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## Vision of the role of provincial capitals in election campaigns by political candidates for city presidents (example of 2018 local election)

**Abstract:** In cities of the future, a key issue that can facilitate the decision to choose a candidate for the president based on the election campaign can be the integrated city management. Based on the local presidential election campaigns in Warsaw, Kraków and Poznań, we may analyze the approach to the integrated city management presented by particular candidates and whether voters took it into consideration while casting their votes.

**Key words:** local elections, integrated management, smart city

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### Introduction

The President of the city is the executive body in a city with population exceeding 100,000 inhabitants. Candidates for the position must meet a major challenge, which is winning the support of the local community in the city during the local election. For them, the success of the campaign not only translates into “to be or not to be” in politics, but it is also a decisive factor regarding the future of their cities and the needs of inhabitants.

According to the Polish practice, however, successful politicians are not always those whose campaigns are the best examples of how to conduct the city policy. In 2018, in provincial capitals, the local election was not very surprising. In most of them, former presidents maintained their top positions. One of the biggest surprises was that in many cities the winning candidate was elected already in the first round. Does it mean that campaigns of those politicians were considerably better than their political rivals?

The article attempts to analyze election campaigns run by candidates who, according to opinion polls, stood the best chance of winning 2018 local elections in Warsaw, Poznań and Kraków. It also tries to answer

the question whether the electorate is interested at all in ideas presented by campaign staffs as regards urban policies and visions for cities in the coming years.

### **Integrated management of the city and *smart governance***

One of statutory responsibilities of the local government is to meet the needs of local communities. Without an efficient support, or the firm electorate, local government institutions become detached from their natural base (Piasecki, 2009, p. 78).

Increasingly often, candidates striving to win the mayor's seat are expected to display genuine political leadership and competent management skills. According to the Local Government Law of 8<sup>th</sup> March 1990, the mayor is primarily responsible for the following: drafting of resolutions to be adopted by the council, defining of the resolution implementation process, managing of municipal assets, implementing of the budget, and hiring and firing of managers for municipal organizational units (*Ustawa o samorządzie gminnym*).

The faith in candidates' professional skills and their political vocation may be decisive about the election outcome. In an ideal situation, candidates are required to command integrated management of the city, i.e. management based on the coordination of urban policy key areas (i.e. economic development, public communication, spatial planning and environment) from the point of view of time, space and areas concerned. Integrated management, and development of urban strategies and policies should also involve all stakeholders supporting the process of urban development. This refers primarily to society, entrepreneurs, non-governmental organizations and universities (*Karta Lipska*).

Today, the provision of new infrastructure for inhabitants is not the only test for local authorities. Some of these challenges include the improvement of the quality of life in socio-economic terms. A response to challenges faced by the local community is an integrated approach to the management of the city, as well as to the management of particular local government units. The integrated approach to the city management involves long-term and accurate planning, empowerment and professional development of the local administration and new ways of cooperation with NGOs, universities and citizens (which would produce greater trust of government in other political actors) (Mantey, 2013, p. 4).

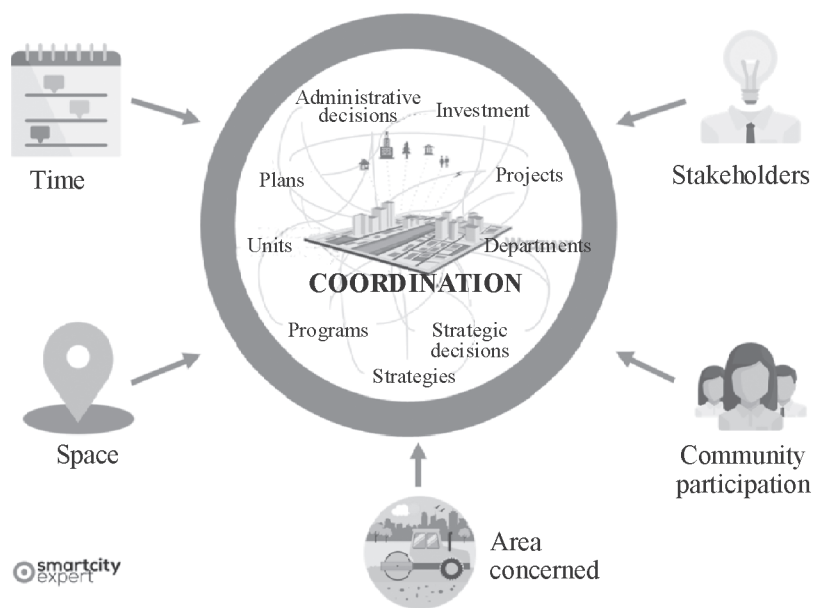


Figure 1. Integrated management of the city

Source: Ciupa Sz., *Zintegrowane Zarządzanie Miastem*, <http://smartcity-expert.eu/definicja-zintegrowane-zarzadzanie-miastem/>, 18.11.2018.

Integrated management of the city should be associated by citizens with a professional and managerial approach, as well as clearly defined standards and indicators, so during subsequent local elections voters are able to hold the executive body accountable. We should remember, however, that to make all citizens feel satisfied with their living in the city, it is necessary to introduce competition to the public sector. The local government should draw their experience from methods and techniques used in management of the private sector (Banachowicz, 2015, p. 33).

While discussing the integrated or sustainable management of a city, increasingly often people refer to the recently popular concept of a smart city. Smart cities show exceptionally high level of management efficiency (Stawasz, Sikora-Fernandez, Turała, 2012, p. 97–98).

One of the most popular *smart city* approaches is presented by the Boyd Cohen. According to Cohen, we should identify sectors that contribute primarily to the *smart* category. The author of the concept highlights factors necessary for the city to be recognized as smart. These in-

clude *smart governance*, i.e. governance involving cooperation between authorities, citizens and local businesses promoting a transparent and rational management system combined with the use of modern technologies and the transparency of management processes.

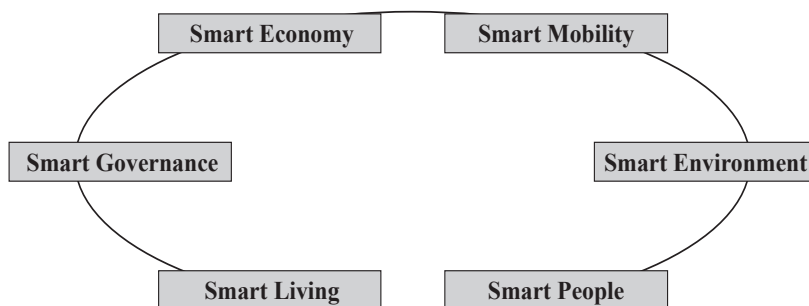


Figure 2. Elements of smart cities concept

Source: [www.smart-cities.eu](http://www.smart-cities.eu), 18.11.2018.

The cooperation between cities and citizens is an extremely ambitious task. Unfortunately, in the Polish reality, it seems to be a tremendous challenge. It is hard to imagine a decision to be made on the development of the city, which is conflicting with the political program of the ruling party; and investment decisions are often made based on political interests (Fazlagić, 2015, p. 8). Additionally, the key issue is the tenure. Therefore, the urban development is not considered in the long-term perspective, but rather within the span of several terms of office. Despite a number of strategies, mid-term and long-term plans and city policies, temporary ad hoc solutions or solutions not included in strategic documents are implemented.

According to Simon Ciupy, the *smart governance* is one of the key components of the *smart city*. It is an area of the largest influence of city authorities, an area which provides a solid foundation for other components. While following this idea, we should primarily take into account the integrated management of the city (Deming Cycle, i.e. diagnosis and planning, implementation, checking and correcting any deficiencies), social participation, cooperation within the city to improve the quality of services provided to citizens, as well as transparency and openness (city authorities should provide information about measures implemented and decisions made, and e-public services) (Ciupa, 2017).

## Local city president elections in 2018

During the local election campaign, the media attracted much attention of the public to local leaders. This triggered political disputes between individual parties rather than the contest between candidates promoting their ideas for the development of their little homelands.

The local elections were split into two rounds. The first round was held on 21<sup>st</sup> October 2018, and the second two weeks later, on 4<sup>th</sup> November 2018. Only five out of eighteen provincial capitals failed to elect their mayors in the first round. Seventeen men and one woman (Łódź) were elected presidents in their cities. In five cities, winners represented the Civic Coalition, whereas in other thirteen cities, winners included independent candidates or candidates supported by local committees. Thus, five of winners represented the Civic Platform, one of the Democratic Left Alliance and twelve were independent candidates.

The voter turnout in the 1<sup>st</sup> round was 54.90%, while in the 2<sup>nd</sup> 48.83% (*pkw.gov*).

Table 1

### City president election results in provincial capital cities (candidates with the largest support) in 2018

City	Candidate with the largest number of votes	Number of votes (%)	Candidate with second largest number of votes	Number of votes (%)
1	2	3	4	5
<b>Candidates elected in 1<sup>st</sup> round</b>				
Białystok	Tadeusz Truskolaski	56.21	Jacek Żalek	30.21
Bydgoszcz	Rafał Bruski	54.64	Tomasz Latos	29.60
Gorzów Wielkopolski	Jacek Wójcicki	65.21	Sebastian Pieńkowski	15.23
Katowice	Marcin Krupa	55.41	Jarosław Makowski	24.11
Lublin	Krzysztof Żuk	62.32	Sylwester Tułajew	31.48
Łódź	Hanna Zdanowska	70.22	Waldemar Buda	23.65
Opole	Arkadiusz Wiśniewski	70.35	Violetta Porowska	11.56
Poznań	Jacek Jaškowiak	55.99	Tadeusz Zysk	21.31
Rzeszów	Tadeusz Ferenc	63.76	Wojciech Buczak	28.86
Toruń	Tomasz Zaleski	55.42	Tomasz Lenz	23.78
Warszawa	Rafał Trzaskowski	56.67	Patryk Jaki	28.53
Wrocław	Jacek Sutryk	50.20	Mirosława Stachowiak-Różecka	27.50
Zielona Góra	Janusz Kubicki	58.20	Piotr Barczak	17.92

1	2	3	4	5
<b>Candidates elected in 2<sup>nd</sup> round</b>				
Gdańsk	Paweł Adamowicz	64.80	Kacper Płażyński	35.20
Kraków	Jacek Majchrowski	61.94	Małgorzata Wassermann	38.06
Kielce	Bogdan Wenta	61.25	Wojciech Lubawski	38.75
Olsztyn	Piotr Grzymowicz	54.47	Czesław Małkowski	45.53
Szczecin	Piotr Krzystek	78.22	Bartłomiej Sochański	21.78

**Source:** *Own materials based on figures from the State Election Commission, www.pkw.gov.pl, 19.11.2018.*

2014–2018 was the latest 4-year local government term of office. According to the new law, further terms will last five years. This is also the last time when the president of a city can be elected without any limitation regarding the tenure. The amendment of the Election Law introduced by the Act of 11<sup>th</sup> January 2018 on amending certain laws in order to increase the participation of citizens in the election process, operation and control of certain public bodies has introduced a cap of two terms of office for mayors and presidents of cities (*Ustawa o zmianie*).

### **The comparison of presidential campaigns in selected provincial capital cities as regards the urban policy**

The election campaign began in mid-September 2018, or from the moment when the election commissions registered their candidates to councils, regional assemblies, as well as candidates for mayors and presidents of cities. The campaigns conducted in television, radio, Internet and on streets of cities became a symbol of the political struggle, primarily in the largest cities in Poland. With much interest, many voters from small towns followed the competition of political players in Warsaw and Poznań and Kraków (*Wybory samorządowe*). The comparative analysis of the campaigns involving two major candidates for the seat of the mayor covers three out of five largest cities in terms of their population.

Warsaw

Among all the provincial capitals, Warsaw had the largest number of candidates for the president. The most heated contest, however, involved Ra-

fal Trzaskowski and Patryk Jaki. The slogan of the former candidate was the following: “I want to build European Warsaw, a city looking to the future and proud of its history and changes that have taken place. Warsaw for all.” The program of the candidate, who actually won the election, was divided into six theme sections:

- 1) The capital with better transportation – according to Rafał Trzaskowski, it is possible that 65% of all trips within the city involve public transport. Plans for the coming years include the following investments:
  - underground, e.g. until 2023, the 2nd underground line from Bemowo to Targówek should be completed and additional stops built: Muranów district and the Constitution Square, commencement of 3rd and 4th underground line and purchase of thirty new trains,
  - trams, e.g. construction of a tram line to the Gołław district, new lines to Białołęka and Odolany, construction of a Wilanów–Mokotów–Ochota tram line, and purchase of over 200 low-floor trams,
  - High Speed Rail (SKM) – the launch of two new lines and purchase of at least twenty new train sets,
  - Buses – new bus lanes and purchase of at least 300 new low- and zero-emission buses,
  - Biking infrastructure – extension of the bike route network. The building of biking tracks integrating existing routes into one network is going to be a priority, especially in the city center; larger number of bike parking facilities, a system of grants for condominiums for building and maintaining of bike parking arrangements;
- 2) The capital of education – the Trzaskowski’s program reads that in recent years Warsaw has designated on average 20% of its budget to education. The new president wants to “reduce effects of the education reform by the Law and Justice government and raise the quality of education.” During his term of office, it is intended to establish approximately 25 kindergartens and 18 primary schools, and until the end of 2019, all inhabitants of Warsaw should have the access to the optic fiber connection to the Internet;
- 3) Green Capital – Rafal Trzaskowski announces a new green revolution in Warsaw, including the development of the Vistula waterfront, including new boulevards, and another section of the Wisłostrada Route will be shifted to a tunnel. Furthermore, He has announced that in the next few years Warsaw is going to be interspersed by several green

corridors, 100 new parks and squares, and a million new trees will be planted (until 2020). Moreover, in the next four years, 50 km of the tramway tracks will become green, and the city expenditure on green areas should double in comparison with the current spending;

- 4) Healthy Warsaw – apart from such issues as *in vitro* fertilization and vaccination, the program includes such investments as the completion of the Southern Hospital, the construction of a one-day stay hospital in the Białołęka district and the modernization of the Bielany Hospital;
- 5) Warsaw for senior citizens – for example, the increase of the city support for Universities of the Third Age, the establishing of the Social Services Center and a new local neighborhood aid system, including the “handyman” service. Launching of a program for building lifts in multi-level buildings (including historic buildings);
- 6) The capital of innovation – above anything else, Rafal Trzaskowski focuses on the development of start-ups, improved access to e-education and creating as many urban applications as possible. The program also contains provisions on smart cities: “We will create the Smart City Warsaw – a zone of implementation laboratories for technology companies and start-ups supported by the city investment fund” and “we will create the Warsaw LAB – a collaboration platform involving the city and its surrounding based on the idea of the “smart city” (Trzaskowski).

The main slogan of the Patryk Jaki election program was: “Ambitious and fair Warsaw.” Although the slogan tells little about the urban policy presented in the candidate’s program, the program itself referred to a number of issues included in his political rival’s program. It focused on such areas as underground and transportation. In his program, the candidate for President of Warsaw used the following headings: “Warsaw of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Trzaskowski complexes or Warsaw with ambition!” It referred to building two underground lines during two terms of office. In his campaign, Mr. Jaki adopted the role of a person attacking the previous government, accusing it of investment incompetence. “Despite bold declarations, the Civic Platform failed to build any of new tram lines for their 12 years in power.” Patryk Jaki promised that within 15 years he would significantly expand the rail transport, including the Fast Urban Rail and tram network, by approximately 68 kilometers. He expected that trams would take over a large number of bus passengers which should improve travelling in the city. The most important plans also included the Affordable Family Ticket and free public transportation for Large Family Card holders, and the construction of new bridges in Warsaw.



In Warsaw, Patryk Jaki wanted to create a district of the future – “In Warsaw, we will create the largest district of innovation and the ‘Smart City’ in the world. It is high time we utilized the potential of the capital and boost the local economy,” read one of election slogans. He believed that it was possible to develop a *smart city* of the largest area in Europe, a new district, about 800 ha of investment, and one of the most important technology centers in the world. In his campaign, the Law and Justice candidate focused on start-ups. He mentioned that the Smart City Warsaw strategy, which is still missing in the city, should have been developed a long time ago.

Other areas for improvement include in particular ideas under the following election headings: car parks, housing policy, health, nurseries and kindergartens, program for senior citizens, waste management, Warsaw for animals, central transportation hub, citizen-friendly authorities, anti-smog program (during the first year of the term, refurbishing of all lowest class furnaces, vouchers for the replacement of furnaces for the poorest citizens, heating subsidies for socially excluded people), safe Warsaw, sports, spatial order, *education*, culture for Warsaw, and Warsaw for women (*Jaki*).

The Patryk Jaki’s program included by far more details, specific issues and precise figures. Both programs touched upon the subject of the smart city and a detailed plan for improving public transportation.

## Poznań

In the capital of Greater Poland, the contest for the seat of the president involved Jacek Jaśkowiak and Tadeusz Zysk.

According to Jacek Jaśkowiak, who was elected by citizens to serve his second term of office, the slogan was “European Poznań as civic and modern Poznań – we want to build a town like this!” His program consisted of thirteen theme chapters which described the city of the future: connected, revitalized, sound, clean and green, family-friendly, elderly-friendly, safe, cultural, well educated, ideal place to live, city of leisure and sport, entrepreneurial, smart management – Smart City of a size of a metropolis.

In particular, the last point of the Jaśkowiak’s election program referred to the development of the city. Jaśkowiak highlighted as follows: “We are aware of the importance to provide smart and professional management of the city, based on expertise of well-educated officials and the latest ICT technology.” This chapter, however, did not include any specific solutions.

Today, the current president refers to the need to increase the number of professional staff members, who can effectively seek EU funds, create the electronic information platform for the entire metropolis, develop cooperation in the framework of the Poznań Metropolis Association, develop the PEKA card and the citizen-friendly service. In this respect, the president has not presented anything exceptional (*Jaśkowiak...*).

In his election program, Tadeusz Zysk, the opponent of the current president, included such proposals for the development of the city as the underground tram from the city center to the airport. The candidate intended to create a transportation axis, and fast tram lines from north to south and from east to west of the city. His slogan was: "Poznań is my town, I live, invest, work here and I am committed to the city." His program focused on five theme sections:

- 1) Infrastructure for Poznań (Premetro, bridges and footbridges across Warta River, overpasses);
- 2) Meet Poznań (construction of the Greater Poland Uprising Museum, indoor sport and concert hall, attracting back organization of large and important sport and cultural events, construction of Philharmonic Orchestra Hall);
- 3) "Senior citizen" policy for Poznań (appointment of president's representative for senior citizens, construction of senior citizen centers providing geriatric care, elimination of architectural barriers);
- 4) development of Poznań (safe Poznań, clean air – fighting against smog, efficient waste management, centennial park, planting new trees, construction of municipal and supported housing);
- 5) Let's use the potential of the people of Poznań (Poznań 2.0, Technology, Innovation and Art Park, Smart, start-up scholarships) (*Zysk*).

Tadeusz Zysk did not elaborate on any of election slogans on his website, particularly those related to the development of the smart city. Voters could learn more about candidate's plans chiefly from the media, press in particular.

## Kraków

Małgorzata Wassermann, Law and Justice, and Jacek Majchrowski, Civic Platform, were the main candidates in the presidential election in Kraków. The most heated struggle involved the two candidates and ended with the victory of Majchrowski in the second round.

The Jacek Majchrowski's program was divided into four groups:

- 1) C as the City, in which the most interesting items concerning the development of the city were: the development of the park in the vicinity of the university hospital and connection to the area along new pedestrians and cycling tracks (total surface area of 140 ha). Additionally, it supported the construction of a hall equipped with filters and artificial lighting for sports in autumn and winter, purchase of electric buses for City Transportation Company, establishing of a grant for citizens who intend to take care and maintain local neglected squares;
- 2) C as Citizens, in which interesting points include the creation of an online platform for citizens to share their ideas regarding the designation of specific areas, or creating the white paper involving citizens, architects and urban planners, which describes good investment practices (e.g. accessibility of public transport, green areas, citizens' own green areas, access to social infrastructure), and the participatory process for development of the Civil Society Program,
- 3) C as Capacity, e.g. creation of urban space for start-ups, investment site database,
- 4) M as the Metropolis, i.e. Investment in railway and tram infrastructure, track modernization program, construction and extension of tram lines and parking facilities, transfer centers and road infrastructure: sidewalk renovation program, repair of roads, construction of public car parks in housing estates. For bikers, the program provides for a continued development of biking tracks, improved signage, incentives for condominiums to build new city bike stations.

In his program, the President of Kraków drew upon his previous program, especially the part that had not been implemented yet. In contrast to candidates from Warsaw and Poznań, there was no reference to Kraków as a *smart city* (Majchrowski).

The Małgorzata Wassermann's lead slogan was: "New president, more opportunities." This, however, was not convincing for voters and more trust was vested again in President Majchrowski. What are major differences between the Majchrowski's program and the program of the Law and Justice candidate?

Objectives of the latter were expressed in nine strategic points: education, health, public transport, Vistula Embankment, security, efficient City of the future, "Green Lungs" in the center of Kraków, fight against smog and fight with uncoordinated urban development. In the context of city development, "Efficient City of the Future" draws attention. By accessing

this tab at the website one can find a very concise vision for Kraków. The candidate promises reductions of the price for energy, smart car parks and efficient traffic control, cheaper public transport tickets and simplified tariffs. Wassermann promised that during her term of office Kraków would become a *smart city* with a smart traffic light control system, parking space information system, disaster alarm system, new businesses and to start-ups (and consequently larger revenue from taxes and new jobs), and benefits for Kraków-based universities.

Another interesting idea of the Law and Justice candidate was to solve the problem of smog, which in Kraków had been accumulating over the years. The main ideas included: the appointment of a deputy mayor responsible for combating smog, fight against energy poverty, promotion of environmentally-friendly solutions, extending the district heating system, alternative public transport solutions, 24h street cleaning service, air corridors, and cooperation with neighboring municipalities and education of youth.

## Conclusion

Election programs of political candidates in the three metropolises do not differ much. The majority of them responded to the same issues. They differed mainly in terms of solutions offered. The method for conveying the message to the electorate, however, varied significantly. Some of the programs were too vague, whereas others failed to provide more elaborate explanation to changes proposed (e.g. Tadeusz Zysk's election program did not elaborate on such terms as Poznań 2.0 or *smart city*).

Many of the programs discussed in the article offered citizens a vision which was excessively abstract (e.g. 19<sup>th</sup> District by Patryk Jaki). Therefore, voters in those cities supported policies that had been previously implemented, i.e. only five out of eighteen provincial capitals decided to change their presidents. A question can be asked: to what extent citizens are satisfied with the development of their cities? Or perhaps we can paraphrase what Ignacy Krasicki, a Poland's leading Enlightenment poet, once said: "people are afraid of changes, mostly those for the better."

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## **Wizja miast wojewódzkich w kampaniach wyborczych polityków na prezydentów miast (na przykładzie wyborów samorządowych 2018)**

### **Streszczenie**

W miastach przyszłości kluczowym aspektem, który pozwoli wyłonić prezydenta miasta na podstawie prowadzonej kampanii wyborczej może być pomysł na zintegrowane zarządzanie miastem. Na podstawie kampanii samorządowej prowadzonej przez kandydatów na prezydentów miast w Warszawie, Krakowie i Poznaniu prze-

analizować można jakie podejście do tematyki zintegrowanego zarządzania przedstawiali poszczególni kandydaci oraz czy wyborcy dokonując wyboru władarzy kierowali się tym kryterium.

**Słowa kluczowe:** wybory samorządowe, zintegrowane zarządzanie, inteligentne miasto

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