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## HOW DAVID TRIUMPHED OVER GOLIATH: THE COURSE OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN FOR POZNAŃ'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN 2014

Ryszard Grobelny [...] doesn't have a contra-candidate who could threaten his position. From November, he will be the president of the city for a fifth term – he's been in the office incessantly for 16 years (W. Cieśla, "Newsweek", 29.10.2014)<sup>1</sup>.

This scenario wasn't an uncommon one – pre-election polls prepared before the first ballot, whether for media (e.g. survey for Radio Merkury<sup>2</sup>), or the campaign offices<sup>3</sup>, saw the win for Ryszard Grobelny (although in the second ballot)<sup>4</sup>. His results in the first ballot, however, were significantly lower than expected (28.58%), and in the second round he was notably dominated by the Civic Platform (PO) candidate, Jacek Jaśkowiak (who won with 59.09%, against Grobelny's 40.91 %). The research question seems to be forming itself – if the result

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<sup>1</sup> W. CIEŚLA, *Mentalne wąsy, czyli jak Poznań przyprawił sobie gębę zaściankowego miasta*, "Newsweek", 29.10.2014, <http://polska.newsweek.pl/poznan-golgota-picnic-osly-zoo-newsweek.pl,artykuly,350075,1,2.html> [27.02.15].

<sup>2</sup> The poll was conducted between 15th and 21<sup>st</sup> of September 2014. The results showed that Ryszard Grobelny was a clear favourite, with 38.2% of surveyed declaring to vote for him. Jacek Jaskowiak (PO) placed second, with 12.8% of support. 11.9% wanted to vote for Tadeusz Dziuba (PiS). Tomasz Lewandowski (SLD) placed fourth with 8.3%. <http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/kat,13,29,title,Grobelny-z-najwiekszym-poparciem-w-sondazu-Poznaniacy-nie-chca-zmian,wid,16922919,wiadomosc.html?icaid=1146e3> [01.03.15].

<sup>3</sup> The Author was informed by the staff or people closely linked to the offices in unofficial conversations.

<sup>4</sup> This scenario was showcased e.g. in the survey for "Gazeta Wyborcza". The survey was conducted between 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of November 2014. The results were quite telling – the first ballot was supposed to see the result of 42% for Grobelny, with Jacek Jaskowiak coming in second with 14%. The second ballot survey resulted in 53% for Grobelny and 30% for Jaskowiak (the rest claimed they either did not know who to vote for, or that they would not go to vote). S. LIPOŃSKI, *Batalia o drugą turę*, „Gazeta Wyborcza. Poznań” 13.11.2014, p. 2.

was such a surprise, it is necessary to analyse what led to it. The aim of this work is a complex analysis of the causes for Ryszard Grobelny's defeat. Firstly, how did Jacek Jaśkowiak manage to get such robust support in such a short time? What was his appeal? Secondly, can we talk about a certain context, or a framework, which have been negatively influencing the perception of Grobelny's presidency for quite some time? Thirdly, what were Grobelny's mistakes that led to Poznanians saying a firm NO to the man that has been in the office for 16 years? And last, but not least, are there any events in the campaign that could be seen as critical for the final result, and what was the influence on that result of the Civic Platform's choice of electoral strategy and campaign tactics?

In order to answer the questions, four hypotheses have been formed. The first one states that since no-one imagined Grobelny losing, and PO's goal for the elections was to get a majority on the city's council and succeeding in introducing a presidential candidate to the second ballot, they chose a peripheral candidate, one that was not at the core of Poznań's political scene. Coincidentally, his position turned out to be very advantageous in the second round – the voters found it easier to support such a candidate, having all the other peripheral actors failing to qualify for the second ballot. According to the second hypothesis, the existence of so-called “city movements”, which have been increasingly vocal since 2013, and the general criticism towards local government structures in Poland in country-wide media, particularly the direct elections of voivots and presidents, and how they were virtually inextinguishable, led to creation of political climate that was unfavourable for the president in the office, and his forecasted re-election. The third hypothesis focuses on the fact that in the final year of his office the president could not deal with multiple issues that were close to citizens' hearts – the initial failure of PEKA (Poznań Electronic Agglomeration Card, similar to London's Oyster Card), which led to overall dissatisfaction with the public transport in Poznań. The prolonging road works did not help the issue. The fourth hypothesis states that Grobelny lost the election because he forgot about the citizens – about the necessity to connect to them, and to listen to them. Over the years he created an image of a technocrat, a know-it-all who wouldn't accept criticism. Moreover, while putting together the goals for city's development, he focused on the labour market and attracting students and investor, and even though those are very important objectives for the city, from the electoral strategy point of view, they are fruitless, as the groups in question do not tend to vote. On top of that, Grobelny has made a number of mistakes during his campaign, including the fact that after the first ballot, instead of fighting with Jaśkowiak for the central electorate, he tried reaching out to Law and Justice voters, and was supported by e.g.

Jarosław Gowin, which has been described as his political “kiss of death”.

The situation resulted in Poznanians’ voting not for Jacek Jaśkowiak, but against Ryszard Grobelny. Poznań’s situation is even more unique, and worthy of an in-depth analysis, as in all other major cities, it were the presidents in office that were triumphant in the elections, even if their position has been weakened in comparison to the previous elections. It was clearly visible in the polls after the first ballot, with one, conducted for “Gazeta Wyborcza” by Millward Brown (between 21st and 27th of November 2014), that concluded that “the current presidents of the big cities will be victorious in the second ballot. It looks like Poznań will be the only city with an unexpected victor, where Jacek Jaśkowiak (PO) could overthrow Ryszard Grobelny”<sup>5</sup>. This made Poznań, in the simplest terms, a prominent exception from the rule.

Before the analysis of the case of local presidential elections in Poznań, it is worth to mention the newest book by Benjamin Barber “If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities”, that focuses on the role of the people in charge of the big cities in the modern world. The author, highlighting the fact that the trust given to mayors and local governments is far greater than to political institutions, and claiming that Metropolises could save democracy, lists four characteristics of a good mayor. According to Barber, a good mayor has: strong personality, non-submissive yet witty, pragmatic approach towards his office, personal involvement in the issues of the city, and a dedication towards it as if it was a unique social entity<sup>6</sup>. In the interview by Jacek Żakowski for *Polityka*, Barber, who constantly underlines the importance of those in charge of the big cities, claims that he “would call up all the mayors and give them the right to govern. That would be his only decision. Because, contrary to the politicians ruling nation states – mayors are democrats, work effectively, have to be pragmatic. They would be able to deal with global issues the way they deal with local issues, that are increasingly caused by the helplessness of the countries and the international system”<sup>7</sup>. And even though this vision seems to be somewhat utopian, the significance that Barber puts on the cities and their mayors/presidents is very important,

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<sup>5</sup> W. BARTKOWIAK, *Sondaż “Wyborczej”. W bitwie o Poznań zapowiada się sensacja. Poza tym II runda dla faworytów*, [http://wyborcza.pl/1,141483,17040896,W\\_bitwie\\_o\\_Poznanzapowiada\\_sie\\_sensacja\\_Poza\\_tym.html?utm\\_source=facebook.com&utm\\_medium=SM&utm\\_campaign=FB\\_Gazeta\\_Wyborcza](http://wyborcza.pl/1,141483,17040896,W_bitwie_o_Poznanzapowiada_sie_sensacja_Poza_tym.html?utm_source=facebook.com&utm_medium=SM&utm_campaign=FB_Gazeta_Wyborcza) [05.03.15].

<sup>6</sup> B. BARBER, *Gdyby burmistrzowie rządzili światem. Dysfunkcyjne kraje, rozkwitające miasta*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Muza 2014, p. 107.

<sup>7</sup> J. ŻAKOWSKI, *Świat miast. Benjamin Barber o tym, że tradycyjne rządy państw już nie wystarczają i czym można starą władzę zastąpić*, <http://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/swiat/1596411,1,benjamin-barber-miasta-przyszloscia-cywilizacji.read> [01.03.15].

and another argument for the relevance and importance of the research.

Returning to Poznań, the elections for the city's president and the first hypothesis, it needs to be noted that the biggest unknown amongst the candidates running against Grobelny was PO's candidate. The strongest party in Poznań (with the most city councilmen) has been looking for a candidate that would be able to face Ryszard Grobelny for quite some time, as reported by local and regional media. Considering their position in the city council, it was necessary to have a candidate, yet they were very keen to avoid the situation from 4 years ago, when their candidate, the head of City Council, Grzegorz Ganowicz, was conspicuously defeated by Grobelny<sup>8</sup>. Another failure of that sort would harm not only the party, but also the particular politician. It seems like none of the "big" Civic Party politicians in Poznań wanted to risk their position, especially since they probably did not believe in their success. The potential candidates that media were mentioning were: Filip Kaczmarek (head of the Poznań division of PO and then an MEP), Mariusz Wiśniewski (a popular councilman, who is now one of Jaśkowiak's deputies), and, to some extent, Leszek Wojtasiak, a vicemarshal of Greater Poland Voivodeship, and Jan Grabkowski, the starost of Poznań township<sup>9</sup>. The lack of faith in the success was probably the main reason for the reluctance to run of the main PO politicians<sup>10</sup>. The party needed to find someone connected to the party, yet not one of its "first-line" members. It seems like the presidential candidate was supposed to support the main, and probable, goal of the party – to win the city council election with a high percentage, maybe even to get the majority<sup>11</sup>. The search resulted in Jacek Jaśkowiak, a businessman who ran for the office in the previous elections from the Association Us – The Poznanians, and placed fourth with a respectable 7.16%<sup>12</sup>. He joined the Civic Platform in 2013. His run for the office was even more interesting, and somewhat beneficial for the citizens, as he combined party representation (as a candidate from a big party) and the civil side, constantly reminding that he was, first and foremost, a

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<sup>8</sup> In the first ballot Ryszard Grobelny has won with 49.52%, and Grzegorz Ganowicz placed second with 21.53%. The second ballot resulted in 66.26% against 33.74%.

<sup>9</sup> P. JEŹMIONKA, B. KISIEL, *Grobelny, Kaczmarek, Szynkowski? Kto na prezydenta Poznania?*, [http://www.gloswielkopolski.pl/artykul/619025,grobelny-kaczmarek-szynkowski-kto-na-prezydenta-poznania\\_id,t.html](http://www.gloswielkopolski.pl/artykul/619025,grobelny-kaczmarek-szynkowski-kto-na-prezydenta-poznania_id,t.html) [01.03.15].

<sup>10</sup> It was confirmed by the people within, or closely linked to, the Civic Platform, both before and after elections in private conversations had by the author, who admitted that the primary aim was to qualify to the second ballot. As the results of the first ballot came in, both the high result of Jaśkowiak, and lower than expected of Grobelny, were a surprise.

<sup>11</sup> At the end, PO ended up with a result very close to the one achieved 4 years ago, with a comfortable leadership yet no chance for majority.

<sup>12</sup> <http://wybory2010.pkw.gov.pl/geo/pl/300000/306401.html#tabs-6> [07.03.15].

social activist, and he is no here to force party's agenda<sup>13</sup>. And the things that in the first ballot seemed to be weakening his candidacy (lack of strong identification with PO and limited recognisability), turned out to be at his advantage in the second round, as it was easier to convince other candidates and their electorates, to vote for Jaškowiak, who was first and foremost a people's man, rather than his party's pawn. His opponents in the first round were, excluding Grobelny, Tadeusz Dziuba (Law and Justice (PiS)), Tomasz Lewandowski (Democratic Left Alliance (SLD)), Zygmunt Kopacz (Congress of the New Right (KNP)), as well as the independence candidates: Maciej Wudarski (from "Stowarzyszenie Prawo do Miasta"<sup>14</sup> who became one of the deputies to the president, and his "Stowarzyszenie" got one seat on the city council), Anna Wachowska-Kucharska (social electoral initiative the Poznanians<sup>15</sup>) and Bogdan Grobelny (a previously unknown man living in Szczecin, linked to Real Politics Union)<sup>16</sup>. The last candidate had no campaign whatsoever, making him the typical "dummy" candidate whose only goal was to confuse the voters to vote for the wrong Grobelny (he appeared before Ryszard Grobelny on the alphabetic list, and ended up with mere 1.77%)<sup>17</sup>.

Local government elections in 2014 took place in the shadows of, increasingly present in opinion making media, criticism on the functioning of territorial local government in Poland, especially the rigidity of the local political scene, and especially offices of voyts, mayors and cities' presidents. Many have found the local government reforms (the first one, in 1990, and the following one in 1998) extremely successful. Lately the majority of criticism fell on the introduction of direct elections for voyts, mayors and presidents of the city in 2002. The ideas to restrict number of terms to two or three, like in case of the President of Republic of Poland, have also been voiced. In the context of this article, it's beneficial to mention three pieces, including two interviews, about in what condition the local government is.

Jerzy Hausner, in an interview for "Gazeta Wyborcza" titled "Where are we heading?" said that "the goal is the quality of life. People are content not when each can afford a dope SUV and is stuck in traffic (...), but when they have access to a common park, good public transport, cheap and safe underground, clean pavements, live close to a nursery school, a kindergarten, a school and have access to efficient healthcare system. If we would commercialise the city sphere, demolish open space, barricade the government offices, because everywhere you look you see gates,

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<sup>13</sup><http://bip.poznan.pl/bip/prezydent-i-zastepcy/prezydent-miasta-poznania-jacek-jaskowiak,8566/> [07.03.15].

<sup>14</sup> <http://prawodomiasta.org> [07.03.15].

<sup>15</sup> <http://poznaniacy.info/> [07.03.15].

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.portalsamorzadowy.pl/wybory2014/osoba/bogdan-grobelny,964.html> [07.03.15].

<sup>17</sup> <http://wybory2014.pkw.gov.pl/pl/wyniki/gminy/view/306401> [07.03.15].

controls, then there is no conditions to build trust. The space in free Poland has been taken, or commercialised”<sup>18</sup>. This falls closely to what the city movements are all about, and lately those have been more prominent, also in Poznań. Their increased activity has been seen in not only the last elections, but even in the preceding ones. And Ryszard Grobelny has was trying to attract business, investments, new citizens and students, and forgetting about the parks, open public space, biking trails and city recreation. He was looking at the issues from the economic perspective, as if he was an accountant, and not the needs of the average-common citizen.

Much more criticism on local government has been seen in the interview Marcin Król gave for Newsweek, titled “Pleasure-less democracy”. His words cut into Polish territorial local government, when he states “I’m not even talking about building a real local democracy, because we are light years away from that. I’m talking about the sense and reasoning behind electing the voyts and mayors directly (...) direct elections in local government are nonsense. But well, it happened. We have to live with that”<sup>19</sup>. He notes that the will to de-partying of local governments might not be as beneficial for the cities. He reminds that “amongst the politicians of the old democratic opposition it was thought that local government politics are better than central politics, as its not tinted with ideology and party agenda. This led to self-elected city presidents that the parties cannot rise against. They created local quasi-parties that led them to subsequent wins”<sup>20</sup>. To the question of who has the deciding power over who governs the Polish cities, which is even more interesting in the context of the elections in Poznań, he answers that it’s coincidence, as “if there is an energetic person who can get funding from EU, that’s enough. That’s why Rafał Dutkiewicz was a president in Wrocław, and Wojciech Szczurek in Gdynia. In very big cities you can at least see the effects of their governing, assess them somehow”<sup>21</sup>.

Another piece was published in Newsweek<sup>22</sup>, this time specifically on Poznań and Ryszard Grobelny, titled “Mental moustache: how Poznań became a city with a face of close-mindedness”. Wojciech Cieśla wrote: “The president of the city

<sup>18</sup> G. SROCYŃSKI, *Jerzy Hausner: Dokąd idziemy?*, [http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,140070,16452059,Jerzy\\_Hausner\\_\\_Dokad\\_idziemy\\_.html](http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,140070,16452059,Jerzy_Hausner__Dokad_idziemy_.html) [07.03.15].

<sup>19</sup> R. KALUKIN, *Demokracja bez przyjemności*, <http://polska.newsweek.pl/wybory-samorzadowe--i-demokracja-wywiad-z-prof-marcinem-krolem,artykuly,350061,1.html> [07.03.15].

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>22</sup> It’s worth mentioning that Newsweek, according to the Polish Survey of Readership, is a Polish quality weekly that has the highest number of readers amongst all of the quality weeklies, and places 5th among all of the Polish weeklies, including women’s press. It’s seasonal readership during July – December 2014 was estimated at 6.21% (higher than e.g. Auto World with 5.43%). <http://www.pbc.pl/tygodniki.html> [09.03.15].

shaved his moustache right before the campaign started. But a mental moustache is still there, city's new coat of arms. Censorship, deals with catholic hierarchs, and copulating donkeys. Welcome to Poznań<sup>23</sup>. He continues with "the city of the international trade centre, the capital city of solidity and order, is not known for its know-how nowadays. Poznań is talked about because the right-wing city councilwoman intervenes in the case of copulating donkeys in the ZOO (they were separated straight away). And when the plays and concerts that annoy catholics are cancelled (one angry email will do). And because the local curia is tracing gender, talks about art, and the president holds a mass for all the universities." At the end of June, at a popular Malta Festival, theatrical director Rodrigo Garcia is to showcase his "Golgota Picnic", a play that criticises consumptional society, and deconstruct a being, as well as Jesus Christ's teachings. A local hierarch, Archbishop Stanisław Gądecki writes an open letter: "This show, according to many, is a disgusting endeavour". The president of the city, Ryszard Grobelny, also comments on it publicly. He distances himself from the show, writes about the respect for Poznanian values. People from Grobelny's team said openly: "if you show "Golgota", there will be riots – says one of the Malta Festival organisers. The show is cancelled"<sup>24</sup>.

Those, and other, articles, even though might have not directly influenced the decisions of the voters, created a certain ambience around the style of Grobelny's governing, which, even for Poznanians' conservative tendencies, seemed to be too much. Additionally, Grobelny seemed to lose his political instinct and forgot about the unspoken rule of not making any controversial decisions in the election year, purely from strategic reasons, but one should just cut the ribbons, finalise already started investments, and intensify the contact with citizens-voters. Not to mention, try to accommodate their demands and questions. Yet the summer and autumn of 2014 have been dominated by the issues with implementing the PEKA system, that simply didn't work, and the president didn't even try to find the responsible parties and let them deal with consequences, which was demanded by both the media and the citizens. The lack of the "scape goat" has led to him personally taking responsibility for the mess, and by his own doings, he has become publicly known as a responsible one for the fiasco. In the interview for "Głos Wielkopolski" he claimed: "I'm not apologising because I think mistakes have been made, but because we have found ourselves in the situation that shouldn't have happened. At this time I can't answer who, and to what degree, is

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<sup>23</sup> W. CIEŚLA, *Mentalne wąsy*.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem.

at fault here”<sup>25</sup>. The fact that he was the only one of the big cities’ favourites for office to lose should be a lesson for all the other multi-term presidents on what mistakes to avoid. One of the elements of his loss was the fact that he prioritised, and advertised, the creation and development of the city’s platforms for business, education, and high technology. His main recipients were investors, business tourists, professionals, policy makers, service recipients and local opinion leaders<sup>26</sup>. It has been forgotten that the city should also be involved in programmes for the citizens, which has been spoken about many times by e.g. the city movements and other local organisations, which have been abundant in the city lately, and were usually incredibly vocal with their criticism of the local government. The local government has underestimated, if not completely ignored them. And even though each one of them on their own had not much impact, together they created a significant “buzz” around the issues, which was visible both in local and regional media. It should not be surprising then that in the Index of Quality of Life ranking in Polish cities that are also townships, run by “Polityka” Poznań was 10th – being the best in the “work” category, yet the worst in the “local government”<sup>27</sup>.

While analysing the electoral campaigns in Poznań the mistakes made become clearly visible, although it is difficult to judge whether in the presented context Grobelny had a chance to win to begin with, and to what extent did the mistakes influence the final outcome of the elections<sup>28</sup>. His main errors included the disregard for the contact with the people – he did not participate in any debates, meetings, or happenings which other candidates, both with no actual chances to qualify for the second ballot, and the more serious ones, including Jaškowiak, actively attended. Grobelny effectively gave up direct contact with his voters, maybe because as he expected a good result, he was worried that any public appearance would do him more harm than good<sup>29</sup>. He also forgot about the most basic action: promises, and in his case the lack of new ones made the promise of doing as always sound more like a threat rather than a positive goal<sup>30</sup>. Jaškowiak on the other hand was very active with his promises, and tried to answer citizens’ needs: his promises included that there will be no roads by their windows, that

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<sup>25</sup> <http://www.gloswielkopolski.pl/artykul/3505093,ryszard-grobelny-czy-za-peke-poleca-glowy-przed-podjeciem-decyzji-zrobimy-audytorozmowa,1,id,t,sa.html> [09.03.15].

<sup>26</sup> Promotional campaign Poznan: City of know-how and its assumptions

<sup>27</sup> <http://weekend.pb.pl/3933004,78605,10-najlepszych-miast-do-mieszkania-w-polsce> [10.03.15].

<sup>28</sup> [http://m.poznan.gazeta.pl/1,106517,17046934,Grobelny\\_nie\\_usiadl\\_na\\_wozku\\_inwalidz\\_kim\\_Ostatnia.html](http://m.poznan.gazeta.pl/1,106517,17046934,Grobelny_nie_usiadl_na_wozku_inwalidz_kim_Ostatnia.html) [10.03.15].

<sup>29</sup> [http://wtkplay.pl/video-id-14689-grobelny\\_w\\_sieci\\_jaskowiak\\_na\\_milczanskiej](http://wtkplay.pl/video-id-14689-grobelny_w_sieci_jaskowiak_na_milczanskiej) [10.03.15].

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.lazarz.pl/?id=2&nr=7896> [10.03.15].



there will be more zebra crossings, and that the estates will get more money. It doesn't come as a surprise that if only one of the candidates promises anything, they will be chosen, in the hope of even some of that promises coming to life.

The biggest mistakes were made after the first ballot, although it's difficult to judge whether Grobelny still had a chance to win at that point. Even though the wave of criticism was flooding his campaign, not everything seemed settled. The president and his team however kept making increasingly worse decisions, and the fact that after the first round 3 of his influential contra-candidates (Tomasz Lewandowski from SLD and two city movements candidates: Anna Wachowska-Kucharska and Maciej Wudarski) publically supported Jaškowiak, giving him the benefit of the doubt and pushing for realisation of his programme<sup>31</sup>.

Everyone seemed to agree with the notion that Grobelny winning was the worst case scenario. And as common enemy bonds people together, the centre-left of Poznań, choosing the "lesser evil" supported Jaškowiak, who is not only not particularly conservative, but also did not have incredibly strong ties within his party. His shortcoming in the first ballot (lack of any prominent function within PO) became advantageous later on. And even though a politician's endorsement does not necessarily mean that the electorate will vote for their choice, it needs to be noted that Grobelny got 45 397 votes in the first round, and Jaškowiak and his new supporters totalled at 73 907<sup>32</sup>.

So what was left for Grobelny to do? He could either fight for PO's central electorate (he was a member of PO once, and in 2010 he was even supposed to run as their candidate, yet an unsettled court case made that impossible), or try and convince the voters who voted for Tadeusz Dziuba and his Law and Justice party in the first ballot. He chose a seemingly easier strategy, which was going after PiS's supporters, and this way avoiding a direct fight for Jaškowiak's electorate. And even though Dziuba was very careful with his comments, simply stating that Grobelny would be a "lesser evil", the most prominent example of the president's new strategy was a visit from Jarosław Gowin who publically endorsed him<sup>33</sup>. It turned out to be a tragic choice, and Gowin's endorsement was dubbed a "kiss of death" rather than an advantage to his campaign. Exit polls conducted by Gemini<sup>34</sup> for Greater Poland Cable Television (WTK) during the

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<sup>31</sup><http://www.tvn24.pl/poznan,43/trzech-kandydatow-oglosilo-poparcie-dla-jaskowiaka-walczy-my-o-lepszy-poznan,491319.html> [10.03.15].

<sup>32</sup> <http://wybory2014.pkw.gov.pl/pl/wyniki/gminy/view/306401> [12.03.15].

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.gloswielkopolski.pl/artykul/3658882,gowin-poparl-grobelnego-bo-ma-krystalicz-ny-kregoslup-moralny,id,t.html> [12.03.15].

<sup>34</sup> [http://epoznan.pl/news-news-53591Sondaz\\_wyborczy\\_dla\\_WTK\\_Grobelny\\_i\\_Jaskowiak\\_w\\_dru-giej\\_turze\\_wyborow](http://epoznan.pl/news-news-53591Sondaz_wyborczy_dla_WTK_Grobelny_i_Jaskowiak_w_dru-giej_turze_wyborow) [12.03.15].

second ballot confirmed that<sup>35</sup>.

There are several conclusions stemming from the analysis of that research. Firstly, over 10% of Jaškowiak's votes in the second ballot came from people that had voted for Grobelny at the first one, and over 15% came from Lewandowski's electorate. That means a fifth of Grobelny's original electorate "switched teams". The "team-switching" of Jaškowiak's voters was four times smaller. At the same time, votes coming in from the other influential voter bases (Lewandowski's, Wachowska-Kucharska's and Wudarski's) went in majority (80-90%) to Jaškowiak. So was the unspoken Grobelny-PiS coalition helpful or harmful? Even though Grobelny did manage to get the majority of Dziuba's electorate to vote for him, that group was significantly smaller than in the first ballot: as much as 28% of Dziuba's and PiS voters stayed at home during the second round. This seems to indicate that Grobelny's choice to side with PiS was a mistake – maybe it would be more beneficial to fight for PO's electorate – both him and Jaskowski have come from similar political sphere, and Civic Platform's voters have been more motivated and actually turned up for the second ballot of the elections. It needs to be mentioned that the 28% of PiS electorate that has stayed at home introduced a change in composition of the actual voters, as well as decreased participation of SLD supporters, far-right sympathizers (Korwin-Mikke) and "Prawo do Miasta" associates. At the same time, Grobelny failed to motivate his adherents – the number of them actually voting in the second ballot decreased as well. The "new" voters, who did not go to the first round of elections, yet voted in the second one, supported Jaškowiak majorly (70% of them declared the support for PO's candidate).

In conclusion, it can be stated that all four hypotheses have been proven positively. The first one as a whole – no one saw the loss of Grobelny, and this is why "Project Jaškowiak" was introduced. The second hypothesis has been proven at least partially – even though the city movements have been increasingly present in media, it is difficult to measure the extent of their impact on how did the citizens perceive the president (as well as it is difficult to measure the impact of the criticism present in nationwide media). The third hypothesis follows the pattern of the second one – although the failure to implement PEKA<sup>36</sup> smoothly and the lack

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<sup>35</sup> [http://www.wtk.pl/tv-about\\_tv](http://www.wtk.pl/tv-about_tv) [12.03.15], Greater Poland Cable Television is the biggest commercial television in Greater Poland – a leader at local and regional media. According to survey done by TNS, 87% of respondents who have access to the station declares that it is their main source of information about Poznan, distancing other TV stations and media. Public TVN Poznan placed second, with Rataje Cable Television following.

<sup>36</sup> <http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/kat,1329,title,Zdecydowana-wiekszosc-poznaniakow-zadowolona-systemu-PEKA,wid,17082595,wiadomosc.html?ticaid=1147ee> [12.03.15].

of any personal consequences towards the designers of that fiasco have been important, 86.5% of public transport passengers have responded positively to its introduction (TNS surveys, published after the elections took place). The fourth hypothesis, similarly to the first one, have been proven right in its entirety – as the exit polls for WTK showed, Grobelny, trying to appeal to PiS's and Gowin's supporters, not only have not gained any new voters, but also lost some of his, and motivated the undecided to go and vote (in 70%, against him). Poznań may be a conservative city, but the extent of that is definitely more on the Civic Platform's side, rather than the far-right Law and Justice's.

What happened in Poznań should be a lesson for all the multi-term presidents of cities, on how easy it is to disengage oneself from the reality of daily life and lose a significant number of supporters in one term. A permanent campaign should be in place, and one that is run for, and based on, dialog with the environment – in this case citizens-voters.

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JAK DAWID ZWYCIĘŻYŁ GOLIATA:  
PRZEBIEG KAMPANII WYBORCZEJ DO SAMORZĄDU TERYTORIALNEGO  
W POZNANIU W 2014 ROKU

Streszczenie

Artykuł analizuje przyczyny porażki Ryszarda Grobelnego w wyborach na stanowisko Prezydenta Poznania. Stara się odpowiedzieć na kilka pytań: w jaki sposób, w tak krótkim czasie Jackowi Jaśkowiakowi udało się zbudować tak wysokie poparcie, jakie błędy popełnił Ryszard Grobelny, że po 16 latach poznaniacy gremialnie powiedzieli NIE swojemu wieloletniemu prezydentowi, oraz czy pewne momenty kampanii można uznać za przesądające o jej ostatecznym wyniku, jakie błędy popełnił w jej trakcie Ryszard Grobelny. Ważną część pracy stanowi analiza wyników badań *exit poll* przeprowadzonych na zlecenie Wielkopolskiej Telewizji Kablowej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** wybory samorządowe, kampania wyborcza, Poznań, Ryszard Grobelny.

HOW DAVID TRIUMPHED OVER GOLIATH:  
THE COURSE OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN  
FOR POZNAŃ'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN 2014

Summary

This article analyses the causes of Ryszard Grobelny's loss in the elections for the office of the president of the city of Poznan. It addresses, and attempts to answer, following questions: how did Jacek Jaskowiak manage to create such a successful voter base in such a short time, what mistakes did Grobelny make that after being in office for 16 years the citizens said a firm NO to his rule, and were there any moments that could be found as crucial for the final outcome, what were Grobelny's mistakes in the campaign itself. The analysis of the exit poll results for Greater Poland Cable Television (WTK) was an important part of this work.

**Key words:** local government elections, electoral campaign, Poznań, Ryszard Grobelny.