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Music in the Political Marketing on the Example of Polish Presidential Campaigns (1995–2015)¹

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to present a broad spectrum of relations between music and politics on the example of Polish presidential campaigns (1995–2015). The first part will show a current state of research signalised by many researchers from different scientific disciplines: from musicologists to political scientists and sociologists, as well as explain the topicality of the described problem. The next part will introduce a short overview of ways of using music with political aims, mentioned, for example, by Iwona Massaka in her dissertation *Music as an Instrument of*

1 The article is based on analyses of electoral campaigns, presented by the author in the MA thesis *Music in Polish Presidential Campaigns (1995–2015)*, written under the guidance of Prof. Dr hab. Teresa Sasińska-Klas and defended in 2018 at the Institute of Journalism of the Jagiellonian University. It contains main conclusions resulting from the research and focuses on the musicological considerations, but omits scrupulous commentaries from the field of political and communication studies, replacing them with the general picture of the political processes, which determinate new uses of music as the instrument of the political influence.

Political Impact. In this context, the author will characterise the most distinctive form of existence of music in a so-called “election song”—also in relation to Adorno’s theory of popular music. The conclusion is that the most important role in presidential campaigns is played by popular music, especially in a form of song. In that case, music tends to advertise political candidates in a way, as it can emphasize their intended image and influence a growth of support for a politician in a campaign.

Keywords

Political marketing, popular music, presidential campaign, election song

The subject of study in the following article is the presence of music in the political marketing, pictured on the example of Polish presidential campaigns since 1995. Particularly, media electoral manifestations broadcast on television, mainly image and negative advertising, were included. The choice of the topic resulted from the lack of syntheses referring to the mentioned issue, significant due to the broadening use of the audiovisual media in the political communication, what is inevitably connected with the presence of the audio accompaniment. The latter is shaped in a different way every time, mainly determined by the social, political and cultural contexts. Particular political aims are also a significant factor, namely the need to reach the target group, the increase in affectivity of the political message, co-creating the convenient emotional aura during rallies, what is expected to lead to initiate the integrative processes, creating intended recipients’ attitudes or supporting desired visual effect of a candidate of a party.

According to Artur Trudzik, the two-way reluctance of both musicological and media studies to investigate the mentioned issue may be motivated by the lack of specialised methodology, literature and interdisciplinary research groups joining the competences of both sciences. Meanwhile, it is necessary to study the “lower” and narrower topics, among which without doubt there is the presence of popular music in the contemporary political

marketing in the context of presidential campaigns.² Diminishing music as a medium of meanings, namely its semiotic dimension, is also bothering. Frequently included only in short mentions, often limited to stressing the cohesion of meaning of visual and musical codes, but lacking the further explanation, music in media sources is still unexplored.³ Negative results of this negligence are not only limited to scientific issues. Disregarding the soundscape by researchers and ignoring its importance in the context of the increase of the persuasive tone of political statements result in the lack of basic knowledge of people interested in politics in terms of including music in electoral campaigns and in consequence the gradual standardisation of all appearances of music in spite of the type of the electoral advertisement (such as positive, negative, image, programme, mixed).

Considering the currently advancing tendency to mediatise politics and use newer socio-technical means in all forms of marketing, the undertaken issue seems to meet the requirement of topicality. Investigating it from the musicological point of view is even more valuable due to the fact that so far functioning of music as the instrument of political influence has been undertaken mainly from the perspective of political studies. Not truly completed attempt to study this issue from the musicological perspective is Danuta Gwizdalanka's book *Muzyka i polityka*.⁴ As Iwona Massaka claims, this work is only a register of music participation in the chosen political events, lacking the scrupulous analyses and the explanations of its influence and role in the development of afore-mentioned events.⁵ On the other hand, relatively frequently cited claim of Danuta Gwizdalanka, according to which studying music as a tool of political

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- 2 M. Parus, A. Trudzik, *Media jako przestrzenie muzyki*, Gdańsk 2016, pp. 20–21.
 - 3 Short mentions about the presence of musical intertexts are present in such works as: W. Maguś, *Wizerunki polityków w cieniu zdarzeń nadzwyczajnych. Kampania wyborcza na urząd Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w 2010 roku*, Lublin 2014; A. Stępińska, *Marketingowe strategie wyborcze. Wybory prezydenckie w Polsce (1990–2000)*, Poznań 2004. It is worth noticing that these mentions often have the character of the subjective assessment, unsupported by reliable argumentation or the attempt to provide the analysis.
 - 4 D. Gwizdalanka, *Muzyka i polityka*, Kraków 1999.
 - 5 I. Massaka, *Epifenomenalny i istotowy wymiar muzyki w polityce*, "Polityczne Studia Środkowoeuropejskie" 2005, No. 1, p. 160.

influence can only lead to “strange and defective”⁶ conclusions, does not allow to dismiss this field, hitherto unknown for musicological optics. Also, according to Massaka, it unnecessarily supports the false belief about the “introductory” role of music in politics.⁷ What can be a solution is introducing expanded, interdisciplinary methodology, postulated by such scientists as Iwona Massaka and Marek Jeziński,⁸ and focusing on the specific fragment of the political situation. Such a perspective, undertaken in this article, will be a symbolical contribution to the explored topic—what is important, of a precursory, outlined and highly general character.

The attempts to see music holistically from the socio-political perspective were initiated at the end of the 1960s by the circle of American and Canadian researchers.⁹ They focused mainly on popular music, at the same time ignoring the role of purely instrumental genres or—according to the typology created by Theodor Adorno—the whole spectrum of stylistics of serious music.¹⁰ In Poland such initiatives have appeared recently, and, similarly to American studies, comprised mainly the issue of popular music.¹¹ The reason for such narrowing the area of research can be also found in the lack of appropriate analytical tools, which at least in the case of the correlation between instrumental music with politics should also involve the musicological workshop¹². What is more, the predilection to use empirically verifiable, therefore mainly statistical methods of research in political or media studies holds the researchers back from undertaking the analysis of musical material, marked by ambiguity and having characteristics of

6 D. Gwizdalanka, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

7 I. Massaka, *Epifenomenalny i istotowy wymiar...*, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

8 *Vide*: I. Massaka *Music in the Field of Political Science: Research Questions and Trends*, “Polish Political Science” 42 (2013); M. Jeziński, *Muzyka popularna jako wehikuł ideologiczny*, Toruń 2011.

9 Some of dissertations: S. Frith, *World Music, Politics and Social Change: Papers from the International Association for the Study of Popular Music*, New York 1989; J. Peterson, P. Christenson, *Political Orientation and Music Preference in the 1980s*, “Popular Music and Society” 11 (1987); J. Orman, K. Mashkin, T. Volgy, *Socio-Political Attitudes and Music Preferences*, “Social Science Quarterly” 56 (1975), No. 3.

10 T. Adorno, *On Popular Music*, “Studies in Philosophy and Social Science” 9 (1941).

11 I. Massaka, *Music in the Field...*, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 320.

a metaphor.¹³ Meanwhile, undertaking studies on music, from the very beginning one should acknowledge the possibility to gain the results which cannot be verified objectively—what, however, does not exempt from the need to explore this field of art scientifically.

Synthetic and highly brief overview will be put in the dual context—of political studies and musicology. It results from the fact that signalling the problem in this article aims at increasing interdisciplinary academic considerations, which are symbolically initiated by the following conferences: *Art and politics—popular music* (organiser: the Mikołaj Kopernik University of Toruń, 2009), *Music as a social phenomenon—theoretical orientations and ways of research*¹⁴ (Institute of Sociology at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University and Polish Sociological Association based in Warsaw, 2017), *Popular culture and ideology* (Faculty of Political Science and Journalism at the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań, 2018) and *Political music: communicating, contexting, mobilising*¹⁵ (Department of Political Thought and Department of Political Systems of the Faculty of Political Sciences at the Maria Skłodowska University, 2018). However, they are still only sporadic scientific initiatives, which require new enterprises, extended by—often absent—musicological

13 *Eadem, Muzyka jako instrument wpływu politycznego*, Łódź 2009, p. 322.

14 For example, the following speeches were made: Michalina Kowala (Faculty of Law and Administration, Adam Mickiewicz University), *Can music determine the political preferences? Sources, manifestations, alternatives*; Prof. Mariola Filas (Institute of Sociology, Jagiellonian University), *How the work of art/music characterises the social reality*, Dr hab. Piotr Podlipniak (Institute of Musicology, Adam Mickiewicz University), *Musical tonality as a tool of social consolidation*.

15 What seems especially important referring to the issue undertaken in this article is the section “Practical dimension of the music presence in politics”, moderated by Dr hab. Magdalena Szpunar (Institute of Journalism and Social Communication, Jagiellonian University). Speeches: Dr Łukasz Kubisz-Muła, *The tempo of the musical background in the audiovisual electoral advertisement and the assessment of a candidate*; Dr Agnieszka Łukasik-Turecka, *Rhythm and melody used by the political campaign in the radio: music in the auditive political communication*; Mgr Agnieszka Kamińska, *Music in the political campaigns during the presidential campaign from 2015*; Mgr Agnieszka Grzegorzcyk, *Meaning of political music in creating the reputation of Polish Prime Ministers*; Mgr Magdalena Kukulak, *Where are you going, country? Political song as a tool of persuasion*; Mgr Arkadiusz Woźniak, *Political left in song*; Michał Kucharski, Agnieszka Makowska, *Music as a means of shaping the citizenship in the 20th and 21st centuries*.

perspective. Citing the words of Massaka, who was the first one to pay attention to the importance of a discussed issue:

[...] Studying music as a tool of social and political influence seems to be diligently needed. The development of marketing, as well as the need to coordinate the connections between new social and political structures, makes it necessary to enhance the abilities to use socio-technical means. Music belongs to the most sophisticated and effective of them. The fact that finally the mechanism of it has not been understood so far, with the appropriate attitude, can be very frustrating.¹⁶

The main aim of the article is to name and picture the most expressive forms of the coexistence of music and politics. The special attention will be paid to popular music, explored in political media sources (mainly the genre of song) as well as the presence of the citations of artistic music in the Polish presidential campaigns, and also making the general reflection about legitimacy and functionality of the used means of political marketing in terms of the exploration of this field of art. Two main dimensions of music will be considered—emotive and communicative—linked to persuasive and manipulative sphere of its influence in the political entourage.

Emotive character of music and political manipulation

Music, together with the development and enhancing the audio-visual tools of influence, lost the meaning as a means of communication for the picture. Therefore, iconisation and multimedialisation of all spheres of culture diminished the possibilities to control the

16 Orig. “[...] Badanie muzyki jako narzędzia wpływu społecznego i politycznego wydaje się pilnie potrzebne. Rozwój marketingu, jak również potrzeba koordynowania więzi pomiędzy coraz to nowymi strukturami społecznymi i politycznymi stwarza konieczność doskonalenia umiejętności posługiwania się środkami socjotechnicznymi. Muzyka należy wśród nich do najbardziej wyrafinowanych i skutecznych. Fakt, że ostatecznie nie udało się jeszcze przeświecić mechanizmu jej oddziaływania, przy odpowiednim nastawieniu, może być bardzo frapujący”. I. Massaka, *Muzyka jako instrument wpływu...*, op. cit., p. 115.

society through the sound material.¹⁷ It also caused that the scientific interest so far has focused on the visual aspect of all possible those messages. The importance of the musical issue in media political messages, however, currently seems to increase, what is indicated by John Street. According to him, music becomes the significant element of the contemporary audio-visual propaganda, which attacks the viewer in the peripheral way, because it not only conjures the given pictures and associations, but is also a forceful tool of the direct influencing the viewers' emotions, which does not require the participation of the consciousness.¹⁸

Beginning with the above-discussed assumptions of Street, it can be presumed that the use of music as the instrument of political influence takes place by shaping the emotional attitude of a recipient towards some case or a situation through presenting the content existing in the given musical work, which is treated as an object.¹⁹ According to Iwona Massaka, modeling common emotions is one of rudimental aspects of the political influence. What results from this is a significant role of music—underlining the political statements through it can increase their emotionality, and as a result bring the recipient closer.²⁰

Tadeusz Biernat, in the context of the research on the political myth, underlined the strong influence of emotions on formulating judgments and assessments and indicated their necessity in the political messages.²¹ They also have an informative role—thanks to them it is possible to say what is significant for the entity and what does not deserve attention. Therefore, the effective political action highly depends on the appropriate, scrupulous observation of the combination of accompanying emotions, as 90% of all manipulations are—according to the researchers—manipulations of emotions.²² Referring to the studies of Mirosław Karwat in the book *O sztuce manipulacji politycznej*, cited by Massaka,²³ it can be

17 Eadem, *Epifenomenalny i istotowy wymiar...*, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

18 J. Street, *Fight the Power: The Politics of Music and the Music of Politics*, "Government and Opposition" 38 (2000), No. 1, p. 113.

19 I. Massaka *Muzyka jako instrument wpływu...*, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

20 *Ibid.*

21 T. Biernat, *Mit polityczny*, Warszawa 1989, p. 44.

22 I. Massaka, *Epifenomenalny i istotowy wymiar...*, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

23 Eadem, *Muzyka jako instrument wpływu...*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

concluded that the centre of the process of incorporating political messages in music is the operation of introducing feelings and emotions comprised in the musical material in the already existing set of social feelings and emotions. The effectiveness of the political action, therefore, depends not only on the observation of emotions in the society, but also the capability to control them, as they can strongly influence the change of political beliefs.²⁴

Regarding the mechanism of influencing through music, according to the view of Marxist musicologists (such as Zofia Lissa), it is based on the ability of this art to provide the intended long-term association between the concrete musical motifs and the situational context—what eventually leads to emotional movements. Then, the musical experience, correlated with political content, can influence achieving the intended persuasive effect, connected with receiving reactions, predicted by the author. The content of the musical form—in acquires the political dimension in the particular contexts.²⁵

In the context of music used during the electoral campaigns, evoking positive emotions in the recipients in connection with referring to their musical preferences can significantly influence the social support, and during the last phase even the results of elections. Intertextuality—especially willingly explored by the creators of campaigns—is also used with the mentioned aim, leading the recipients to the previously assumed interpretative tracks and associations, at the same time evoking cognitive pleasure resulting from recognising hidden intertexts. The other way to fulfil the political statements by the specific emotional association existing in the musical text is to signal the conventional musical means, identified with the specific emotions. The good example for these are the most elementary distinguishing the major and minor keys and the references to the widely understood musical rhetoric.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 126–127.

²⁵ I. Massaka, *Music in the Field...*, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

The cult of popular music and personalisation of politics

Predilection to the genre of song—with its conventional formal structure based on the simple alternation of strophe and chorus and the standardisation of melody, harmony or rhythm—is the first and at the same time the most important proof for exploration of popular music in the state electoral campaigns. However, purely musical criteria are not decisive here. According to Tomasz Misiak, popular music is more a social than aesthetic phenomenon.²⁶ In this context, the determinants of mediatised culture—aiming at consistency and effectiveness of the musical message, strictly connected with the visual aspect, namely music video—and not the artistic premises determine the choices of concrete musical genres in the political marketing.

The grounds of the choice of popular stylistics in order to build the intended image and the effective promotion of a candidate can be found in the theory of popular music of Theodor Adorno. According to the researcher's view, the advertisement, in a way promoting works in media space (so-called “plugging”) is seen as an immanent, ontic element of popular music—what is more, as significant as composition and arrangement. The hasty aim of such an advertisement is to break the recipient's resistance to the monotony of the musical material, and the far-reaching—the institutionalisation and standardisation of the perception manners and leading to the automatic reactions.²⁷ Indeed, the genre of electoral song is an implicit promotion of a candidate of a party, more effective from the standard visual promotion that presented in the light form, connected with the world of pop culture and infotainment.²⁸ As Małgorzata Lisowska-Magdziarz writes:

26 T. Misiak, *Muzyka poważna, muzyka popularna. Dualizm współczesnej kultury muzycznej z perspektywy współczesnej socjologii muzyki*, “Muzyka” 1983, No. 4, p. 93.

27 T. Adorno, *On Popular Music*, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

28 Infotainment is currently seen by the researchers of the media as the main genre of mass media, joining the entertainment with information. It also penetrates into all political messages being subject to the logics of functioning in mass media.

[...] music video clip is received as a work of film-television art, completely or in the major part selfless and autotelic, what gives it the advantage over other advertising programmes and also transforms it into the statement of a particular persuasive effectiveness. [...] It is because the most perfect advertisement is an unconscious action, about which the recipients think that is not an advertisement.²⁹

The visual aspect, complementary for the electoral song, often in the form of a music video with the suggestive montage/editing/cut, can control the reactions of the recipient unnoticeably and lead the imagination to the interpretative trace that has been intended by the author. Focusing on the recipients is linked here to the possibility of identifying with the performer, what Marek Jeziński underlined, referring to Lacan's "mirror phase".³⁰ In the medial creation of a politician or an accompanying artist, the recipients can see their reflection. The concert situation, frequently presented on a music video, aims at showing the element of what the television viewer could experience during meeting the musicians "live".³¹

The manipulative force of popular music, to remind the Adorno's opinion, is its simplicity and naivety, and—as a result—the neutralisation of social tensions and separating the listener from the issues of everyday life. The mentioned philosopher paid attention to the multistage process of receiving popular music, connected with the acts of recognising and assigning musical formulas to the specific category. These, in the ending phase, result in the psychological movement of the authority of recognising—assisted by the feeling of pleasure—to the

29 Orig. "[...] muzyczny wideoklip odbiera się jako dzieło sztuki filmowo-telewizyjnej, całkowicie lub w znacznej części bezinteresownie i autotelicznie, co daje teledyskowi przewagę nad innymi programami reklamowymi, a ponadto czyni z niego komunikat o szczególnej skuteczności perswazyjnej. [...] Najdoskonalsza reklamą jest bowiem oddziaływanie nieuświadomione, o którym odbiorcy sądzą, że nie jest reklamą." M. Lisowska-Magdziarz, *Bunt na sprzedaż. Przemysł muzyczny, reklama, semiotyka*, Kraków 2000, p. 59.

30 M. Jeziński, *Muzyka popularna...*, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 217–218.

object.³² In this context, the strength of popular music in the political marketing is in eliciting the illusion of the knowledge of the presented music in the recipient. The potential elector, feeling the aesthetic accomplishment resulting from recalling the concrete musical solutions, such as the main melodic shapes, transfers his or her positive associations and emotional states on the presented object and its author, in this case, the candidate of a political party. Moreover, the process of assigning the musical work of commonly approved genre (e.g. disco polo, rap or rock music) itself to the experience of a human with the collective experience—what in consequence produces the feeling of safety thanks to identification with a certain social force.³³

The reason of the choice of popular music from the perspective of political science can be also seen in the process of personalisation of politics, being the element of the wider transformation of political culture and connected with the process of demythologisation of political authorities. It is because, according to the political scientist Jakub Nowak, they have to descend to the level of the electors and try to produce the link from a distance, characteristic for the relation between media celebrities and fans.³⁴ The mentioned link is supported by the formal aspects of popular music. Thanks to them, the main aim of politicians, which is to reach the mass recipient with the ideological message, can be achieved successfully. It is because the song is an easy form to listen to, and moreover it can provoke the listener's attention and model his or her attitude towards the issue considered in the text. Its presence makes the political message more attractive, so it is a specially significant form from the point of view of marketing.

32 T. Adorno, *On Popular Music*, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

34 M. Jeziński, *Wizerunek polityczny jako element strategii wyborczej*, [in:] *Kampania marketingowa-aspekty marketingowe komunikowania politycznego*, B. Dobek-Ostrowska (ed.), Wrocław 2005, pp. 106–109.

Candidate	Title of the song (incipit)	Commentary
Aleksander Kwaśniewski	<i>Chodź z nami w XXI wiek</i>	Original material. Genre: pop. For choir and electronic instruments.
Marian Krzaklewski	<i>Dziwny jest ten świat</i> (by Czesław Niemen)	Existing material. Genre: rock. For soloist and electronic instruments.
Jarosław Kalinowski	<i>Mój dom, mój mały wielki świat</i>	Existing material. Genre: party song. For choir and electronic instruments.
Andrzej Lepper	<i>Ten kraj jest nasz i wasz³⁵</i>	Existing material. Genre: disco polo. For soloist and electronic instruments.
	<i>Jestem razem z wami...</i>	Original material. Genre: disco polo. For soloist and electronic instruments.
Dariusz Grabowski	<i>Dzisiaj chciałem wam zaśpiewać rodacy...</i>	Original material. Genre: disco polo. For soloist and electronic instruments.
Jan Łopuszczański	<i>Prosty wybór, wybierz Polskę!</i>	Original material. Genre: poetic/patriotic song. For soloist and male choir, electronic instruments.
Piotr Ikonowicz	<i>To inaczej miało być przyjaciele³⁶</i>	Original material. Genre: poetic/military song. For soloist and acoustic instruments.

Table 1: Songs functioning in the electoral campaigns of the candidates for

35 Work performed by Anja Orthodox (b. 1964), Polish rock singer, composer and lyricist, known from the cooperation with such bands as Closterkeller, Wilki, Voo Voo, Sweet Noise or IRA.

the seat of a president in 2000.³⁷

In the presidential campaign from 2000, in the electoral advertising of the candidates from almost all parties, the stylistics of popular music was dominant, most frequently in the form of song. This fact can be connected with the wish for making the political statements more medial and easier to memorise by the audience. The next argument supporting the legitimacy and functionality of a genre of song can be the length of first electoral campaign videos, often longer than three minutes, what gives the possibility to use the musical intertext, convergent with the political message. One of the first and most significant uses of popular music in the presidential campaign is the publication of the candidate from Socjaldemokracja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Eng. Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland), Aleksander Kwaśniewski, in the presidential campaign from 1995, in which the song of a highly popular disco polo group, Top One, was used with the aim of political agitation. According to the data of the candidate's staff, this decision gave him an almost ten percent of the growth of support.³⁸

Then, in the choice of musical genres their commonness and popularity were deciding, therefore such musical trends dominated as disco polo, pop and party song. Their selection was determined mainly by the wish to make the message more communicative for the specific social groups and to provide entertainment. In many cases, it also corresponded with an intended picture of a politician. For example, through the presence of military elements, the features of leadership and the profession of candidates were underlined. In the case of politicians from people's parties, the created image corresponded with folk elements, references to party songs and their performance context (parish feasts, harvest festivities etc.). For certain candidates music supported the dimension of the programme, focused on the help for the particular social groups, and moreover underlining the critical assessment of the existing politics of the governing party (Piotr Ikonowicz).

36 Table created by the author, published in the work *Music in Polish presidential campaigns...*, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

37 Electoral anthem of the political party Samoobrona (Eng. Self-Defence).

38 T. Olczyk, *Politrozrywka i popperswazja. Reklama telewizyjna w polskich kampaniach wyborczych XXI wieku*, Warszawa 2009, p. 93.

Political-ideological rock

According to political scientist Marek Jeziński, vocal and vocal-instrumental music have the widest range of possibilities in terms of communicating ideological-political content. What appears important is also the statement of the sociologist of popular music, Simon Frith, who claims that the look into the song happens mainly through words. If music intensifies linguistic vitality of words, then words—according to the researcher—add the social meaning to music.³⁹

From the point of view of the ideological programme, the text of the electoral song is the most significant, expressing main political ideas, being also an open agitation of a candidate of a party. The primary task of the message of it is the activation of attitudes and motivating recipients to undertake actions; the text of the song has not only a representative-informative, but also organising and integrating function.⁴⁰ It is what motivates the recipient to have their own attitude towards presented beliefs or discussed issues.

The differentiated communicative qualities can be also perceived on the layer of genre division. As Jeziński claims, rock is particularly important in the context of using music with non-artistic aims. This genre, particularly willingly approved by young recipients, has a great political-social potential. It is not the coincidence that the content accompanying it is often focused on the manifestation of ideological beliefs.⁴¹ On the one hand, rock is connected with patriarchal order, criticism of capitalism, abolishing social classes, fight with inequalities and opposition to the conservatism of older generations, and on the other it is a manifesto of youth and rebellion and the expression of artistic freedom.

The additional asset of rock is the fact that it is multi-code, namely it uses three systems of coding—music, word and picture—at the same time. As Marcin Rychlewski explains, the rock message is the semantic-stylistic connection of the following

39 S. Frith, *Music for Pleasure*, New York 1988, p. 123.

40 M. Jeziński, *Muzyka popularna...*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

elements: music-sound, word-text, icon-cover and icon-stage.⁴² Multidimensionality of the genre is connected with the presence of historically justified ideological baggage. Umberto Eco claimed that rock connotes modernity,⁴³ and according to Chris Cutler, referring to Marxist thought, this genre is the particular expression of rebellion of oppressed social classes, frequently close to highly revolutionary tone.⁴⁴ The character of the text is also a characteristic feature—strictly connected with the musical layer and vocal expression—cumulating emotionality, resulting from the sonic shape,⁴⁵ and also frequently containing the element of political criticism. The need for cohesion and credibility of the message is, therefore, an inseparable element of the poetics of rock.

Considering the meaning of the described genre should be every time complemented by the historical contexts, finding the reflection both in lyrical and musical layers. The particular example of the strict convergence of socio-political situation with artistic sphere is Polish type of rock, shaped in the difficult realities of Polish People's Republic. Omnipresent censure provoked artists to become active and to seek the perfect form of artistic opposition to the reality.⁴⁶ The best expression of rebellion and reluctance to the governor was found by the artists in the punk rock stylistics.⁴⁷ It allowed to present the ecstatic emotions through particular way of conveying content of a political character—melodeclamation with elements of scanning or uncontrolled exclamations.

In the context of the presidential electoral campaigns, rock was used sporadically. It appeared e.g. in 2000 in the campaign of the candidate of a political formation Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność (Eng. Solidarity Electoral Action), Marian Krzaklewski, and the representative of Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (Eng. Polish Socialist

42 M. Rychlewski, *O wielokodowości rocka*, [in:] *Rock. Między duszą a ciałem*, W. Burszta, M. Rychlewski (eds.), Warszawa 2002, p. 66.

43 U. Eco, *Pejzaż semiotyczny*, trans. into Polish by A. Weinsberg, Warszawa 1972, p. 374.

44 Ch. Cutler, *O muzyce popularnej. Pisma teoretyczno-krytyczne*, trans. into Polish by I. Socha, Kraków 1999, pp. 22, 145.

45 M. Rychlewski, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 80.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Party), Piotr Ikonowicz.⁴⁸ In the first one the citation from one of the best-known works of Polish artistic music was used, namely so-called “protest song” of Czesław Niemen *Dziwny jest ten świat*, and in the second one, there was an association with the idiom of Polish bard of poetic song, Jacek Kaczmarski. Intertextual references in these examples can be read as the attempt to authenticate and at the same time complete the images created by the mentioned politicians. In the first case, the presence of a musical authority—appearing in the campaign of AWS’s candidate—underlined the feature of cultural competence and progressiveness, approved and appreciated by then. Also, in this technique the wish for transferring the empathy to the candidate of the party thanks to the closeness of the artist in his media environment can be found. In Piotr Ikonowicz’s campaign the arrangement of the electoral song—close to the idiom of Jacek Kaczmarski’s *Mury* (marching rhythm, melodeclamation, exalted and pathetic character, chords in the accompaniment of the guitar) and referring to this work directly in the layer of the text⁴⁹—underlined the content of the candidate’s programme and his connection with working class.⁵⁰ The atmosphere of music, connected with the use of a minor key, corresponded with the vision of protesting Polish people presented in this campaign, as well as shown picture of unemployment and poverty.

Another exemplification of the presence of mentioned stylistics in politics is the composition *The Crimes of Cain* by Georges Deleure, in terms of genre close to poetic rock or ballad. The work was composed for Agnieszka Holland’s movie about priest Popiełuszko titled *To Kill a Priest*, and then used in the presidential campaign in 1995 by Jan Olszewski. The image of a politician—not identifying himself with any political group—was shaped mainly

48 Electoral campaign of Ikonowicz, *vide*: www.youtube.com/watch?v=7hUNim_VC5U [accessed: 18.08.2018].

49 This reference is present in the first verses of the work: “To inaczej miało być przyjaciele. | To nie o to walczyliśmy burząc mur. | Z naszych marzeń pozostało tak niewiele. | Nie ma pracy, nie ma chleba, próżny trud [...]”.

50 The candidate was a co-founder of the journal “Robotnik” belonging to the members of Międzyzakładowy Robotniczy Komitet Solidarności (MRKS) and Political Group “Robotnik”. He also co-organised the month of factory press of NSZZ “Solidarność”. Moreover, he belonged to the Movement Freedom and Peace.

through references to such values as faith, Catholicism, nation and family. In the electoral messages, Olszewski was presented as an honest candidate, not tangled in the structures and ideas of Polish People's Republic.⁵¹ The second of the values was underlined in the visual sphere, through reference to the martyr's death of priest Popiełuszko. The picture found its supplement in the adequate musical accompaniment, using the main theme from the soundtrack of mentioned film drama of Agnieszka Holland from 1988.⁵² The text of the work, cited below, was written by the American songwriter Joan Baez,⁵³ being at the same time the performer of a vocal part.

The Crimes Of Cain

Father, can you hear the tolling of the bells
Echo a hundred thousand sons who wish you well?
Tears will pour from the Golden Eagle now
He watches as your soul departs
The fields and the sanctuaries soon will overflow
With the solidarity of hearts

Chorus: Into our lives you came
With us you will remain
You were given to the fight
To the terror of the night
And the many crimes of Cain

Gravely the Black Madonna walks the winter streets
Bright are the many flowers strewn about her feet
Strong is the spirit of a people scorned
Their freedom is a gift of God
Sweet are the children who hold the legacy
Of the solidarity of hearts.⁵⁴

51 A. Stępińska, *Marketingowe strategie wyborcze...*, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

52 French-American production, inspired by the events connected with the murder of priest Jerzy Popiełuszko by the officials of Służba Bezpieczeństwa (Security Service of Polish People's Republic).

53 Joan Baez (b. 9th January 1941 in New York) – American singer, composer, songwriter. Known from the recordings of works in a folk-blues style as well as protest songs. In her work she often referred to political issues.

54 Boldings from the author of the article.

The lyrical layer of a song is filled with the national and religious symbols. “Golden Eagle” is the reference to the emblem of Poland and in this context, it represents the whole nation crying after the death of priest Popiełuszko. In the phrase “solidarity of hearts” the references to the political movement fighting with the communist regime in the 1980s, presided by Lech Wałęsa, can be found. The Old Testament’s “crimes of Cain”, recollecting the motif of fratricide, are here the metaphor of war crimes, which marked the history of Poland. Black Madonna is the next symbol—a constant topos of Mary, returning especially often in the rhetoric of the right-wing parties. In the text, there are also constant positive values, so-called *miranda*⁵⁵ (such as freedom, solidarity). The persuasive tone of lyrics is indicated by the presence of a collective subject (so-called *pluralis politicus*). The poetic character of a text is also determined by frequent repetitions (“solidarity of hearts”, “the many crimes of Cain”), introducing the constant rhythm and exposing the specific phrases of a particularly strong semantic and emotional meaning.

The arrangement is filled with the choral vocalise and long, monotonous tremolo of strings. The lamenting character was achieved by the use of slow tempo, minor key and subtle references to the specificity of funeral melodies with the characteristic dominance of descending phrases. In the second phrase, the voice of soloist is linked to the solo of the oboe—the instrument which is commonly associated with melancholy—referring to the melodic material of the vocal part. In the refrain, the function of soloist is taken by the first violins, playing a lyrical melody in the high register, similarly to the oboe referring to the main thematic material. In the ending, instrumental phase of the work, together

55 In the terminology of a sociolinguist Walery Pisarek, *mirandum* is the symbol of what is worth admiration, so the positive term concerning values. Its opposition is *condemandum*: the negative term, the symbol of what is worth condemning. These terms can be expressed through variable semiotic techniques, such as “landmark words”—strongly valuing or anti-valuing words, especially useful for the mottos on the banners. *Vide*: W. Pisarek, *Polskie słowa sztandarowe i ich publiczność*, Kraków 2002; M. Witkowska-Gutowska, *Przeciw Anschlussowi Polski. O negatywnej perswazji w tekstach prasowych*, “Media, Kultura, Społeczeństwo” 1 (2006), p. 104.

with calming the musical narration and its muting, subtle *pizzicato* of the violins appears, finishing the composition.⁵⁶

The reasons for the rare use of rock stylistics in the presidential campaigns after 1989 can be seen in the widely understood socio-political context. The renaissance of rock took place in the 1980s and was linked to the feeling of artistic oppression and negation of communist system. Together with the political thaw totally new stylistics gained popularity—namely disco polo. It is not surprising that yet first elections after the change of a political system were marked by its presence. The time of splendour of the genre originating from *italo disco* took place in the years 1995–1997. However, it still remains the most frequently explored genre in political marketing.

Communicative role of national music in right-wing fractions

The specific form of musical communication is the choice of specific conventions, musical means or the compositions that are fixed in the history of music, which are connected with the particular historical context or the cultural circle. The work—as a composition or performance—starts, in this case, having the function of a symbol, e.g. in national or cultural identity. According to Finnish semiotician of music Eero Tarasti, symbols—as conventional signs—refer to beliefs and values, at the same time showing the connection with the given cultural context.⁵⁷ Then, according to Tarasti, national anthems have the status of a sign of “bigger social continuum”, allowing to see music as a kind of social force.⁵⁸ In Polish electoral campaigns, works of a character of anthem were used by the right-wing formations, such as Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (abbr. PiS, Eng. Law and Justice) and Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe

56 Recording is available in the internet: www.youtube.com/watch?v=VsFpWFQCJj8 [accessed: 20.10.2018].

57 E. Tarasti, *Some Peircean and Greimasian Semiotic Concepts as Applied to Music*, [in:] *The Semiotic Web 1986*, Th. Sebeok, J. Umiker-Sebeok (eds.), Berlin–New York–Amsterdam 1987, pp. 445–446; as cited in: M. Jabłoński, *Muzyka jako znak. Wokół semiotyki muzycznej Eero Tarastiego*, Poznań 1999, p. 61.

58 M. Jabłoński, *Muzyka jako znak...*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

(Eng. Polish People's Party), for which they played the role of a substitute of the electoral song.⁵⁹ The choice of PiS on the one hand shows striving for the unity of marketing actions, strictly connected with its ideology, in which such values as tradition and nation are the most significant ones on the other it can be read as a conscious action in opposition to the common tendencies in terms of the use of sonic material for the electoral campaigns (such as the domination of popular stylistics). This second intention is identified with the propaganda technique of ostentatious creating the open opposition "we" versus "they". Then, the simplified picture of the polarisation of attitudes makes it possible to launch the next mechanism that is the simplification of the division of values, thanks to which the reduction to the opposition "good" and "wrong" takes place, corresponding with the division into "we" and "they". This technique, used on the level of the language of political statements, can be partly seen on the level of music.

The lyrical layer of the anthem of PiS *My chcemy prawa i sprawiedliwości...*⁶⁰ often contains repetitive *miranda*:⁶¹ God, honour, motherland, solidarity, law, justice. It has a character of agitation, what is confirmed by the references to highfaluting, timeless ideas and values. Music refers to the military conventions through the use of marching rhythm and 4/4 time. In the instrumental layer tremolo is often used. Melody, consisting of the steps of seconds, without great intervallic leaps, is characterised by stability and statics; small intervals (second, major third) are also convenient to sing by amateurs. In the work there is a lack of a minor third, augmented fourth (tritone) and minor seventh, which would create more blues-like, sentimental and melancholic character in the work. What seems to drive the attention is the five-tone motif of sixteenth notes based on the repetition of d^1 , present in third and seventh bars, audible against the background of the whole song. Appearing at the beginning of the phrase "Czwartej Rzeczypospolitej jest już czas", it allows to distinguish

59 It is worthy to mention at least the work *Kilka prostych spraw*, composed by Tomasz Skotnicki, in the pompous, poetised convention, recognised as one of the anthems of Prawo i Sprawiedliwość.

60 The recording is accessible in the internet: www.youtube.com/watch?v=EAMhJ-fvsqHo [accessed: 18.08.2018].

61 Compare: footnote 55.

the keywords and gain the clarity of the message. Avoiding irregular rhythmic divisions and other, more sublime musical techniques introduces the aura of certainty, calm and regularity of the march.

The communicative function is held mainly by the musical works of a characteristic national element. According to Grażyna Filipiak, in Polish culture this position is taken mostly by the work of Fryderyk Chopin. What seems a characteristic example of using music of the Romantic for the electoral campaign is the first image campaign of Jarosław Kaczyński from 2010 with the significant title *Dąb Bartek*.⁶² As the accompaniment the beginning fragment of *Prelude in D♭ major* Op. 28 No. 15 was used. The landmark and at the same time the heart of the work is the repetition of the sound *ab*, which merges all its parts, being the root of the structure and the melodic leitmotif. As specialists in Chopin music claim, this motif directly indicates the circumstances of creating the work, connected with the rainy aura of Mallorca during the winter of—probably—1831,⁶³ where the Polish composer stayed and worked at that time. These circumstances influenced the structure of music, which, according to critics and listeners, creates the associations with the rain.⁶⁴ Mieczysław Tomaszewski claims that Chopin himself—adding the adjective “rainy” to the title of the work in the score of one of his students—paid attention to persistence and monotony, with which one sound is repeated in the whole *Prelude*, making the onomatopoeic associations.⁶⁵ In the

62 In the discussed campaign the leader of PiS was seen, planting the oaks in the circle of children and teenagers. It should be mentioned that the logo of the party contains the symbol of a tree—introducing the emblem of the group in the campaign is therefore emphasised by the semantic dimension of a message and refers to the identity of a party. The choice of music is not a coincidence. The symbol of the rain, mirrored on the level of the used musical means (repetitiveness), strongly exposed in the beginning fragment, corresponds with the picture of Polish nature, and can hold the function of semantic supplement of the politician’s statement and the visual sphere.

63 Compare: *ibid*.

64 Vide: e.g. S. Fishko, *The Fishko Files: Chopin’s ‘Raindrop’ Prelude*, [in:] www.wnyc.org/story/72008-the-fishko-files-chopins-raindrop-prelude/ [accessed: 15.07.2018]. This opinion is confirmed by one of the best researchers of Chopin, Mieczysław Tomaszewski, e.g. in the work *Chopin. Człowiek, dzieło, rezonans*, Kraków 2004.

65 Transcript of the fragment of Mieczysław Tomaszewski’s statement, recorded in the cycle of auditions *Fryderyka Chopina Dzieła Wszystkie* (emitted by Programme 2 of the Polish Radio) was published on the website: <http://pl.chopin.nifc.pl/chopin/composition/detail/id/208> [accessed: 4.05.2018].

case of Kaczyński's campaign, this semantic dimension of a sonic material was multiplied by connecting with the pictures of Polish nature as well as a patriotic content—absent in the open way in the composition itself, but readable for the recipient through easily recognised Chopin's idiom.

Ex. 1: Fryderyk Chopin, *Prelude in D major* No. 15 Op. 28, bb. 5–27. Repeated sound *a* in the bass voice symbolises the title “rain”. The fragment of the work used in the first image campaign of Jarosław Kaczyński from 2010.

Music plays a dual role in the discussed campaign. Firstly, it is connected to the dimension of content. It semantically complements the famous monument of nature shown in the visual layer, making associations with such values as strength, stability and health—such connotations are made by the repetition, being a fundament of the musical structure. The key of D \flat major provides bright, warm timbre and can be interpreted as bringing growth and development (it is worth noticing that in the campaign the middle part of the Chopin's work was omitted, which is maintained in the key of C# minor, with more gloomy and heavy timbre).

In the beginning fragment the frame—showing the political candidate presented in the office of his brother, Lech Kaczyński,⁶⁶ focusing and writing down his thoughts on the empty sheet of paper—is coordinated with the sonic accompaniment. At the same time, in the background, there is the recording of his speech, in which he refers to the history of Poland. Here, the second function of using Chopin's composition in the political media message is visible. The predilection to the classical music can support in this case the intended image of the politician, created as a person who appreciates high culture. At the same time the choice of Chopin's music, connected with the patriotic, national dimension in opposition to marketing actions of other candidates and in analogy to the previously analysed example of the electoral anthem of *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*—can indicate the ideological separation from the remaining parties of home political stages and deepening the division into categories “we” and “they”, in this case subtly underlined by the diversity of musical stylistics.

Another, much more peculiar example of using classical music in the presidential campaign is referring to one of the best known Mozart's symphonies, created during Sturm and Drang—*Symphony in G minor* No. 40 KV 550, and precisely in one of the main melodic motifs of the work. Fragments of the composition appeared mainly in the ending phase of the negative campaign *Zawsze po stronie obywatela* of Andrzej Duda,⁶⁷ published during the

66 In the campaign *Dąb Bartek* intertextual references to one of the first image campaigns of Lech Kaczyński from the presidential campaign in 2005 were used.

67 Official campaign of a candidate: www.youtube.com/watch?v=HQnVcROZa54 [accessed: 18.08.2018].

presidential campaign in 2015. The individual motifs were overlapped on the separate sound track, obliterating the harmonic context of the prototype and making it harder to recognise the hidden intertext. Their introducing is not without significance. As the musicologist Alfred Einstein claims, in the discussed symphony fatalism and the feeling of resignation can be felt, which is not cleaned after experiencing catharsis.⁶⁸ The semantic dimension of this composition seems to correspond with the content of political message, and what is more, to underline it symbolically and make more emotive for the recipient.

Negative campaigns, published then by the candidate of PiS, were characterised by the homogeneity of the character of the musical accompaniment (symphonic apparatus, minor key). The presence of the semantically coloured musical techniques is also clear; among them there are dissonances underlining the incompatibility or *pizzicato* with the ascending melodic phrase, associated with uncertainty and sneaking, what in the context of the given message implicated the dishonesty of the intentions of the political opponent. Such musical features not only correlated with the pejorative meaning of the political message, but strengthened it additionally.

Conclusion

Music plays an important role in the political marketing as it co-creates the most of the media-political messages, supporting achieving the intended picture effect by the candidate of a party and directing the message to the specific group of recipients. In the presidential campaigns, it took the autonomous role of a so-called electoral song. Using the form of a song—rudimental for popular music—seems to serve to achieve communicativeness of the political message. It is because the simplicity of both text and musical layer, with the presence of often repeated refrain, helps to remember presented elements of the political programme by the recipient, and also it supports the integrative processes (it is

68 A. Einstein, *Mozart. Człowiek i dzieło*, trans. into Polish by A. Rieger, Kraków 1983.

worth noticing that refrains are often performed together, creating the feeling of community).

In the electoral campaigns of the candidates, the stylistics of popular music was the most frequent, so it can be seen as the most typical for the political marketing. All dissimilarities from the general tendency came to the instrumentally treated citations from artistic music, often presented in new arrangements or with advertising sound signals (so-called “jingles”). These references were used by the right-wing parties, what can be interpreted as a wish to underline the ideological otherness comparing to remaining ideological visions. Pietism in the exploration of stylistics of high and national music could be observed in the intensification in the last presidential campaign (2015) in the candidate of the political formation Prawo i Sprawiedliwość. This fact can be connected with the increasing polarisation on Polish political stage, which found its mirror and intensification in the different choice of musical material for the needs of political media messages. Considering the statement of Iwona Massaka that leaving the convention of popular music—typical for democratic political systems—can indicate the attempt to incorporate new ideological visions,⁶⁹ restriction in terms of musical stylistics seems to be significant and scientifically interesting in this context.

Based on the made analyses, it can be claimed that electoral stuffs use music in the role of the instrument of political influence more and more often, at the same time paying attention to the communicative and emotive features and of a chosen music. These analyses also confirmed that music was not a transparent medium in the previous Polish presidential campaigns. It is because it often became the medium of hidden manipulation and persuasion, such as through using the propaganda technique many times, in which the world is delimited, symbolised by the presence of the categories “we” and “they”. This division is more and more visible not only on the layer of the word text, but also in the sonic layer. And if the right-wing parties explore the national convention, cutting off from the sphere of popular culture and the environment of celebrities, in the case of the left-wing and centre formations the multiplicity of the stylistic conventions suggests the neutral character.

69 I. Massaka, *Music in the Field...*, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

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