunki pomiędzy USA i ich sojusznikami oraz przekształcają rolę Stanów Zjednoczonych w świecie i wpływ supermocarstwa na system zbiorowego bezpieczeństwa.

Słowa kluczowe: Donald Trump, Stany Zjednoczone, Syria, terroryzm, polityka zagraniczna i bezpieczeństwo USA

Aleksandra GASZTOLD
University of Warsaw

A feminist approach to security studies

Abstract: The main goal of this article is to present problems related to using a feminist approach in security studies. The starting point are some of the basic terms used in the internally diverse sphere of feminist theory and their application in the field of political science. An attempt is also made to define the objectives of selected feminist studies that can be used in the analysis of domestic and international security issues. The main thesis of the article is the assertion that security studies are dominated by assigned gender stereotypes and meanings embedded in the so-called male gaze.

Key words: feminism, gender, sex, security, security studies, political science

Introduction

As an academic theory, what makes feminism stand out is, above all, the subject of study: women and their roles in society, politics and international relations. This theory assumes that there is a distinction between women's subjective traits and their behaviour in society. Feminism focuses on their fortunes and place in the world while, at the same time, discussing these questions in relation to men and masculine and patriarchal relationships. Hence, the key terms in this view will be the notions of sex and gender and their impact on one's social position. On the academic side, feminism is included in the post-positive movement because of its critique of, and opposition to, the dominant gender hierarchy and so-called male gaze. It should be noted that feminism is not a monolith; various streams of feminism can be discerned that are usually called waves. Some authors use the term in the plural, i.e., feminist theories. However, the starting point for discussions by individual authors is an assumption about the social construct of gender and its role and place both for political science theory for public life.

When encountered in analyses of the role and importance of women in the context of political violence, the above-mentioned male gaze centralises processes of representation in which the male point of view (predominantly heterosexual) is privileged. This approach exhibits an unequal distribution of rights and the objectification of women (and other genders). It has an influence (usually varied or inverse) on both the person observed and on the observer (Stump, Dixit, 2013, p. 58). In this view, we can observe an emphasis on women as objects, who are forced to act by certain determinants, such as race, social norms, religion, "feelings of hopelessness," to act in a "typically" male way in the sphere of security. It does not perceive women as human beings who are responsible for themselves or who are capable of making their own independent decisions or determining their own path in life. This is often because it is men who tell us about these women, denying them their own voice (his story instead of her story). Notions of harm and suffering are emphasised while at the same time denying the deliberate choice of specific actions in the political or public sphere (Wibben, 2011).

Feminism, like other post-positivist concepts, assumes the crossing of boundaries and thus a critique of positivist achievements and the deconstruction of the theory on account of variable gender. Feminists are mainly women, but more and more men are working as researchers in this field all the time. This is related to a common phenomenon in political science whereby men are allocated places as actors and as active participants in politics. Christine Sylvester highlights this in her analysis of the theory of international relations. According to her, women serve only a supporting role for men's policies, and so they occupy other positions from which they may "dabble in" international relations (Sylvester, 1994, p. 4). Sylvester further highlights the fact that men are directly identified with states and the policies states implement. This is reflected, inter alia, in the presentation of their role in society, which is more powerful than that of women, as policymakers, politicians, soldiers, terrorists, etc. In this way, they are forced – with the help of the outlined theories – into particular positions, and they take action (perform roles) in accordance with the premise accepted by the researcher. This premise may, however, be misleading (and thus theorising) or reflect the innate talents of the person being analysed. The assignment of specific traits and values does not necessarily have to become reality (Sylvester, 1994, p. 5).

Variable gender

The key concept that binds together the various interpretations of feminism is that of gender, a phenomenon that permeates all spheres of social life and is therefore applied in academic discussions of them. This term indicates an interdisciplinary approach, as it relates to many spheres of social life and several academic disciplines. According to feminists, a negation of cultural gender can be observed in traditional research. This therefore undermines any attempt at gender-neutral analysis, where the focus is on human beings and their interactions in public space. They acknowledge that existing academic paradigms distort reality by creating an illusory myth of objectivity without taking into account the conditions that influence the role and position of political actors. The polarisation of characteristics attributed to women and men is constantly being created and reproduced by means of roles, standards for acceptable behaviour, social norms and stereotypes attributed to that which is male and that which is female. "Nature determines whether we are male or female; culture decides what it means to be male or female" (Merz, 1979, p. 9).

The difference between a man and a woman is natural since it is the result of inherent physical traits and does not lead to the development of moral, political or social norms, as it is not relational. It is given meaning only when it is interpreted by the cultural context. Thus, the gender division is a duality: it is, at the same time, natural and cultural, real and symbolic, biological and psychological (Agacinski, 2000, p. 25). Sex determines – particularly in patriarchal systems – the biology (nature) and destiny of both women and men. The publication that showed that gender is a cultural, rather than innate, construct was Robert J. Stoller's 1968 monograph (Stoller, 1968). This research began being used to demonstrate that a woman's life is not determined by her sex. Gender, on the other hand, opened up new possibilities, although it was relational. However,

this is the term that the majority of feminists started to use. The term gender is not, however, the only one used by feminists, nor does it lack ambiguity. Judith Butler, who came up with the concept of gender performativity, voiced her categorical disagreement with the treatment of feminist thought only through the prism of cultural gender. She expressed doubts about exposing the distinction between the concepts of sex and gender. In her opinion, the blurred boundaries between what is biological and what is social do not interfere with the study of the entirety of issues involved in the female question. Biological sex can determine an individual's identity, but it is culturally determined gender that has historically determined – through constant repetition and performance – behaviour and means of self-expression. Defining cultural and social gender by referring to biological sex (which is not neutral) validates and reproduces gender differences (doing gender). It then becomes a fact around which particular social relationships, inequalities and discrimination develop. The question of sexual difference, in Butler's view, is and will continue to be questioned and will remain an open question. Since this difference is an impermanent category created by discourse, he therefore proposes that it be replaced with differentiation (Butler, 2005).

Every culture expresses through language that which is conferred upon the individual sexes. This also includes expectations about how each person should behave. Exaggerated expectations are established as gender stereotypes that may be related to particular traits associated with sex (Basow, 1992). Through their generalisation and the so-called male gaze, sweeping generalisations related to the articulation of political needs and interests usually do not introduce gender differentiation or the actual position of the individual within society. They focus on the person-citizen-man. Therefore, proponents of the feminist perspective also point out that, at least within political science, avoidance of the gender aspect excludes from research certain determinants and processes that are essential to the world of politics (True, 1996, pp. 211–212) Assuming that gender is a social construct related to the assignment of roles and norms, it is also related to the identity of the individual, their social identity and way of life. That is to say it has an impact on the distribution of power, privilege and prestige. The system of gender roles and their inter-relationships conditions every aspect of human life, including security and political violence (Alison, 2004).

The theory of feminism, like other academic theories, uses categories and terms that are specific to it. Joanna Bator recognises as essential "interpretative categories of every feminist theory: sexual differences, women and emancipation." On the other hand, she considers to be characteristic traits "perspectivism, intersexuality, the relationship between knowledge/power and sexual differences, strategic thinking, the relationship between theory and practice, the emphasis on what in the 'male' tradition was usually overlooked as casual, private, corporal, feminine" (Bator, 2001, p. 44). The common denominator among the various feminist factions is the conviction that women, because of their sex, are abused (oppressed) by the system and that this situation can and must be changed. And that women should be the driving force. Hence, ideology is very often translated into action, including involvement in social, political, artistic or theoretical and research activities aimed at "a transformation of knowledge" (Ślęczka, 1999, p. 12). The main levels of "women's oppression within the system of knowledge" that need to be opposed are sexism, patriarchy and phallogocentrism (Grosz, 1988, p. 93).

Goals of feminist research

In the initial phase, the purpose of feminist research was to show the universally recognised as true and normal androcentric tendency that was unequivocally influencing theoretical models in the field of political science. They were in large part based on the conviction that gender neutrality existed and therefore if, for example, the problem of a rational decision maker were analysed, a model would developed that was based on traits attributed to men. In classic publications on decision-making in foreign policy, although a great deal of attention was devoted to the personality traits of the decision maker, no distinction was made between whether it was a man or a woman (Verba, 1961; Lentner, 1974; Janis, 1989).

Another goal of feminism was to re-establish the presence of women in many areas of social life, including security studies. The intention was to analyse women as actors and their experiences while assuming that the latter differ from men's experiences, since the social determinants may differ in view of the gender roles mentioned above and the meanings assigned to them. This stage in the development of feminism was called "adding women." The priority was to include women as objects of analysis and gender as a variable concept. However, the various attempts undertaken in this area did not have a significant impact on traditional models, research methods or techniques, or the conceptual grid of political science, at least in Poland., Language that fully emphasises the presence of women in social and political life is significant for the development of feminist thought. It is of particular value in the widespread cultural underrepresentation of women. Judith Butler calls for even more intense work on language that would seem to be "necessary to foster the political visibility of women" (Butler, 2005, p. 145). Contemporary studies focus on challenging existing theoretical and methodological assumptions, in particular pointing out inconsistencies in language and terminology, which puts women in a lower/worse position than men. This is primarily due to the placement of women in a specific context (Peterson, 1992, pp. 191–197).

The basic goal of research within the heterogeneous feminist movement is the creation of a theory based on the experiences and using the language of women and to ask questions previously ignored. In doing so, the emotional involvement of the researcher is permitted, in contrast to the artificiality of male objectivity and distance. In this conception, the research process is intended to shape the consciousness of both the object of the research and the researcher. They are meant to reflect practical knowledge, which, among other things, is conditioned by their experiences in everyday life (Harding, 1987). Maria Mies suggests, for example, that research should take into account: (1) conscious sympathy; (2) women's experiences (bottom-up studies); (3) practical features and solutions (awareness-raising features) (Mies, 1983). Hence, qualitative research is favoured, especially participant observation and analysis of experiences and case studies (Reinharz, 1979). In this view, the researcher may play the role not of an expert, but of a person who is learning and is therefore open to the results and to changing their initial assumptions. It is essential to use various kinds of research methods and techniques and to properly analyse the collected material with the aim of expanding knowledge about the role of women, but also about the specifics of what is masculine and what is feminine and therefore about cultural and social tensions related to gender. The source's

"sex" should also be verified as a decisive factor in the narrative that is in a certain way "contaminated" by a particular perspective (the so-called male gaze). Men may have a tendency to imbue their work about women or dedicated to women with their view of women, thereby distorting reality. Cythia Enloe suggests using a gender impact analysis in research concerning (local and global) political processes. In order for this method to be effective, it should take into account the situation both before a decision is made and after. This will allow the researcher to answer questions about how political decisions influence men and women; whether it is possible to distinguish within these groups certain sets of people who will feel the impact of a policy more strongly (specific individuals, occupations, age ranges, etc.) and whether that political action will have an impact on the relationship between men and women, e.g., by limiting or aggravating inequalities. "To make sense of today's complex world, we need to understand that many decisions have not only gendered *consequences* but gendered *causes* – that is, causes flowing form presumptions or fears about femininity or masculinity" (Enloe, 2007, p. 17).

Challenges in security analysis

As generally understood, the subject of Security Studies covers contemporary international relations (e.g., in the United States), combined with national and international security, as well as peace research. These areas have had relatively few points in common with feminism due to the high degree of scepticism among researchers about everything that is postmodern in security analysis (Walt, 1991, p. 223). Following Jacek Czaputowicz, three streams of feminism can be discerned in international relations. The first, empirical stream focused on determining the activities of women in various fields of international relations. The second, feminist standpoint called for the creation of a feminist epistemology and the inclusion of women's perspectives in the study of international relations. On the other hand, the third, postmodernist stream recognised that "women are a category thought up in order to maintain relationships of inequality, domination and subordination that have become recognised as natural" (Czaputowicz, 2007, p. 377). In particular, the question of the peaceful nature of women raised by female feminist researchers and debates about the sources of pacifism stemming from nature or culture have found a place in studies on war and peace, especially in the criticism of male militarism (Jones, 1996).

Militarism is seen as one form of patriarchal social and structural violence. This perspective predestines women (and children) to passive participation in armed combat. This view rules out both an active role for women in military conflict (combatants) and for men as non-participants (non-combatants) (Peach, 1993, pp. 84–96). Those actors who are able to take part in debates about national security are also expected to be possessed of a rationality that is associated with male traits. Women, because of their life-giving power, which is associated with nature, emanate emotionality or "softness". It has therefore become accepted, particularly in countries where the perception of national security is based on militarised solutions, that the admission of women to discussions on or shaping security requires their defeminisation. In other words, that they be de facto stripped of their femininity. Enloe calls this phenomenon muscular

thinking (Enloe, 2007, p. 40). The impact of feminism on analyses of armed conflict is primarily related to the introduction of the role of the gender factor in the formation of militarism. Thus, it was suggested that our understanding of peace be broadened because of the importance of gender in shaping social relations. Attention was thus paid to the cultural and social conditions that are the source of militarism and consequently of wars. Feminism has enriched traditional studies of armed conflicts by including problems that arise from social relations, particularly the performance of certain gender roles. The integrative function of the practical side of feminism has for years been reflected in the efforts made by women's organisations aimed at peace education and the development of alternative visions of social structures in regions affected by crises (Burguieres, 1990).

The broadening of our understanding of security, as noted by J. Ann Tickner, to include economic and environmental aspects has caused the state to cease being a suitable (and self-sufficient) institution for guaranteeing security. On the other hand, the basic goal of feminism in security studies is to introduce the category of gender as a constant variable that conditions reality and to improve our knowledge of women's experiences. This is based on the conviction that by exposing unequal gender relations and looking at them from a woman's point of view, it is possible to establish the sort of comprehensive definition of security that modern critical thinking has been aspiring to come up with. Due to our traditional understanding of the internal and external functions of the state in the area of ensuring security primarily from a military point of view – forever associated with masculinity – the roles of women have been marginalised and even omitted (Tickner, 1997, pp. 187–190).

Violence is an intrinsic part of security considerations. Violence against women, especially sexual violence, cannot in any way be compared to the experience of this sort of violence against men. Violence against women is believed to be greater in militarised societies and endorsed in patriarchal systems (e.g., through legislation, controlling women's right to their own body or image and other customary practices). The main institution perpetuating this state of affairs and reflecting society on a micro-scale is the family. "As co-operation between the family and the larger society is essential, else both would fall apart, the fate of three patriarchal institutions, the family, the society, and the state are interrelated" (Millett, 2005, p. 42). In addition, male supremacy is not based on physical strength, but rather on the acceptance of a certain system of values. A significant role is played by socialisation and universally accepted prejudices about the supremacy of men, which perpetuate their superior position. Kate Millett emphasises that patriarchal communities generally have a tendency to combine cruelty with sexuality as an expression not so much of evil but of power. Where sadism is associated with "the masculine role" and the experience of being a victim with "the feminine role" (Millett, 2005, p. 48). These same observations have emerged in psychoanalysis and studies on pornography. Sex, in Millett's view, is a status that has political implications in that in comes down to a relationship of domination and subordination and meets Max Weber's definition of control (*Herrschaft*) (Millett, 2005, p. 38).

Anti-war feminists recognise that war is a male world in which there is no room for women. This conviction is based on the premise that women possess an internal moral voice that differs completely from that of men and that calls for peaceful coexistence.

This is primarily related to caring, tenderness, the need to build relationships and take responsibility for others. On the other hand, the male view favours justice, rights and independence (ethics of justice). The concept of ethics of care first appeared in the 1980s on the basis of maternal feminism, and its main premise is that so-called maternal practices can transform socio-political systems to eliminate wars (Ruddick, 1989). The morality of women, based, first and foremost, on preserving their offspring (an emotional bond and duty), precludes the use of military means because they are life-threatening. In this view, the mother-child relationship is transferred to social relationships in general. And traits like masculine aggression and the desire for domination, culminating in armed struggle, are condemned. Nevertheless, this approach strengthens the traditional perception of women and men. Women are associated with nature (and the private sphere), and thus with peace, while men are associated with culture (and the public sphere), and thus with war. Although, before the Enlightenment, traits like wildness and a lack of restraint were attributed to nature, alongside aspects like giving life and caring, modernity has made an attempt to understand (to study) nature, and thus to tame it, which has meant nothing other than subjugation to men. Accordingly, nature was and is treated as a lower order of existence, while culture, with its ability to transform ("socializing" and "transforming" nature) is something different and superior[1] (Ornter, 1974, p. 73). Sara Ruddick has discerned three attitudes that can be observed in women in the context of discussions on war: the suffering mother, the outsider and the peacemaker. These can overlap or even collide with one another. They reflect the stereotypical understanding of these concepts. Thus, the first one is related to the image of the suffering mother, the bond keeping the family together, who also has the potential to reconstruct the social structure in the wake of armed conflict. This is the most deeply rooted image of women in relation to war. The second attitude assumes the alienation – by force or by choice – of women in relation to war because of the male nature of war. War is perceived as a form of fanatical misogyny that fosters and rewards behaviour related to violence against women. The last attitude is about the ability to build relationships and ways to resolve conflict without resorting to violence. In this view, war is an inherent part of culture. Ruddick suggests using the term war culture. On the other hand, opposition to this phenomenon should focus on the introduction of social changes and different ways of thinking based on the premise that women have the capacity to build relations peacefully (Ruddick, 1998). Radical political feminism based on maternal thinking and caring has been criticised for not taking into account the perspective of civic feminism. It is unable to explain, for example, the high level of support among women for military actions conducted by their own country. This was noted by Jean Bethke Elshtain, who denies the existence of a distinct, peaceful "nature" among women. On the other hand, she does not rule out the performance, during wartime, of culturally established roles concerning the social construction of men as "just warriors" and of women as "beautiful souls" (Elshtain, 1989).

Sex is an essential element of research on political violence, including terrorism (Zięba, 2016). Jacob L. Stump and Priya Dixit recognise that feminist concepts are ap-

---

[1] "Thus culture (ie every culture) at some level of awareness asserts itself to be not only distinct from but superior to nature, and that sense of distinctiveness and superiority rests precisely on the ability to transform – to 'socialize' and 'culturalize' – nature."

plied in research on terrorism (Stump, Dixit, 2013, p. 58). Researchers emphasise, first of all, the role of patriarchal systems in encouraging and sometimes forcing women to take part in terrorist organisations and terrorist acts. A patriarchy can be understood as a structure based on certain convictions about how people should behave and the values attributed to these behaviours. According to Cynthia Enloe, one can discern, from among these, the conviction that women and men are different. This difference is "intrinsic and unalterable" and predestines everyone to specific social roles. According to this view, men are naturally qualified to be breadwinners, to ensure security and to take part in public life, etc. as a result of their traits: increased rationality, sex drive and physical strength. On the other hand, women fulfil their destiny in the private sphere, where they are grateful to, and dependent on, men. In such systems, it is possible to note the following: first, the privilege of masculinity and, second, the marginalisation of women and that which is feminine. These two essential features of the system are legitimised by being perpetuated in views and in daily practice, thus becoming tradition (Enloe, 2007, pp. 67–68). Research does not, however, support the notion that the mechanism of coercion is a decisive factor for participation in terrorist activities. The social environment may play an important role in involving women in terrorism, but the decisive factor may equally be earlier involvement in political life (Jacques, Taylor, 2013).

The patriarchal view may be associated with the male gaze, which objectifies women, robbing them of their own narratives about themselves. Feelings of harm and suffering are often emphasised, thus denying them their own rational choices (Shepherd, 2010; Tickner, 1997). A perfect example can be seen in attempts to explain the martyrology of women, including sacrificing their own lives (e.g., by taking part in suicide attacks). These are often presented as acts of desperation; they are relativised and treated with compassion.

The involvement of women in terrorism or other forms of armed struggle can also be seen through the prism of emancipation and understood as a break with the established (patriarchal) order and as masculinisation. The empowerment and emancipation of women to take part in terrorism or guerrilla warfare is seen as a revolutionary trend in breaking with their earlier, often inhuman treatment. The neutral form seems to be showing the involvement of women in political violence through the lens of an equal right to political expression, even if this takes on the extreme form of equal access to suicide bombings. On the other hand, the application of the view of transversal politics (Yuval-Davis, 1994) in studies on terrorism emphasises the diversification of roles played by women in terrorist organisations. Differences in individual functions and tasks are related not with one's sex within an organization, but in the specific nature of the organisation and in interaction within the group. Another approach, called intersectionality, is presented by researchers included in so-called postcolonial feminism (Yuval-Davis, 1997). In this field, efforts are being made to show cause-and-effect relationships between racism and political, economic and cultural colonialism, and the involvement of non-white (non-Western) women in political violence in the postcolonial world (Chowdhry, Nair, 2002). This approach therefore emphasises the role of internal and external conditions as well as racial and ethnic differences that have an impact on the type of actions undertaken and involvement in terrorism and other forms of armed conflict.

Conclusions

Despite the diverse range of attitudes and movements, the goal of feminist works seems to be: (1) a critical analysis of traditional theories and concepts, paradigms and language; (2) the creation of a feminist conceptual grid, premises and explanations that are useful for both theory and practice (Light, Halliday, 1994, p. 51). Feminism recognises that traditional theories of political science marginalise the importance of women, as well as the role of gender as a category in social and political life. The main goal of feminism is to raise awareness and thereby to try to universalise this approach in both theory and in practice (Hartsock, 1979). This also marginalises the role of quantitative research, which is perceived as a patriarchal tool that encloses science within the confines of the male vision. Feminism sees itself as a new body of knowledge about existing problems. In this view, an analysis of the involvement of women in the security sphere, particularly in relation to political violence, does not serve to set women against men, but to broaden our knowledge of human nature and of political activity in general (Wesley, 2006). Supporters of the feminist perspective have noted that the gender aspect is crucial to the study of certain determinants and political processes and of security issues as a whole. Gender is a social construct, and it therefore creates and impacts not only the individual but also all of society. Feminist theory can be used to analyse various security phenomena, including armed conflict, terrorism and other actions related to political violence because it focuses on research at the level of the individual, both men and women. The importance of gender differences as a variable that makes up social reality is essential in our understanding of political behaviour and in security studies. It allows us to broaden the scope of analysis and to show that particular phenomena (including non-military threats) have broad cultural and social and even biological determinants that shape their genesis, structure, functioning and have an impact on the consequences. The feminist approach enables a more complete analysis of women's motives in undertaking political activity and in how they go about it, and thus makes it possible to demonstrate the specificity of security-related behaviour.

Bibliography

Agaciński S. (2000), *Polityka płci*, tłum. M. Falski, Wydawnictwo KR, Warszawa.

Alison M. (2004), *Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security*, "Security Dialogue", vol. 35, no. 4.

Basow S. A. (1992), *Gender Stereotypes and Roles*, Books/Cole, Pacific Grove.

Bator J. (2001), *Feminizm, postmodernizm, psychoanaliza. Filozoficzne dylematy feministek drugiej fali*, Słowo/obraz terytoria, Gdańsk.

Burguieres M. K. (1990), *Feminist Approaches to Peace: Another Step for Peace Studies*, "Millennium: Journal of International Studies", vol. 19, no. 1.

Butler J. (2005), *Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire*, in: *Feminist Theory: A Philosophical Anthology*, eds. A. E. Cudd, R. O. Andereasen, Blackwell Publishing, Malden MA.

Chowdhry G., Nair S. (2002), *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations. Reading Race, Gender and Class*, Routledge, London–New York.

Czaputowicz J. (2007), *Teorie stosunków międzynarodowych. Krytyka i systematyzacja*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.

Elshtain J. B. (1987), *Women and War*, Basic Books, New York.

Enloe C. (2007), *Globalization & Militarism: Feminists Make the Link*, Rownam & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham–Boulder–New York–Toronto–Plymouth.

Grosz E. A. (1988), *The In(ter)vention of Feminist Knowledges*, in: *Crossing Boundaries: Feminism and the Critique of Knowledges*, eds. B. Caine, E. A. Grosz, M. de Lepervanche, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Harding S. (1987), *Introduction: Is There a Feminist Method?*, in: *Feminism & Methodology*: *Social Science Issues*, ed. S. Harding, Indiana University Press, Bloomington–Indianapolis.

Hartsock N. (1979), *Feminist Theory and the Development of Revolutionary Strategy*, in: *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*, ed. Z. R. Eisenstein, Monthly Press Review, New York.

Jacques K., Taylor P. J. (2013), *Myths and Realities of Female-perpetrated Terrorism*, "Law and Human Behavior", vol. 37.

Janis I. L. (1989), *Crucial Decisions. Leadership in Policymaking and Crisis Management*, The Free Press, New York.

Jones A. (1996), *Does the 'Gender' Make the World Go Round? Feminist Critiques of International Relations*, "Review of International Studies", vol. 22, no. 4.

Lentner H. H. (1974), *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative and Conceptual Approach*, Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, Columbus.

Light M., Halliday F. (1994), *Gender and International Relations*, in: *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory*, eds. A. J. R. Groom, M. Light, Pinter Publishers, London.

Merz F. (1979), *Geschlechterunterschiede und ihre Entwicklung, Ergebnisse und Theorien der Psychologie*, Verlag für Psychologie, Göttingen.

Mies M. (1983), *Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research*, in: *Theories of Women's Studies*, eds. G. Bowles, R. D. Klein, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Millett K. (2005), *Theory of Sexual Politics*, in: *Feminist Theory: A Philosophical Anthology*, eds. A. E. Cudd, R. O. Andereasen Blackwell Publishing, Malden MA.

Ortner S. B. (1974), *Is female to male as "nature" to "culture"*, in: *Women, Culture and Society*, eds. M. Z. Rosaldo, L. Lamphere, Standford University Press, Standford.

Peach L. J. (1993), *Women at War: The Ethics of Women in Combat*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Peterson V. S. (1992), *Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and International Relations*, "Millennium: Journal of International Studies", vol. 21, no. 2.

Reinharz S. (1979), *On Becoming a Social Scientist: From Survery Research ad Participant Observation to Experimental Analysis*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Ruddick S. (1989), *Maternal Thinking Toward a Politics of Peace*, Ballantine Books, New York.

Ruddick S. (1998), '*Woman of Peace'. A Feminist Construction*, in: *The Women and War Reader*, eds. L. A. Lorentzen, J. Turpin, New York University Press, New York.

Shepherd L. J. (2010), *Feminist Security Studies*, in: *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, ed. R. A. Denemark, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

Stoller R. J. (1968), *Sex & Gender: On The Development of Masculinity and Feminity*, Science House, New York.

Stump J. L., Dixit P. (2013), *Critical Terrorism Studies: An introduction to research methods*, Routledge, London–New York.

Sylvester Ch. (1994), *Feminist Theory and International Relations in the Post-Modern Era*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ślęczka Ś. (1999), *Feminizm. Ideologie i koncepcje współczesnego feminizmu*, Wydawnictwo "Książnica", Katowice.

Tickner J. A. (1997a), *You just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists*, "International Studies Quarterly", vol. 41, no. 4.

Tickner J. A. (1997b), *Re-visioning Security*, in: *International Relations Theory Today*, eds. K. Booth, S. Smith, Polity Press Cambridge.

True J. (1996), *Feminism*, in: *Theories of International Relations*, S. Burchill, A. Linklater (et al.), Macmillan Press Ltd, New York.

Verba S. (1961), *Assumptions of Rationality and Non-Rationality in Models of the International System*, in: *International Politics and Foreign Policy: Reader in Research and Theory*, ed. J. N. Rosenau, The Free Press of Glencoe, New York.

Walt S. M. (1991), *The Renaissance of Security Studies*, "International Studies Quarterly", vol. 35, no. 2.

Wesley J. K. (2006), *Considering the Context of Women's Violence: Gender Lived Experiences and Cumulative Victimisation*, "Feminist Criminology", vol. 1, no. 4.

Wibben A. T. R. (2011), *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach*, Routledge, London–New York.

Yuval-Davis N. (1997), *Gender and Nation*, Sage, London.

Yuval-Davis N.(1999), *What is 'Transversal Politics'?*, "Soundings", Issue 12.

Zięba A. (2016), *Płeć terroryzmu – wprowadzenie do zagadnienia*, Kwartalnik Naukowy OAP UW "e-Politikon", no. 20.

Podejście feministyczne w studiach nad bezpieczeństwem

Streszczenie

Zasadniczym celem artykułu jest przedstawienie problemów związanych ze stosowaniem podejścia feministycznego w badaniach nad bezpieczeństwem. Punkt wyjścia stanowią kwestie związane z podstawowymi terminami w obrębie zróżnicowanej wewnętrznie teorii feministycznej i ich zastosowania w obszarze nauk o polityce. Podjęto również próbę określenia celów wybranych badań feministycznych, które mogą być wykorzystane w analizie problemów z zakresu bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego i międzynarodowego. Główną tezą artykułu jest stwierdzenie, że w badaniach nad bezpieczeństwem dominują przypisane płci stereotypy i znaczenia wpisujące się w tzw. męskie spojrzenie.

Słowa kluczowe: feminizm, płeć, bezpieczeństwo, badania nad bezpieczeństwem, nauki o polityce

Mira MALCZYŃSKA-BIAŁY[1]
University of Rzeszów

The schemes for institutional consumer protection in the European Union

Abstract: The article is based on the analysis of the legal acts, literature concerning the subject and information found in the official website of the institution of protection. The work elaborates the scheme of institutional consumer protection developed in the European Union. Selected aspects of institutional and legal consumer protection matters were discussed. The institutions directly concerned with the creation of the consumer protection standards have been pointed out. Moreover, some of the institutional schemes of consumer protection in the selected States in EU were named. The final part of the article is the conclusion that elaborates the matter of importance of institutional consumer protection in the European Union.

Key words: European Union, consumer, consumer protection, consumer institutions, consumer organizations

Introduction

According to article 169 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union 2016 one of the tasks of the European Union is to provide high level protection to the consumer in relation to health, personal security and self-organization. The Union adheres to this task by creating consumer legislation in the form of derivative rights acts with a binding nature (decrees, directives) and legal acts with no binding nature in the form of consumer strategies and the consumer Policy agenda (resolutions, notices, recommendations and opinions). The Member States have to respect and adjust internal consumer legislation to Union norms. It is allowed for the Member States to set the national legal regulations that provide the consumer with a high level of protection, however with respect to the freedoms and the principle of proportionality guaranteed by the Treaty (Micklitz, Weatherill, 1993; Sefton-Green, 2011). Moreover, the European Union provides the Member States with the freedom of systems and models within the field of consumer protection. The freedom is based on a variety of ways of consumer protection, governance mechanisms or specific legal systems. The aim of this article is to classify and analyse the institutions dealing with consumer protection among the Member States of the European Union. The case of the bodies responsible for redress shall be elaborated as a separate issue of matter.

The scheme of institutional consumer protection at the Union level

When analysing the institutional consumer protection scheme in the European Union it is necessary to point out to its two separate frameworks. The first one deals with the principal decision making bodies of the European Union involved with consumer pro-

---

[1] The University of Rzeszów, Department of Poltical Science.

tection. Those bodies create consumer legal standards, agendas and the strategies that shape consumer policy in the EU. The other framework brings together scientific committees and international and European consumer non-government organisations that serve to protect the interests of the consumers in the European Union. Among the head institutions pointed out in the title III article 13 Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union, the European Parliament, the European Commission and the Council of the European Union are directly connected with the legal consumer protection (Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union 2012).

Table 1. Institutional consumer protection on European Union level
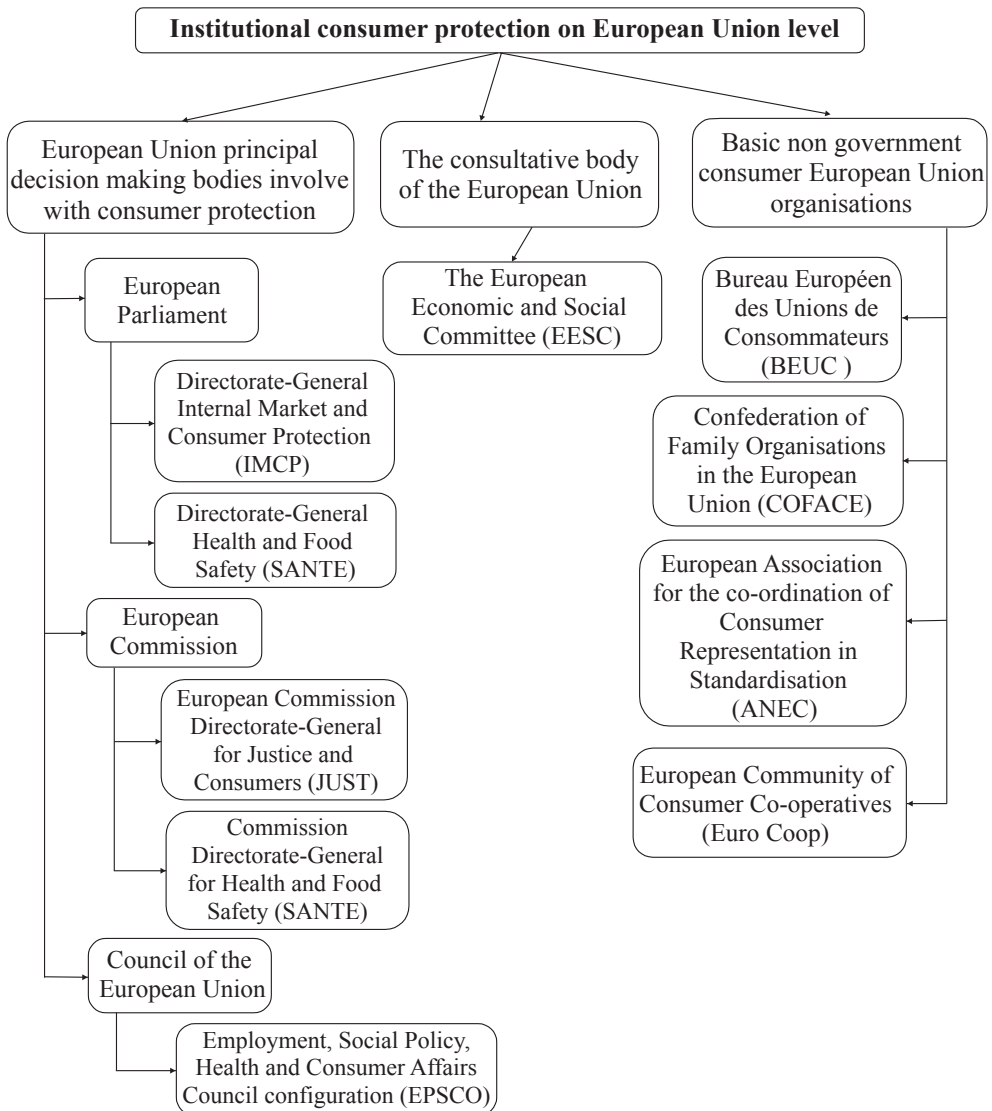
Source: The Author's own calculations.

The European Parliament (EP) together with the European Council shall implement the legislative function with regard to consumer legislation. There are committees that work within the EP. The Committee on the Internal Market and Consumer Protection – IMCP is highly important for the matter of consumer protection. It is a Standing Committee established by the Parliament with regard to the propositions of the Conference of the Presidents during the first monthly session of the newly chosen Parliament and then re-selected after two and the half years. The Committee on the Internal Market and Consumer Protection has the right to coordinate the national legislative systems within the field of the internal market and the Customs Union. The coordination especially concerns the free movement of foods together with the regulation of technical standards, the right of establishment, freedom of services with the exception of the financial and postal sectors. The role of the Committee is to protect the consumer in terms of the identification of barriers and market regulations including the digital market. Moreover, it supports and protects the commercial consumer interests excluding the areas of public health and food safety. The Committee has the authorities within the field of politics and legislation concerning the harmonisation of the market and consumer rights execution (Rules of Procedure of the European Parliament 2016).

The European Commission, as another major institution dealing with the consumer protection within the Union, offers new consumer regulations. The internal department of the Commission – Directorates General – include European Commission Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers (JUST) and Commission Directorate-General for Health and Food Safety (SANTE), which support the actions of the Commission for the customer protection (Rules of Procedure of the Commission 2000).

The European Commission Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers (JUST) deals with the matters of justice, democracy, freedom, tolerance and the rule of law. Five Directorates form part of the Directorate-General, wherein one of them is responsible for the legal protection of the consumer and another Health and Food Safety (SANTE) for the consumers themselves. The Health and Food Safety Commission monitors regulations concerning the safety of food and goods, the consumer rights, and controls the implementation of consumer rights by national, regional and local authorities. What is more, the Commission listens to the ideas and opinions of the consumer and traders in the scope of trade, competitiveness and environmental protection. The Commission takes into consideration all the opinions of the parties concerned, it intervenes and acts in order to suggest relevant solutions that may include legal regulations, financial support for the projects and other effective means of support (dgs,health_food-safety,about_us).

The Directorate – General for Health and Food – Safety carries out four tasks from the field of the consumer protection in EU. It monitors the food-safety and consumer rights regulations previously accepted by the EU. It supervises the implementation of the consumer protection rules by the national, regional and local authorities. It consults the opinions of business operators and acts in order to normalize the legal regulations or to financially support consumer projects (http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/).

The consumer legislative acts are negotiated and accepted by the Council of the European Union together with the European Parliament. The Council coordinates Member States' economic policies and issues legislative acts for the Member States and their consumers. Moreover, the Council issues acts in the form of the union strategies and consumer agendas

that lack legal validity (Nugent, 2012). Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs Council configuration (EPSCO) shall form the part of the Council of the European Union. The role of the EPSCO Council is to ensure the high level of health protection and consumer protection by raising the employment rates and improving the work and living conditions. The EPSCO Council together with the European Parliament shall adapt union health protection regulations, the consumer protection and their economic interests (*About employment, social, health and consumer affairs policy*, 2016).

Another important committee that plays a vital role in the context of the consumer protection within the union is The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) which performs an advisory function to the European Parliament and the European Commission in the question of consumer policy protection. The EESC can be called the bridge between the EU's decision-making institutions and EU citizens. The EESC is consulted by the European Parliament, the Council of the EU and the European Commission on a variety of subjects. It also issues opinions on its own initiative. The Treaty of Nice included a new regulation concerning article 257, stating that EESC shall consist of representatives of the various economic and social components of organized civil society including consumers (Treaty of Nice, 2001).

The second category of the institutions that influence the consumer policy and protection is represented by the scientific committees and independent consumer non-governmental associations and shall be called the dedicated voice of the consumer at national and Community level. Their educational, informational, and advisory form of activity that include a number of campaigns and initiatives, imply the necessity to set the relevant legal solutions. The biggest and the most influential non-governmental consumer organizations that work within the Union and cooperate with the decision making bodies include the Bureau Européen des Unions de Consommateurs (BEUC), The Confederation of Family Organizations (COFACE), The European Association for the co-ordination of Consumer Representation in Standardisation (ANEC) and The European Community of Consumer Co-operatives (Euro Coop).

The Consumers' Consultative Council (CCC) was transformed into The Consumer Committee in 1995 and it performs the function of a kind of forum for the exchange of consumer opinions concerning the issues of information and consumer protection (Maier, 1993). The CCC was active in forwarding optional proposals for action to the Commission. The Consumer Committee, appointed by the European Commission, consisting of 20 members. The new Committee, while only an advisory body, is consulted by the Commission on proposed initiatives that may have a bearing on consumer interests (Urwin, 1999).

The schemes of institutional consumer protection within the Member States of European Union

When analyzing the schemes of institutional consumer protection in the Member States of EU it is vital to say the country that carries out the consumer policies cooperates with specialized institutions like the parliament, judicial system, appropriate legal measures and specific institutional structure.

In Europe there are four models of institutional customer protection: the ombudsman scheme, administrative scheme, judicial scheme and German scheme. The prevailing role of consumer institutions of judicial, administrative or non-governmental nature is inevitable in the process of country categorization within the framework of consumer protection policy (*System ochrony konsumentów w krajach Unii Europejskiej*, 1999).

The ombudsman scheme is mostly popular in the Nordic countries. The one-man Office of Ombudsman is playing the most important role in customer protection. It is independent of national administrations, appointed for a term set by the parliament or nominated by the President and has sovereign functions (Żabczyński, 2006). For example in Finland, the Consumer Ombudsman is appointed by the President of Republic for the term of 5 years. He performs a function of an expert and has to protect the consumers, improve the legal situation, ensure that the law and legislations on market protection are respected, and negotiate the terms of agreements justified by the consumer. In Sweden, the Consumer Ombudsman has to coordinate the process of putting the legislation on consumers into practice. The Consumer Ombudsman together with "The Consumer Agency" makes sure *that* consumer *rights are respected* in trade relations. In Denmark, the Consumer Ombudsman is a part of a National "Agency for Consumers" (Forbrugerstyrelsen). His job is to supervise the respect for the rights of consumers and to influence the traders by setting the regulations for the marketing practices in the variety of aspects important for the consumer (Consumer protection system in the European Union).

An administrative scheme of institutional customer protection can be observed in France. The responsibility for consumer policy belongs to one administrative authority which in that case is the "Direction générale de la concurrence, de la consommation et de la répression des fraudes" – DGCCRF (the Director-General for Competition, Customer Protection and for Fight against Fraud). The major task of the Director-General is to search for cases of consumer rights and violation of competition rules. Moreover, it is one of the bodies who write down the legislations, implement them and then supervise if they are properly respected. Regional departments help the DGCCRF in the completion of its duties (*Présentation of the DGCCRF*, 2009).

The judicial scheme prevails in Anglo-Saxon countries, for example in Great Britain. The scheme assumes presence of public organizations that deal with consumer protection; however they are highly influenced by the court activities. The main task of the organizations is to resolve consumer issues. They are very fast and effective what guarantees that the customer will receive compensation. In May 2010 there were 95 independent redress systems in 35 sectors in Great Britain (*Mapping UK consumer redress. A summary guide to dispute resolution systems*, 2010).

Within the German scheme the policy was carried out by strong consumer organizations. They are financially supported by the government, which coordinates and controls their work on the consumer protection. In Germany one of such organizations is Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Verbraucherverbände (AgV) that links about 40 German consumer institutions. AgV protects the consumer rights and promotes consumer information (The System of consumer protection in the European Union, 2000). When in 2007 The Legal Service Act was empowered, legal advice out of court began to be distinguished from the representation before court. Such activity strengthened the position of German consumer organizations. The organizations could now provide legal advisory services with no limi-

tations and represent the consumer before the local court in cases of dispute, however the value of the subject matter could not exceed €5,000 (Hodges, Benöhr, Creutzfeldt-Banda, 2012).

Conclusions

The analysis of the institutional scheme of consumer protection in European Union is two-dimensional. The first category includes transnational institutions and the second incorporates the institutions that function in the States of the EU, however their work is dependent on historical, legal and cultural conditions and the various traditions regarding the consumer protection. Within the Union there are institutions that contribute to the creation of consumer legislation, shape the system of consumer protection and cooperate with advisory bodies. An important role in consumer protection is played by non-governmental consumer organizations that inform and educate about general consumer issues in the EU. In the scope of contemporary globalization issues it is important to recall the question of trans-border and inter-institutional cooperation in the concern of goods safety and shopping and complaint standards.

It is obligatory for the Member States to accept the legislation. Within the Union there are some minimum standards and directions for the consumer policy development that take forms of messages, opinions and resolutions. Every consumer policy created within the Union incorporates primary strategic objectives concerning the improvement of consumer protection. When the Member States create national governmental consumer policy they have to consider the union requirements and the national needs.

To conclude, it can be stated that that the scheme of customer protection within the internal market has a positive influence on the consumers and their rights in the Member States, improves the functioning of the market itself and increases the competition level. However, it is important to say that if there is no cooperation between institutional, legislative and non-governmental sectors, the legal standards may not meet the real needs of the consumer.

Bibliography

About ds, 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/about/ds_pl.htm, 11.08.2016.

About employment, social, health and consumer affairs policy, 2016, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/configurations/epsco/, 2.11.2016.

Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union 2012/326/1, O.J EU 26.10.2012.

Dgs, health food-safety, about_us, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/health_food-safety/about_us/who_we_are_pl.htm, 11.08.2016.

Hodges C., Benöhr I., Creutzfeldt-Banda N. (2012), *Germany*, in: *Consumer ADR in Europe*, eds. C. Hodges, I. Benöhr, N. Creutzfeldt-Banda, Oxford, pp. 73–74.

http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/health_food-safety/about_us/who_we_are_pl.htm, 11.08.2016.

Jurczyk Z., Majewska-Jurczyk B. (2015), *Model ochrony konsumentów w Unii Europejskiej*, Prace naukowe Uniwersytet Ekonomicznego we Wrocławiu, no. 380, pp. 453–464.

Maier L. (1993), *Institutional Consumer Representation In the European Community*, "Journal of Consumer Policy", no. 3–4, pp. 362–365.

Mapping UK consumer redress. A summary guide to dispute resolution systems (2010), http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140402142426/http:/www.oft.gov.uk/shared_oft/general_policy/OFT1267.pdf, 29.10.2016.

Micklitz H. W., Weatherill S. (1993), *Consumer policy in the European Community: Before and after Maastricht*, "Journal of Consumer Policy", no. 3–4, pp. 285–321.

Presentation of the DGCCRF (2009), http://www.dgccrf.bercy.gouv.fr/anglais.htm, 13.01.2009.

Nugent N. (2012), *Unia Europejska*, tłum. A. Gąsior-Niemiec, J. Gilewicz, W. Nowicki, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytety Jagiellońskiego, Kraków.

Rules of Procedure of the Commission C(2000) 3614, OJ L 308, 8.12.2000, p. 26.

Rules of Procedure of the European Parliament, 8th parliamentary term – July 2016.

Sefton-Green R. (2011), *Choice, Certainty and Diversity: Why More is Less*, "European Review of Contract Law", no. 7, pp. 134–150.

System ochrony konsumentów w krajach Unii Europejskiej (1999), Federacja Konsumentów, Warszawa.

The System of consumer protection in the European Union, 2000.

Treaty of Nice amending the treaty on European Union Communitied and Certain Related Acts, C 80/01, O.J. EC 10.3.2001.

Urwin D. W. (1999), *Consumer Committee* w: *The European Union Encyclopedia and Director*y, ed. L. M. Stevenson, London.

Żabczyński A. (1996), *Model prawnej ochrony konsumentów*, w: *Model prawnej ochrony konsumenta*, ed. G. Rokicka, Warszawa, pp. 22–28.

Modele instytucjonalnej ochrony konsumentów w Unii Europejskiej

Summary

Artykuł oparty na analizie, aktów prawnych, literatury przedmiotu oraz informacji znajdujących się na oficjalnych stronach internetowych instytucji ochrony, ma na celu przedstawienie ukształtowanych w Unii Europejskiej modeli instytucjonalnej ochrony konsumentów. W publikacji omówione zostały wybrane aspekty instytucjonalno-prawnej ochrony konsumentów na szczeblu ponadnarodowym – unijnym. W dalszej części artykułu wskazano na instytucje unijne, bezpośrednio związane z tworzeniem standardów prawnej ochrony konsumentów. Nazwane zostały ponadto instytucjonalne modele ochrony konsumentów w wybranych państwach Unii Europejskiej. Ostatnia część artykułu pełni rolę konkluzji i zawiera rozważania na temat istoty oraz znaczenia instytucjonalnej ochrony konsumentów we Wspólnocie.

Słowa kluczowe: konsument, instytucje ochrony konsumentów, ochrona konsumentów, organizacje konsumenckie, Unia Europejska

Noty o autorach/Contributors

■ MARZENA BARAŃSKA – PhD, assistant professor at the Institute of Culture of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, PhD in Humanities, Master of Journalism and Law, completed both: judicial and counseling applications. Focuses her research on issues related to the functioning of the media market, honesty of competitive practices as well as regulation of economic expression.
E-mail: marzena.baranska@inetria.pl
Marzena Barańska – dr hab., adiunkt w Instytucie Kultury Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie, dr hab. nauk humanistycznych, magister dziennikarstwa i prawa, ukończyła aplikacje sędziowską i radcowską. Przedmiotem badań są zagadnienia dotyczące funkcjonowania rynku medialnego, uczciwości praktyk konkurencyjnych, reglamentacji wypowiedzi gospodarczej.
E-mail: marzena.baranska@inetria.pl

■ AHMET BURAK – PhD student in Faculty of Political Science and International Studies at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. Master of management Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University, Kaliningrad, the Russian Federation (2012). Academic interests: Foreign relations of Turkey, Middle East, foreign relations of Russia, Caucasus region, European Union, foreign relations of Poland, Balkans, Baltic region, Eastern Europe and Kaliningrad.
E-mail: ahmet83burak@gmail.com.
Ahmet Burak – doktorant w zakresie nauk o polityce na Wydziale Politologii i Studiów Międzynarodowych Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu. Ukończył studia magisterskie na Wydziale Ekonomii i Zarządzania Bałtyckiego Uniwersytetu Federalnego im. I. Kanta w Kaliningradzie (Rosja) w 2012 roku. Zainteresowania naukowe: polityka zagraniczna Turcji oraz Bliskiego Wschodu, polityka zagraniczna Rosji, regionu Kaukazu, Unii Europejskiej, polityka zagraniczna Polski, Bałkanów, regionów Bałtyku, Europy Wschodniej i Kaliningradu.
E-mail: ahmet83burak@gmail.com.

■ BELÉN FERNÁNDEZ-GARCÍA – PhD candidate of Political Science at the University of Granada, Spain. She received her BA in Political Sciences and Public Administration with honours in 2013 and her MA in Social Problems in 2014. Since 2014, she is a research assistant in the Department of Political Science at the University of Granada. Her research interests are populism, anti-establishment actors and radical political parties in Western Europe. She has participated in several congresses and she has recently published an article co-authored with Prof. Óscar Luengo in "Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft", entitled *Emergent anti-establishment political parties in Europe: exploring lessons from Southern Europe*. In addition, she has developed teaching tasks in the field of Political Communication at the same university.
E-mail: bfgarcia@ugr.es
Belén Fernández-García – doktorantka nauk politycznych na Uniwersytecie w Granadzie w Hiszpanii. Uzyskała tytuł licencjata nauk politycznych i administracji publicznej z wyróżnieniem w 2013 r. oraz magistra dziedzinie problemów społecznych w 2014 r. Od 2014 r. Jest asystentką na Wydziale Nauk Politycznych Uniwersytetu w Granadzie. Jej zainteresowania badawcze obejmują populizm, czynniki antyestablishmentu i radykalne partie polityczne w Europie Zachodniej. Uczestniczyła w kilku kongresach i niedawno opublikowała w "Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft" współautoryzowany przez prof. Óscara Luengo artykuł zatytułowany *Powstające anty-establishmentowe partie polityczne w Europie: ucząc się na przykładach Europy Południowej*. Poza tym, prowadzi zajęcia dydaktyczne w dziedzinie komunikacji politycznej na tym samym uniwersytecie. E-mail: bfgarcia@ugr.es

■ ALEKSANDRA GASZTOLD – PhD, assistant professor in the Institute of Political Science at the University of Warsaw, Poland); key area of research: German studies, studies on terrorism and female terrorism. A scholarship holder of the University of Indiana in Bloomington, the University of Konstanz and the Vienna University. Expert of the Centre of Political Analysis of the University of Poland (OAP UW) and Government Centre for Security (RCB). Author of various works on counterterrorism and intelligence studies, including a book entitled *Secret Service in the Contemporary State* (edited with Z. Siemiątkowski, original title: *Służby specjalne w państwie współczensym*).
E-mail: a.gasztold@uw.edu.pl
Aleksandra Gasztold – dr, politolog, adiunkt w Instytucie Nauk Politycznych Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Prowadzi badania niemcoznawcze oraz nad terroryzmem z udziałem kobiet. Stypendystka m.in. Uniwersytetu Indiana w Bloomington, Uniwersytetu w Konstancji i Uniwersytetu Wiedeńskiego. Ekspert Ośrodka Analiz Politologicznych UW (OAP UW) i Rządowe-

go Centrum Bezpieczeństwa (RCB). Wybrane publikacje: współredakcja z Z. Siemiątkowskim *Służby specjalne w państwie współczesnym* (Warszawa 2016), *Płeć terroryzmu – wprowadzenie do zagadnienia,* Kwartalnik Naukowy OAP UW "e-Politikon" 2016, nr XX.
E-mail: a.gasztold@uw.edu.pl

■ FRANCISCO GÓMEZ MARTOS – former official of the European Parliament, Head of the Institutional Cooperation Unit at the European Parliament's Directorate General for Presidency, Directorate for relations with national parliaments. Before joining the EU, he was a Professor of Public Finance at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid for ten years and he is currently a collaborator with the Institute of European Studies of the FUSL (Faculté Universitaire Saint-Louis) in Brussels and with the Faculty of Political Sciences and Journalism at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He is also a lecturer in public agencies, universities and business schools in Spain, France, Poland, Italy and Taiwan.
E-mail: francisco.gomezmartos@gmail.com
Francisco Gómez Martos – były urzędnik Parlamentu Europejskiego, szef Wydziału ds. Współpracy Instytucjonalnej w Dyrekcji Generalnej ds. Prezydencji Parlamentu Europejskiego i Dyrekcji ds. Stosunków z Parlamentami Krajowymi. Przed podjęciem pracy w Unii Europejskiej był przez dziesięć lat profesorem finansów publicznych w Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, a obecnie współpracuje z Instytutem Studiów Europejskich FUSL (Faculté Universitaire Saint-Louis) w Brukseli i Wydziałem Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Jest także wykładowcą instytucji publicznych, uniwersytetów i szkół biznesu w Hiszpanii, Francji, Polsce, Włoszech i na Tajwanie.
E-mail: francisco.gomezmartos@gmail.com

■ RUSIF HUSEYNOV – is a Baku-based researcher. He is the co-founder and editor-in-chief of The Politicon online political journal. Rusif Huseynov's main interests are geopolitics and peace and conflict studies, while his focus area covers mainly Eastern Europe, Middle East, Caucasus and Central Asia.
E-mail: r.huseynov@thepoliticon.net
Rusif Huseynov – jest pracownikiem naukowym z Baku. Jest współzałożycielem i redaktorem naczelnym internetowego dziennika politycznego *The Politicon Online*. Głównymi zainteresowaniami Rusifa Huseynova są geopolityki oraz badania nad pokojem i konfliktami, w których skupia się głównie na Europie Wschodniej, Bliskim Wschodzie, Kaukazie i Azji Centralnej.
E-mail: r.huseynov@thepoliticon.net

■ JAKUB JAKUBOWSKI – adjunct in Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. He is interested in communication science, especially in the field of social media and politics. Besides academic work, he is co-creator of *ProScholars* – online platform of own research promotion.
E-mail: jakub.jakubowski@amu.edu.pl
Jakub Jakubowski – adiunkt na Wydziale Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Specjalizuje się w zagadnieniach dotyczących szeroko pojętej komunikacji, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem mediów społecznościowych. Oprócz aktywności naukowej i dydaktycznej spełnia się też jako praktyk działań promocyjnych, będąc współtwórcą platformy ProScholars.pl – projektu promocji dorobku naukowego w internecie.
E-mail: jakub.jakubowski@amu.edu.pl

■ ALEKSANDRA KANIEWSKA-SĘBA – PhD, is a senior lecturer at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Co-author of articles and books on the new concept of marketing, marketing communications, marketing research and analysis. Cooperates with companies in the field of marketing research and consulting.
E-mail: aleksandra.kaniewska@amu.edu.pl
Aleksandra Kaniewska-Sęba – PhD is a senior lecturer at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan. Co-author of articles and books on the new concept of marketing, marketing communications, marketing research and analysis. Cooperates with companies in the field of marketing research and consulting.
E-mail: aleksandra.kaniewska@amu.edu.pl

■ MIRA MALCZYŃSKA-BIAŁY – PhD, is assistant professor at Rzeszów University (Institute of Political Science). In her research she focuses on consumer law and policy in Europe and USA as well as European Union politics and European integration process. Her publications include, among others, a monographs on *Evolution of consumer policy in Poland after year 1989* (2012), *Alternative dispute resolution in Podkarpackie Voivodeship* (2016) and a number of papers on the consumer law and policy in Europe and United States of America.
E-mail: mira19@interia.pl
Mira Malczyńska-Biały – dr, jest adiunktem w Instytucie Nauk o Polityce Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego. Jej zainteresowania badawcze koncentrują się na polityce konsumenckiej i prawach konsumenta w Europie i USA, zagadnieniach prawa europejskiego, polityk szczegółowych UE i integracji europejskiej. Jest autorką m.in. monografii *Ewolucja polityki konsumenckiej w Polsce po 1989 roku* (2012), *Alternatywne sposoby*

pozasądowego rozwiązywania sporów konsumenckich w województwie podkarpackim (2016) oraz licznych artykułów opublikowanych w czasopismach naukowych i pracach zbiorowych. E-mail: mira19@interia.pl

■ JOANNA MARSZAŁEK-KAWA – PhD, associate professor, Head of the Political System of Republic of Poland Faculty in Politology and International Studies Division of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. Academic interests: European parliamentarism, Asian problematics (broadly understood), political system of Republic of Poland, constitutional systems in the world, unfair competiotion, local government, European Union. E-mail: kawadj@box43.pl

Joanna Marszałek-Kawa – prof. dr hab., kierownik Katedry Systemu Politycznego RP na Wydziale Politologii i Studiów Międzynarodowych Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu. Zainteresowania naukowe: parlamentaryzm europejski, szeroko pojęta problematyka azjatycka, system polityczny RP, systemy konstytucyjne państw świata, nieuczciwa konkurencja, samorząd terytorialny, Unia Europejska. E-mail: kawadj@box43.pl

■ ÓSCAR G. LUENGO – associate professor, Department of Political Science (U. Granada, Spain); Chair of the Research Committee on Political Communication (RC22), International Political Science Association (IPSA); Director of the Ibero American School of Local Government (Ibero American Municipalists Union – UIM); Former Vicedean for International Relations. Distinguished Senior Research Scholar for the Institute for Public Management and Community Service, Florida International University. European PhD at U. Complutense de Madrid; MA in Data Analysis; MA. in Political Science and Constitutional Law. Research fellow at Amsterdam School of Communication Research (The Netherlands), U. of Mainz (Germany), European University Institute (Italy) and U. Tecnológica de Monterrey (México). Visiting professor at the U. of California, Berkeley (US), U. Ritsumeikan (Japan), U. of Saint Louis (US), U. of Anadolu (Turkey), U. of Plzen (Czech Republic) and U. Buenos Aires (Argentina). E-mail: ogluengo@ugr.es

Óscar G. Luengo – profesor nadzwyczajny, Wydział Nauk Politycznych (Uniwersytet w Granadzie, Hiszpania); przewodniczący Komisji Badań nad Komunikacją Polityczną (RC22) Międzynarodowego Stowarzyszenia Nauk Politycznych (IPSA); dyrektor Ibero-Amerykańskiej Szkoły Samorządu Terytorialnego (Związek Miast Ibero-Amerykańskich – UIM); były prodziekan ds. Stosunków Międzynarodowych. Starszy pracownik naukowy Instytutu Zarządzania Publicznego i Służb Społecznych na Międzynarodowym Uniwersytecie Florydy. Doktorat europejski na Uniwersytecie Complutense de Madrid; magister analizy danych; magister nauk politycznych i prawa konstytucyjnego. Pracownik naukowy w Amsterdamskiej Szkole Badań Komunikacyjnych (Holandia), a także na Uniwersytecie Mainz (Niemcy), w Instytucie Uniwersytetu Europejskiego (Włochy) i na Uniwersytecie Technicznym de Monterrey (Meksyk). Wizytujący profesor na Uniwersytecie Kalifornijskim, Berkeley (USA), Uniwersytecie Ritsumeikan (Japonia), Uniwersytecie Saint Louis (USA), Uniwersytecie Anadolu (Turcja), Uniwersytecie Pilzneńskim (Republika Czeska) i Uniwersytecie Buenos Aires (Argentyna). E-mail: ogluengo@ugr.es

■ BEATA PAJĄK-PATKOWSKA – PhD, psychologist and political scientist, assistant professor at the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Her scientific interests focus on political activities of citizens within democratic conditions, the place of women in political sphere, political psychobiography as well as the directions of democracy development within states of the Central and Eastern Europe. The author of a monograph and over thirty articles on the above subjects, coordinator of the Polish-Hungarian research project on political transformations within the both states, the author of numerous empirical studies on democracy, political activity and determinants of political activities of women. E-mail: beata.pajak@amu.edu.pl

Beata Pająk-Patkowska – dr, psycholożka i politolożka, adiunkt na Wydziale Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Jej zainteresowania naukowe koncentrują się wokół aktywności politycznej obywateli w warunkach demokratycznych, miejsca kobiet w sferze politycznej, psychobiografii politycznych, a także kierunków rozwoju demokracji w krajach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej. Autorka monografii oraz ponad trzydziestu artykułów poświęconych tym zagadnieniom, koordynatorka polsko-węgierskiego projektu badawczego poświęconego przemianom zachodzącym w obu krajach, autorka wielu badań empirycznych dotyczących demokracji, aktywności politycznej oraz uwarunkowań aktywności politycznej kobiet. E-mail: beata.pajak@amu.edu.pl

■ PIOTR PAWEŁCZYK – associate professor in Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. Head of Department of Political Marketing and Social Engineering. He researches into social

influence and public opinion shaped by mass media. His most known book is *Socjotechniczne aspekty gry politycznej*.
E-mail: piotr.pawelczyk@amu.edu.pl

Piotr Pawełczyk – profesor nadzwyczajny na Wydziale Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, kierownik Zakładu Marketingu Politycznego i Socjotechniki. Bada zagadnienia związane z wywieraniem wpływu społecznego oraz kształtowaniem opinii publicznej poprzez środki masowego przekazu. Jego najbardziej znana książka to *Socjotechniczne aspekty gry politycznej*.
E-mail: piotr.pawelczyk@amu.edu.pl

■ PIOTR POCHYŁY – assistant professor in the Department of International Relations of the Institute of Political Science, University of Zielona Góra. E-mail: piotr_pochyly@yahoo.com.

Piotr Pochyły – adiunkt w Zakładzie Stosunków Międzynarodowych Instytutu Politologii Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego.
E-mail: piotr_pochyly@yahoo.com.

■ RAFAŁ RIEDEL – PhD holder in Political Science, Jean Monnet Professor, habilitated (in EU Studies) at the University of Wrocław, graduated at the Silesian University and Economic University in Katowice; adjunct at the European Studies Department of Political Science Institute of the Opole University, earlier also: guest researcher at ARENA (Centre for European Studies) at the University of Oslo, Gastdozent at TUC and Wissenschaftslische Mitarbeiter w ETH Zurich. Previously engaged in educational and research programmes, as a scholar, co-organiser or fellow, at European University Institute, Open Society Institute, Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, Marie Curie Fellowship Programme, Max Planck Institute, European Values Network, Fundacji Rozwoju Systemu Edukacji – EEA / Norway Grants. Scientific interests: European integration process, institutions and policies, Europeanisation, energy security in Europe, democratic deficit, transitology, considology and other problematic in the field of political science, European studies and economy.
E-mail: riedelr@wp.pl

Rafał Riedel – dr hab., prof. UO, absolwent Uniwersytetu Śląskiego i Akademii Ekonomicznej (dziś Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego) w Katowicach; doktorat w Instytucie Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa; adiunkt w Katedrze Studiów Europejskich Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, profesor *Jean Monnet*; wykładał m.in. w Roterdamie, StGallen, Valencji, Miami, Bratysławie, Chemnitz i Berlinie; stypendysta Open Society Institute, Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, Marie Currie Fellowships Programme, FSS,

CRUS/SCIEX NMB, European Values Network, Fundacji Rozwoju Systemu Edukacji – EEA / Norway Grants; uczestnik i organizator licznych projektów badawczych i edukacyjnych w Europie i USA; autor ponad stu publikacji o tematyce społeczno-polityczno-ekonomicznej (monografie, prace zbiorowe, art. naukowe i publicystyczne). Zainteresowania badawcze: proces integracji europejskiej, instytucje i polityki unijne, Europeizacja, bezpieczeństwo energetyczne w Europie deficyt demokratyczny, tranzytologia, konsolidologia oraz inna problematyka z obszaru politologii, studiów europejskich i ekonomii.
E-mail: riedelr@wp.pl

■ ŁUKASZ SCHEFFS – PhD, assistant professor at the Department of Political Marketing and Social Engineering, Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań; AMU Foundation scholar, lecturer, author of dozens of academic and popular papers, expertise and journalistic articles. A theorist and practitioner of political marketing. A member of local government.
E-mail: lukasz.scheffs@amu.edu.pl

Łukasz Scheffs – adiunkt w Zakładzie Marketingu Politycznego i Socjotechniki na Wydziale Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Stypendysta Fundacji UAM. Autor kilkudziesięciu artykułów naukowych i popularnonaukowych. Teoretyk i praktyk marketingu politycznego, samorządowiec.
E-mail: lukasz.scheffs@amu.edu.pl

■ ALEKSANDRA SULIKOWSKA – MA, a graduate of International Relations, Political Science and Journalism and Social Communication at the Faculty of Political Sciences and Journalism, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. She is a PhD student at the Faculty of Political Marketing and Social Engineering, Adam Mickiewicz University. Her research interests include postpolitics, consumerism, criticism of popular culture, social media and trendwatching.
E-mail: aleksandra.sulikowska@amu.edu.pl

Aleksandra Sulikowska – absolwentka stosunków międzynarodowych, politologii oraz dziennikarstwa i komunikacji społecznej na Wydziale Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Doktorantka w Zakładzie Marketingu Politycznego i Socjotechniki Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Jej zainteresowania koncentrują się wokół zagadnień związanych z postpolityką, konsumeryzmem, krytyką kultury popularnej, mediami społecznościowymi oraz trendwatchingiem.
E-mail: aleksandra.sulikowska@amu.edu.pl

■ ADAM SZYMAŃSKI – associate professor in the Institute of Political Science, University of Warsaw; in 2004–2011 analyst in the Polish Institute of International Affairs. Expert in the enlargement of the European Union, political system and foreign policy of Turkey.
E-mail: ar.szymanski@uw.edu.pl
Adam Szymański – dr hab., adiunkt w Instytucie Nauk Politycznych Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, w latach 2004–2011 analityk w Polskim Instytucie Spraw Międzynarodowych. Ekspert ds. polityki rozszerzania UE, systemu politycznego i polityki zagranicznej Turcji.
E-mail: ar.szymanski@uw.edu.pl

■ EWELINA WAŚKO-OWSIEJCZUK – assistant professor at the Institute of History and Political Science at the University of Białystok, of which she is a graduate. She later graduated from the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science at the University of Warsaw (MA in Political Science, PhD in Political Science). Scholarship recipient of the Roosevelt Study Center in Middelburg (2016) and the John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies at the Berlin Freie Universität (2017). President of the Board of the Polish Society of Political Science – Białystok Branch. Her research centers on US security policy, focusing on issues such as combating terrorism, the transformation of the US intelligence community after 2001, and the study of US foreign policy in the Middle East. Selected publications: *Polityka bezpieczeństwa narodowego Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki w latach 2001–2009*, Kraków 2014, pp. 330; *National Security Letters – A Controversial FBI Tool to Fight Terrorism*, „Internal Security" 2015, vol. 7(2), pp. 71–90; *The American Military Strategy to Combat the 'Islamic State' in Iraq and Syria: Assumptions, Tactics and Effectiveness*, „Polish Political Science Yearbook" 2016, vol. 45, pp. 317–336; *Geostrategia Stanów Zjednoczonych w dobie „rewolucji łupkowej"*, „Studia Polityczne" 2016, no. 1(41), pp. 153–176; *Globalizacja tortur – o programie tajnych więzień CIA na świecie*, „Politeja. Pismo Wydziału Studiów Międzynarodowych i Politycznych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", no. 45, Kraków 2016, pp. 207–233. E-mail: wasko-owsiejczuk@uwb.edu.pl

Ewelina Waśko-Owsiejczuk – dr, adiunkt w Instytucie Historii i Nauk Politycznych Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, którego jest absolwentką. Ukończyła również Wydział Dziennikarstwa i Nauk Politycznych Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (magister politologii, doktor nauk humanistycznych w zakresie nauk o polityce). Stypendystka Roosevelt Study Center w Middelburgu (2016 r.) oraz John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies przy Freie Universität w Berlinie (2017 r.). Prezes Zarządu Oddziału Polskiego Towarzystwa Nauk Politycznych – Oddział w Białymstoku. Prowadzi badania m.in. nad polityką bezpieczeństwa USA, skupiając się na problematyce zwalczania terroryzmu, transformacji Wspólnoty Wywiadowczej Stanów Zjednoczonych po 2001 r. oraz badania nad polityką zagraniczną USA wobec Bliskiego Wschodu. Autorka monografii pt. *Polityka bezpieczeństwa narodowego Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki w latach 2001–2009*, Kraków 2014, ss. 330; oraz artykułów np. *National Security Letters – A Controversial FBI Tool to Fight Terrorism*, „Internal Security" 2015, vol. 7(2), ss. 71–90; *The American Military Strategy to Combat the 'Islamic State' in Iraq and Syria: Assumptions, Tactics and Effectiveness*, „Polish Political Science Yearbook" 2016, vol. 45, ss. 317–336; *Geostrategia Stanów Zjednoczonych w dobie „rewolucji łupkowej"*, „Studia Polityczne" 2016, nr 1(41), ss. 153–176; *Globalizacja tortur – o programie tajnych więzień CIA na świecie*, „Politeja. Pismo Wydziału Studiów Międzynarodowych i Politycznych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", nr 45, Kraków 2016, ss. 207–233.
E-mail: wasko-owsiejczuk@uwb.edu.pl

■ JAKUB WÓDKA – PhD, assistant professor at the Institute of Political Studies Polish Academy of Sciences. His research concentrates on the domestic and foreign policy of modern Turkey.
E-mail: wodka@isppan.waw.pl
Jakub Wódka – dr, adiunkt w Instytucie Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk. W swych badaniach koncentruje się na polityce wewnętrznej i zagranicznej współczesnej Turcji.
E-mail: wodka@isppan.waw.pl

PRZEGLĄD POLITOLOGICZNY

Artykuł należy nadesłać do redakcji w postaci wydruku i w formie elektronicznej, jako plik edytora tekstu.

Objętość artykułu, wraz z przypisami i bibliografią nie powinna przekraczać jednego arkusza wydawniczego (40 tys. znaków).

Recenzje, polemiki i informacje nie powinny przekraczać połowy jednego arkusza znormalizowanego maszynopisu.

Autor nie ma możliwości redagowania tekstu w trakcie prac redakcyjnych; do redakcji należy przesłać ostateczną postać materiału.

Wymogi edytorskie

Tekst powinien być sformatowany w następujący sposób:
a) edytor tekstu: Winword, czcionka Times New Roman, rozmiar 12,
b) odstępy między wierszami – 1,5,
c) marginesy 2,5 cm,
d) imię i nazwisko Autora (czcionka Times New Roman, rozmiar 12, wyrównanie do lewej),
e) uczelnia (czcionka Times New Roman, rozmiar 12, wyrównanie do lewej),
f) tytuł (czcionka Times New Roman, rozmiar 14, pogrubione, wyśrodkowane),
g) podtytuły (czcionka Times New Roman, rozmiar 12, pogrubione, wyśrodkowanie),
h) cytaty powinny być umieszczone w cudzysłowie (bez kursywy),
i) kursywa w tekście powinna być stosowana wyłącznie do zapisu tytułów książek, tytułów artykułów, krótkich obcojęzycznych zwrotów lub nazw,
j) streszczenie (max 1200 znaków),
k) key words: max 5 słów kluczowych,
l) informacja biograficzna w jęz. polskim (150–200 znaków).

Przypisy

Do tworzenia przypisów bibliograficznych należy zastosować system „oksfordzki", polegający na odesłaniu do określonej pozycji umieszczonej w bibliografii.

Odesłania powinny być zamieszczane w nawiasie obok stosownej informacji, opinii, poglądu w następującym porządku (nazwisko, data wydania, strona), np.:
— (Nowak, 1999, s. 10) – gdy przywoływana praca ma jednego autora;
— (Nowak, Kowalski, 2000, s. 145–150) – gdy przywoływana praca ma dwóch i więcej autorów;
— (*Inquiry*) – Pierwsze słowo tytułu podajemy w przypadku powoływania się na publikację, w której nie ma informacji o autorze;
— fragment tytułu (2 lub więcej słów) publikacji podajemy, gdy w bibliografii jest kilka tytułów zaczynających się od tych samych słów.

Przypisy wyjaśniające należy umieszczać na dole strony.

Bibliografia

Pełne dane bibliograficzne prosimy podać w wykazie przywoływanej literatury (bibliografia), zamieszczonej na końcu artykułu. Wykaz powinien być uporządkowany alfabetycznie według nazwisk autorów, a w przypadku powtarzającej się daty wydania publikacji tego samego autora, według daty utworów w porządku chronologicznym (dodając małe litery np. 2003a, 2003b, 2003c).

Przykładowe zapisy:

Barber B. R. (2003), *Strong Democracy Participatory Politics for a New Age*, University of California Press, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London.

Friedent L. A. (1998), *New Citizenship*, „Media & Society", vol. 18, nr 2.

Inquiry into Democracy. Report (2003), Parliament of Victoria, http://www.parliament.jhgiutiguigui,html.

Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 2 kwietnia 1997 r., Dz. U. 1997, Nr 78 poz. 483.

Kowalski P. (2008), *Rozwój cywilizacji*, Wydawnictwo ABC, Warszawa.

Krasuski K. (2009), *Nowy pomysł na prywatyzację giełdy*, „Rzeczpospolita" z dnia 27.11.2009 r.

Miserez M.-A., *Switzerland: a country of politicians*, 24.08.2009, Swissinfo.ch, http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/specials/switzerland_for_the_record/world_records/Switzerland:_a_country_of_politicians.html?cid=669352, 15.10.2012.

Nowak R. (1999), *Władza i demokracja*, w: *Demokracja i władza*, red. J. Kowalski, Wydawnictwo XYZ, Warszawa.

Rybińska A., *"Nie" dla rozbrojenia narodu*, 14.02.2011, „Rzeczpospolita", http://www.rp.pl/artykul/611851_-Nie—dla-rozbrojenia-narodu.html. 15.10.2012.

Tabele, wykresy i rysunki

Każdy wykres, tabela, rysunek itp. powinien być opisany z podaniem tytułu (Times New Roman, bold, 10) oraz wskazaniem źródła (Times New Roman, 10). Tytuł powinien być zamieszczony nad, a informacja o źródle – pod prezentowanym wykresem, tabelą lub rysunkiem.

Do tekstu należy dołączyć informacje dotyczące autora:
a) pełne imię i nazwisko,
b) stopień, tytuł naukowy,
c) dokładny adres korespondencyjny, z numerem telefonu oraz e-mailem.

Autorzy tekstów przyjętych do druku zobowiązani są do przesłania na adres redakcji podpisanego oświadczenia o przekazaniu praw autorskich do publikacji, o samodzielnym przygotowaniu tekstu i o jego oryginalnym charakterze. Stosowne oświadczenie jest dostępne na stronie internetowej czasopisma.

EDITORIAL REQUIREMENTS

The formatting of the text should conform to the following requirements:

a) text editor: Winword, font: Times New Roman, size: 12,
b) line spacing: 1,
c) margins: 2.5 cm,
d) author's first and last name (font: Times New Roman, size: 12, left alignment),
e) university (font: Times New Roman, size: 12, left alignment),
f) title (font: Times New Roman, size: 14, bold, centered),
g) subtitles (font: Times New Roman, size: 12, bold, centered),
h) quotations should be marked by quotation marks (not italicized),
i) italics in the text should be used only for the titles of books, papers, short expressions in a foreign language and names.

Please, attach also:

– itle of the article (in Polish and in English),
– abstract in Polish and in English (up to max. 300 words),
– key words: up to five key words – in Polish and in English,
– biographical information in Polish and in English (max. 100 word).

Texts uncompleted or prepared not according to editorial requirements will not be considered by the editors.

Annotations

Bibliographic notes should follow Oxford standard where reference is made to a given item in the bibliography. A reference should be indicated in brackets next to the information, opinion, view concerned in the following manner (name, publication date, page), e.g.:

– (Nowak, 1999, p. 10) – when the work that is referred to has one author,
– (Nowak, Kowalski, 2000, pp. 145–150) – when the work that is referred to has two or more authors,
– (*Inquiry*) – the first word of the title is given when reference is made to a publication where there is no mention of the author,
– Fragment of a publication's title (two words or more) is given when the bibliography lists several titles beginning with the same words.

Explanatory notes should be placed at the bottom of the page.

Bibliography

Please provide full bibliographical details in the list of references (bibliography) at the end of the paper. The list of references should be ordered alphabetically by author; in the case of several publications by the same author in the same year they should be ordered chronologically (using a small letter, e.g. 2003a, 2003b, 2003c).

Sample references:

Barber B. R. (2003), *Strong Democracy Participatory Politics for a New Age*, University of California Press, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London.

Friedent L. A. (1998), *New Citizenship*, „Media & Society", vol. 18, no. 2.

Inquiry into Democracy. Report (2003), Parliament of Victoria, http://www.parliament.jhgiutiguigui,html.

Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 2 kwietnia 1997 r., Dz. U. 1997, Nr 78, poz. 483.

Kowalski P. (2008), *Rozwój cywilizacji*, Wydawnictwo ABC, Warszawa.

Krasuski K. (2009), *Nowy pomysł na prywatyzację giełdy*, „Rzeczpospolita" z dnia 27.11.2009 r.

Miserez M.-A., *Switzerland: a country of politicians*, 24.08.2009, Swissinfo.ch, http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/specials/switzerland_for_the_record/world_records/Switzerland:_a_country_of_politicians.html?cid=669352, 15.10.2012.

Nowak R. (1999), *Władza i demokracja*, in: *Demokracja i władza*, ed. J. Kowalski, Wydawnictwo XYZ, Warszawa.

Rybińska A. *„Nie" dla rozbrojenia narodu*, 14.02.2011, „Rzeczpospolita", http://www.rp.pl/artykul/611851_-Nie--dla-rozbrojenia-narodu.html, 15.10.2012.

Tables, graphs and figures

Each graph, table, figure and so on should bear a title (Times New Roman, bold, 10) and indicate its source (Times New Roman, 10). The title should be placed above the graph, table, or figure concerned, whereas the source – below it.

Pictures' size: up to 300 dpi.

The text should be accompanied by information about the author:
a) full first and last name,
b) academic degree, title,
c) exact correspondence address, including telephone number and e-mail.

All requirements are also available on the Journal's website: http://przeglad.amu.edu.pl/ (in Polish) http://przeglad.amu.edu.pl/?lang=en (in English).

E-mail: przeglad.politologiczny@amu.edu.pl