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**THE LINGUISTIC ASPECT OF SOCIAL ADVERTISING BASED ON
THE ANALYSIS OF POLISH AND AMERICAN GET-OUT-THE-VOTE
CAMPAIGNS
(A COMPARATIVE STUDY)**

M.A. thesis
in the domain of Philology
in the field of Applied Linguistics

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Warsaw, September 2009

Uniwersytet Warszawski
Wydział Lingwistyki Stosowanej i Filologii Wschodniosłowiańskich

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**JĘZYKOWY ASPEKT REKLAMY SPOŁECZNEJ NA PODSTAWIE
ANALIZY POLSKICH I AMERYKAŃSKICH KAMPAII
PROFREKWENCYJNYCH
(BADANIE PORÓWNAWCZE)**

Praca magisterska
Na kierunku: Filologia
W zakresie: Lingwistyka Stosowana

Promotor:
prof. James Hartzell

Warszawa, wrzesień 2009

Oświadczam, że niniejsza praca została przygotowana pod moim kierunkiem i stwierdzam, że spełnia ona warunki do przedstawieniu jej w postępowaniu o nadanie tytułu zawodowego.

Data

Podpis kierującego pracą

Świadoma odpowiedzialności prawnej oświadczam, że niniejsza praca dyplomowa została napisana przeze mnie samodzielnie i nie zawiera treści uzyskanych w sposób niezgodny z obowiązującymi przepisami.

Oświadczam również, że przedstawiona praca nie była wcześniej przedmiotem procedur związanych z uzyskaniem tytułu zawodowego na wyższej uczelni.

Oświadczam ponadto, że niniejsza wersja pracy jest identyczna z załączoną wersją elektroniczną.

Data

Podpis autorki pracy

Abstrakt

Celem pracy jest zbadanie aspektu profrekwencyjnych reklam społecznych w Polsce i w Stanach Zjednoczonych oraz porównanie użycia w nich środków językowych. Efektem badania z zastosowaniem zmiennych badawczych oraz analizy korpusowej było określenie cech charakterystycznych, podobieństw i różnic dyskursu kampanii społecznych zachęcających do udziału w wyborach. Profrekwencyjna reklama społeczna korzysta z tych samych środków, co reklama komercyjna, ale w dużo większym stopniu nastawiona jest na funkcję perswazyjną. Przeprowadzona analiza wykazała wyższe dostosowanie reklam do konkretnego odbiorcy w USA oraz większą uniwersalność przekazów polskich. Reklama amerykańska chętniej również sięga po zróżnicowane strategie perswazji (ironię, humor, prowokację, wsparcie znanych osobowości, odwołania do kultury).

Słowa kluczowe

język angielski, reklama, reklama społeczna, kampania profrekwencyjna, marketing społeczny, wybory, język polski

Dziedzina pracy (kody wg programu Socrates-Erasmus)

093 LINGWISTYKA

Temat pracy w języku angielskim

The linguistic aspect of social advertising based on the analysis of Polish and American get-out-the-vote campaigns
(a comparative study)

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Introduction

Since retailing came into being, advertising has become inevitably woven into our lives. Although advertisements have changed throughout centuries and new channels of communication have emerged for advertising, it remains an irreplaceable medium of promoting commodities, services and ideas. Numerous new ways and forms of advertising are being developed by countless advertising agencies with the same objectives in mind –to make a statement, to inform, to be seen and ultimately – to sell. It acquires special meaning in the times we live in and frequently labeled as *consumerism*, *the age of abundance* or *the age of more*. With the information overload people experience every day, marketing strategies are now stronger than ever. The new technology and the global flow of information reinforce the power of advertising. Consumers are constantly bombarded with advertising from everywhere – the media, billboards, leaflets, pop-up windows while surfing the net, ATM machines, in buses, subway, etc. Thus, there is no refuge from the ubiquitous advertising.

With hundreds of millions spent on advertising, the attention it gets and the power it has, it should not only be considered as the significant component of the economy but also an undeniable element of life as such. A number of times, the media are referred to as *the fourth estate* in contemporary society and advertising is a part of every channel of communication that the media use. Therefore, it can be acknowledged that the power of advertising is massive and formidable.

That power can also be used to make changes in society, which incidentally becomes more and more tired of omnipresent and persuasive advertising and tends to attribute all the evil to ad agencies. The power of a good cause and applying marketing strategies to something, which is assumed to be unambiguously non-commercial, takes advertising to a whole new level. In the case of advertising to promote social issues, bringing positive change, tackling certain problems, there is no room for common the accusations of cynicism, selling values and stupefying people. Advertising that is not meant to boost sales of one or another company but is aimed at making a positive change in the whole society is no longer considered as potentially detritus and harmful. Possessing even more power than regular advertising, public service announcements, hereinafter referred to as PSA¹ is an eminently interesting domain of study.

¹ PSA is the most precise term describing a form of advertising in the center of attention of this paper; it is going to be synonymously referred to as social advertising, despite some ambiguity of the term *social advertising* itself, see: Chapter 1.3.1)

In spite of some differences between social advertising and commercial advertising, they have a lot in common. Both use the same channels of communication (typical carriers of advertising like the press, TV, radio channels, Internet, out-of-home advertising and also the so called *ambient media*²), both have to follow the principles of marketing (marketing mix, positioning, establishing target audience³, etc), both use similar strategies to convey the message, try to evoke the same emotions and generate attention. Moreover, linguistic strategies aimed at creating buzz are very similar in the case of both social campaigns and purely commercial advertisements. That linguistic aspect of advertising becomes even more compelling in social advertising, which does not intend to convince consumers that one product is better than another or why consumers need something, but aims at changing in people's mind in such a way that their minds will be occupied with a problem long after the advertisement itself finishes, and as a result particular social behaviors will be changed. Such a task may easily become formidable for a short television or radio spot, a page-sized image in a newspaper or a billboard that may contain a slogan readable for three seconds at most. Depending on the problem that is meant to be raised awareness to, advertisers and marketers use different techniques and strategies to modify public attitudes. This paper will try to examine and describe strategies and techniques behind one particularly interesting type of public service announcements, namely get-out-the-vote campaigns.

Politics is a sensitive issue in Poland and discussing political views in public is sometimes considered inappropriate. Maybe the reason for that is the fact that Polish democracy is relatively young, the party system is unstable, and there is no clear division within the electorate. There is no constancy in Polish politics. In addition, since the year 1989, when the first democratic elections were held, much has changed in people's awareness of their civil rights and duties. The right to vote in democratic elections, once considered to be a privilege tends to be increasingly perceived as a civil duty. This is strongly reflected in public service announcements, which encouraged people to take advantage of that privilege in the early 90', and to fulfill that duty in the most recent elections.

For the purpose of this study, the linguistic aspect of social advertising in the specific domain of elections is going to be analyzed by comparing of a young Polish democracy and well-established advertising business to the old democracy and even better-established advertising business of the United States of America. In the specific background of Polish and

² A name given to a new breed of non-traditional, alternative media, used by advertisers in conjunction with the standard media, examples include a broad range of objects and ideas: backs of store receipts, handles of supermarket trolleys, hot-air balloons, stairways, hanging straps in railway carriages, etc.

³ All the terms mentioned here are defined in Chapter 1.2.2

American political systems, social advertising has employed different techniques and strategies, but it is extremely arduous to gauge their efficiency. Such a comparison will enable us to measure the effect of similar techniques in both countries and will help to recognize the most efficient forms of public service advertising aimed at raising awareness of democratic rights for specific target groups.

On the basis of this analysis, this paper will also try to predict whether specific campaigns would be as efficient in another country as they were in the country of origin. With very little research in the domain of a linguistic aspect of social advertising, it will be exceptionally useful to capture forms of linguistic persuasion used in social campaigns, to compare them to those used in commercial campaigns, and to analyze the national and cultural aspect by defining the most striking differences and similarities. Investigating tendencies and trends in election-related social campaigns will help to establish whether social advertising discourse is part of advertising discourse in general or, whether it developed its own specific means of communicating with receivers and if so, how that communication differs in Poland and in the United States.

1. Advertising and social advertising

1.1 Defining advertising and social advertising

The term advertising evokes many doubts and ambiguities. In the times of modern technology, viral marketing⁴ and ambient advertising⁵ it needs to be clearly and accurately established what forms advertisements take, how they are supposed to reach the target audience, and what effect they aim to make. Since *social advertising* is a pivotal term in this thesis and the concept of public service announcement has only started to infiltrate into the general public's conscientiousness, it is crucial to provide explicit definitions of commercial and social advertising, categorize those terms, and discern similarities and dissimilarities. Having established a clear definition of a social campaign, it will be feasible to compare specific examples, analyze their content according to the archetype and to gauge the effectiveness of concept realization.

A single generally accepted and unambiguous definition of advertising does not exist. According to dictionaries "advertising is the action of calling something to the attention of the public especially by paid announcements"⁶. That is a very broad definition that inclines towards commercialization of advertising but does not define this condition as a prerequisite. This is contrary to a legal definition of advertising as "the act or practice of attracting public notice and attention that includes all forms of public announcement that are intended to aid directly or indirectly in the furtherance or promulgation of an idea, or in directing attention to a business, commodity, service or entertainment"⁷.

Under Polish law, an advertisement is defined as "any broadcast, originating from a person other than the broadcaster, which is intended to promote the sale or any other manner of using products or services, to advance a cause or idea, or to bring about some other effect desired by the advertiser, and which is broadcast in return for remuneration or other form of consideration" (on the basis of the Polish Broadcasting Act of December 29, 1992. Chapter 1, Article 4, point 6⁸). The condition of a direct influence on a particular product or service is a very important distinction from the forthcoming definition of a public service advertising which does not include that element. However, the most valuable and elaborate definition of

⁴ *viral marketing* refers to marketing techniques that exploit pre-existing social networks to achieve marketing objectives; it can take form of messages on social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter), word-of-mouth advertising, computer programs: video clips, flash games, etc.

⁵ *ambient advertising* uses ambient media to achieve marketing objectives, see: footnote 2

⁶ according to the Merriam Webster Online Dictionary (accessed March 2009)

⁷ based on www.legaldefinitions.com

⁸ http://www.krrit.gov.pl/bip/Portals/1/Documents/Broadcasting_Act.pdf

advertising is to be found in marketing handbooks. Depending on *the school of economic thought* marketing definitions of advertising provide a slightly different range of howbeit similar conditions to be met in creating a marketing action called advertisement.

In one of the marketing definitions according to Kotler et al. advertising is described as “any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods and services through mass media [...] by an identified sponsor” that is supposed to result in a response “behavioral or perceptual in nature” (Kotler et al. 1996: 715). The former is when a representative of a previously defined target audience purchases a product or service and the latter when there is an apparent change in the targets’ attitude toward a brand or product (Kotler et al. 1996: 715) whereas Kall also emphasizes that advertisement very rarely leads to a direct increase in sales and rather than boosting sales, influences consumers’ confidence which in the long-term may result in an actual purchase of a product or service (Kall 1995: 19).

The non-direct effect of advertising and the power of an advertisement as a tool of changing social behaviors applies, to a much greater extent, to a specific type of advertising, namely to public service advertising. Although social advertising is not a new phenomenon, it did not gain much recognition until recent years, when it was defined, classified and labeled. At this point, it needs to be pointed out that in literature there is no unanimity in terms of defining social advertising. Several terms exist to describe the same concept and among most frequent are *cause-related marketing*, *social cause advertising*, *public service advertising* and the most commonly used *social advertising*. (Wolfram-Romanowska et al. 2003: 448). The social advertisement is usually understood as any kind of the media message designed to educate society, change its attitudes or beliefs and very often also to motivate members of a public to engage in voluntary activities.

The term social advertising has also a second meaning, slightly far from what it is conveyed in the above mentioned definition; according to dictionaries *Social advertising* is, in some cases, also advertising on social networking sites such as Facebook. Although the perception of social advertising as an educational message still prevails, the other meaning needs to be mentioned at this point to escape further confusions. In this paper the term *social advertising* and *public service advertising* are going to be used equivalently to describe any form of a public announcement addressed to the public or specific groups aiming at influencing social behaviors or raising consciousness of socially important issues.

The concept of *social advertising* should be also differentiated from *socially-oriented advertising*, that are commercial advertising campaigns sponsored by companies aspiring to establish a friendly image of a product or a company such as a campaign of *Coca-Cola* and

Polish Humanitarian Organization (Polska Akcja Humanitarna) in December 2000 calling attention to the problem of undernourished children in Bieszczady and informing consumers about the amount of money transferred to the PAH's fund from every bottle of Coca-Cola sold (Bogunia-Borowska 2004: 132). In this case it is a purely commercial advertising in disguise of an educational and sensitizing socially-oriented campaign (Przybyłowski et al. 1998: 499).

The Foundation of Social Communication in Poland defines social advertising (*reklama społeczna*) as a new way of social communication that is designed to promote socially desirable attitudes and behaviors or draw people's attention to unresolved social problems. Thus social advertising concerns fundamental humanity issues like suffering, hunger, discrimination, violence and because of the problems pertained, it appeals to a receiver's emotions which is why it requires authenticity and honesty⁹.

1.2 Commercial advertising and its role in the contemporary culture

It is frequently claimed that we all live on a branded planet with advertisers, trying to convince consumers that you are what you wear, eat or drive. New products and brands are emerging almost every day aimed at reaching new target groups formed from a society of surplus (Klein 2000). The contemporary culture is often referred to as the time of abundance, the age of more: more commodities, more competition, more information, more brands. This megatrend in contemporary culture is to a great extent interwoven with the world of advertising. The globalized economy is a sum of its continuously evolving parts and, with advertising being crucial. The transition from local to global in international marketing is an inevitable consequence of a shift begun in the 1980's towards integrated and coordinated global strategies and of establishing multinational enterprises (Stonehouse et al. 2000). Since the 80's the advertising business has become a giant and maintains the epitome of a successful business industry (Murdoch 2005: 9).

Thanks to the cluster of processes forming the phenomena of *globalization*, together with the rapid and concurrent development of the media market, advertising has become an extremely powerful and ubiquitous element of our times, a fact which evokes much criticism especially among potent groups of alter- and anti- globalists. Advertising is blamed for reinforcing stereotypes (e.g. gender roles: smiling women spending days on cleaning and cooking), promoting certain lifestyles that are not socially desirable (e.g. consumerism and hedonism) and simplifying and distorting reality. Ironically, advertising messages have become a peculiar encyclopedia of a contemporary world that enables a human being to

⁹ on the basis of information provided on: www.fks.dobrestrony.pl (accessed March 2009)

acquire information about surrounding reality swiftly and effectively (Bogunia-Borowska 2004: 47). This idea is presented by many opinion-formers in the area of media industry. Cassetti and Eugeni describe an advertisement as a practical manual of a contemporary world that fully satisfies a modern consumer, who seeks universal and facile explanations. Advertising provides such information in an accessible and instant manner and owing to its role as a facilitator of comprehending the complex reality, the powerful status of advertising is going to strengthen. Cassetti and Eugeni describe advertisements an encyclopedia of the modern world, or a social map (Cassetti, Eugeni 1989), and a similar conclusion is drawn by Loski, who defines the role of the media messages not as primarily explanatory and educational, not informative and persuasive (Loska 2001: 47).

The role of advertising in the contemporary world transpiring from the above is multifarious. First of all it is an indispensable part of a consumer-driven market and a tool of persuasion, often blamed for affecting a vulnerable audience in a harmful way. Besides, it also serves its basic function, that is information, and yet most importantly – advertising could also be perceived as a positive and pedagogical influence on society delivering people worldwide the basic knowledge about the economic, social and cultural reality. All of the above leads to a conclusion that any advertising message, being perceived from several angles, constitutes a vital part of the contemporary world. Nevertheless, it is worth stressing that it did not reach that status until the 1980's.

1.2.1 A glance at the history of advertising

In order to better understand the significance and role of modern advertising, it is commendable to look at its history and origins. There are four landmarks for the development of the modern media market, and thus for the advertising industry, which is strongly interlinked with the media. These breakthrough moments are the invention of a newspaper, radio, television and the Internet.

The western advertising dates back to the 17th C, when a Frenchman Théophraste Renaudot placed a note in *La Gazette de France*, that later became known as a first advertisement and have been followed by subsequent messages of that kind. The first advertising agency was founded in 1786 by William Tayler, although the term *advertising agency* itself was coined in 1842, when Volney B. Palmer opened first ad agency in Philadelphia. The subsequent invention of the radio in 1920's marks the beginning of a new era of commercial advertising – the one that could be heard, not just seen (Pincas 2006: 7)

However, the invention of a television is considered to constitute a quantum leap for the development of an advertisement. When TV sets appeared in virtually every household,

which happened in the 1950's in America and quickly disseminated throughout the other parts of the developed world, it became apparent the new medium was going to promptly replace print and radio. The effect of television on advertising was remarkable since for the first time commercials could be broadcast with motion, sound and sight. Appealing to all senses made the advertisements more powerful and effective and led to the boom of advertising agencies, focused on commanding the attention of certain groups to achieve a desirable effect.

The succeeding advent of the cable television and the Internet segmented the market and allowed advertisers to narrowcast and aim at specific target audiences more accurately. The Internet has further changed the advertising market, enabling new forms of advertising and reaching the audience in innovative ways e.g. by use of nonstandard methods of viral marketing.

International economics has also been radically transformed since the invention of the media, and the advertising market has transformed accordingly. Undeniably, advertising has always had a massive impact on our culture and language, and together with its influence on consumer behavior, it finds itself in the position of being one of the most powerful tools shaping social reality. This reality-molding function developed as a consequence of global marketing and in accordance with its basic principles, since the birth of modern advertising marks the beginning of the new era in marketing.

1.2.2 Principles of marketing

Understanding principles of marketing communication is crucial to apprehending the dynamics of both commercial advertising and social advertising, as concepts of marketing apply to any kind of a media message. The definition of marketing applied in this paper follows the definition created by The American Marketing Association: "The process of planning and executing the conception, pricing and promotion, and distribution of ideas, goods, and services to create exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational objectives." (Murdoch 2005: 15). A similar definition was formulated by Kotler, who additionally pointed out that marketing is not only a managerial but also a social process by which individuals obtain what they need and want (Kotler 1997: 6).

An in-depth analysis of certain rules and features governing the free market constitutes an indispensable element of an advertising plan for any product or idea. According to Kotler, advertising belongs to the implementation stage of the entire marketing plan, in which consumers from certain target groups create an image of a product in their minds. This image is a result of a predefined, at previous stages, marketing plan (Kotler et al. 1996: 354). The

outcome of any advertising campaign is therefore a direct result of its marketing plan and the successful fulfillment of all its stages.

Market segmentation is one of the key variables taken into account in the process of creating any advertising campaign. The management guru Philip Kotler defines it as a process of dividing consumers into groups in accordance with their needs and requirements for product attributed to them (Kotler et al. 1996: 353). Potential customers are grouped on the basis of various variables such as demographic (including certain units such as age, gender, income, education, social class, the stage in the family cycle, etc.) or geographical features (including nationality, province/county/voivodship, neighborhood, etc.) The above-mentioned variable are claimed to be the basic differentiation variables (Przybyłowski et al. 1998). Groups established on the basis of market segmentation have common needs and will respond to marketing actions similarly (Murdoch 2005: 37). The other widely applied tool of segmentation determining the target audience is the psychometric analysis¹⁰, which takes into consideration variables such as activities, opinions and views, interests, values, lifestyle. Terms coined on the basis of aforesaid examination frequently enter the general language used by population of non-marketers, such as *a yuppie* i.e. Young Urban Professional, *a dink* i.e. Double Income No Kids, *a nylon* i.e. a person sharing their time between New York and London, etc. (Murdoch 2005: 37). The psychometric typology for North America suggests three primary motivations which govern consumer behavior: ideals, achievement and self-expression. In consequence, a framework of eight specific groups is established branded as Innovators, Thinkers, Believers, Achievers, Strivers, Experiencers, Makers and Survivors. This division into marketing classes bolsters the process of a placement of a product in a particular niche on the market. Likewise in Poland there have been several lifestyle segmentation projects carried out by different market research companies, e.g. by CASE (Consumer Attitudes and Social Enquiry) company in 1996 categorized Poles into six lifestyle segments: dynamic, idealistic, conservative, passive, family oriented, free spirited (Murdoch 2003: 55-72).

The other crucial concept in marketing, adjoining market segmentation, is *positioning*. The idea behind *positioning* which was long considered a buzzword in modern advertising, was popularized by Al Ries and Jack Trout (Ries et al. 1981) and indicates that any brand is placed in a particular segment and thus is valued by the target market according to the image it carries (e.g. Volvo for safety, Mercedes for luxury). As marketing classics Ries and Trout explain to marketers: “[p]ositioning is not what you do to the product. Positioning is what you

¹⁰ psychometric analysis is often synonymously referred to as VALS (an acronym for Values, Attitudes and Lifestyles); a term developed in 1970's by SRI Consulting Business Intelligence

do to the mind of the prospect” (Ries et al. 1981: 3). The concept of positioning becomes more relevant in public service announcements, when they are duly examined as bearers of symbolic meaning. Abstract positioning is based on values that are eminent for target segments (Pogorzelski 2008: 115). Furthermore, it allows receivers of a media message to identify themselves with certain products, organizations, and movements representing values to which they subscribe and which appeal to them. Such positioning may prove itself particularly important in social advertising campaigns as it addresses emotional needs and evokes psychological connotations. As a result, the success of an advertising campaign is considerably dependent on the way it is perceived to potentially satisfy consumers’ needs (Kotler et al. 1996: 409).

1.2.3 The influence of globalization on advertising

Clearly, the advertising industry had undergone profound changes since the tremendous expansion of advertising agencies in 1980’s. The continuous transformation of world markets into one transnational global economy has led to the emergence of global marketing “concerned with integrating or standardizing marketing actions across a number of geographic markets (Kotler et al. 1996: 171)”. This shift was made feasible mostly due to technological progress, intensifying human mobility and facilitating international communication (Murdoch 2003: 150).

Globalization has had a considerable impact on advertising, the most striking instance being of global corporations treating the entire world as a single entity (Leiss et al. 1997: 171). This homogenization proves itself to be effective in advertising campaigns of both products (e.g. the astounding success of Coca-Cola worldwide) and ideas (e.g. AIDS prevention campaigns). Thus a move towards global marketing attributed to increased communication and travel has resulted in a situation envisioned by the scholar Theodore Levitt: “[t]he products and methods of the industrialized world play a single tune for all the world, and all the world eagerly dances to it... (Levitt 1983: 30)”.

In addition, not only has the advertising industry consolidated its global operations, but it also “emerged as a major cultural arbiter on the world scene (Leiss et al. 1997: 169)”. Levitt, famous for coining the word *globalization* in 1983¹¹, conjoined the concept of market segmentation with the seemingly contradictory idea of homogenization by claiming that there

¹¹ Although Theodore Levitt is widely credited for using the term *globalization* for the first time in an article *Globalization of Markets* which appeared in *Harvard Business Review* in May 1983, there are claims that the term has been in use long before.

are similar market segments around the world due to the unification of needs brought about by globalization tendencies (Leiss et al. 1997: 171).

The gradual dissemination of uniform attitudes was unequivocally acknowledged in Poland after 1989, when a desire to copy Western styles was commonly encountered. Economical, political and social changes shifted the Poles' perception of the world and evoked in them new needs and aspirations, while offering new methods of achieving consumer satisfaction (Kozłowska 2001: 156-157). The spread of consumerism made advertisers tailor marketing strategies to certain tastes, likes, preferences of a given culture. The importance of cultural aspect in advertising is discussed in more details in Chapter 2.5.

1.3 Social marketing and its role in the contemporary culture

In order to cope with a myriad of social problems, each society has to commence new and often innovative solutions. Strict regulations are implemented to control safety on the roads, criminal law deals with issues such as domestic violence, certain rules are instituted to protect the environment or provide safety in food supplies; governments often finance various pro-health initiatives, refund medical procedures to prevent common problems, etc. Frequently, potential solutions to social problems evoke much controversy and are the cause of deep disagreements, not only among politicians but also among society. Solutions based on regulations and laws deal with the majority of social problems only partially and preventive methods often do not make a lasting impression in people's minds. For instance there could be introduced an obligatory cancer screening law, but then people would do it without a belief that this is what they should be doing for their own benefit. The lasting change in beliefs can only be achieved at a much deeper level than enforced regulation. Changing public attitudes and behaviors requires thorough educational campaigns, and this is exactly where social campaigns are called in. Seemingly, they only play a supportive role to bona fide initiatives meant to organize and coordinate social life, but in reality they go far beyond their assistant function.

Public service announcements are an indispensable part of culture in developed countries. The term PSA is preferable by experts over the term social advertising, since the latter may seem to be an oxymoron containing an apparent contradiction: *advertising* evokes associations with multiplying profit, increasing company's turnover, even manipulating consumers' behaviors, whereas *social* is affiliated with the common good and moral principles. Yet, social advertising is, to some extent, concerned with money and it encourages spending since its message could be often summarized as: dear customer, instead of buying unnecessary goods, spend that money on underprivileged children, patients of a hospice,

homeless animals, medical equipment, etc. The term public service announcement, on the other hand, does not explicitly contain an advertising element, nevertheless one may counter that announcement is just a euphemism for advertising, and in fact PSA's advertise ideas or promote certain conduct.

In spite of the fact that the term itself evokes mixed feelings, there is no doubt that social advertising is the most important constituent of broad phenomena named *social marketing* that is the marketing to change public behavior. In the scientific literature, several terms describing the same phenomena exist: *social marketing*¹², *community-based marketing*, *marketing to change public behaviors*, *public marketing*, *socially responsible marketing*, *marketing social orientation*. Howbeit, social marketing remains the most commonly used term - it is the title of the internationally circulated trade journal *Social Marketing Quarterly* published in the USA, annual conferences are held to delineate innovations in this field, and the phrase is applied in many publications written by world-renowned marketers, such as the marketing authority Philip Kotler¹³.

Social marketing is typically described after the pioneering definition by Kotler and Roberto from 1989 (Kotler et al. 1989) which was later updated in 2006 by Kotler, Rothschild and Lee (Kotler et al. 2006):

“Social marketing is a process that applies marketing principles and techniques to create, communicate, and deliver value in order to influence target audience behaviors that benefit society (public health, safety, the environment and communities) as well as the target audience. In short, it is a methodology for creating behavior change.”

The above mentioned marketing principles and techniques are applied in the form of social change campaigns, defined by the same authors as “an organized effort conducted by one group (the change agent), which intends to persuade others (the target adopters) to accept, modify, or abandon certain ideas, attitudes, practices, and behavior (Kotler et al. 1989: 6)”. Most social campaigns are able to gain widespread public support and are considered as *high-consensus campaigns*, with examples being campaigns preventing forest fires or rehabilitating drug users, campaigns that everybody would rather support.

To escape further confusions, it needs to be emphasized that PSA is only a manifestation of a broader phenomena that is social marketing. What is more, public service

¹² should not be confused with *societal marketing* emphasizing social responsibility of companies and claiming that any company needs to consider long-term social interests in advertising its products

¹³ Philip Kotler and Gerald Zaltzman used the term *social marketing* in 1971 in a publication "Social Marketing: An Approach to Planned Social Change" in the Journal of Marketing, which gained much publicity.

announcements (often synonymously called social advertisements) are the foremost parts of social campaigns. Application of principles and concepts of marketing to social problems was a breakthrough idea revolutionizing both marketing and educational programs to affect public opinion. It has emerged from a business practice to a tool enabling the development of innovative solutions to the problems every community needs to grapple with. This social change tool is “uniquely suited to achieve social profits by designing integrated programs that meet individual needs for moving out of poverty, enabling health, improving social conditions and having a safe and clean environment (R. Craig Lefebvre)”.

At the core of social marketing there is the need to take into account for the third subject (apart from the consumer and producer) in the process of marketing communication, namely society. According to Kotler and Zaltman, social marketing has to consider five variables: product, price, communication, distribution and market research (Kotler et al. 1971). Attentive consideration of these variables and the persistent application of social marketing principles can lead to alterations, modifications of attitudes and behaviors, and consequently to a desired cultural change (Bogunia-Borowska 2001: 14).

It is often pointed out that social campaigns should be audience-oriented and thus may differ from culture to culture, depending on the ethical and social background of a community (Cheburashkina 2006). In any case however, using sociological knowledge can profoundly affect public demeanor and possibly change it. Any social change can only transpire on the basis of persuasive techniques that appeal to emotions, ethics or rational thinking. As Lefebvre rightly points out, as long as the audience engagement factor exists, a campaign is likely to succeed.

1.3.1 Origins of social advertising

As mentioned before, social advertising is the result of social marketing and an element of social campaigns¹⁴. As Kotler states, campaigns for social change are not a new phenomena and they exist from time immemorial. In Ancient times social campaigns could be traced back to campaigns waged to free slaves in Greece and Rome. Later, England during the Industrial Revolution was the scene of numerous campaigns to abolish debtor prisons, to grant voting rights for women, and to abolish child labor. Also in Colonial America campaigns for a change were regularly mounted. In 1721, Cotton Mather tried to persuade citizens of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to accept inoculations against smallpox to fight the epidemic. The

¹⁴ terms *social advertising* and *social campaigns* are often used interchangeably, although a social campaign might be confused with activities and actions aimed at improving the quality of life in communities e.g. renovating buildings of public use

Federalist Papers, signed in 1787 by James Madison and Alexander Hamilton among others, is another instance of a social change campaign, in this case, to gain public acceptance for the new Constitution (Kotler et al. 1989: 5-6).

From the 20th Century onward social marketing has gained more and more recognition. Notable reforms in most countries of the Western world were accompanied by social campaigns. In America the most prominent social campaigns were concerned with the abolition movement, the prohibition movement, the suffragette movement, the Civil Rights movement, as well as problems of drugs, obesity, food quality, etc. Within the space of decades, social marketing has unquestionably changed and matured as a powerful tool for social change. Although social marketing has its origin in ancient times, it is considered to be born as a scientific discipline in 1971 with a breakthrough article by Philip Kotler and Gerald Zaltman who coined the term social marketing and laid the foundations for its study (Kotler et al. 1971). However, if it was not for the long history of social change campaigns, which were of little importance at first and later evolved into something very professional and effective at the end of the 20th Century, social marketing would not have been able to fight its way through.

1.3.2 Categorization of social advertising

Although social marketing as such is not a new phenomenon, the classification of it is a complicated and complex matter. Until the 1990's only a few attempts to categorize this field of interest had been made. One of them belongs to Paul Bloom and William Novelli, who in 1981 in an article in the prestigious *Journal of Marketing* reviewed the first decade of social marketing and emphasized the lack of consistency in applying marketing techniques and principles in the field and lack of coherent typology of the discipline. Since then several categorizations of social marketing have been made, but each of them differs from the other and focuses on a particular aspect.

According to the Polish Foundation for Social Communication¹⁵, the various types of social advertising could be classified into six major categories on the basis of: a problem to overcome, intended goal, campaign's character, content and emotions it evokes, a sender, and budget. There is an immeasurable array of potential problems tackled in social campaigns from human rights, safety on the roads, homeless people, environmental issues, disabled people, drugs, domestic violence, addictions, to promoting a healthy lifestyle, reading for

¹⁵ The Foundation for Social Communication (Fundacja Komunikacji Społecznej) is a Polish non-governmental organization, based in Warsaw and founded in 1998 as The Foundation for Social Advertising (Fundacja Reklamy Społecznej) and renamed in 2003

children and even advocating a friendly attitude towards strangers. Campaigns to promote these activities have various goals. A campaign's intended goal could be: getting financial support for an event, fund, organization, movement; gaining support for an idea; suggesting a solution to a vital social problem; creating a fashion (e.g. for wearing sunglasses), etc. Campaigns could also be of a different character: one-time events (e.g. supporting victims of an earthquake), periodical actions concerned with a problem recurring at particular time of the year (e.g. helping impoverished people at Christmas time), focusing attention to a constantly occurring issue (e.g. AIDS, violence). Another important factor in social advertising is its emotional component, and thus social advertisement might provoke change by using emotional (surprising, moving, amusing, frightening) or rational arguments (explaining, illustrating, convincing), called by Kotler execution types (Kotler 1989: 6). No matter which strategy is used by marketers, a sender is always the same and it could be a non-profit organization, a commercial company, several companies, a governmental organization, or a combination of any two or more.

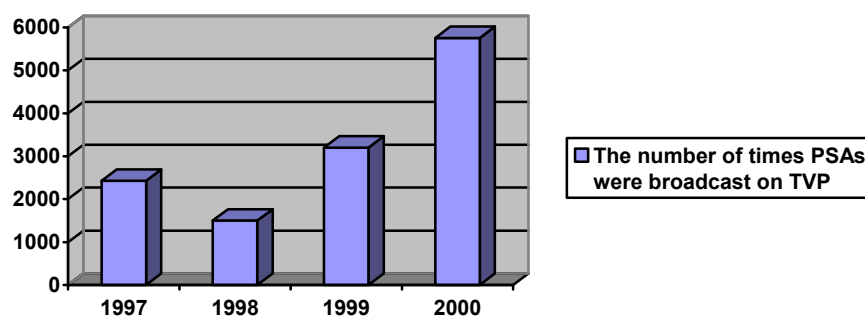
1.3.3 Social advertising in Poland

Social advertising is typical for developed countries, which despite their relatively strong economic positions still have to struggle with a myriad of social problems. In light of the fact that Poland was for a long time underdeveloped in comparison to the Western world, social advertising in Poland did not take place until the transformation period. Bogunia-Borowska defined it as a second phase of transformation in Poland after 1989, following on the heels of the first phase, when people learnt all what was unknown for decades - new products, free market rules, marketing principles. The multiplicity of new stimuli brought on the initial shock and difficulties in comprehending the new reality, governed by merciless principles of the free market. When this reality became somehow domesticated and a majority became familiarized with the new social rules, social advertising found a space to emerge (Bogunia-Borowska 2004: 129).

Dominika Maison from the Faculty of Psychology at the University of Warsaw dates the social advertising phenomena back to the times of the People's Republic of Poland, when campaigns such as *Matches plus a child equals a fire* were very common. Campaigns became particularly popular in the 70's and 80's together with the development of television. Even if these campaigns could not be undisputedly labeled as social advertising, also being partly propagandist actions filled with socialist ideology, they still might be considered as a pioneering form of social advertising in Poland (Nowak: 2000).

A sudden boost of social advertising in Poland is clearly perceivable from 1997 (see Graph 1) and each subsequent year has yielded more public service announcements. In 1997 on the Polish Public Television 2430 PSAs were broadcasted, and in 2000 the number more than doubled, reaching 5751 non-commercial spots¹⁶. In the beginning, these campaigns were perceived as slightly amateur and the message conveyed was not always transparent, but over time, both parties to that specific communication act, that is senders – marketers, advertisers and receivers – and society, gradually learnt the principles, forms and styles of social advertising. At first, Poles were somewhat skeptical towards social advertisements and the PSAs themselves had to fight not only for recognition and appreciation but foremost - for comprehension. Nowadays, PSAs are becoming more and more professional and most of them live up to accepted Western standards (and in opinion of many, often surpass these standards).

The salient problem for the social advertising in Poland is the lack of its legal definition and resolutions regulating the market. Admittedly, according to the provisions of the Broadcasting Act, it is specified that social advertising broadcasted by national television and radio is a form of fulfilling their public mission, but there is no definition of social advertising as such. Social advertising in Polish law does not qualify as a form of advertising since it is not usually broadcasted for a fee or any other remuneration. Thus, the time of broadcasting social advertisements is not included in the total time of commercial breaks.



Graph1.1 The number of times PSAs were broadcasted on The Polish Television channels in 1997-2000

¹⁶ data from *Brief* magazine February 2001, p. 72

2. Language of advertising discourse

2.1 Advertising as discourse

In the previous chapter, we have seen that an advertisement is a special form of communication taking place between a sender (which is usually a company or an organization) and a receiver (its prospects) and may include several components: text, image, music and picture (Kall 1995: 18). TV commercials are the only example when all those elements come into being at the same time hence, not surprisingly, TV commercials are considered to be the most powerful and thus most expensive. Every medium determines certain rules of construing an advertising message but in any case one thing is unquestionable: a convincing advertisement needs to be well-thought-out and well-balanced in order to strike a happy medium between all its elements, so that e.g. an image does not overshadow or contradict a text, music does not distort the image or a picture does not evoke associations unwanted by advertisers. All elements of any advertising message have to be coherent and compatible in order to create a successful promotional campaign. Only when this condition is met, does an advertisement have the potential to create a persuasive message in an artistic and memorable form. There has been an enduring debate in the marketing arena trying to establish which component plays the crucial part in an advertising message – visual, aural, linguistic, non-verbal or, as some claim, there is an indefinable certain something that makes the audience love or loathe particular adverts. Linguists argue that the most natural and effective tool of persuasion in advertising is language, since it has been traditionally regarded as capable of stating the most with the least effort (Bralczyk 2004: 7).

In any case, the language of advertising cannot be analyzed apart from all other elements constituting and influencing it, i.e. the context. According to Cook the context of an advertisement consists of several elements: substance (understood as the physical material carrying the message), music and pictures, paralanguage (e.g. voice quality, gestures, facial expressions, choice of font and size of letters), situation (properties of and between objects and people in the text), co-texts (understood as preceding or following texts perceived by the audience to belong to the same discourse), intertext (any text belonging to a different discourse but affecting interpretation of the text), participants (addressers and addressees), function (what a text is intended to do), (Cook 1992: 1-3). A promotional text put in context creates an advertising discourse, following the definition of a discourse by Duszak (Duszak 2002). Advertising language cannot be analyzed in isolation from other components of an advertising campaign, because, as Cook interestingly points out, “by refusing to ignore context, discourse analysis embarks upon a journey with no destination” (Cook 1992: 2).

Most scholars also agree that research within advertising cannot concentrate on one aspect only, since a discerning analysis is one that takes into consideration the interconnectedness of all elements of a message. While distinguishing the linguistic aspect as salient in advertising and placing it in the center of attention in this paper, it needs to be stressed that it cannot be analyzed alone and separate from the other components of a message.

The present chapter aims to describe the impact of language on the overall message of an advertising announcement and the relevance of linguistic factors in advertising communication. A thorough analysis of both the regular and special features of advertising discourse will significantly contribute to a better understanding of further research material presented in the following chapters.

2.2 Language functions in advertising

Every utterance performs many functions simultaneously and such is the case with advertising as well. Marketers agree that an advertisement should inform about a product, remind consumers of its continued existence on the market, and most importantly, persuade consumers to purchase an advertised good or service (Kotler et al. 1996: 715). Thus, an advertising message performs an informative function, persuasive, esthetic, interest-evoking, expressive, ritual and many others (Bralczyk 2004: 48). The predominance of one function over another depends on the stage of an advertising campaign, the medium used to convey that message, target audience and other factors. The speech act theory is useful in defining the role of primary language functions in advertising.

According to the speech act theory developed by J.L Austin (1993), which had a strong impact on linguistics, every utterance has three dimensions, performed at the same time. These are: the locutionary act (the actual performance of a sentence, putting words into sentences by using rules of grammar), the illocutionary act (the intended action by the speaker such as warning, persuasion, informing, etc.), perlocutionary (the effect of an utterance on a receiver such as amusing, frightening, etc.). In a successful speech act, the receiver's reaction accords with sender's intention, hence if one wants to persuade somebody to act in a particular way by uttering words with this aim in view, the speech act is effective when a receiver of a message acts accordingly (Bralczyk 2004: 48-49).

The application of the speech act theory in advertising leads to very valuable conclusions. Any advertising announcement needs to strive for the compatibility between illocutionary and perlocutionary acts, while maintaining clear and comprehensible locution. However, an inevitable problem is gauging the above mentioned compatibility and therefore, the sender's ability to achieve their intentions. If the power of an illocutionary act cannot be

measured in hard and absolute figures, this methodological complication remains unsolved. In product advertising there are figures showing the increase or decrease of sales, but the situation complicates with campaigns for social change, where, very often, the intended effect is achieved in the long-term perspective. Nevertheless, one conclusion is undeniable – an announcement performs its function well if it persuades effectively. As a rule (with some exceptions though) it persuades better when it appeals esthetically, mentally and does not irritate in its approach (Bralczyk 2004: 9).

Certainly there is no gainsaying the importance of persuasion in advertising. Bralczyk says that the persuasive function of advertising language is pivotal and superior to all others (2004:48). Persuasion is an indispensable element in the world of aggressive marketing, oriented on increasing sales or at least brand awareness and customer loyalty. The recipients of advertisements often accuse marketers of manipulating and creating desires in people for products or services that they do not really need (Leiss et al. 1997:27-33). Proponents of marketing claim that too much power is attributed to advertising, which is simply an essential part of a contemporary, complex, industrialized and market-oriented economy. Another defense used by marketers is that consumers are not controlled or manipulated, but are free agents taking rational decision according to own needs and desires, with advertising only as a tool informing about possible ways of fulfilling those needs and desires. Thus advertising in a way discovers what wants exist and responds to them (Leiss et al. 1997:36). Rotzoll et al. (1976: 21) adds that “under the assumption that man is rational, it is quite appropriate to attempt to persuade”. Sometimes, however, persuasion goes hand in hand with manipulation, usually veiled and unknown for an addressee. What is striking about advertising discourse, unlike other types of discourse, is the fact that receivers are always conscious of the permanent existence of persuasion in advertising and are ready to detect and object to all kinds of manipulation. The Swedish economist Linder took it a step further claiming, that “consumers want to be persuaded (...) to get an instant feeling that one has a perfectly good reason to buy this or that commodity” (Linder 1977: 73) People expect it and are ready to question the content of a message, believing that nothing and nobody but themselves is responsible for the decision-making process.

Persuasion in advertising takes place on many levels and a choice of instruments in this area closely depends on the medium used to disseminate an announcement (Budzyński 1999:39). No matter what medium is decided upon, certain regularities can be recognized in implementing the directive (persuasive) function of language in advertising. In speech, persuasion is usually performed by application of the imperative mood, but as Bralczyk claims it would be naïve to transfer that rule to advertising discourse, where imperative is rather infrequent if it occurs, it is usually not direct but rather takes a subtle form of something

seemingly far from persuasion. In most cases, the persuasion transpires in a form of a request or advice and one is more likely to hear in an advert *If you buy X, everything is going to be easier*, or *Professionals choose X*, rather than *Go and buy X!* (Bralczyk 2004: 49-50).

Another trick-of-a-trade applied by marketers is increasing the persuasive power by camouflaging the persuasion in an advert. It often happens that advertisements appear as a purely informative text, by using pseudoscientific evidence, an alleged revealing of a well-kept secrets, pretending not to persuade (e.g. *I'm just saying it and, you – do what you want*). A special case of this form of language manipulation is presupposition, which is a judgment implying an antecedent condition (Bralczyk 2004: 48). In advertising this is put into practice in slogans like *Are you still looking for best quality?*, which implies that firstly – one is looking for something, secondly – that something must be of best quality, thirdly – one has tried to find it unsuccessfully. This common technique is an example of the broad repertoire of rhetorical figures used in the advertising discourse. They all try to achieve the primary goal of the communicative act of advertising; which is persuasion aimed at fostering certain behaviors among its receivers, evoking a belief that choosing a particular product or lifestyle will guarantee satisfaction, and suggesting a justification for an already chosen product or lifestyle (Lewiński 1999: 26). The persuasive goal is repeatedly examined by marketers, and whilst they try to enhance the overall perception of an advertising campaign, they specify distinctive phases of its influence and objectives for each phase, for instance by inventing formulas, frameworks and models that later serve as action plans for copywriters and advertisers. The first model to distinguish three separate stages of an advertising message was the SLB model (*Stay-Look-Buy*), but one of the most prominent and influential formulas is AIDA.

The AIDA (the abbreviation for Attention – Interest – Desire – Action) formula was invented by E.K. Strong in 1925 and even today it still comprises the basic model, according to which advertisements are designed. Even though the original model has changed over years and new elements have been added to it, resulting in creating innovative formulas (i.e. DAGMAR¹⁷ or DIPDA¹⁸ formulas) copywriters hoping to create a good advertising campaign still turn the basic formula from the 20's (Budzyński 1999: 39). This framework helps to establish the dynamics of advertising discourse and its stages of action (Kotler et al. 1996: 691). The four stages defined by Strong perfectly illustrate the complexity and variability of any advertising campaign, whether social or commercial.

A=Attention

¹⁷ DAGMAR stands for Defining Advertising Goals for Measured Advertising Results.

¹⁸ DIPADA is an abbreviation for Definition – Identification – Proof – Acceptance – Desire – Action

An advertisement should catch the consumer's attention, since an advertisement not powerful enough to catch a minimal attention is most likely to plunge a product. Continuously bombarded with hundreds of advertisements every day, people feel more and more tired, overwhelmed and trapped (Kotler et al. 1996: 720). For marketers, this makes it difficult to achieve the basic goal for any campaign - attention catching. In order to overcome this obstacle, advertisers exploit a range of strategies affecting all the components of an advert, including text. Due respect needs to be paid here to the visual aspect of an advertisement which hooks attention, immediately evokes particular emotions and simply gets an advertisement noticed. This phase does not rely significantly on linguistic elements to achieve its goal, whereas in the next stage, aiming at evoking interest, the proper use of language is essential.

I=Interest

The fact that an advert has been noticed does not indicate that receivers will acquaint themselves with its content (Budzyński 1999: 40). Therefore, having successfully achieved the first phase, now comes the time to build interest. Here, the textual content plays a strategic role, because the linguistic form itself determines whether a customer will react to a message or not (Bralczyk 2004: 12). However an attractive form is liable to appeal to consumers, a clumsy message may very likely discourage or even appall the audience and, if so, a consumer will never proceed to the remaining two stages. A slogan and a headline may play an imperative role at this stage, so a careful choice of linguistic means is highly advisable to adequately arouse interest among its viewers (Kotler et al. 1996: 725). Language abounds in forms and means aimed at evoking interests at the semantic, lexical or phonological levels and copywriters have, at this point, an exceptional opportunity to use the whole array of stylistic, grammatical and phonological devices (see chapter 2.3).

D=Desire

In this phase, aimed at inducing the addressees to buy something, use some service or act in a particular way, language also serves a pivotal role. To a large extent, the linguistic form is decisive in the process of approving or disapproving of an advertisement by its receivers (Bralczyk 2004: 12). The endlessly rich armory of stylistic devices can again build up an interest, trigger emotions, and as a result – evokes desire to possess or to do something. At this point, the appropriate choice of the linguistic substance affects the entire message and can *make or break* the advertising campaign.

A=Action

Having evoked interest and desire, an advertisement must next motivate the addressees to act. Desire has to be transformed into action. Usually, at this stage information is given on how to get a product or act in a particular way. Making the motivational case to act takes place

at different levels and the linguistic aspect is of less importance here. The determining factors may be the availability of a product, the sheer possibility to act, and in social advertising this may also include the addressees' disposition to do something (Budzyński 1999:40).

The AIDA formula provides the basic model for development and evaluation of an advertisement. It applies to all types of advertising discourse: TV and radio commercials, billboards, press ads, and each carrier focuses on a different element of the formula. In press ads attention is mostly drawn by the visual element. The heading evokes interest, text creates desire and information about a company or organization motivates action. Billboards are governed by different rules and the prosaic need for visibility determines very short but eye-catching slogans and a strong emphasis on attention and action elements. TV commercials may use the most differentiated elements, but this leads to the danger of an off-putting overabundance and marketers have to be aware of this when creating a campaign.

Advertisements indeed have a multifarious impact on the audience and the language functions must mirror this. From providing information to producing esthetic impression, from persuasion to manipulation, advertising discourse has endless possibilities and tremendous power. The main objective of a campaign determines the use of the linguistic tools, hence in one ad the strongest emphasis will be put on evoking interest and at the further phase of a campaign - on getting prospects to act. (Lewiński 1999: 26). Nevertheless, language is an essential component of every advertising campaign, regardless whether it is social or commercial or which channel of communication with the target audience is chosen. All in all, media discourse in any of its forms requires a careful choice of linguistic elements and the right balance between verbal and non-verbal aspects, persuasion and information, since the line between intriguing and annoying is very thin.

2.3 Desirable features of an advertising discourse

Having established that language is an indispensable and crucial element of advertising (even though non-linguistic elements also pertain to the message), the attention must now focus on the methods of attaining a campaign's objective by means of language. Attention, desire, interest, action can be incorporated into an ad by using certain features from the repertoire of stylistic devices.

Bralczyk describes an advertising message as an assemblage of six basic features: attractiveness, suggestibility, intelligibility, memorability, conciseness and originality (Bralczyk 2004: 37- 46). These are desirable features of the overall message and they are independent of each other, so a text can be comprehensible but not attractive or may be original without being

concise. An ideal advertising message is a message with the concurrent existence of all above mentioned features.

Budzyński states that attractiveness is closely connected with evoking a receiver's attention, i.e. fulfilling the objective of the first A from the AIDA formula. There is no clear definition of what attractiveness means to a receiver. It could mean something exotic or something well-known, often something funny and humorous (Budzyński 1999: 106). Bralczyk warns against trying to get attention at all costs e.g. by turning to socially dubious or controversial methods and techniques such as the use of swear words, politically incorrect expressions, erroneous forms, etc., which may result in blocking the entire message from the addressees. On the other hand, hypercorrection may also generate a lack of interest or intelligibility (Bralczyk 2004: 38). Thus the language used in advertising needs to appeal to the target audience, needs to be rather concrete than abstract, original rather than hackneyed. Advertisers try to implement the creative element in ads in different ways, e.g. by using puns and plays on words (Wendy's: *Where is the beef?*), by modifying commonly used and easily recognized phrases and idioms (Citibank: *The Citi never sleeps*), by adopting misspellings and coining new terms (7UP: *UnCola*; Guinness: *Guinness isn't good for you*), breaking grammatical rules (McDonald's: *I'm lovin' it*), repetitions (Gillette: *Look sharp, feel sharp*), using and paraphrasing famous quotations (IBM: *I think therefore IBM*), applying words with double meaning (Peter Paul Mounds: *Sometimes you feel like a nut, sometimes you don't*), implementing rhyme and rhythm into an ad (Heinz Baked Beans: *Beanz meanz Heinz*) and many others (Murdoch 2005: 78-79; Dyer 1996: 151-153). Metaphors come in particularly handy for copywriters since they may create an ideal image of the world (Szczęsna 2001: 117) and escape the literality of the message (Bralczyk 2004: 39). Also triggering positive emotions of the target audience by exploiting lexical items marked with pleasant values increases the attractiveness of the entire advertising message (Szczęsna 2001: 117).

While what is attractive catches the audience's attention, it does not necessarily convince them. Therefore advertising discourse needs suggestibility. This can be attained with a categorical message urging consumers to try, discover and buy certain products or services, a strategy typical for informal situations among participants with close bonds. This form of direct communication simulates closeness and gives the target audience an impression that the actor in the ad is their friend giving a piece of useful advice (Dyer 1996: 144). Suggestibility is essential for social advertising, as PSAs put most of their emphasis on credibility and effective changes in behavior. What marketers attempt to create in a PSA is a suggestive message, so ads to influence social behavior simply have to be credible to be effective. A strategy often applied by marketers of PSAs is a celebrity endorsement, since it imitates the friends-like closeness (e.g.

success of the *Got Milk?!* campaign starring Tiger Woods, Elton John, Dr. Phil McGraw and many others). People are more likely to act when they hear their favorite and respected celebrity telling them to do so, rather than when they hear the same message from an actor. Nonetheless, even in the case of celebrities too much confidence and straightforwardness in talking the intended audience into doing something (buying, voting, quit smoking, etc) may also be perceived as an uninvited intrusion into the decision-making process, typically regarded by the prospects as individual and unrestrained. This is why marketers eagerly use the strategy of giving a leading role of a television advert to an undecided person, who embodies the doubts of a potential customer (Bralczyk 2004: 40-41).

No matter what strategy is applied by advertisers to convince the intended audience of the message of an ad, marketers usually try to create advertisements comprehensible to viewers, readers and listeners (Bralczyk 2004: 41). Nevertheless, for the sake of aesthetic reasons, intelligibility does not always gain main focus in the advertising message. Quite surprisingly, unintelligible ads frequently prove themselves to be effective indeed (e.g. Nike's *Just do it* slogan does not say what is supposed to be done, by whom and what for), and the reason for such public demeanor is tightly related to people's fear of losing "social face" by admitting that something is not understandable. Generally speaking, advertising messages should be comprehensible for an average receiver of a target audience and, ideally, a receiver should have an impression that message is understood by them while not being clear to the rest of society, which will make them feel special (Bralczyk 2004: 42).

Memorability is an extremely significant, if not salient, element of an advertising discourse. This aspect is stressed by many scholars as the ultimate goal of advertising (Budzyński 1999: 106, Murdoch 2005: 86; Bralczyk 2004: 43). The ability to remember is closely connected with language, and is generated by both paralinguistic components and the content itself. In terms of form, memorability is attained by the appliance of rhymes, rhythm, melodious sounds, words and sentence order, and most of all - repetition (Bralczyk 2004: 42-43). Besides the linguistic form, memorability is enhanced by a well-designed content that is the substance of a message. Attractive, original, amusing content makes an ad stick in the prospects' minds and aids further recollection. All grammatical, lexical and stylistic devices mentioned in the description of the attractiveness component also apply to the aspect of memorability Murdoch 2005: 77-83. Ergo, advertisers have a further reason to exploit metaphors (Subaru: *The beauty of all wheel drive*), comparisons (UPS: *Moving at the speed of business*), puns (Weetabix: *Have you had your Weetabix Withabix, Withoutabix?*) play on words (Vogue Magazine: *Vogue - [for] the overwhelming minority. If it wasn't in VOGUE It wasn't in vogue*), imperatives (Wall's Ice Cream: *Stop me and buy one*), adjective gradation (Phillips:

Let's make things better), anaphors (Maidenform: *I dreamed I stopped traffic in my Maidenform bra, I dreamed I went shopping in my Maidenform bra*), rhetorical questions and questions (Levi's jeans: *Have you ever had a bad time in Levi's?*), conversational style (Life Savers Candy: *Gee, I wish I had a nickel*), everyday language (Toyota: *I love what you do for me - Toyota! Oh what a feeling*).

With such a broad range of possible linguistic devices to choose from, advertisers have to decide on just a few to keep the text short and concise, because contrary to one popular advertising slogan (Velvet: *too much of a good thing can be wonderful*), too much of anything can be too much. Short but apt linguistic form will produce a better effect on the audience than elaborate description of all qualities of a product or action. As expected, advertisers have to put much creativity and effort into finding "one word worth three others" (Budzyński 1999: 107). The difficulty in this area increases together with the need for originality, which is critical in advertising (Murdoch 2005: 90).

Language seemingly has an endless potential for creativity, but it has one restriction, which is linguistic correctness. Considering the fact that advertisements are intended for a repeated display or exposure, they gain the power of a norm-molding tool. Frequently, grammatically or lexically incorrect texts catch addressees' attention more effectively and win them over (Bralczyk 2004: 45). As Bralczyk suggests, frequently advertisers put too much attention to a slogan, forgetting that the rest of the advertising text is equally important. Thus, it is advisable for marketers to carefully consider an ad as a single unit that requires equal attention to be put on a slogan and the rest of the copywriting text, which have to be coherent altogether.

2.4 Special role of language in PSAs

Social advertising, as remote as it seems to be from commercial advertising at times, is actually governed by the same principles in terms of message content– it has to, as advocated in the AIDA formula, draw attention, arouse interest, evoke a desire to act, and finally motivate the target audience to take action. While both types of advertisements have mutual objectives in the marketing process, there are fundamental differences in their final goals. Commercial campaigns seek to persuade the target audience to acquire a product (which is relatively easier considering a typical mass-culture 'why not try' attitude), whereas social campaigns intend to act at a deeper level by attempting to get addressees to modify, accept or abandon certain ideas, attitudes, practices and behaviors (Kotler et. al 1989: 7). Another essential dissimilarity between social and commercial advertising is the method of assessing their effectiveness. The effectiveness of a public service announcement cannot be measured in

hard figures as it the case with commercial products, where advertisers can swimmingly estimate a growth in sales or survey brand recognition among consumers. This enables advertisers to modify campaigns relatively swiftly if the effect turns out not to meet expectations. Measuring the effectiveness of social advertising, on the other hand, is a very complex and composite process, with no immediate data at hand. Change in behavior is usually achieved in a long-term perspective and this fact needs to be recognized by advertisers both in terms of construing an influential message, as well as in terms of the language usage.

According to Jacennik there are five stages of a behavior change process that an individual exposed to a social marketing campaign may experience. The first step is a pre-contemplation stage, where an individual does not consider any possibility to change social behavior in the nearest future due to lack of information, interest or desire. The next stage is contemplation, when a prospect seriously contemplates a change in behavior; this involves of weighing up of all the pros and cons. Then there comes a preparation stage, where an individual is ready to act but still does not. After that, the time comes for an action, a phase when an actual change happens and finally, the maintenance stage, that is retaining the new habit, behavior or demeanor (Jacennik 2000: 29). Considering this model of psychological change, it is essential for PSAs to act in accordance with the actual stage of the target audience's readiness for change and apply linguistic strategies accordingly.

In framing the message for a public service announcement, marketers have three types of execution available: rational, emotional and nonverbal (Kotler et al. 1989: 195). Even though these elements are common to both product advertising and advertising for social change, their realization is divergent. According to Kotler et al. an initial question that arises in construing a campaign is whether "the message should state the desired behavior or allow target adopters to complete the message and draw their own conclusions" (Kotler et al. 1989: 196). This problem is also tackled by Cook, who claims that, contrary to commercial advertising, non-product ads tend to identify themselves as a specific type of discourse intending to alter audience's behavior and once recognized as advertisements, their intention to persuade addressees is unveiled (Cook 1992: 223-224). Nevertheless, as Cook adds in his subsequent publications and as the situation on the market indicates with the rising recognition for social advertising, PSAs do not need to identify explicitly their moralizing aim and they should let the audience think a message over by themselves; they should provide *food for thought* while refraining from being pushy.

Other important issues concerning the linguistic content of social advertising are whether PSAs should be presented in the form of rational arguments or whether they should appeal to emotions; should they present both sides of an issue or rather one. Kotler et al

asserts that “studies have identified that one-sided messages appear to work best with people who are already favorably predisposed to an idea or practice or who have a low level of education”, whereas “two-sided messages work best when people are not predisposed to the product and have higher level of education” (Kotler et al. 1989: 196).

Advertisers very often turn to personalization in order to appeal to addressees, hence the message stating “Seat Belts Will Save You from Disfigurement in a Car Accident” proved to be less effective than “Seat Belts Are Inconvenient but They Will Save You from Disfigurement in a Car Accident”. Moreover, as Kotler et al. maintains, negative and positive appeal in advertisements depends on the type of message sought to be conveyed. Negative messages “work better when a social product presents a real solution to a problem, while positive messages are appropriate to social products that offer a means of satisfying a personal goal or objective (Kotler et al. 1989: 197)”. What also needs to be carefully considered is the market segmentation element, which proves to be very important in adapting the proper means to appeal to certain groups. It is imperative for advertisers to adjust the content of the message to the target audience and, thus, adjust the level of negativity or positivism in language to those who are the target audience. Younger prospects need a stronger fear-based appeal, for instance, whilst other groups concerned about a problem presented in a PSA may perceive a message of fear as going to far (Kotler et al. 1989: 198). The cultural element is another component strongly affecting an advertising campaign. In different cultures the same announcement is perceived as carrying different amounts of emotional baggage. This is noted by Paweł Prochenko, the Chairman of The Foundation for Social Communication in Poland, who compared Poles, Australians and Americans in terms of optimal powerfulness of stimuli. He claimed that Australians need much stronger stimulus in comparison to Americans, who are more conducive to advertisements less explicit. Poles are placed by Prochenko in between the other two nations (Prochenko 2006: 8)

Establishing the right degree of power of language for a specific nation and different segments within one nation requires a painstaking research and careful consideration of possible outcomes. Additionally, linguistic elements need to be differentiated to take into account the current consciousness of a problem of an average addressee. If the addressees are to be found at the pre-contemplation stage, it makes more sense to just draw their attention to a problem (e.g. a low turnout in elections) rather than persuading them to act in a particular way (e.g. by telling them to go and vote in the upcoming election), because such a PSA is most likely to be ignored or rejected by those to whom it is supposed to appeal.

2.5 The importance of cultural context

The Canadian scholar and communications theorist Marshall McLuhan once envisioned that “Historians and archaeologists will one day discover that the ads of our times are the richest and most faithful daily reflections that any society ever made of its entire range of activities.” (Frith 1997: 1). This apt comment on the contemporary culture illustrates the power of advertising – its ubiquity, a versatile insight into all aspects of everyday life, and a multi-faceted, multidimensional structure. One may even risk a conclusion that the knowledge about any society is to be found at hand, in advertising messages. As already mentioned in Chapter 1.2 advertisements are said to constitute the peculiar encyclopedia of our times, a constantly evolving study of our needs, desires, fears, phobias, customs, trends, prejudices, wisdom, etc. The view, attributing to advertising the role of decoding the surrounding reality, is presented by many scholars, i.e. Czaja, Bogunia-Borowska, Loski, Casetti et. al (cf. Chapter 1.2), and even if some claim that the image of reality presented by advertising is distorted or that it perpetuates stereotypes (Inglis 1972: 78, Leymore 1975, Williams 1989) nobody would discard the idea that adverts are tightly related to or inspired by culture, have to consider cultural context at all times, and often their success significantly depends on cultural baggage conveyed in a message.

The interrelationship between culture and advertising is similar to the relation between society and the media. Does the mass media reflect the social life or rather mold it, does the TV serve the audience stupefying entertainment because the audience wants it or maybe the audience wants it because the media shapes their taste that way? These questions remind the everlasting *the chicken or the egg* dilemma and will remain unresolved. Nonetheless, there is no ambiguity that culture constitutes a vital, if not crucial at times, element of any advertising campaign. Even in the globalized economy, there are no standardized recipes for successful ads all over the world and very rarely (although the tendency is increasing) a single ad can be presented to various cultures with no alterations to its content. That is why renowned advertising agencies adjust their international campaigns to target audiences in different countries, taking into account religion, traditions, the role of women, education, and even a political situation. Big agencies successfully run similar campaigns slightly adjusted to the local market, like quintessentially American giant Coca-Cola, which launched in 1998 a pioneering series of TV commercials for the Muslims fasting month of Ramadan, where the emphasis was put on the universal values like friendship, charity and forgiveness, but all set in the non-Western style background. Companies, which fail to recognize cross-cultural nuances, are doomed to defeat. The blunders most frequently stem from literal translation of slogans or poor cultural awareness. Famous examples of cross-cultural blunders in advertising

include the British sport manufacturer Umbro, giving the name *Zyklon* to the line of its new sneakers, which was the name of the gas used by Nazis to murder Jews in concentration camps or American company advertising sunglasses in Thailand by featuring different animals wearing fancy shades and not considering that animals are regarded as low life and nothing worn by animals would be respected by Thais, or when Pepsico advertised Pepsi in Taiwan with slogan "Come Alive With Pepsi" no one would expect it to be translated into Chinese as "Pepsi brings your ancestors back from the dead."¹⁹

The sensitivity of cultural aspect in advertising does not boil down to cross-cultural issues, since similar problems are equally likely to emerge within one culture, resulting in rejecting the message by the target audience. One of the remarkable examples of a culturally inappropriate ad is the Polish brewery company EB, which went bankrupt after a launch of ads promoting its beer by a group of drunken, impudent Russian soldiers. The campaign debuted in the media short after the communist regime collapsed and Poles still had a fresh memory of the Soviet troops stationing in Poland. This proves that tackling national stereotypes, history or religion is an extremely risky strategy for marketers.

On the other hand, the advertising message can use culture as an endless source of inspiration, by using intertextuality, literary references, referring to historical figures or even bringing them back to live. (Bralczyk 2004: 136) In this fashion, advertising has a fair amount of *poetic license* to make use of and it eagerly takes advantage of this possibility by introducing to ads: references to literature (Pollena 2000: *Ociec, pracę*), pathos ('We the people' bikes) or hypostasis (i.e. personification of entities: Insurance company: *Are you tired of all buts and ifs?*), ellipsis (Banking: *Jan has ten thousand zlotys, Piotr five*). The repetitiveness of advertising messages in the media influence the culture and, consequently, the language. Not only has advertising an enormous impact on the lexicon by adding new items into it (e.g. already mentioned *Guinless* for the lack of *Guinness* beer), but it can also change linguistic norms, change connotations, and, to some extent, enrich or impoverish everyday language.

The domain of social advertising is equally, if not even more, sensitive to cultural references. Likewise commercial advertising it needs to be adjusted to their recipients in terms of form, content and repetitiveness. The language used has to reflect the actual state of mind of an average addressee, their views, prejudices and values. Hence the PSA focusing its attention on the domestic violence will much differ in Indonesia, Poland and Canada, where the same problem needs various methods to be fought with – in the patriarchal Indonesian

¹⁹ Examples from the magazine *Marketing and more* 2/2003, p. 23

culture it is a well-hidden social problem and a PSA has to challenge women's submission to a man; in Poland such a PSA is most likely to concentrate on an access to the possible aid for the victims, whereas in Canada a PSA can present less thought about aspects of domestic violence, such as violence against men, economic abuse, repercussions of witnessing violence by children, etc. All campaigns have to consider the social and cultural context of an ad in a very broad perspective, not just by analyzing market segments. Bartosik-Purgat provides examples of generalized advertising preferences for different nations and what kind of emphasis is most likely to create a successful campaign in different countries. She suggests patriotic accents for Americans and references to traditional values (e.g. Marlboro cowboy), uncomplicated messages with scientific elements for Germans and Belgians (hence the frequent presence of doctors, scientists, researchers in ads from those countries, e.g. washing powder analyses given by actors in lab coats), the French like an emphasis put on their individual nature and personal autonomy (L'Oréal: *Because you're worth it*), whereas the southern nations: Spaniards, Italians, Latin Americans like family ads featuring three jolly generations feasting, laughing and enjoying themselves, just like in IKEA TV spots (Bartosik-Purgat: 2005). The Polish market is particularly sensitive to advertising, since 40% of the population claim to dislike advertising and describe it as being pushy, obtrusive and overwhelming²⁰. In those peculiar conditions marketers have to do their best to appeal to critically-minded consumers, just to achieve the first objective from the renowned AIDA formula: to get their attention (see Chapter 2.4 for details). Experts on the Polish advertising market describe national preferences for the Poles as rather conservative, since Poles cherish traditional values of a happy family life, friendship, religion, loyalty, charity with a little need for innovation and a slight tolerance for controversy (Niedek 2008). Certainly, there are considerable differences when various age segments are taken into account, but even among the youth the controversial ad campaigns do not get much recognition and political or religious issues are advised to be avoided by the marketers.

An interesting issue in cross-cultural advertising is celebrity endorsement. Once considered a marginal phenomenon and a shame for featuring celebrities, nowadays is becoming an indispensable element of advertising (Niedek 2008). The number of ads with celebrities has doubled in the USA within ten years to achieve 20% of all created ads to star a celebrity in 2007. The number is even bigger in PSAs, where promoting a good cause by someone famous and respected is a common practice (Beyoncé for Got Milk? campaign, Pamela Anderson for PETA, Oprah Winfrey endorsing for cancer screening, etc). The Polish

²⁰ Gazeta Wyborcza 21/10/2008, research conducted by Urząd Ochrony Konkurencji i Konsumentów (UOKiK)

market also accepts and eagerly uses the instrument of celebrity endorsement, not on such a scale like in the USA, but the tendency to transfer the positive emotions towards a person to a product or idea is growing (Adamczyk et al. 2008). Nonetheless, the perception of a celebrity varies in America and in Poland; hence advertisers have to carefully consider attitudes towards someone famous. The cult of celebrity in America is bigger than in Poland (the market for tabloids only in the US is estimated for billions of dollars) and national fascination of the glittering life of the rich and famous more uncritical. Celebrity worship is ironically described as America's most popular religion (Lawrence 2009: 5) and constitutes a vital part of American culture. This is not the case in Poland, where local celebrities do not get so much media hype and attention. Hiring an international celebrity rather than Polish to an ad is usually considered a better strategy, since there are just a few stars in the Polish show business, who do not evoke mixed feeling among the nation. There is also a psychological element to be added as Poles are more likely to express strong reluctance to have something imposed or to be told to do something, in comparison to Americans, who trust their celebrities more and are not as suspicious towards ads as Poles are (Adamczyk et al. 2008).

2.6 Language varieties and styles

As persuasiveness is considered to be the primary objective of any advertising campaign, marketers seek tools and methods to increase the suggestibility, and as a result the successfulness, of an ad. One of such instruments is the use of various styles and varieties of language²¹. Advertising discourse, as a discourse on the border of different modalities²², uses a mixture of different styles and language varieties (e.g. oratorical, pseudo-scientific) (Szczęsna 2001: 112-113), with the noticeable domination of a colloquial style (Dyer 1996: 144). Bralczyk states that in advertisements all varieties and styles find their natural use, depending on the target audience, the product promoted, the medium of conveying the message (Bralczyk 2004: 54).

An advertising text enhances its suggestibility if there is coherence between a sender of a message and the content of a message, e.g. an actor, who looks like an executive is not expected by the viewers to talk like a highlander. Even though, copywriters try to break stereotypes and use unconventional ideas, the vast majority of ads still relies on stereotyped and simplified vision of the world. Thus, in a typical advertisement a mother will express herself in the worried voice, a director will assign tasks in an abrupt way, a chef is very likely

²¹ A variety (such as dialect, sociolect, idiolect, jargon, etc) is understood in this paper as a form of language used by speakers of that language that differs from other forms systematically; a variety is a wider concept than style, which is a form of language in a particular situation (e.g. formal or informal)

²² Modality is defined in this paper as the channel by which the message is transmitted (could be oral, written, non-verbal)

to have a French accent, a Jew will be discussing money matters, a grandmother is going to use diminutive forms, etc. Acknowledging the ratio of stereotyped messages versus stereotypes-breaking ads (*Marketing&More* magazine estimated it 8:1 for the Polish advertising market²³), the result gives some an argument to blame advertising business for condoning and reinforcing stereotypes.

The reason for an eager appliance of various language styles and varieties is primarily to enhance the impression of spontaneity of an advertising discourse, which by its nature is only a delusive reflection of reality. Convincing the target audience and making them believe that an actress is a real housewife running errands all day long with a broad experience with using different washing powders so that her children's t-shirt are always fresh and clean, is the ultimate goal for advertisers, achieved with a great help of specific language variety. Even the perfect image of the above mentioned actress acting as a worried mother, perfect background, clothes, haircut and other paralinguistic features will be incomplete without the suitable variety and style of language. For this reason, it is vital for marketers to create a coherent and consistent message, in terms of both form and content and any marketing strategy of breaking this coherency for the sake of innovation should be somehow intelligible to the audience.

The most basic typology of language varieties provided by most linguistic course books is the one differentiating "standard" and "nonstandard" variety of language (Yule 1996, Akmajian et al. 2001). For the United States Akmajian et al. defines Standard American English (hereinafter referred to as SAE for short) as "a form of the language used in news programs in the national media (often referred to as "Network English"); it is the language of legal and governmental functions; and it is the language used in the schools as a vehicle for education." Even though, it is claimed by scholars that all dialects of language are of equal status and none is better or worse, more correct or more logical, a social prejudice exists in the United States that SAE is identified with educated white middle class (Akmajian et al. 2001: 284). This constitutes an important outcome for advertisers, who would much rather implement SAE in advertising than risk nonstandard or vernacular varieties to appeal to a specific audience. Using the so called *Inner-City English* (ICE), defined by Akmajian et al. as "informal style of language used by residents of low-income ghettos in large urban areas of the United States (...), sometimes referred to as Black English, but this term is misleading in that it suggests that all African Americans speak the same dialect and use it all the time" (Akmajian et al. 2001: 284) would be very risky in advertising since the message might be

²³ Marketing&More 4/2007 p.16

rejected by the real speakers of ICE as being phony and at the same time not understood or underrated by speakers of SAE. Thus, hardly ever would advertisers risk using vernacular variety of language in TV commercials and press ads. On the other hand, they quite frequently experiment with informal style of a standard language, which seems to be the most exploited variety of language used in advertising, especially in the case of a young target. Since the difference between ICE and informal SAE is sometimes not obvious, an example is provided to illustrate the above mentioned difference with the help of two jeans advertisements, one using ICE (Apple Bottom: *I like them jeans*) and one using the informal style of SAE (7 jeans: *Be as cool as your 7 jeans*).

The biggest advantage of the informal style of language is its emotionality, naturalness, and credibility, qualities which appeal to young people rejecting everything that is not 'real' (Bralczyk 2004: 56). This conclusion comes particularly relevant for the authors of get-out-the-vote advertising campaigns, usually designed to encourage young voters. In order to achieve their goal and to endear to the youth, marketers use: slang expressions (*totalnie, konkret, ściema*, etc.), unceremonious commands (*Rusz dupę, idź na wybory* – [Move your ass, go and vote]), swear words or pseudo-swear words (*zajefajny telefon*), extracts from popular songs, movies, books (*A long time ago in a galaxy far, far away...*). Since the young target is very sensitive to artificiality, marketers have to implement techniques of adapting the informal style with a careful deliberation.

Advertising is often referred to as a form of the contemporary art (Bralczyk 2004:38, 54), thus it is not surprising that it uses the high variety of language, often poetic and pompous. This translates into applying poetic metaphors: *made in paradise, gardens of love, pure as silk*, stylistic references to the history of literature: *love thy neighbor, to eat or not eat*, or creating poems: *If all the world were Jell-O, And whipped cream filled the sea, Then the only spoon from here to the moon Would have to belong to me*. The pompous style of language might come useful in the case of get-out-the-vote campaigns, when the references to history, democratic values, and civil rights are natural. Having scrutinized the role of language in advertising and PSAs in the present chapter, in the Chapter 4 the author is going to analyze which values are most frequently mentioned in get-out-the-vote campaigns, how the target audience is being approached by marketers, which styles and varieties are used and how important the cultural context is. Nonetheless, before examining actual Polish and American get-out-the-vote ads, the background context for the American and Polish political election system needs to be established as well as main societal differences between two nations in terms of attitudes towards history, politics, elections, politicians and the nations' awareness of their democratic rights and duties.

3. Political communication in Poland and USA

3.1 Main differences between political systems in Poland and USA

In order to provide a discerning analysis of the language of public service announcements encouraging voting in both countries in the Chapter 4, some important differences between election systems need to be determined afore. Since there are several substantial dissimilarities between political systems of Poland and the United States, which impinge on the way get-out-the-vote campaigns (hereinafter referred to as GOTV for short) are carried out, it is crucial for this paper to compare political systems of both countries and its possible consequences on pro-voting social advertising. Additionally, a closer investigation of the election systems in Poland and USA will allow to measure the significance of cultural component in this type of advertising.

The most basic difference between Poland and the United States in terms of the political system is the fact that Poland is a parliamentary republic and the United States presidential, federal republic. This has far-reaching consequences in the way the presidential post is perceived by two nations and the importance of presidential and parliamentary elections in both countries. In Poland the executive power is exercised by the President and the Council of Ministers led by the Prime Minister and the legislative power is held by two chambers of parliament: Sejm (the lower house) and Senate (the upper house). Even though, the President is a formal head of state and holds the power to veto legislations passed by the Parliament, his role is mostly representative. In actuality, the most power is vested in the Chairman of the Council of Ministers that is the Prime Minister, who is customarily the leader of the winning party in parliamentary elections. In the United States, there is no post of a Prime Minister and the President, who heads the government, is the most important official in the country. The President also leads the executive branch and has more powers and responsibilities than either Polish President or Prime Minister. This leads to an apparent conclusion that presidential elections in the USA are likely to evoke much more interest than in Poland, as the importance of the vote is incomparably bigger, also considering the ever prominent role of the United States in the international arena.

Another key difference between political systems of two countries is the party system. America is famous for its two-party system dominating its politics since 1860s. The Republicans and Democrats have taken over the political scene in the USA so entirely that since 1852 every President had been either a Republican or Democrat. In November 2006

Gallup Poll²⁴ almost 60% of Americans defined themselves as either Republicans or Democrats, and those who claim to be independent usually have partisan leaning towards one of two parties. Although, the public opinion surveys indicate the growing tendency for Americans to support the idea of *the third party* as such, the vast majority of American citizens cannot name any other party but Republican or Democratic and any *third party* politicians (Delli Carpini et al. 1997: 76-77). For many, it has been utterly surprising that in the last election in the US there have been several candidates taking part in the race to the White House.

In Poland the party system is far from the stable American model. The transformation of 1989 had brought fundamental changes to the party system. The multi-party system of Poland constitutes of several, constantly-changing parties and movements competing with each other and normally not gaining the majority of votes in elections and thus forming coalition governments. Considering the turbulent history of Poland, its party system has undergone profound changes in the past 20 years and is often described as unique and not following Western-European model (Herbut in Cordell et al. 2000: 87-88). Herbut also claims that “Parties in Poland have had little opportunity to form stable relations with the electorate. They have had to approach a wide clientele of potential voters, rather than opt for support from well-defined segments of society (Herbut 2000: 93)”. This is contrary to American system which apprehends voting as affirmation of party loyalty (Mansfield et al. 2004: 133).

Polish and American political systems differ not only in terms of the role of the President, number of parties and voters’ loyalty to them, but, what is equally important for this paper, in terms of election systems. All dissimilarities mentioned in the present chapter need to be thoroughly considered while analyzing the linguistic content of GOTV advertising messages.

3.1.1 Parliamentary election systems

As already mentioned Parliament holds the legislative power in both countries. The United States Congress is the bicameral legislature body and consists of two houses: the Senate and the House of Representatives. Senators and Representatives are chosen in direct election with 435 Representatives chosen for a two-year term and 100 Senators serving a six-year term. Each US state is represented by two senators and a different number (from 1 to 53) of Representatives, depending on state’s population. The Senate is also considered to be a more prestigious body, considering its power, the length of term and smaller membership.

²⁴ data from the official governmental website:

<http://www.america.gov/st/washfileenglish/2007/January/20070109140913HMnietsua0.1988794.html>

Every two years approximately one third of the Senate is elected, and elections to the House of Representatives are held in every even-numbered year with the last elections (November 4, 2008) overlapping with the Presidential.

In Poland the term of both chambers of Parliament – Sejm and Senate – lasts maximum four years and 460 deputies to Sejm are elected in general elections under proportional representation according to the d'Hondt method²⁵ and 100 Senators are elected according to the method promoting candidates with highest support from each constituency. There is a growing support in Poland for a plurality voting system (*okręgi jednomandatowe*), when a winner is a person with most votes with no need to gain an absolute majority. Nowadays, Poles vote for parties rather than candidates and the parliamentary electoral campaigns are still concentrated around leaders of main parties, who are likely to become the Prime Minister.

What is intriguing is the fact that both Americans and Poles declare that, in their opinion, parliamentary institutions work faulty. According to the CNN survey²⁶ conducted in October 2006, more than a half of Americans believe that most Congress members are corrupt and one third thinks that their own representative is crooked. The majority also disapproves the way both parties handle their jobs in Washington. The tendency to accuse Congress members of corruption is growing. Similar opinions on the work of Polish Sejm in April 2009 were shared by 65% of Poles, who claimed that the Parliament works badly or very badly²⁷. This brings to the conclusion that in Poland and USA the legislature institutions struggle with the same “image problem”, seeking public trust, credibility and recognition of their meritorious service. The public perception of national institutions and voters attitudes towards politics are going to be analyzed in Chapter 3.2 in more details.

3.1.2 Presidential election systems

As simple as the Polish presidential electoral system seems to be with a direct vote to choose the nation's President serving a 5-year term, the American electoral system, on the other hand, needs more elaborations. Elections for the President and Vice-President of the United States conjoin the direct vote, where every citizen has one vote and indirect vote conducted by the Electoral College. Voters do not, technically, participate in a direct vote but they cast ballots for electors, who directly elect the President, voting according to the popular

²⁵ The d'Hondt method is the highest averages method for allocating seats in party-list representation; it is more than other methods favorable for big parties. The d'Hondt method is used in many parliamentary political systems including the European Parliament

²⁶ data from CNN website <http://edition.cnn.com/2006/POLITICS/10/19/congress.poll/index.html>

²⁷ survey conducted by TNS OBOP, results printed in *Gazeta Wyborcza* 18/4/2009

vote of the state. Each state is allocated a certain number of electors, equal to the number of its Representatives and Senators, and based on its size and population. Since 1964 there are 538 electors. To become the President a candidate needs 270 Electoral College votes and does not need to win the national popular vote. A famous case of 2000 year elections has brought a flood of criticism of the system, when Al Gore won 48.38% of votes nationwide and lost to George Bush, who had a support of 47.87%, but got 271 Electoral College votes compared to 266 for Gore. This precedence in the modern American history²⁸ evoked a fierce discussion in the country about the undemocratic character of the Electoral College and irrelevancy of national popular vote. Another major drawback of the system adduced by its opponents is the limitation of the presidential campaigns to the *swing states*, since in many states the result is a foregone conclusion (Utah typically votes for Republicans, California for Democrats, etc.). Thus, the system gives little incentive for individual voters in certain states to participate in the elections and for candidates to run campaigns in certain states, where the results are fairly predictable.

What additionally complicates the American electoral system is the obligation to register to vote for eligible citizens who intend to cast their vote. In order to vote one must be registered 20 days before all primaries and elections and even though it is relatively easy to register (it does not need to be done in person), it requires from Americans some additional effort to participate in elections. In Poland every citizen who is 18 is automatically registered to vote and does not need to concern oneself with any other bureaucratic requirements.

Another important fact about election systems in both countries that affects the turnout is the date of elections. In Poland all election days are always set on Sunday, usually in the fall or spring. For American federal offices election date is always Tuesday after the first Monday of November in even-numbered years, a historical custom from the times when America was a predominantly agrarian country and farmers had to travel to vote (November was the most convenient month and Tuesday gave the chance to start a trip on Monday, since Sunday would not be suitable for travel for religious reasons). Nowadays, American voters do not need to travel for days to vote and only a negligible percent of them are farmers but the practice of organizing elections on so-called Super Tuesdays remained. To minimize the inconvenience of a working day election, in some states election date is a civic holiday, in some others employees are given a paid time off to vote and in most states there is also a possibility to cast a vote in a system of *early voting* (the period to cast the vote before an election day varies in different states from four to fifty days). Additionally, an *absentee voting*

²⁸ In actuality 2000 elections were not a precedence in the history of USA, in the elections of 1876 and 1888 the winner also did not receive the plurality of the nation's popular vote.

by mail is allowed in 28 states. Recently in Poland there have been also emerging civic initiatives endorsing the introduction of on-line voting but currently no form of absentee voting is legally permitted and so is the case with the early voting.

3.1.3 Consequences for GOTV²⁹ (get-out-the-vote) campaigns

Having provided the basic outline of Polish and American voting systems, the question arises about how much the electoral system affect voters' participation. In both countries the declining turnout is lamentable for a part of society and experts seek ways to increase citizens' participation in political life. One of suggested solutions is a reform of the election system. How is then the present election system influencing the turnout and which elements of those systems are crucial for advertisers who want to address population and encourage them to vote? In order to better understand the tendencies in electoral turnout and to establish the space for get-out-the-vote advertising campaigns let us take a closer look at the turnout rates in both countries, which will enable to compare the results from parliamentary and presidential elections (see *Table 3.1* and *Table 3.2* below).

Table 3.1 National Voters Turnout in Federal Elections in USA (1990-2008)

Year	Voters eligible to vote	Registered Voters	Voter turnout	Turnout (percent)
2008*	231,229,580	168,389,000	132,588,516	61.7
2006	220,600,000	135,889,600	80,588,000	37.1
2004	221,256,931	174,800,000	122,294,978	55.3
2002	215,473,000	150,990,598	79,830,119	37.0
2000	205,815,000	156,421,311	105,586,274	51.3
1998	200,929,000	141,850,558	73,117,022	36.4
1996	196,511,000	146,211,960	96,456,345	49.1
1994	193,650,000	130,292,822	75,105,860	38.8
1992	189,529,000	133,821,178	104,405,155	55.1
1990	185,812,000	121,105,630	67,859,189	36.5

Source: Federal Election Commission (in Pludowski 2008: 198)

**Source of 2008 election results: http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2008G.html.*

²⁹ Get-Out-The-Vote (GOTV) campaign is understood in this paper as a non-partisan and non-profit form of action organized by non-partisan associations or organizations aimed at increasing voter turnout by creating PSAs, canvassing, etc.

NOTE: Presidential election years are in bold print

Table 3.2 National Voter Turnout in Poland in Parliamentary and Presidential Elections (1989-2007)

Year	Elections	Turnout (percent)
2009	<i>European Parliament</i>	24.53
2007	Parliamentary	53.88
2005	Presidential	49.74 (50.99 second round)
2005	Parliamentary	40.57
2004	<i>European Parliament</i>	20.87
2001	Parliamentary	46.29
2000	Presidential	61.12
1997	Parliamentary	47.93
1995	Presidential	64.70 (68.23 second round)
1993	Parliamentary	52.13
1991	Parliamentary	43.20
1990	Presidential	60.63 (53.40 second round)
1989	Parliamentary	62.70 (25.31 second round)

Source: Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza www.pkw.gov.pl

The data in Table 3.1 and 3.2 prove that complaints about a constantly diminishing participation in elections are exaggerated either in Poland or in the United States. The last presidential election turnout in November 2008 was record high since 1964, which may signal more electorate interest in politics, may be the effect of GOTV campaigning or, as some American political pundits claim, may stem from the fact that the nation was so attracted by the battle between the first Afro-American presidential candidate in the US history and the noble “Grand Old Party” representative that voters have massively mobilized to vote. In Poland the case of the latest presidential election is contrary, since the turnout hit the record low since 1989.

It is remarkable that in both countries presidential elections evoke more interest among the public than parliamentary. The Super Tuesday of 2008, when Americans chose their 44th President, finished with 61.7% turnout, compared with 37.1% turnout for 2006 Congress elections. In the previous years the difference in turnout was correspondingly

similar. The same situation occurs in Poland, where the turnout in presidential elections is usually (with the exception of 2007 elections) about 10% higher than in parliamentary elections (See Table 3.1) What is perfectly understandable in the United States is not so comprehensible in Poland due to the fact, the scope of powers and responsibilities of Polish and American president is very different. As mentioned in 3.1 Polish President does not have as much power as the Prime Minister. Psychologists explain that it is natural that individual battles appeal to society more than party disputes and, furthermore, the presidential post is still publicly associated with the most prestigious position in politics (Korzeniowski 1999: 198). Hence, one may expect from GOTV campaigns before parliamentary elections to fight the stereotype of the powerful position of the president by showing that the real changes in the country come from the parliament and voters' choice will have noticeable consequences for them.

Irregularity of parliamentary elections in Poland as a result of an unstable political scene in the country also significantly impedes efforts for planning and organizing GOTV campaigns compared with fully predictable recurrence of election dates in America, which enables careful planning and launching campaigns on time. Nonetheless, American organizations and institutions dealing with GOTV issues have to usually precede their actual campaigns to vote by messages encouraging to register to vote. The United States, the cradle of democracy, is one of few Western democracies where there is an obligation to be registered to cast a vote before the election day itself. As a consequence, only 63% of eligible voters are registered to vote, comparing to 97% in Belize for instance. For the purpose of this paper, GOTV advertising messages informing how to register and encouraging to do so, are going to be considered as a part of a regular GOTV campaign. In America the target group for those campaigns is still a significant part of society – more than one third of adults is not registered to vote. Considering the complex American system of presidential elections, there is also more need for creators of social campaigns to concentrate their efforts on non-swing states (safe states) where the election results are fairly predictable and candidates do not bother to spend money on campaigning and time on convincing those who already seem to have fixed preferences. This leads to a situation where big campaigning is reserved for few *battleground states*³⁰, where the final results may go either way. Researches by Penn State University³¹ prove that participation in the battleground states is usually much higher than in safe states, where people may feel slightly disregarded.

³⁰ Battleground states are also referred to as swing states or purple states. In the recent times they included among others Florida, Ohio, Virginia, Colorado, North Carolina, Indiana

³¹ <http://www.rps.psu.edu/probing/voting.html>

Polish electoral system is not affected by geography but the hotly debated issue reappearing with every election is the plurality voting system and initiatives to introduce it in the country's parliamentary elections. Plurality voting works on winner-takes-all basis and allows voters to choose a representative directly and not vote for the party list with candidates arranged according to internal party regulations and business. In a 2007 survey conducted by GFK Polonia³², the vast majority of Poles (75%) supported the idea of introducing plurality voting system and the number almost doubled from 2000. More complicated voting system for Sejm and Senate than for the post of President is mirrored in turnout rates. Although the general elections for the parliament mean applicable changes that affect every aspect of social life – this is the government that is responsible for reforms of tax system, healthcare, education, etc. – people still seem to ignore the significance of those elections and repercussions of their choice or lack of choice. Thus one may expect from GOTV campaigns to remind and explicate the power of a single vote and the far-reaching consequences of choosing or letting others to choose those who are going to rule the country for the upcoming four years.

3.2 Voters political awareness

Professor Robert Putnam in his renowned book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (Putnam 2000) asserts that Americans are becoming more and more disconnected with their families, neighbors, communities and democratic structures. Having conducted a careful and elaborate research Putnam draws conclusion: “(...) [Americans] sign fewer petitions, belong to fewer organizations that meet, know our neighbors less, meet with friends less frequently, and even socialize with our families less often. We're even bowling alone. More Americans are bowling than ever before, but they are not bowling in leagues.” According to Putnam, the decline of *social capital* and plummeting civil engagement has become problematic to democracy. Putnam is also cited by the Polish scholar Tomasz Płudowski, who provides more evidence for disengagement from political involvement in the United States (Płudowski 2008: 49-51). Young Americans are, in majority, not interested in politics at all (64%) and in 2004 only 15% could have given any details from the running presidential campaign. The biggest interest in politics is shown by the group of people between 50 and 64, half of which could provide details of the campaign. (Płudowski 2008: 51, Table 1.6 based on data from Paw Research Center 2004).

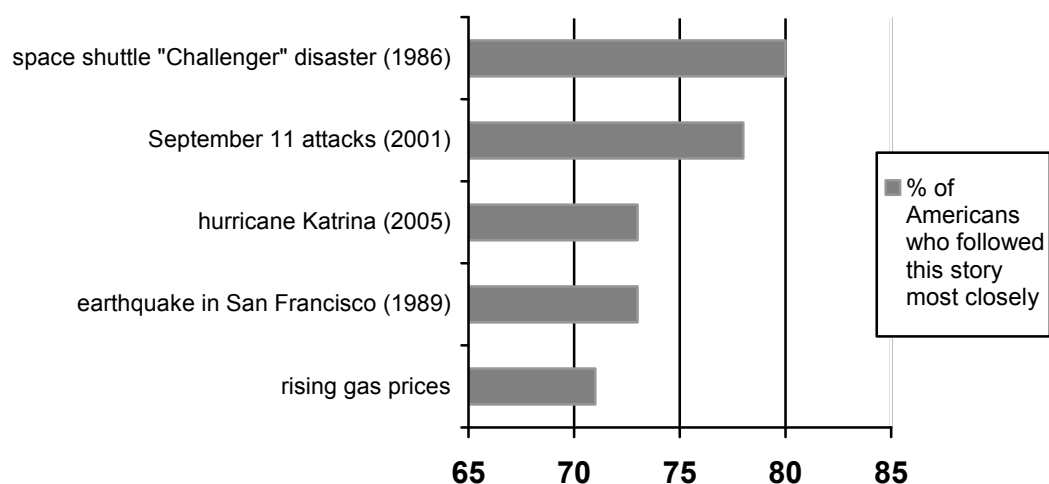
³² http://www.wirtualnemedia.pl/article/192195_Polacy_za_ordynacja_wiekszosciowa.htm

Polish research center TNS OBOP also regularly measures the interest in politics among Poles. In 2003³³ the majority of Poles declared not to be interested in politics or to pay attention only to particularly important events. Only 30% described themselves as interested in current political affairs and having certain political views; people who regularly follow all political news in the media constitute 5% of the population. Moreover, 51% of Poles do not have any definite political preferences. These results prove that Poles, often perceived as constantly debating about politics, are generally not interested in politics. According to the research, an average Pole interested in politics is a middle-aged man, well-educated and living in a big city, often working at a managerial position. Generally, better education, higher income, less religiosity and bigger city are conducive factors for both being interested in politics and voting. What is remarkable is the fact that young people in Poland, just like their American counterparts do not express much interest in politics and the percentage of those completely uninterested in politics is even higher in Poland (69% in 2003). The lack of interest in politics is also typical for housewives (74% of whom claim to be uninterested in the current political affairs), high school and university students (63%) and the unemployed (58%). Thus, these groups are the most challenging target for GOTV advertisers.

Interesting data on Americans' political awareness is presented by Płudowski (Płudowski 2008: 176-177, 190-191), who presents a list of the most carefully followed television events (Graph 3.3) and data on the interest of Americans in six basic news types (Table 3.4). The full list of 10 most watched media events (Płudowski 2008: 177) does not include any event related to political life of the country. What is more, the studies indicate that political news are of little interest among Americans, who follow more closely disasters, accidents and conflicts rather than current affairs on the political scene. No shift in attention for political life is made before elections, as only 7% of Americans follow the primaries, caucuses and nomination meetings (Pew Research Center 2004b:9 in Płudowski 2008: 177) and the events of the previous presidential campaign have been followed a little, very little or not followed at all by 58% of Americans (Płudowski 2008: 178).

³³ *Polski Homo Politicus* report by TNS OBOP <http://www.tns-global.pl/archive-report/id/1356>

Graph 3.3 The most followed media events in the USA (1986-2006)



Source: Robinson 2007 (in Płudowski 2008: 177)

Table 3.4 The interest in six basic news categories in the USA (2007)

Category of news	Average % of people who watch it "very carefully"
Disasters/Catastrophes/Accidents	39
Financial	34
Conflict	33
Political	22
Tabloid	18
International	17

Source: Robinson 2007 (in Płudowski 2008: 176)

The other important question is how much Poles and Americans actually know about the political life of their own country. The American Pew Research Center regularly examines political knowledge of the nation; the results of the newest survey are presented in Table 3.5. The longitudinal study enable to draw a weighty conclusion about seemingly fairly stable political knowledge, despite the impetuous communication technology development in the recent twenty years. The news channels, easy access to Internet resources, the evolution of the press market did not dramatically change Americans interest in politics and their knowledge. While only few percent less can name their leaders, there is a slight rise in the awareness that the Democrats hold majority in Congress and that the Chief Justice is a judicial conservative. We can also notice a shift in recognition of state's most powerful figures but the overall level of political knowledge remains at the very similar level. These results could be somehow

startling for both politics and GOTV campaigners since they prove that the development of new media does not affect the overall level of political awareness and the Internet serves more entertaining role rather than informative as far as politics are concerned. The question is whether internet GOTV advertisements can successfully reach and convince the internet audience. The other IQ news surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center confirmed also that, quite predictably, better educated people have more knowledge and interest in current political affairs. Older people, on average, know more than younger people.

Table 3.5 Political knowledge of Americans in 1989 and 2007

	1989	2007	Difference
Americans (%) who can name:			
current Vice-President	74	69	-5
the governor of their state	74	66	-8
the President of Russia	47	36	-11
Americans (%) who know:			
that USA has a budget deficit	81	68	-13
party holding House majority	68	76	+8
that the Chief Justice is judicial conservative	30	37	+7
Americans (%) who can identify:			
Tome Foley/Nancy Pelosi	14	49	+35
Richard Cheney/Robert Gates	13	21	+8
John Poindexter/Scooter Libby	60	29	-31

Source: Pew Research Center 2007d in Płudowski 2008:191

Unfortunately, no comparable studies on the political knowledge of the public in Poland are available. Hence, attempt to measure the level of knowledge of Poles on the basis of some media tidbits may occur unreliable. Notwithstanding, some data available in polls and surveys may reveal certain tendencies concerning the nation's political knowledge. Newspaper polls results suggest that the lack or little interest in politics goes hand in hand with the lack or little knowledge about current political affairs. For instance, in April 2009³⁴ a representative group of Poles were asked who Waldemar Pawlak is (Ministry of Economy and

³⁴ *Dziennik* 4 April 2009, p.3, a survey conducted for *Wprost* magazine

Deputy Prime Minister since 2007) and just half of the public could identify at least one of his functions. Another survey from January 2009 showed that roughly half of Poles does not know who leads the currently biggest political party in Poland Civic Platform³⁵. Also other researches do not give Poles much credit for the basic knowledge about country's financial matters³⁶ - the majority does not know the rights and duties of a taxpayer, they do not have any interest whatsoever in the basic structure of country's budget or the mission of the Ministry of Finance and the majority does not know elementary mechanisms behind currency rates (Ipsos 2008). Furthermore, little financial knowledge is not compensated by better knowledge of Polish history, since just 63% and 51% of Poles could name, give correct dates and events commemorated by two main public holidays- respectively May 3rd- Constitution Day and November 11th- Independence Day³⁷. Indubitably, the researches cited by the author are not a reliable in-depth studies on the condition of the political knowledge among Polish people, but the safe conclusion that may be drawn on the basis of the cited data is that the political awareness of the public in Poland is rather scanty and the expressed lack or little interest in politics is equally mirrored in poor knowledge about country's affairs. Likewise in America, the rapid development of the Internet technology and easy access to information does not seem to increase either interest or knowledge of the public.

Putnam, mentioned in the beginning of this section, emphasized that the social change that took place in America in recent decades may have disastrous effects on democracy. Famous idea of associating for a common purpose glorified by Alexis de Tocqueville in the 19th century is not the case in the modern America anymore. According to Putnam disconnecting from social structures starts at the level of very small communities – PTA, church, neighborhood associations – and continues to affect all aspects of social life: there is a growing distrust in government and state institutions, political parties become disintegrated, people are reluctant to do any volunteer work, the involvement in non-governmental organizations and foundations is dramatically decreasing. Commentators of social life in Poland very often draw similar conclusions and even though the old democracy in America cannot be adequately compared to 20-year old Polish democracy, experts notice similar tendencies of *bowling alone* among Polish people, who became less and less interested in social intercourse. The nagging question arises about the reasons for such situation and such attitudes towards political life. Why does an average John Doe in the United States and Jan Kowalski in Poland refuse to involve in political life, to join any organization, most

³⁵ *Wprost* magazine 2/3/2009

³⁶ research conducted by Ipsos Marketing for the Ministry of Finance, December 2008

³⁷ Source: Instytut Badania Opinii RMF FM, April 2008, results published on the website: www.rmf.fm/instytut

importantly – to take part in elections? In order to find best ways to engage people in political life of the country and to recognize best incentives to vote, it is imperative to find out what a John Doe or Jan Kowalski think about politics and diagnose their reasons for not voting.

3.2.1 Attitudes towards politics

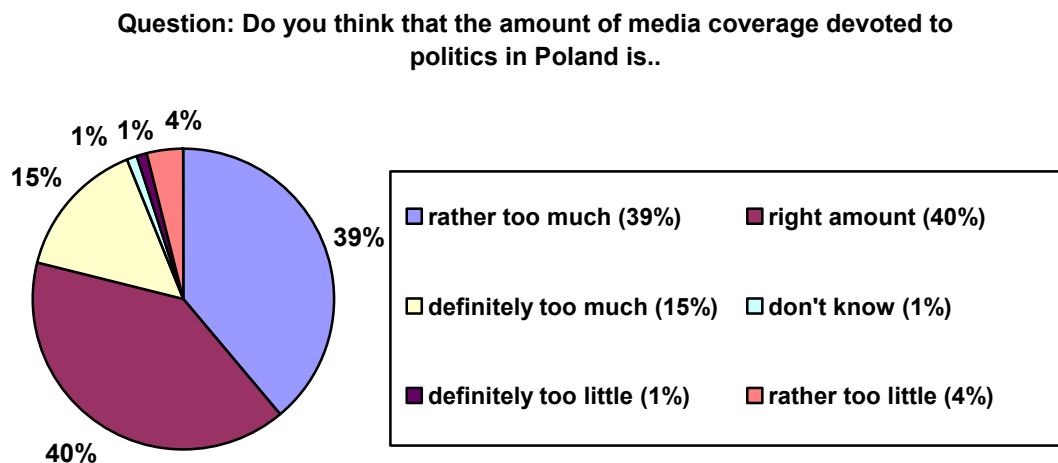
Pludowski, following the analyses of many other scholars (Patterson 2003, Capella & Jamieson 1997, Ansolabehere & Iyengar 1995, Putnam 2000) claims that participating in politics in America has been declining since 1960s and is now at an all-time low (Pludowski 2008: 218). The reason are multi-dimensional. Frequently, significant part of blame is attributed to the media, which are considered to cause voter cynicism and contribute to “the erosion of social capital” (Putnam 2000 in Pludowski 2008: 218). People have cynical attitudes to both politics, slogans they proclaim and to the news coverages about politics. There is a growing belief that politics as a field of activity is all about persuasion and manipulation rather than information and convincing. Public also tends to notice the power of dexterous public relations, competent spin doctors and glad-handing. As a result the trust for politicians and politics is falling and the reluctance and even hostility towards politics is on the rise (Pludowski 2008: 197).

Poles also seem to be tired of politics and media news about it. Statistics show that the majority thinks too much time is devoted to politics in the media (see Graph 3.6 below) and 70% would prefer to avoid the topic of politics in private conversations³⁸. They express very critical attitude towards Deputies claiming that they predominantly take care about their business over the common good (such opinion was expressed by 98% of surveyed). These results lead to a peculiar predicament: the public have little interest in politics and very little knowledge but concurrently does not want to watch news coverages devoted to politics which does not help to increase political knowledge as the media remain the main source of information about political affairs. This makes it very challenging for GOTV campaigners to successfully approach disinterested, discouraged and cynical public.

³⁸ Source: Instytut Badania Opinii RMF FM, 2005, results published on the website: www.rmf.fm/instytut

Graph 3.6 Poles' interest in news devoted to politics (2005)

Question: Do you think that the amount of time devoted in the Polish media to politics is...



Source: Instytut Badania Opinii RMF FM, 2005, www.rmfm.fm/instytut

The very critical attitude towards politics and politicians observed in both countries is a symptom of a broader phenomena in all Western democracies. Sociologists all over Europe observe a decline in participating in public life, especially among young people. A picture emerging in studies and reports show a visible shift in the perceiving a country – more and more people treat country as a commodity and choose to live in a particular place for personal merits. Especially young people are nowadays more mobile than ever before, often they live in one country as long as it is advantageous for their career and personal life. In those circumstances the ideas of patriotism and serving local communities have changed their meaning. As a result the attitude towards own country and its institutions has significantly changed. No wonder then that people who do not feel strong bonds with their country, refuse to take part in its political life. Poland is not an exception here on the European map. In France, Great Britain, Sweden, Spain, Slovakia citizens, irrespectively of the voting system, citizens criticize their political scene as much. One of the easiest ways to express the dislike or ignorance towards politics is to refuse to take part in election, since the elections are one of few chances for people for political activity. The generally declining turnout rates over the years (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2) are considered to be a direct result of the lack of interest and very critical opinions about politics. Nonetheless, elections are also a chance to change disliked politicians and to choose new establishment that is going to rule the country. Then

the question is why people do not take this opportunity, why some people, which is half of adult population in the US and Poland, do not vote.

3.2.2 Reasons for political absence

Pludowski reminds that there are several models existing, which enable to predict whether an individual will take part in the voting or not and they are of different nature: economical, psychological, sociological (Pludowski 2008: 199). The economical model is a model of rational choice, where a person prepares a peculiar kind of profit and loss account (Korzeniowski 1999: 200). Hence, the decline in the turnout may indicate less profit for potential voters. The most described psychological model concentrates on values, ideas in political programs and the possibility of change connected with the act of voting (Dzwończyk 2004: 69). American scholars since the 1960s claim that psychological component of political campaigns is of high importance (Campbell et al. 1960). The psychological model explains the decreasing turnout as a result of dwindling motivation and diminishing role of political parties (Pludowski 2008: 199). Sociological model focuses on identifying certain demographic variables determining the turnout rate and analyzes the dynamics of change. For instance, in the United States, there is a strong correlation between higher turnout and better education (an increase since 1960s), age (older people vote more than country's average), race (white people vote more eagerly), marital status (married people take part in voting more often than single people), religion (turnout is higher among people describing themselves as practicing), the length of residing in a particular place (people living in the same place longer than four years vote much more often) (Wattenberg 2002 in Pludowski 2008: 200). When it comes to sociological model of a Polish voter, in the parliamentary election in Poland in 2007 the highest turnout was gauged among people aged 40-59, with higher education, living in cities with the population of more than 500,000. What is interesting is the fact that the turnout among young voters (age 18-24) was higher than among older people (above 60), what may result from the GOTV campaigning on the unprecedented in Poland scale, aimed at young people.³⁹ Gender is a point of discrepancy between United States and Poland, since American women generally vote slightly more willingly than men (one percent difference) and in Poland there is still 3 up to 5 percent dominance of male voters. Nonetheless, even if the sociological variables conducive voting do not fully overlap, the reasons for political absence are usually identical everywhere. Pludowski aptly classifies them into ten basic categories as follows: (Pludowski 2008: 201-205)

³⁹ data by OBOP, published in *Gazeta Wyborcza* 23/10/2007

1. ***“I am happy with the way things are, I don’t need to vote.”***

The studies prove that among people who vote there is more of those who want change than those who want to keep the status quo. In industrialized countries with a fairly stable political scene, the act of voting seem to have little impact on everyday life. The most important factor influencing the electoral activity is the economy, but even weak economy only limits chances for the president in office to be reelected in favor of his opponent rather than has a significant impact on the turnout (Płudowski 2008: 201).

2. ***“What difference does it make if I vote?”***

The common belief that a single vote does not make any difference is the most common excuse for non-voters in Poland. Among people who systematically refuse to vote the highest percentage (51% in 1991, 14% in 1993, 13% in 1997, and 18% in 2001) justifies their political inactivity with the lack of belief that their vote will change anything (Dzwończyk 2004: 75). Studies confirm that people tend to mobilize and vote in the situation of an outside threat (e.g. Presidential election in the US in 2004 when the turnout slightly increased after September 11 terrorist attacks for the first time since 1968) or when society is strongly dissatisfied with the domestic or international policy their country run (e.g. Presidential elections in the USA in 2008, Polish Parliamentary elections in 2007).

3. ***“They are all the same.”***

As already mentioned in section 3.2.1 politics and politicians are discredited by the public as corrupted, vapid, and involved in big-money interest. The political class is among least trusted groups of society both in the US and in Poland. According to the Gallup research from 2000 only 7% of the Americans give Congress a great deal of confidence. These meaningful figures confirm the real crisis of public trust towards politics (Płudowski 2008: 201)

4. ***“What difference does it make who wins?”***

There is strong tendency for political parties to lean towards the center as a strategy aimed at appealing to the new electorate. This inclination is characteristic for most Western European countries. In consequence, there is no clear division between right-wing and left-wing and parties and their candidates seem to have very similar programs. This discourages people from learning and apprehending information about election manifestos and, eventually, to vote.

5. ***“I have no candidate to vote for.”***

The media concentrate their attention on main parties in the country and main representatives of those parties. Frequently, the media have their favorite politicians, who systematically comment current events. In America, this results in little or no public knowledge about the existence of so-called *third parties*. In the election time, the media focus their attention on very few possible candidates that some commentators describe it in terms of self-fulfilling prophecies (Płudowski 2008: 202). The election of 2008 evoked much controversy when it turned out that the media devoted much more time reporting on Barack Obama campaign over John McCain's. In the circumstances of not fully approving certain party or a candidate, people instead of choosing the lesser evil, decide not to vote at all.

6. ***“I do not know who to vote for.”***

Seemingly, this argument is very close to the previous one but here the emphasis is on the feeling of being ill-informed by the potential voters. The studies suggest that the media do not satisfy information needs of the electorate treating elections as a horse race or beauty pageant competition concentrating on polls results and candidates' image too much, neglecting constructive debate and objective information about party's and candidates' manifestos (Płudowski 2008: 203). Hence, voters are left with an impression that they know too little to make a rational and conscious choice and... they do not vote.

7. ***“I hate all that mudslinging.”***

The negativity of political campaigns is undeniable. Candidates accuse each others in debates, try to find disrespecting information about opponents, blame ruling politicians for poor administrating – the prevailing part of election campaigns is negative. Moreover, every presidential or parliamentary campaign seem to be more brutal and evolving towards black PR. All that leads to a belief in the nation that politics is immoral, dirty, dishonest. As a rule negative campaigning evokes negative response among people and very often they show their disgust by not voting.

8. ***“I don't care.”***

People not interested in politics, elections, campaigning, are very likely be become sworn non-voters. It is natural for democratic countries that there is a group of non-voters and without obligatory voting legislation, the turnout rate at the level of 70-80% are

considered to be very satisfactory, showing democratic maturity of a nation (such turnout is usual for e.g. Italy, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Germany). Nonetheless, if among non-voters *I don't care* group constitutes the remarkable percentage, then it is worth consideration how to make people care about the future of their country.

9. *System and institutional reasons*

As mentioned before in section 3.1 presidential election system in America is very complex and may seem too complicated for a regular citizen. The undemocratic character of Electoral College intensifies the discouragement to engage in the elections. The obligatory registration before voting is another encumbrance that may affect the turnout. In Poland, the voting system also evokes some controversy and some non-voters claims to start voting only under plurality voting system (see 3.1.1 for details).

10. *Lack of civic education of the youth*

The final reason for political absence suggested by Pludowski and other scholars is the lack of education of the young people. The young voters are a special target for both politicians (statistics show that it is likely that young voters will stay loyal to the party they voted for the first time) and social advertisers, who find it most difficult to convince the young about the advantages of voting (this issue is described in more details in section 3.3) . As politicians often underline, the youth is the future of the nation and this truism applies also to elections – once a young person develops a habit of voting, it is extremely probable that he/she is going to vote every time. Both in Poland and in the United States there are numerous initiatives to increase voter turnout among the young adults (see section 3.4).

A long list of arguments of non-voters is troublesome for people concerned with the healthy state of democracy⁴⁰. Politicians, non-governmental organizations, marketers hired to create GOTV advertising campaigns join their efforts to overcome all above mentioned mindsets but convincing the public about the relevance of voting is a grueling task. Breaking the vicious circle of common way of thinking: *I have no influence on the political situation of the country, so I don't vote* and making them realize that if they do not vote, then they have no influence, needs a great deal of determination, imagination and creativity. Indeed, GOTV

⁴⁰ The debate over turnout evokes contradictory opinions among experts and the question whether a low turnout is a sign of a poor condition of democracy remains a hotly debated issue

activists have innovative ideas promoting participation in voting, e.g. Polish campaign *Vote in gloves*, following French original, trying to face *I hate all that mudslinging* belief.

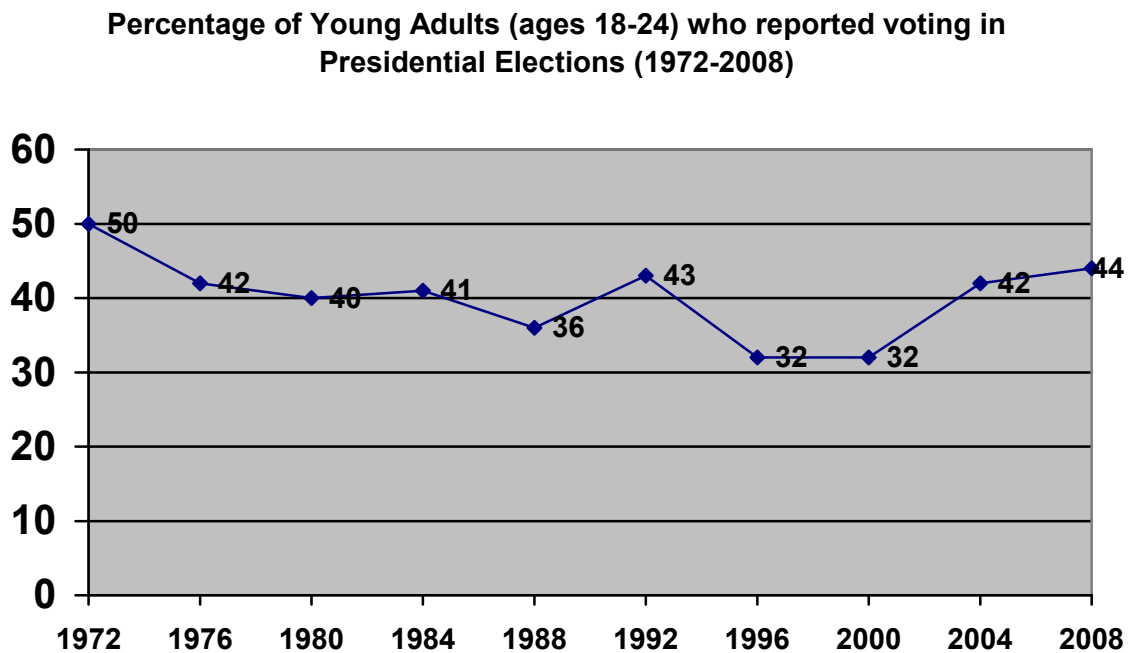
3.3 Young voters as a special target for GOTV campaigns

It is scientifically proven that past voting behavior is the best predictor for the future voting behavior. Numerous electorate studies and researches (Plutzer 2002, Green and Schachar 2000, Nickerson 2004) prove that once an individual takes part in the elections as a voter, it is very probable he/she is going to vote again and again. Penn State political scientist Eric Plutzer says that “virtually all major works on turnout have concluded that voting behavior is, in part, a gradually acquired habit.” (Plutzer 2002: 42) Plutzer adds that in the United States only 30% of adults are *habitual voters*, who take part in all elections at national and local level, 35% of adults are *periodic voters*, who vote only in most important elections and not regularly, and the third group, constituting 35% of adult population, is not registered to vote. Most young voters (aged 18-29) fall into the unregistered group. Considering the habit-forming rule this statistic is alarming for those concerned with reversing the trend of falling turnout and keeping the democracy healthy.

Young people as a significant part of society (in the USA one fifth of the electorate is 18-29) give approximately 44 million potential votes and in Poland – 7.6 million⁴¹. Since this electorate could be crucial and decide about the outcome of tight elections, politicians do their utmost to win them over. Likewise habit forming, the partisan loyalty develops during the youth vote years. In consequence, the youth could become the political powerhouse much more than any other group. For years, the youth has been targeted by politicians unsuccessfully as the voter turnout among them has been always much lower than national average both in Poland and United States and hit new lows (despite a significant upstick in 1992 and 2008 American Presidential elections – see Graph 3.7).

⁴¹ based on data from 2004 Główny Urząd Statystyczny: www.stat.gov.pl/

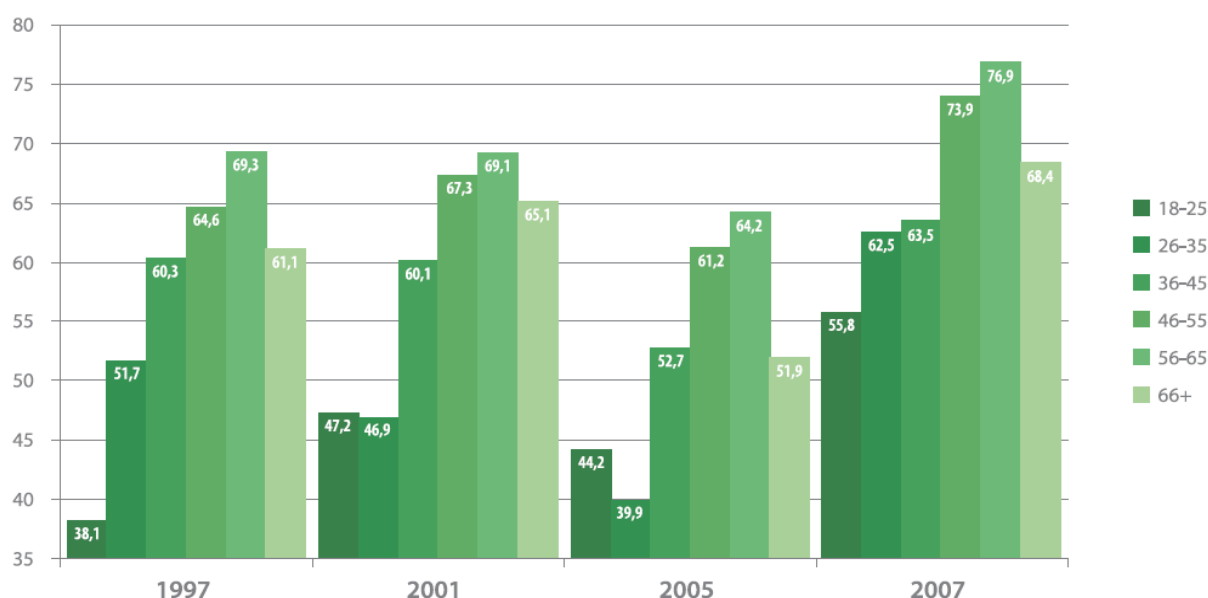
Graph 3.7 Youth Voters Turnout in USA (1972-2004)



Source: US Census Bureau <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/voting.html>

In Poland, as shown on Graph 3.8 the youth has least motivation to vote and turnout in that age segment is the lowest or second lowest among all age segments. Moreover, it is significantly lower than the average and even up to 40% lower than the record high. These results show that politicians do not focus enough on the youth or are incapable of motivating them to vote. Even though the public awareness of the power of young voters increases in the US and in Poland and politicians, advised by their consultants and advisers, try to target the youth (e.g. John Kerry started his presidential campaign in 2004 by a short interview on MTV news; in 2008 Democratic Left Alliance party in Poland [Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej] released a promoting spot with a hip-hop artist rapping about the party and its values), the turnout among this group of demographic remains alarmingly low. Thus, social advertising complements politicians' efforts and comes at their aid as a tool of mobilizing young voters.

Graph 3.8 Percentage of Poles who reported⁴² voting in general elections (1997-2007) according to age segments



Source: Polskie Generalne Studium Wyborcze (graph published in the report „Kampanie społeczna Zmień kraj, idź na wybory – raport z przebiegu kampanii i rekomendacje na przyszłość” by 21października Foundation)

Public service announcements prompting the inactive youth to vote started to emerge in the late 1990’s in America and circa 2004 in Poland, initiated by non-governmental organizations, public institutions and other informal non-partisan groups. In collaboration with various media outlets these out-groups, placing advertising campaigns in the public space, have had inestimable impact on young voters. However, prior to creating a GOTV campaign, advertisers need a careful research on their target group since the youth is immensely difficult to address. Unquestionably, this demographic is unlike any other now or in the past. Sometimes referred to as Millennial Generation or Generation Y by journalists, those born between 1977-1997, define themselves as tech-savvy and diverse (from *Rock The Vote* report 2008). While new ways of communication (e.g. social networking sites) might come extremely handy for advertisers, group’s diversity may impede the progress of GOTV campaign and requires further research. Certainly, American society is much more diverse than Polish in terms of their ethnicity, religion, education, digital exclusion, etc. Thus, campaigners in USA often concentrate their efforts on sub-groups within the youth, e.g. young Latinos as the fastest-growing ethnic subset whose main concern is immigration and economy, young African-Americans concerned mainly about the cost of education (*Rock The*

⁴² reported turnout in Poland is usually 10% higher than actual turnout

Vote report 2008). In Poland, the main line of diversity is the social background, which usually determines education and employment perspectives. Nonetheless, putting aside subtargets and various incentives to vote for potential electorate, there are certain rules of communicating with the young defined by sociologists, marketers and journalists that apply to all ethnic, religious, geographic groups.

By and large, young voters care about similar or the same issues as other demographic groups, but GOTV campaigners should not expect that the same rhetoric would work with every cohort. First and foremost, the message to be accepted by the young has to be comprehensible for them and platitudinous, pompous or the worst - boring speeches have to be eternally abandoned when communicating with the youth. Not only do young adults deprecate quintessential political style, but they are also extremely sensitive to any attempts of manipulation in language. Hence, only fully neutral and unbiased GOTV advertising messages are likely to be approved by the youth. What is also emphasized by experts (*Rock The Vote* report, *Zmień kraj. Idź na wybory* report) is the need to use emotive language in ads targeted at young adults. As Faber et al. explain “evidence indicates that emotional political ads are better recalled than non-emotional appeals and that negative emotional political ads are better recalled than positive emotional political ads” (Faber et. al. 1998: 68). Thus, many campaigns seeking to target the youngest electorate use emotional appeal to overcome rational arguments presented in section 3.2.

Celebrity endorsement is another common trick to popularize election process, since the appeal of a superstar youth’s idol is tremendous, even if the majority of Americans (Pew Research Center 2004 in Płudowski 2008: 51) and of Poles (*Gazeta Wyborcza* 15/06/2006) declare that endorsing a politician by an actor, clergyman, another politician, media personality, etc. would not influence their political decision. Yet, celebrity endorsement for the idea of taking part in the voting process, particularly for the young, is likely to have intended outcome. Even cursory examination of past PSAs supporting voting shows that marketers use celebrity endorsement technique very eagerly while capturing young demographic. The trend started in the USA, where the youth, immersed in popular culture, cherishes and follows their idols more enthusiastically than elsewhere, and quickly disseminated throughout the world, not avoiding Poland. To promote and enhance the power of the message advertisers involve influential music channels like MTV and VH1, stations that young demographic has strong ties with.

The youth has the power to reshape politics but provided that public institutions, non-partisan groups, non-governmental organizations, community leaders will focus their efforts on developing engaged citizenship among them (Dalton 2008: 5). Duty-based citizenship

model is not going to prove itself effective with contemporary generation of the young, independent individuals who are strongly discouraged to political life. To elucidate them the power of their voice and make them cast their votes, GOTV campaigns have to comply with several rules of communication. Avoiding manipulation, applying adequate language, using emotional appeal and treating the young with respect are most prominent among them. Nonetheless, obeying certain rules does not guarantee a successful campaign and marketers have to come up with innovative and creative ideas for their ads. Opposite to commercial advertising, where the sales could be measured in hard figures, the voters' turnout is a sum of different variables, GOTV advertising being just one of them. Regardless of the apparent conclusion that it is impossible to deduce to what extent GOTV advertising messages influence young voters' participation, the link between the two is strong. Moreover, it would suffice to say that nowadays, the public service announcements endorsing voting just for the sake of democracy, are indispensable, valuable element of every election, appreciated and recognized by more and more constituents of society.

3.4 Initiatives to increase voter turnout

This section is aimed at giving a brief overview of main non-partisan initiatives to increase voter turnout in the USA (3.4.1) and in Poland (3.4.2).

With every election the number of citizen-initiated projects to increase turnout rises. Numerous projects that emerged as one-time events have transformed into national movements and organizations, others have finished together with the election that they were founded to support. Particularly, previous year presidential election in United States and 2007 parliamentary elections in Poland abounded with get-out-the-vote campaigns. Notwithstanding, the number of initiatives of that kind is still relatively small, in comparison to, for instance the number of initiatives to promote healthy lifestyle or to stop domestic violence, road rage, etc., but it needs to be noted that GOTV actions have cyclic character, inseparably correlated with a current political situation. Seemingly, the conjoined efforts of different groups and communities resulted in slightly higher turnout both in Poland and in the USA in the last elections. The increasing number of non-partisan projects aimed at boosting electorate participation goes hand in hand with more professional, higher budget advertisements, which are thus more likely make a significant impact on the electorate.

3.4.1 Main initiatives in the United States

▪ **Rock The Vote**

Rock The Vote is the biggest and most recognizable organization for political advocacy in the United States, founded in Los Angeles in 1990 by Jeff Ayeroff in response to attacks on freedom of speech and suppressing artistic expression. Since the very first campaign in 1990 called *Censorship is UnAmerican* featuring Iggy Pop and Red Hot Chili Peppers, the organization systematically incorporates popular culture and entertainment community into its actions. Its state mission is “to build the political clout and engagement of young people in order to achieve progressive change”⁴³. Since the 1990s’ *Rock The Vote* actively works on engaging young people to register and vote in elections with the help of new technologies, professional media advertising campaigns and with the great help from celebrities, who voluntarily take part in *Rock The Vote* public service announcements. In 2000 organization launched its online registration application system, a very popular tool among the first-time voters. The intensive nationwide GOTV campaign for 2004 election helped contribute to a significant historic growth (over 4 million surge) in the young demographic segment. In 2008 elections *Rock The Vote* focused on Hispanics, African-Americans and women and registered over 2 million young adults. Reaching out to young electorate *Rock The Vote* run also a series of PSAs featuring numerous artists and uses new media tools such as social networking sites (Facebook, MySpace, Twitter). Considering the length of experience and number of attainments, it is safe to state that *Rock The Vote* is the leading organization in the American voter turnout sector that sets standards for GOTV campaigns not only in the US but in other democratic countries all over the world.

▪ **Declare Yourself**

Declare Yourself is another influential non-partisan organization founded to encourage young voters to register and vote in local and national elections. It began in 2000 with the project “Declaration of Independence Road Trip”, inspired by a purchase of a rare copy of Dunlap broadside⁴⁴ by the founder of *Declare Yourself* TV producer and philanthropist Norman Lear, who intended to bring “the people’s document” directly to Americans in the nationwide, multimedia exhibit campaign. *Declare Yourself* was launched in 2003 at the

⁴³ <http://www.rockthevote.com/about/>

⁴⁴ The Dunlap broadsides were the first copies of American Declaration of Independence printed on the night of July 4, 1776 by John Dunlap in Philadelphia. The number of originally printed broadsides is estimated at about 200.

culmination of the “Declaration of Independence Road Trip” project to empower young people and increase their civic engagement. *Declare Yourself* with the help of strategic media, celebrity spokespeople and new technology “blankets the landscape of popular culture, as well as universities and high schools, with a simple, clear message: REGISTER and VOTE!”⁴⁵ Since 2004 *Declare Yourself* registered over 4 million of young Americans to vote. For the 2008 elections organization prepared a series of high-profile public service announcements and viral videos, viewed by over 6 million people. The provocative *Only you can silence yourself* advertising campaign featured A-list young stars, e.g. actors Jessica Alba, Leonardo DiCaprio, Scarlett Johansson, sports figures Brady Quinn, Carlos Boozer, TV personalities Ellen DeGeneres, Tyra Banks and many others. The *New York Times* called the organization “different kind of cultural phenomenon” (8/14/08) and, undoubtedly, *Declare Yourself*, has gained itself a powerful status as a youth-oriented brand.

▪ **Choose or Lose**

Choose or Lose is MTV’s project that began in 1992 as a pro-democratic campaign to increase the number of registered voters and to increase social activism among young people. MTV is said to began the phenomenon of addressing young voters with PSAs encouraging them to register and vote. As shown on Graph 3.7 the 1992 GOTV campaign (featuring Madonna) proved itself to be successful as the young voters turnout significantly increased. In the framework of the *Choose or Lose* campaign, MTV runs a website informing its visitors about the elections, candidates, political issues that matter to young people most, organizes a series of debates and reports the elections from the perspective of the youth. The project’s mission statement is “inspiring young people to take action to improve their lives and communities by unleashing the shared power and voice of young people and MTV.”⁴⁶ Thanks to its position on the market and enormous brand loyalty, this leading music channel, aimed exclusively at the young target, began a trend of promoting the election process and social activism on unprecedented scale.

3.4.2 Main initiatives in Poland

▪ **Masz głos, masz wybór**

Project *Masz głos, masz wybór* (*You Have a Vote, You Have a Choice*) was launched by Batory Foundation and School of Leaders Association as a long-term undertaking aimed

⁴⁵ http://www.declareyourself.com/about_us/about_us_73.html

⁴⁶ <http://think.mtv.com/Issues/politics/>

at supporting and stimulating social activism, shaping civic society in Poland and educating the youth in the area of civics. The first GOTV campaign was launched for 2006 local elections, accompanied by a series of debates with candidates. The campaign gained support from 340 local non-governmental organizations and from local and national media, which broadcast a vote-encouraging PSA and published information about project's activities. In 2007 in the preparation to parliamentary elections and within the same *Masz głos, masz wybór* project, successive series of debates were held and a new subproject was launched entitled *Zmień kraj. Idź na wybory* (*Change the country. Vote*) accompanied by an interactive promotional website www.21pazdziernika.pl (named after a date of election October 21, 2007) enabling to create a personal banner supporting voting. The coalition of non-partisan and non-profit organizations standing behind *Zmień kraj. Idź na wybory* created promotional GOTV posters, banners, stickers and produced a short series of TV commercials advocating voting, which were broadcast prime-time in local and national media free of charge. In the opinion poll succeeding the campaign 94% of respondents admitted to recognize the campaign⁴⁷ and 3 million people claimed to vote after being influenced by the campaign. The campaign had an impact on 36% of first-time voters who declared that their decision to go the polls was taken under the influence of the project and 17% of electorate declared not to give up voting thanks to the encouragement of this GOTV project. Additionally, the voter turnout in 2007 election was record high for Polish parliamentary elections since 1989.

▪ **wybieram.pl**

wybieram.pl (*Ichoose.pl*) is a non-profit, non-partisan association founded in 2005 by young activists with a main objective to promote civic engagement by taking part in local and general elections. Likewise its American counterparts, according to which *wybieram.pl* was established, the association takes young people as an aim of its campaigns. Not only does it strive to increase turnout in elections, but also to promote and develop civic activism and to raise public's awareness about their democratic rights and duties. Similarly to *Rock The Vote* and *Declare Yourself*, organization incorporates youth culture to its campaigns, encourages celebrities and TV personalities to join the pro-voting projects and uses popular among young people media to gain recognition and reach its target group. For the 2007 election a project *Vote as you like* (*Głosuj jak chcesz*) was launched with a series of TV commercials featuring famous actors, journalists, musicians,

⁴⁷ Polskie Generalne Studium Wyborcze, data extracted from the report „*Kampanie społeczna Zmień kraj, idź na wybory – raport z przebiegu kampanii i rekomendacje na przyszłość*”

who declared their readiness to vote and advised people to make their own choice. Additionally, the association, as the first non-partisan group in Poland, created a GOTV campaign *Poles vote (Polacy głosują)* aimed at young emigrants in the UK reminding them about the possibility to exercise their right to vote outside Poland. *wybieram.pl* does not limit its activities to around-election time only, but vigorously continues its campaigns in after-election time targeting young people at music festivals, in the nightclubs, at schools and universities.

Indubitably, the initiatives undertaken to raise voter turnout are not confined to several projects and campaigns run by above mentioned organizations and associations, since numerous local formal and informal groups take action with the same aim in view. Nonetheless, three organizations from the United States and two Polish projects, described in this section are clearly most noticeable, respected and influential in their area of interest. I presented only mainstream initiatives since the existing niche campaigns did not have a considerable effect on the outcome of past elections. Also other relevant organizations concerned with the issue of voter turnout do not run advertising campaigns that are crucial for this paper and concentrate on other activities that contribute to increasing turnout e.g. door-to-door canvassing, volunteer phone banks, election day reminder calls and text messages, organizing conferences, debates, early voting, conducting research in this field, etc.

As transpires from the characterizations of Polish and American GOTV initiatives, American projects came into being even a decade before first Polish get-out-the-vote projects were in their infancy. Polish community leaders openly admit to look up to American standards of running GOTV campaigns and therefore it is going to be interesting to examine to what extent Polish PSAs depict, reproduce, adjust ideas from American PSAs, which non-voters' arguments they intend to overcome and what kind of style, language variations they use. In the present chapter I aimed to lay background for the study of the language of public service announcements by presenting the main factors determining voters turnout in both countries, comparing political awareness of Poles and Americans and suggesting their main reasons for non-voting. I have also related to the weighty issue of alarmingly low turnout among the youth and presented main initiatives aimed at reversing this trend and promoting civic activism among society. Combined with information on the language of advertising discourse, facts and figures regarding political communication in Poland and USA will serve as the fundament for the study in Chapter 4.

4. The study

4.1 Methodology

The aim of the study was to examine the linguistic aspect of get-out-the-vote public service announcements (hereinafter GOTV PSAs) in the United States and in Poland. The main objective behind the study was to scrutinize different linguistic and language-related features of those advertisements and to compare American and Polish PSAs. The particularized aims of the comparative study are:

- scrutinizing content of PSAs applying discourse analysis perspective by measuring the use of certain stylistic devices, presence of humor, controversy, celebrity endorsement, cultural references, establishing target audience of messages, style, execution,
- finding out which non-voters arguments PSAs in both countries strive to overcome,
- eliciting keynote phrases and buzzwords for GOTV campaigns based on the corpus analysis
- establishing whether Polish PSAs follow standards set by American counterparts,
- analyzing to what extent differences in political communication and election systems in two countries affect the content of GOTV ads,
- describing a general condition of the get-out-the-vote social campaigns in both countries and the level of professionalism of GOTV messages

The study was conducted on the basis of content analysis of 79 public service announcements, which encompassed 53 American GOTV PSAs and 26 Polish GOTV PSAs. The vast majority constitute TV spots (74), two viral Internet videos (#1, 4 Appx. 2), two radio spots (#16, 18 Appx. 2), one outdoor billboard campaign (#26 Appx.2). Combining various media was caused by an attempt to possibly balance the disproportion between the amount of American and Polish commercials available. Despite the fact that I have collected practically all possible official TV spots of Polish GOTV campaigning, the ratio between American ads to Polish ads in this study is 2:1. All PSAs used in the study are transcribed (see Appx. 1 and 2). American PSAs come from the period of 1992 to 2008 and Polish 2005 to 2009. The asymmetry stems from the fact that Polish GOTV campaigns have slowly started to emerge around 2003 together with the Polish European Union membership referendum and first significant GOTV commercials were launched only for 2005 Parliamentary and Presidential elections. To expand the spectrum of the study I have also decided to include the 2009 European Parliament election in Poland, since the political campaign was accompanied by an interesting GOTV actions. Clearly, the biggest number of PSAs come from 2008

American Presidential election and Polish 2007 Parliamentary election, which proves that GOTV campaigning is still developing and evolving. With every election, both in Poland and in the USA, the number of PSAs encouraging to vote is growing.

The PSAs that are in the center of this study were selected on the basis of three criteria:

1. PSA has to be neutral and encourage to vote for the sake of democratic choice and must not lean towards any party or candidate,
2. PSA has to be launched or published by a registered non-profit or non-for-profit organization or association not by an individual person,
3. PSA has to contain text consisting of at least one sentence or phrase,

I was able to gather 79 PSAs meeting the above mentioned criteria (53 American and 26 Polish). All the data for the study was collected from American television (recorded in 2006-2008), Polish television (recorded 2007-2009), from the internet (www.youtube.com website or on official websites of organizations and associations running GOTV campaigns: Rock The Vote, Declare Yourself, MTV Think, wybieram.pl, Masz głos masz wybór, Pokolenie 89’.

In the analysis I have encountered few research problems that may influence the relative importance of the study. First of them in the disproportion between the number of Polish and American advertising messages, the ratio of which constitutes 2:1 for American PSAs. More than half a hundred of American ads constructs a fully representative sample. Twice as little Polish ads may seem insufficient for an accurate in-depth study, but it needs to be emphasized again that these are all TV commercials that appeared in Polish television in the pre-election time since 2005, when the phenomena of GOTV campaigns had only started to emerge. Also, later with subsequent elections there was usually one or two GOTV PSA launched to accompany the political campaign (sometimes one PSA appeared in different variations). In the United States, not only had social advertising to increase voter turnout emerged much earlier, but also every election is accompanied by a large number of differentiated PSAs that encourage to register and vote. For that reason, it is only possible to conduct the cross-sectional study, since longitudinal study, examining the changes over time, would become fruitless with such material.

The analysis was done in reference to the material from Chapters 1, 2 and 3 and in accordance to sociolinguistics and communication theory methodological frameworks. The study, however, contains a dose of subjectivity, which is impossible to avoid in gauging the humor or controversy aspect of an ad. Thus, to minimize this problem, I focused not only on the text itself but also on probable copywriters’ intentions, the effect they sought to achieve on the target audience and on the actual feedback from the viewers, displayed in their online comments or in newspaper analyses. The study was conducted twofold: first by examining

PSAs in the aspect of ten variables and secondly based on the corpus analysis, which helped to establish certain trends and phenomena in the field of GOTV advertising discourse in Poland and United States. The overall outcome of the study will shed some light on this relatively new and uninvestigated field of interest.

4.2 Variables

As mentioned in the methodology section, the study of the linguistic aspect of GOTV PSAs consists of two parts, with the analysis based on ten variables being one of them. The criteria for the study were established on the basis of the investigation of the advertising language discourse (see Chapter 2) and the overview of the political communication in Poland and USA. All variables for this study relate to the textual aspect of the ads. Nonetheless, the visual imagery cannot be fully disregarded in the study since non-verbal communication may influence, reinforce or even contradict the language. Thus, I have shortly described each analyzed advertising message to set the background for the text and to pinpoint those of non-verbal elements of a PSA that may strongly influence the overall perception. The comment section also clarifies and highlights all para-language elements that contribute to a certain interpretation of an advertisement.

The table in section 4.3, which is the first part of the actual study contains 14 columns, ten of them containing a relevant variable to be examined. They are as follows:

- *target audience*

Target audience is one of the key principles of marketing (see Chapter 1.2.2 for details), derived from the concept of market segmentation. In social advertising, determining the primary group of people that a PSA is aimed at appealing to, is as important as in commercial advertising. As commented in Chapter 3.3 young adults are a special target for marketers both for their reluctance to take part in the voting and for the power they hold to make the difference. For the sake of the study I have decided to analyze PSAs in the respect of whether the youth is a target audience (marked as Y in the table in 4.3) or it is addressed to both age groups – young adults and adults (marked as B in the table in 4.3). There was no need to apply a distinct criteria for adults only, since there are no ads, aimed at voters older than 30; all PSAs seek to appeal either the young voters specifically or are universal for the whole electorate.

- *celebrity endorsement*

Supporting a good cause by a celebrity is a common and fashionable practice (see Chapter 2.5 for details). Nowadays, numerous celebrities use their image, public respect

and authority they enjoy to get their message across and to support a socially relevant issues, voting in elections among them. This trend originates from the United States, where in the beginning of 1990's few PSAs featuring pop-culture superstars were released (Madonna being one of them). The effectiveness of this strategy turned out to be satisfactory enough to evolve into one of the most common instruments of persuasion in social advertising. In the study Yes (marked as Y in the table in 4.3) indicates the presence of a celebrity in a PSA and No (marked as N in the table in 4.3) signifies the absence.

- *controversy*

Controversy turned out to be a controversial variable to measure. As elaborated in Chapter 2.2 controversy is a risky strategy in marketing; it can both be interest-evoking (which according to the AIDA formula is crucial for a successful ad) but it can also turn the audience off, offend non-target audience, overshadow the intentions of marketers and, basically, can do more harm than good to the advert. Nonetheless, in the highly competitive advertising market and in the situation when people are flooded with different kinds of persuasive messages every day, evoking interest in the topic of voting may appear arduous task without turning to the simple method of applying a dose of controversy into a message. In Chapter 2.4 it has been mentioned that this dose needs to be attuned to the specific likes, wants and needs of the nation. Thus, a comparisons of the controversy levels in GOTV PSAs in Poland and USA, also in the view of political awareness in two countries described in Chapter 3.2, will expose interesting correlation. In the study Yes (marked as Y in the table in 4.3) indicates the presence of a controversy in a PSA and No (marked as N in the table in 4.3) signifies the absence. Controversy, as a very subjective category, was measured based on the probable copywriters intentions and the appearance of culturally unaccepted elements e.g. swear words, racial, religious, sexist jokes, discriminatory language, disrespect for national symbols, etc.

- *humor*

Likewise controversy section, sense of humor is culture and individual dependent. Nonetheless an attempt has been made to objectively gauge the presence of humor in a PSA (marked as Y in the table in 4.3) or the absence (marked as N in the table in 4.3) based on personal impression and if in doubt on copywriters intention and the feedback from the Internet audience.

- *cultural references*

This variable was relatively easy to assess. In the study Yes (marked as Y in the table in 4.3) indicates the presence of any kind of cultural references in a PSA and No (marked as N in the table in 4.3) signifies the absence of such. The aim of applying this category in the study was primarily to facilitate to predict whether Polish and American ads could be reciprocally utilized. All references to the history, culture, political life, non-verbal imagery (e.g. national flag colors) are considered as cultural reference. Yet, the difference in the voting system (the obligation to register in America) was not considered as relevant for this category, since practically all American PSAs encourage to vote indirectly by stimulating to register first.

- *language functions*

While a persuasive function of the advertising discourse is strongly emphasized by scholars (Kotler 1996, Budzyński 1999, Bralczyk 2004), other functions e.g. informative, educational may equally contribute to achieving the *action* phase, in the view of the AIDA formula. As obvious as it seems that GOTV campaigns have one objective in view: encouraging people to vote, that is persuading them to do so, but they strive to achieve this aim applying different approaches. Thus, GOTV messages do not necessarily employ direct or indirect persuasion only, but they make use out of other language functions. In the study in 4.3 these functions are put into five main categories marked as: educational (edu.), informative (inf.), persuasive (pers.), esthetic and expressive (see Chapter 2.2 for details).

- *execution*

Kotler (1989) differentiated three types of execution that marketers can use when construing a public service announcement: rational, emotional, non-verbal (Chapter 2.4). It was also said that advertising towards the youth most typically uses emotional arguments rather than rational. To examine whether GOTV campaigns intend to appeal to emotions or reason, I have decided to include this variable into the study. Some PSAs, as could be expected, attempt to make use of all types of execution at once, thus in that case I marked the prevailing type, judged by the overall impression of a PSA. In the study the possible executions are marked as follows: rational, emotional, non-verbal.

- *stylistic and rhetorical devices*

Language in advertising can be the most powerful tool to achieve campaign's objectives; it act as a sort of weapon that marketers can use to make their target act particular way. One of the techniques to make the utmost out of the infinite resources of language and to achieve marketing goals, is a creative use of different stylistic and rhetorical devices, just to mention personifications, anaphors, metaphors, similes, irony, repetitions, ellipses, rhetorical questions, archaisms, comparisons, rhyme and rhythm, imperatives, swear words, neologisms, allegory, colloquialisms, plays on words, apostrophes (see Chapters 2.2-2.4 for examples). In the study I have listed the most important and plausible devices that were used for every PSA.

- *style*

The choice of style depends on the target audience and the effect a PSA is aimed to make. Since the youth is a difficult yet desirable target for GOTV campaigners, one may expect the heavy use of informal style in the ads. Nonetheless, not all PSAs intended for young adults may contain informal style of language. In order to draw reliable conclusions in this area I have decided to include this variable and denote all PSAs with one of three possible styles of language: informal (marked as Inf. in the table in 4.3), formal (marked as F in the table in 4.3), or neutral (marked as N in the table in 4.3).

- *non-voter argument*

In Chapter 3.2.2 there have been provided ten basic arguments non-voters use to justify their absence in polling booths. GOTV campaigns while establishing their plan of action have to take into account both the target audience and their reasons for non-voting. Measuring which arguments became central in convincing the audience to abandon certain way of thinking and to adopt a new approach will reflect, to some extent, the condition of civic society spirit in Poland and USA. The arguments that were aimed to be refuted in the PSA are listed and described in Chapter 3.2.2 and the Table in 4.3 contains only the corresponding number of a certain non-voter claim.

By analyzing PSAs with the use of all described above variables, I hope to gather sufficient data to draw reliable conclusion on the linguistic aspect of get-out-the-vote advertising. Comparing the condition of Polish social advertising and American in this field will contribute to better understanding of the specific character of the Polish and American audience.

4.3 The analysis

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
	Name	Description	Target Audience	Celebrity Endorsement	Controversy	Humor	Cultural References	Language Functions	Execution	Stylistic and Rhetorical Devices	Style	Non-voter argument	Comments
American get-out-the-vote public service announcements (1992-2008)													
1.	America Ferrera for Declare Yourself (2008)	An ABC TV star of “Ugly Betty” actress America Ferrera urges people to vote	B	Y	N	N	N	edu /pers./	rational	imperatives	N	8	
2.	Brady Quinn for Declare Yourself	Clevalnd Browns’ football player persuades people to vote	B	Y	N	N	Y	edu	rational	-	Inf	2	
3.	One Vote by Choose or Loose	People of different age and race stand behind huge vote-counter that adds their votes.	B	N	N	N	N	edu /pers./	rational	repetition	N	2	
4.	Rachael Harris for Declare Yourself	Actress and comedienne Rachael Harris urges non-voter to register or otherwise	B*	Y	Y	Y	N	pers	emotional	irony	Inf	8	*Humor of PSA may appeal to

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
		they will get spanked.											young more
5.	<i>Sonic Youth for Rock the Vote (1992)</i>	The leader of Sonic Youth rock band convinces people to vote accompanied by band's music and images from its concerts.	Y	Y	N	N	Y	edu/pers./	emotional	repetitions, imperatives	Inf	1	
6.	<i>Spiderman wants you to vote (1992)</i>	Animated film with a superhero Spiderman encouraging to vote with the scary music in the background.	Y	Y*	N	Y	N	pers.	emotional	imperative	N	1	*considering Spiderman a special type of a celebrity
7.	<i>Voting is not a spectator sport</i>	The spot features two athletes: a girl and a boy who are late for a game and have to stay on the bench. It draws the game-life analogy where one cannot make a change just sitting and doing nothing.	Y	N	N	N	N	pers.	emotional	rhetorical question, metaphor	Inf	8	
8.	<i>Madonna for Rock The Vote (1992)</i>	A black and white 3-minute commercial with Madonna's monologue about voting while she's having her hair and make-up done.	Y	Y	Y*	Y	N	expressive	emotional	repetitions, irony, rhetorical questions	Inf	9	references to sex, religion
9.	<i>Vote for something (2008)</i>	An image of a cut-down forest and Choose or Lose badge with an interactive slogan Vote for: forests, paper, recycling, etc.,	B	N	N	N	N	pers.	emotional	repetition, imperative	N	8	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
		something. Sew sound in the background.											
10.	<i>Tony Hawk for Choose or Lose (2008)</i>	Skateboarder Tony Hawk, sitting in a President-like office convinces people to register.	Y	Y	N	N	N	pers.	rational	metaphor, imperatives	Inf	2	
11.	<i>Vote for something 2 (2008)</i>	A commercial-like spot with appearing and disappearing logos with slogans from political discourse (e.g. war on terror, homeland security); a jacket with a Choose or Lose badge with an interactive slogan Vote for: meaning, context, etc., something. Suspenseful music in the background.	B	N	N	N	Y*	pers.	emotional	imperatives, repetition	N	8	all phrases used related to American political life
12.	<i>Restaurant – Choose or Lose (2008)</i>	Several young people working in the restaurant's kitchen. A young boy enters the back and says he's just got accepted to a state college. Everybody congratulates but one person about how he is going to pay for that, a long silence after that.	Y	N	N	N	Y*	inf.	emotional	-	Inf	8	college application procedure, paid education
13.	<i>Citizen's cry (2008)</i>	A professional video that brings voice from the future:	Y	N	N	N	Y	pers.	emotional	personification	N	8	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
		a young girl sitting in a derelict building transforms into an old lady complaining she did not vote when she had a chance.											
14.	<i>Dan Dyer for Rock The Vote (2006)</i>	A song by Dan Dyer accompanied by images with national symbols and text encouraging to vote.	Y	Y	N	N	Y*	pers.	emotional	repetition	N	2	no linguistic references, imagery only
15.	<i>Ashanti for Rock The Vote</i>	R'n'B singer Ashanti convinces about the value of voting	B	Y	N	N	Y*	edu/pers	rational	ellipses	N	8	civil rights movement mentioned
16.	<i>Jake Gyllenhaal in a café</i>	Actor sits in a café with a friend and tells a story. Suddenly they stop talking to stare at the beautiful girl standing outside. They start wondering if she votes.	Y	Y	N	Y	N	expressive	emotional	-	N	8	
17.	<i>Chris Mintz-Plasse for Declare Yourself</i>	<i>Superbad</i> star registers to vote for the first time using Declare Yourself website. Allusions made to first-time registering as losing virginity	Y	Y	Y	Y*	N	expressive	emotional	rhetorical question	Inf	9	risky and may not appeal to many
18.	<i>Christina Aguilera for Rock The Vote</i>	Pop singer Christina Aguilera holding her newborn son wrapped in American flag sings "America the beautiful"	B	Y	N	N	Y	esthetic	emotional	personification, apostrophe, archaisms	F	8	
19.	<i>Dancing is a</i>	Two girls dancing on the bar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	edu	rational	-	Inf	8	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
	<i>right</i>	in the nightclub explain that this is the way to exercise their civic rights.											
20.	<i>Danica Patrick for Declare Yourself</i>	Auto racing driver Danica Patrick gives arguments for registering to vote. Images from the racecourse in the back.	B	Y	N	N	N	pers.	rational	comparison	N	8	
21.	<i>The Men for Declare Yourself - Asian Pacific Islander Americans</i>	One of the videos from a sarcastic series of PSAs starring Ben Garant and Tom Lennon of Comedy Central's "Reno 911!". 'The Man' stays in front of the pool while an Asian American girl in bikini encourages young people not to vote.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	pers.*	emotional	irony, rhetorical question	Inf	8	the whole series is pseudo-anti-voting
22.	<i>The Man for Declare Yourself - Credit Card Debt</i>	The Man claim that credit card companies and government use the information from registered voters to track them from satellites in space.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	pers.	emotional	irony, swear words, apostrophe	Inf	8	
23.	<i>The Man for Declare Yourself - I'm wiser than you</i>	The Man urge young people to stay away from voting. Contains some very politically incorrect jokes and swear words.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	pers.	emotional	irony, swear words, apostrophe	Inf	8	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
24.	<i>The Man for Declare Yourself - Rap</i>	The Man rap aiming to reach the youngest voters, try to rap and convince the youth not to vote.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	pers.	emotional	irony, swear words, rhythm, rhymes	Inf	8	
25.	<i>The Man for Declare Yourself – What we don’t mind you voting for</i>	The Man make young people realize how powerful group they are and urge them to stick to voting in TV shows and leave politics to grown-ups.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y*	pers.	emotional	irony, imperatives, swear words, colloquialisms	Inf	8	‘American Idol’ show mentioned
26.	<i>The Man for Declare Yourself - Black</i>	The Man with their African-American friend address all young African-Americans who want to vote.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y*	pers.	emotional	irony, rhetorical questions, imperatives	Inf	8	civil rights movement
27.	<i>The Man for Declare Yourself – Push-ups</i>	The Man in a company of two young bombshells address young people to leave voting to adults.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	pers.	emotional	irony, imperatives	Inf	8	
28.	<i>Deee-Lite for MTV</i>	Singer Deee-Lite sings and dances to the lyrics: Vote baby vote	B	Y	N*	Y	N	pers./esthetic	emotional	imperatives, rhythm, repetitions	Inf	8	might have been slightly controversial in 1992
29.	<i>Ed Helmes for Declare Yourself</i>	Actor and comedian Ed Helmes wrapped in American flag encourages to vote.	B	Y	N	Y	Y	pers.	emotional	-	N	8	
30.	<i>Cast of the ‘Greek’ for</i>	Actors from a TV series the ‘Greek’ remind young people	Y	Y	N	N	N	pers.	emotional	imperatives, repetitions,	N	8	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
	<i>Declare Yourself</i>	how special they are and encourage them to register and vote.											
31.	<i>Gromax</i>	A PSA advertising a medicine for a voting disfunction. Produced to appear as an ad for erectile disfunction.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y*	pers.	emotional	neologism, rhetorical questions, irony	N	8	Bill of Rights mentioned
32.	<i>Jealous squirrel</i>	A giant squirrel joins a surprised man sitting on a bench. The squirrel cannot understand why the man is unregistered and does not want to exercise his democratic rights	B	N	Y	N	N	pers.	rational	irony	N	8	
33.	<i>Johnny Cash 'I Am the Nation'</i>	Legendary country singer Johnny Cash recites a part of a patriotic poem by Otto Whittaker, accompanied by images of American landscape, symbolic places and Johnny Cash himself.	B	Y	N	N	Y	esthetic	emotional	allegory, rhythm, epithets, repetitions	N	8	
34.	<i>Making out is legal</i>	A black girl kissing a white boy in the night club explains she's exercising her civil rights since very recently interracial relationships were illegal.	Y	N	Y	N	Y*	edu.	rational	ellipses	N	8	Loving vs. Virginia case from 1967
35.	<i>N.E.R.D for</i>	Members of a hip-hop group	Y	Y	N	N	N	pers.	rational	imperatives	Inf	8	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
	<i>Rock The Vote</i>	N.E.R.D encourage young people to make a change and vote											
36.	<i>Lauren Conrad for Declare Yourself</i>	A TV-show <i>The Hills</i> star says how little time it takes to register to vote - the amount of time to write a text message	Y	Y	N	N	N	pers.	rational	simile	N	9	
37.	<i>Rock The Vote</i>	An animated video with images of national symbols and an angry voice of a speaker complaining about current situation in the country.	B	N	Y*	N	Y	pers.	emotional	simile, metaphors	N	1	because of the amount of negativity
38.	<i>Marco Andretti for Declare Yourself</i>	Race car driver Marco Andretti encourages to register to vote.	B	Y	N	N	N	pers.	rational	imperatives	N	9	
39.	<i>MTV Choose or Lose – Phone</i>	An elderly couple cell phone rings and a man struggles to answer the ringing phone but cannot find the right button. A text appears informing that old people outvote young 2 to 1.	Y	N	Y*	Y	N	edu.	emotional	-	N	8	PSA accused of ageism
40.	<i>MTV Choose or Lose – Airport</i>	An elderly couple completely confused by the instructions they are given by the airport	Y	N	Y	Y	N	edu.	emotional	-	N	8	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
		security. A text appears informing that old people outvote young 2 to 1.											
41.	<i>Murs for Rock The Vote</i>	Rapper Murs admits to not voting in the past and encourages young people to make a change and vote. Thought-provoking facts and figures about young people in America appear at the end.	Y	Y	N	N	Y*	pers.	rational	rhetorical question, ellipses, colloquialisms	Inf	8	war in Iraq and Afghanistan
42.	<i>Publishers Voting House</i>	Man with a huge check knocks to people's doors to announce them they have just won one vote. People's excitement is filmed and at the end information appears about cashing in the vote in the upcoming election.	B	N	N	Y	N	expressive	emotional	exclamations	N	1	
43.	<i>One Tree Hill for Rock The Vote</i>	Cast of popular TV series gives their reasons to vote.	Y	Y	N	N	N	pers	emotional	repetition, rhetorical questions	Inf	8	
44.	<i>Voting changes the world.</i>	One of the series of black and white 1950's style videos with a characteristic narrations and images from the 50's. The narrator makes true dreams of little Johnny, his father and Susie to show them how voting can change	B	N	Y*	Y	N	pers.	emotional	rhetorical questions, apostrophes	N	2	controversial part with exchanging an old boring wife, who does the cleaning for 3 new

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
		their life.											
45.	<i>Voter madness</i>	A 50's style news extract reporting on mass voters' hysteria all over the country.	B	N	N	Y	Y	pers.	emotional	rhetorical questions, apostrophes	N	8	
46.	<i>Voting and you</i>	Ed Helms, Rachael Harris and Chris Mintz-Plasse star in another from the serious of 1950's style faux-info videos. A man explains to young Billy the way American democratic system works.	B	Y	Y*	Y	Y	pseudo-educ.	emotional	ellipses	N	8	sexual references
47.	<i>Dog Food</i>	Video that appears to be a dog food ad where woman comments how her dog has not a care while feeding it with 'Apathy' food. She says to hope to be like the dog and be taken care of herself. Suddenly an image of her with a muzzle on, eerie silence as the words "Only You Can Silence Yourself" appear at the end.	B	N	Y*	N	N	pers.	emotional	ellipses	N	8	images might be considered very strong
48.	<i>Ben Affleck</i>	Actor Ben Affleck is picking his nose as the message appears that in the amount of time he's doing so, one can decide the future of the country and register to vote.	Y	Y	Y*	Y	N	pers.	rational	imperative	N	9	may be considered controversial by some

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
49.	<i>Adam Brody</i>	Actor Adam Brody is chewing his fingernails as the message appears that in the amount of time he's doing so, one can decide the future of the country and register to vote.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	pers.	rational	imperative	N	9	
50.	<i>Lip sealer</i>	Video appears to be a lip gloss ad with a model applying the product on the lips while the narrators describes its all qualities: hides deep beliefs and shuts the mouth. Suddenly an image of a model with sealed lips on, eerie silence as the words "Only You Can Silence Yourself" appear at the end.	B	Y	Y	N	N	pers.	emotional	epithets, ellipses	N	8	very intense imagery
51.	<i>Muzzler</i>	Actress Jessica Alba in a satirical home-shopping show advertising a product called the Muzzler 2008 a Hannibal Lecter-type mask that prevents from expressing opinions.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	pers.	emotional	imperatives, irony	N	8	
52.	<i>For the future</i>	Children utter election buzzwords and then ask to change the world for them by voting.	B	N	N	N	N	pers.	emotional	imperatives, repetitions	N	8	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
53.	<i>Don't vote</i>	A five-minutes ad directed by Steven Spielberg and featuring many celebrities (Leonardo DiCaprio, Tom Cruise, will.i.am, Jennifer Aniston, Halle Berry, Dustin Hoffman, Ashton Kutcher, Adam Levine, Eva Longoria, Tobey Maguire, Demi Moore, Natalie Portman, Usher, Forest Whitaker and others) who use reversed psychology to urge eligible voters to register.	Y	Y	Y*	Y	Y	pers.	emotional	irony, imperatives, swear words, rhetorical questions, repetitions	Inf	8	controversial concept, use of swear words, politically incorrect jokes

Polish get-out-the-vote public service announcements (2005-2009)

1.	<i>Pokolenie '89 – Głosuj (Generation 89' – Vote)</i>	Pokolenie 89' member casts his vote and urges others to do the same on the election day	B	N	N	N	N	pers.	rational	imperative, rhetorical question	N	8	viral video
2.	<i>Pokolenie '89 – Głosuj 2 (Generation 89' – Vote 2)</i>	A speech of one of power-intoxicated politicians in Sejm, whose head turns out to be a hammer.	B	N	Y*	Y	Y	pers.	emotional	play on words,	N	7	slightly offensive for politicians
3.	<i>Próżność (Vanity)</i>	An image of a girl and man getting ready to go out, doing	B	N	N	N	N	inf.	rational	-	N	8	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
		hair, make-up, putting on best clothes. A text at the end reminding about the upcoming elections.											
4.	<i>Idź na wybory</i> (Go to the polls)	Commercial bringing out patriotic tone and images of historic moments for Poland.	B	N	N	N	Y	pers.	emotional	imperative	N	8	viral video
5.	<i>Nie narzekaj!</i> (Don't complain!)*	A women waiting for a bus at the devastated bus stop complains about the situation in the country and politicians responsible for that.	B	N	N	N	N	expressive	emotional	rhetorical questions	Inf	8	Not exactly a GOTV ad, but this PSA was a part of a GOTV campaign.
6.	<i>Babcia i droga</i> (Grandmother and a road)	Image of an older lady unable to make a decision which way to go at the crossroads. A white and red text at the end: Don't crack under pressure. Choose	Y	N	N	Y	Y*	pers.	emotional	imperatives, colloquialism	Inf	6	Polish flag colors used
7.	<i>Wiadomości – Parlament Europejski</i> (News – European Parliament)	Mock TV news on European issues informing in different languages about new ridiculous regulations that limit citizens' freedom. After that viewers are reminded that they can decide about the future content of news programs by voting.	B	N	N	N	N	edu.	emotional	-	N	8	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
8.	<i>Rusz dupę. Idź głosować!</i> (Move your ass. Vote!)	An image of a huge bottom being rolled in parks and streets by different celebrities (Natalia Kukulsa, Jacek Poniedziałek, Michał Koterski).	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	pers.	emotional	imperative, colloquialism	Inf	8	
9.	<i>Kółko, krzyżek</i> (Tick-tack-toe)	One of the very first Polish GOTV PSAs. A paper with a tick-tack-toe game being played and tie situation as an analogy to tight election, where a single vote can decide the results.	B	N	N	N	N	pers.	rational	imperative	N	2	
10.	<i>Babcia i krzesła</i> (Grandmother and chairs)	Image of an older lady unable to decide which chair to sit on. A white and red text at the end: Don't crack under pressure. Choose	Y	N	N	Y	Y*	pers.	emotional	imperatives, colloquialism	Inf	6	non-verbal imagery
11.	<i>Dziewczynka i ciastka</i> (Girl and cookies)	Image of a little girl looking at two cookies trying to decide which one she prefers. A white and red text at the end: Don't crack under pressure. Choose	Y	N	N	Y	Y*	pers.	emotional	imperatives, colloquialism	Inf	6	non-verbal imagery
12.	<i>Parlament – zrób to sam</i> (Parliament Do-It-Yourself)	A black and white draft picture of Sejm emerging in the sounds of drilling and hitting. PSA analogous to IKEA commercials.	B	N	N	N	N	pers.	emotional	imperative, play on words	N	8	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
13.	<i>Zmień kraj, idź na wybory</i> (<i>Change the country, vote</i>)	Animated video with cartoon-like characters claiming to abstain from voting because a single vote does not mean anything. A choir of such voices make a crowd.	B	N	N	N	N	pers.	rational	repetition, imperative	N	2	
14.	<i>Pepek Europy</i> (<i>Europe's navel</i>)	PSA encouraging to take part in European Parliament election by awarding the municipality with the highest turnout with the title of Europe's navel. Form of a dynamic folk song with folk images.	B	N	N	N	Y	esthetic /pers./	rational	rhyme, rhythm, archaisms, regional dialect forms	N	8	
15.	<i>Wyborcy.org</i> (<i>Voters.org</i>)	Four young boys spectacularly passing obstacles by jumping and climbing (parkours moves) to get to the voting station on time.	Y	N	N	N	N	pers.	emotional	-	N	8	
16.	<i>Nie narzekaj – taxi</i> (<i>Don't complain – Taxi</i>) <i>radio spot*</i>	A radio spot with a taxi-drivers complaining about the situation in the country and blaming politicians for not keeping their election promises.	B	N	N	N	N	expressive	emotional	apostrophes, colloquialism	Inf	8	Not exactly a GOTV ad, but this PSA was a part of a GOTV campaign.
17.	<i>Rap (Rap) radio spot</i>	A radio spot in a form of rapping message breaking the stereotype that one vote is	Y	N	N	N	N	pers.	rational	rhyme, rhythm, imperatives	Inf	2	

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
		irrelevant.											
18.	<i>Parlament – zrób to sam (Parliament – Do-It-Yourself) radio spot</i>	Intriguing encouragement to visit 21pazdziernika coalition website and to vote in elections.	B	N	Y*	N	N	pers.	emotional	imperative	N	8	could be understood as containing covertly sexual references
19.	<i>Wybieram.pl 2005 (Ichoose.pl 2005)</i>	Image of an official eating a steak in a shape of Poland and a staring young waiter showing V-sign. A sound of alarm clock with the information about upcoming election.	Y	N	Y*	N	Y	pers.	emotional	-		7	reinforces a stereotype of a politician exploiting Poland for own benefit
20.	<i>Wybieram.pl 2006 (Ichoose.pl 2006)</i>	Young people give reasons for voting –from very serious to funny.	Y	N	N	Y	N	pers.	rational	repetition,	N	8	
21.	<i>Gwiazdy dla wybieram.pl (Celebrities for Ichoose.pl)</i>	Actors, journalists, musicians and TV personalities say <i>I choose</i> and make a W sign with their fingers.	B	Y	N	N	N	inf.	emotional	repetition	N	8	
22.	<i>Wybieram.pl 2007 (I)</i>	Andrzej Chyra, Wojciech Jagielski, Maciej Orłoś and others give their reasons for voting.	B	Y	N	Y*	Y*	pers.	rational/emotional	repetition, anaphora	N	8	non-verbal references to <i>mohair berets</i> , euphemism

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
													for ultra-conservative old voters
23.	<i>Wybieram.pl</i> 2007 (2)	Piotr Najszub, Marcin Bosak, Novika, Maciej Maleńczuk and others give their reasons for voting.	B	Y	N	N	N	pers.	rational	repetition, anaphora, imperative	N	8	
24.	<i>Wybieram.pl</i> 2007 (3)	Celebrities give more reasons for voting	B	Y	N	N	N	pers.	rational/emot.	repetition, imperative	N	8	
25.	<i>Wybieram.pl</i> 2007 <i>Polacy zagranicą też wybierają (Poles abroad choose too)</i>	PSA aimed at Poles staying abroad in the election time. Young people say why and where they are going to vote.	Y	N	N	N	N	inf.	rational	-	N	8	
26.	<i>Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego 2009 (billboards) – European Parliament election*</i>	A series of three billboards with important questions concerning common European policy. Encouragement to use the power of one's voice to help answer those questions by voting.	B	N	N	N	N	pers.	rational	rhetorical questions	N	8	outdoor billboard campaign for European Parliament election

4.4 Results

Having conducted the in-depth content study of 79 GOTV PSA messages, the time has come to analyze the results and draw conclusions. The results will be demonstrated separately for each variable, but as a general impression from examining American and Polish GOTV advertising messages, it needs to be stated that American ads much surpass Polish ads in terms of professionalism, creativity, innovation and formats used. Even a cursory glance at the transcripts of the analyzed material (Appx. 1 and 2) suggests that Polish messages are shorter, put less emphasis on the text and lack the diversity that American ads efficiently display. Apparently, the reason for the poorer execution of the same idea in Poland is to be found in the short history of GOTV campaigning in Poland and incomparably bigger budgets for voting-advocating ads in America. Nonetheless, let us take a closer look at specific results of the study expressed in numbers:

- *target audience*

	Youth	Both
USA	31 (58%)	22 (42%)
Poland	9 (35%)	17 (65%)

- *celebrity endorsement*

	Yes	No
USA	35 (66%)	18 (34%)
Poland	5 (19%)	21 (81%)

- *controversy*

	Yes	No
USA	25 (47%)	28 (53%)
Poland	4 (15%)	22 (85%)

- *humor*

	Yes	No
USA	26 (49%)	27 (51%)
Poland	7 (27%)	19 (73%)

- *cultural references*

	Yes	No
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USA	22 (41%)	31 (59%)
Poland	7 (27%)	19 (73%)

▪ *language functions*

	educational	informative	persuasive	esthetic	expressive
USA	10 (19%)	1 (2%)	35 (66%)	3 (6%)	4 (7%)
Poland	1 (4%)	3 (11%)	19 (73%)	1 (4%)	2 (8%)

▪ *execution*

	rational	emotional
USA	15 (28%)	38 (72%)
Poland	12 (46%)	14 (54%)

▪ *style*

	Formal	Neutral	Informal
USA	1 (2%)	31 (58%)	21 (40%)
Poland	0 (0%)	19 (73%)	7 (27%)

▪ *non-voter argument*

	8	9	2	1	6	7
USA	38 (72%)	6 (11%)	5 (9%)	4 (7%)	0	0
Poland	18 (70%)	0	3 (11%)	0	3 (11%)	2 (8%)

Findings expressed in numbers undoubtedly exhibit certain tendencies in the field and enable to draw interesting conclusions.

As mentioned in Chapter 3.3 the voter turnout among the youth in America is alarmingly low, this is why GOTV campaigns find young adults as a primary target for their messages. This is reflected in numbers of PSAs aimed directly at the youth – more than a half of them use the language and stylistic devices that are more likely to appeal to this segment of voters. Although, the situation with the under average turnout among the youth is similar in Poland, the ads do not reflect it, as only one fifth of them is designed to appeal particularly to young Poles. It does not mean that ads that intend to reach all age segments have to be less effective than those targeted at young people only. A well-constructed universal message will always win over a poorly designed message for the youth. Nonetheless, the figures prove that American market of social advertising is at a more advanced stage and little funds for social

marketing in Poland forces advertisers to create more universal messages that will appeal to everybody: from students to the pensioners.

In the view of little segmentation of the Polish audience, it is not surprising then, that most of PSAs use neutral style of language and only one third turns to informal style, which means that some ads intended for the youth do not apply informal language to appeal to them. The same situation occurs in America, where GOTV ads predominantly use neutral language (58% of them) despite having the youth as a primary target. Nonetheless, informal style and youth as a target audience usually go hand in hand and only in five cases (ads # 2,4,28 for America PSAs, # 5, 16 for Polish PSAs) informal style was applied in a message not directed towards the youth only. Formal style was used only in one PSA starring a singer Christina Aguilera singing famous patriotic song 'America The Beautiful'. In this case, the formal style of text was of secondary importance in favor of the patriotic content, the big number of cultural references that all aimed to evoke certain solemn feelings in the viewers. In all other cases copywriters rather avoid pomposity and try to eliminate the distance between a sender and a receiver by using such a language code that contributes to establishing a good rapport between them. Formal style of language, associated rather with formal, stiff situations or boring political speeches, would much more act as a barrier instead of effectively convince the electorate. Differentiating persuasive tools from the ones that politicians use in their ads is necessary. Otherwise the audience would dismiss the PSA and treat it as another message from a desperate political group seeking for votes.

One of the tools to display the impartiality of the groups standing behind GOTV campaigns is endorsement by people who have great deal of confidence in society. If a celebrity evokes positive feelings it is likely that the advertising message will as well. First of all, it is easier for an ad starring a celebrity to get attention, then a positive response from the audience and, finally, convince the target audience to act. This strategy is very eagerly used by American marketers (66% of all ads star a celebrity) and very cautiously applied in Polish PSAs (only 19% of all ads). However, Polish GOTV ads definitely, evolve in a direction of the growing number of stars to be part of campaigns, as seen on the example of the 2007 campaign.

Interesting dissimilarities between Polish and American PSAs appear also in the controversy and humor section. Whereas almost half of American ads try to be amusing, only one third of Polish ads can make people smile at. This may be showing little creativity or unwillingness to take a risk by the copywriters, but also may indicate how serious the elections and political life is treated in Poland. American politics more and more infiltrate mass culture: politicians replace models on covers of magazine, make guest appearances in

talk-shows, and use social networking sites. Hence, possibly politics and voting is not treated as such a ‘poker-faced’ activity any more. Controversy is rather uncommon in Polish GOTV PSAs and it manifests itself in using swear words (Polish ad # 8) or in reinforcing stereotypes, which some people may feel offended about (Polish PSAs # 18, 19). Contrary, American ads often tend to include highly controversial content, displayed either in a use of generally unaccepted words (e.g. PSAs # 22, 24, 25), offending old people (PSAs # 39, 40), ethnic groups (ads # 21, 26) or in a very strong imagery (ads # 47, 50). Half of American PSAs examined in the study could be described as controversial, whereas only 15% of Polish ads could offend feelings of an average viewer. This enormous disproportion stems from the specific character of social marketing business in Poland, where the money involved is much lesser than in America. Thus, marketers in advertising agencies in New York may take greater risk than copywriters from Warsaw, who just have a task of creating one universal GOTV campaign that ought to appeal to everybody.

Controversy, aimed at evoking certain emotions – repulsion, antipathy, fear, anger – not only acts as provocation but, at the same time, becomes an incentive to involve into something. Thus, quite understandably, the significant number of American ads (72%) uses emotional execution to achieve its objectives. In Poland, PSAs make use out of two possible options equally – 54% strives to appeal to emotions and 46% to the common sense of the audience. American scholar Philip Kotler claimed that engaging emotions in social advertising may be more effective than resorting to rational arguments and seemingly this idea has proponents in the US and in Poland, on the other hand, marketers believe in the power of rational reasoning more and try to convince the audience with powerful yet sensible arguments.

In proving that voting is the right thing to do, either with the use of rational arguments or by appealing to emotions, copywriters may try to exploit the vast repertoire of cultural claims and make use of history, literature, art, pop-culture or social life. Engaging people into political life of the country may naturally involve patriotic and national accents, but the strategy of making cultural references is not very popular in Poland, where only seven analyzed PSAs contained any references. In the US around 40% of ads included some sort of cultural burden. What is interesting Polish GOTV ads did not even mention words like *Poland, nation, history* once. American ads exploited literature (Johnny Cash reciting *I am the Nation* [#33] or Christina Aguilera singing *America The Beautiful* [#18]), made references to American history (civil rights movement mentioned few times i.e. by a singer Ashanti [#15] and by ‘The Man’ [#26]), Bill of Rights (mentioned in a pseudo-commercial ad *Gromax* [#31]), or to pop-culture (*American Idol* and MySpace mentioned by ‘The Man’ [#25]). Polish

marketers, as mentioned before, strive towards most universal message and all allusions indicating that the ad was created in Poland for the Poles are very unobtrusive or are even left in a non-verbal aspect (PSAs #6, 10, 11 with white and red text or showing a mohair beret as a symbol of ultra-catholic part of electorate who will outvote young people if they decide to abstain from voting [#22]).

With all described dissimilarities in the approach to GOTV social advertising in two countries, there are also certain things in common. One of them is the typical function of language of PSAs- which in Poland and in America is predominantly persuasive (73% for Poland and 66% for the US). Then, in America PSAs tend to educate people (19% of all ads), whereas in Poland rather to inform (11%). The esthetic and expressive function is at the same level in both countries and can be attributed to less than 15% of all messages. The choice of stylistic and rhetorical devices that are used by copywriters does not drastically differ in two countries, with the leading role of repetitions, anaphora, imperatives, rhetorical questions and metaphors. American ads also make use out of irony, colloquialisms, ellipses and swear words much more than Polish, where, for instance, swear words practically do not occur and colloquialisms appear in few ads created by the same organization only in the main slogan ending each of them (*Nie pękaj, wybieraj* [#6, 10, 11]). Polish ads, on the other hand, use in few examples plays on words (double meaning of *przybity* in the ad #2) or dialect forms (folk song in the ad #14). What is characteristic for both countries, is direct addressing the audience with a heavy use of *you* in English and the appropriate derived form of a verb in Polish.

The final aspect of the study was establishing which non-voter argument a given PSA strived to defeat. The absolute winner in this category is the *I don't care* claim with the result of 70% in both countries. Similar results in Poland and in the US were reached for the claim that one vote cannot change anything (*What difference does it make if I vote?*) - about 10%. These results fully reflect sociological analysis for the most frequent reason of non-voting. Nonetheless, further results show all-American or all-Polish reasons for not casting the ballot. In America the complicated voting system is tried to be domesticated by advertisers in 11% of ads. In Poland 11% of PSAs tried to overcome a stereotype of not voting because of the lack of knowledge enabling to take a decision and 8% of all ads tried to fight with a belief that politics is mudslinging, politicians are dishonest and everyone who comes to power behaves in the same way – watching for own benefit. These results show the different perception of political life happening in Warsaw and Washington, and overlap with the attitudes towards politics in both countries described in Chapter 3.

Additional portion of research comparing the various aspects of GOTV social ads, other than described here, will be presented in the following section, based on the corpus analysis of texts of all 79 PSAs that are in center of the study.

4.5 Corpus-based analysis

The corpus as a tool of research allowed to further the study and comparing new aspects of linguistic material. The rationale behind corpus-based analysis was finding out which words are the cornerstone for campaigns in Poland and in the US, comparing frequency lists and commenting on other peculiarities that could be discovered only by conducting a corpus study.

The tool of analysis was a freeware concordance program AntConc 3.2.1⁴⁸ and transcripts of American and Polish GOTV PSAs (see Appx. 1 and 2) served as comparable and parallel material for the study. While compiling material for the corpora an inevitable problem occurred of the uneven number of ads that were to be examined (53 American PSAs and 26 Polish PSAs), but I decided to compare the existing material disregarding a possible slight unreliability of the results stemming from that asymmetry. Again, it needs to be pointed out that currently 26 of Polish PSAs constitute the whole available material in the field. What is more, the asymmetry in the number of ads is increased in the number of words used in them, since Polish PSAs include overall 947 words (which makes an average of only 36 words for one advertisement) and American 5818 (and the average is 110 words). This means that copywrite text in Polish ads is three times shorter.

The basic statistics used in corpora analysis is the type-token ratio (TTR), which measures the vocabulary variation within one portion of the given material. The result is usually presented in a percent and the higher that number is, the greater lexical variety it indicates. The TTR for the texts analyzed in this paper are as follows:

American GOTV PSAs	Polish GOTV PSAs
- Total Number of Word Tokens: 6109	- Total Number of Word Tokens: 947
- Total Number of Word Types: 1309	- Total Number of Word Types: 436
- TTR (type-token ratio): 21%	- TTR (type-token ratio): 46%

Although the Polish corpus has a small number of words (only 947 words are used in it) and a very small number of types of words (436 different words), the TTR ratio is

⁴⁸ downloaded from <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html>

relatively high, in comparison to the TTR in American PSAs, which is twice as little. This indicates that the vocabulary of American ads is less varied and diverse than in the case of Polish ads. This result can be slightly misleading considering the fact that 40% of American ads used informal language with the extensive use of phrasal verbs, which may slightly distort the TTR number. In any case, the overall result will be favorable for Polish copywriters who, seemingly, tried to implement different linguistic approach to talk about the same matters.

The interesting results are also displayed in frequency lists. Here are the lists of 20 most frequent words in American and Polish advertising messages:

20 most frequent words in the English corpus: *you, to, the, and, vote, I, it, for, 's, that, a, of, is, 't, we, your, have, in, do, don'.*

20 most frequent words in the Polish corpus: *nie, bo, wybieram, na, to, wybory, w, października, i, głos, głosuj, jeden, mam, jak, za, żeby, chcę, pl, a, do*

The personal pronoun *you* tops the American list of frequency (used 276 times) and it is comprehensible as the natural way of addressing people. The concordance lines also show interesting tendency not to urge people to do something (there are only six lines where *you have to* is used) but rather to stimulate people to think the issue over for themselves (*you have the right, you have the choice, you can choose, you have a voice, you can make a difference, maybe you should give voting a try*, etc.) High position of the word *vote*, usually used in the imperative form of a verb is also meaningful and shows straightforwardness of the message.

What is very surprising is the highest position of a negative particle *nie* in Polish PSAs (used 46 times) and, as the concordance live indicate, it is usually used positioned before a verb in two types of structures *I'm going to vote because I do NOT want...* or *I do NOT vote because...* The English token *no* and *not* did not even make it to the list of 20 most frequent words. Another interesting fact is the presence of three verbs in the form of the first person singular on the list: *wybieram, mam, chcę* (*I choose, I have, I want*) and only one form of imperative *głosuj* (*vote!*). This proves that Polish PSAs, likewise American, try not to be very imposing and in order to persuade they rather give food for thought rather than tend to try enforcing anything. This is also confirmed by the lack of words such as *powinieneś, musisz, obowiązek* (*you should, you must/have to, duty*). The high position of the word *październik* (November) shows the intensified efforts before the parliamentary election in 2007, when the number of GOTV PSAs was bigger than in the past.

The frequent informal style of English ads is confirmed by the presence of words such as *gonna* (19 times), *wanna* (4 times), *yo* (5 times), *guys* (8 times), *you know* as interjection (12 times). Another evidence for much more colloquialized English text is the use of swear words. In Polish text the strongest word used is *dupa* (*ass*) whereas the American PSAs do

not avoid vulgar language as a tool of reinforcing the message. Bad language in the ads includes *shit* (used 5 times), *fucking* (4 times), *fuck* (three times), *bitch* (used once). Polish ads definitely tend to avoid any controversy in terms of the choice of lexis and no strong language, politically incorrect references are to be found in the analyzed material.

As mentioned in the analysis in 4.4 the startling element of Polish campaigns is the lack of references to national symbolism. The vast majority of Polish ads could be created in any given country and could be broadcast before an election in most Western democracies, since the words setting cultural background (Poland, Polish) are not mentioned once. In America PSAs are not so universal: *America* is used 11 times (e.g. *If you live in America, you have the right to vote; In America we have what is called a democracy; when God created America; Hi America, etc.*), *American* 6 times, *Americans* 5 times.

Among top content words on American list there are: *vote, can, have, register, right*; and on Polish list: *wybory, wybieram, październik, głos, głosuj, jeden* (*elections, I choose, November, a vote/voice, (you) vote, one*). All words are directly connected with the substance of GOTV campaigns that is registering and voting in the US and voting in Poland. What is unanticipated is the fact that almost none of these content words are equivalent (only *vote* could be paired with *głos* and *głosuj* but this is not a perfect match). High position of a word *wybieram* is also due to the fact the one association behind a campaign is named *wybieram.pl* and in three PSAs created by this coalition the word *wybieram* was repeated several times by celebrities. American ads emphasize also the democratic *right* (27 hits) to choose, whereas Polish ads almost completely do not use this argument (2 hits with the word *prawo*).

The corpus analysis allowed the study to be more detailed and insightful. The type-token ratio, frequency lists, concordance lines enabled to show certain features of this type of advertising discourse in both countries. This special tool of research complemented the regular language study described in the table in 4.3 and shed new light on the topic. The summative results of examining Polish and American get-out-the-vote messages, including the outcome of two methods combined are described in the Conclusion section.

Conclusions

People are often oblivious to the power of the ubiquitous advertising, which function nowadays goes way beyond persuasion. It also depicts the surrounding reality, molds trends, educates by exploiting the infinite resources of culture and history and influences the language. Existing and evolving for centuries, advertising has developed complex theoretical background including studies of marketing principles, persuasive strategies, non-verbal tools of influence, advertising discourse analysis. Practically, all aspects of advertising have been examined and studied. Nonetheless, the relatively new phenomena within advertising that is its special form, namely public service advertising, has not gained so much recognition among scholars. Even less attention has been given to its linguistic aspect. This thesis was aimed to investigate the language of a very special type of social advertising – get-out-the-vote campaigns in Poland and in the United States. The comparative study allowed to make a reference point for the young Polish GOTV campaigning, since this form of American social advertising business started to flourish approximately a decade before first attempts to create such campaigns were made in Poland.

America is often considered to be the cradle of democracy but in the past years, it has been witnessing not only the serious crisis in citizens' engagement into political life, but general decline of social capital. Similar tendencies could be observed in Poland, where the growing distrust in public institutions goes hand in hand with relinquishing of any kind of public commitment. Voters turnout, often regarded as a litmus test of the condition of democracy, causes concern in both countries. Thus, sociologists, journalists, commentators raise the alarm about declining participation of the electorate in the elections, among young voters in particular. This is where get-out-the-votes campaigns come into play. Their main objective is convincing people to vote by encouraging them to take interest in the elections and in the future of their country. In those challenging times, achieving this objective by the means of a TV or radio message, which is approximately one minute long and aired in the disliked by the viewers commercial break time, becomes an arduous task. Nonetheless, certain organizations and associations take up that seemingly formidable challenge. Starting in the 1990's in the United States the cautious commencement of get-out-the-vote campaigns began. The real inundation of voting-advocating PSAs transpired in the last two Presidential elections in the United States in 2004 and 2008. In Poland, where the idea of advocating for higher voter turnout met an approval but needed time to mature, the hitherto peak of GOTV campaigns fell on 2007 Parliamentary elections. This new phenomena in Poland is gaining

more and more recognition and every election brings more GOTV PSAs as part of well-thought out educational campaigns.

The new type of advertising message, broadcasted on national television and in the radio, has already developed certain characteristic features in terms of both form and content. As the aim of this paper was to examine the linguistic aspect of get-out-the-vote messages, the study has been conducted to gauge certain variables and discover trends within this specific field of study. In order to scrutinize the language of social advertisements of this type, the investigation of advertising language discourse and political communication had to be conducted. The relevant material for the study included 79 GOTV PSAs (53 American and 26 Polish), which served as a substance for a twofold analysis: a regular variable-based analysis and a corpus-based examination. The results proved that social advertising, exploiting the same techniques and strategies as commercial advertising, has developed its own distinctive mode of expression.

The main difference between commercial and GOTV social advertising is a very specific target group, that the message is aimed at – namely the non-voters, a group diverse in terms of demographic, geographical and educational factors. It is critical for marketers to always keep in mind the audience that an ad is seeking to reach. Among non-voters, young people are the most targeted group, since the voter turnout among them is typically below national average. Even though that is the case both in the US and in Poland, American ads segment their audience more and a half of all PSAs is aimed at young voters particularly, whereas only one fifth of all ads in Poland is designed to appeal particularly to young Poles. In consequence, American ads actively apply certain strategies to appeal to young people, such as informal style of language, humor and controversy, which are present in 50% of all messages, while Polish counterparts, striving for the most universal message, use these techniques very cautiously as only 30% of them implement any humorous elements and just 15% are controversial in any sense. The reason for such asymmetry can be traced to the shorter history of GOTV campaigning in Poland and thus lesser experience for copywriters. Another critical factor influencing the social advertising market in Poland is the incomparably smaller budgets than in America, where numerous organizations and associations get much support from the media, celebrities and individual sponsors. This is why Polish advertisers produce shorter, more universal announcements that would address a broad target and would not evoke mixed feelings among the viewers, which may ultimately lead to the rejection of the whole message.

The high percentage of American PSAs using informal language is confirmed not only by the heavy use of informal expressions (*gonna, wanna, guys, you know* as interjection) but

also by the frequent use of swear words. In the view of advertising discourse theory, such strategy *can make or break* the advertisement and is extremely risky. It does get attention and this is the first out of four objectives in the view of AIDA formula, but if used inappropriately, it may stop the audience from proceeding to subsequent phases. The Polish GOTV advertising discourse avoids vulgar language as a tool of reinforcing the message and in one case only copywriters turned to strong message in order to achieve campaign's objective (*Rusz dupę, idź na wybory [Move your ass, go and vote]2007 campaign*). This is one of few instances of controversy to be found in the Polish ads, which is surprising in a reference to an opinion of Polish experts on social advertising who claim that Poles need more powerful images to grab attention and stronger incentive to act than Americans.

Nonetheless, no matter how strong and what kind of persuasive strategy is applied in an ad, it needs to be emphasized that in both countries PSAs advocating for higher voter turnout try not to be too pushy and overwhelming. Even though persuasive function of language remains predominant in both countries (70% of all ads), in order to achieve the pre-defined persuasive effect copywriters turn to various and differentiated devices and tools. For instance they make use out of irony, provocation, pseudo-anti-voting claims, rhetorical questions, plays on words. The frequency lists, retrieved from the corpus study, show the tendency not to urge people to do something (there are only few hits with lines where *you have to/must, duty*, is used both in Poland and the US) but rather to stimulate people to think the issue over for themselves (among most frequent structures there are: *you have the right, you have the choice, you can choose, you have a voice, you can make a difference, I vote and you do as you like*, etc.).

What differentiates Polish and American ads is also the asymmetry in applying two popular advertising strategies: celebrity endorsement and making cultural references. Half of American GOTV PSAs star a celebrity and only one fifth in Poland. Shifting the positive emotions towards a famous personality to a product or idea may seem as the always working recipe for success, but as proved by scholars, this technique is more likely to succeed in the US than in Poland. Hence, this might remain as one of features that differentiate the discourse in both countries and work in both countries. Nonetheless, Polish GOTV ads definitely, evolve in a direction of the growing number of celebrities to be part of campaigns, as seen on the example of the 2007 campaign. Interesting dissimilarities between Polish and American PSAs appear also in exploiting the vast repertoire of cultural claims. What is interesting Polish GOTV ads did not even mention words like *Poland, Polish, nation, history* once, whereas American ads generously implemented historical references, literature or even American pop-culture. This makes Polish ads less adjusted to the background of the target

audience but at the same time, more universal and comprehensive for everybody. The vast majority of Polish ads could have been created and used in any Western democratic country.

Although it is hard to gauge whether the universal perspective of Polish ads makes them more or less successful, it is proven by researches that emotional messages are capable of making stronger statements than those using rational execution. The significant number of American ads (over 70%) tries to tackle viewers' emotions to achieve campaign's objectives and in Poland, on the other hand, PSAs make use out of two possible options equally. Rational reasoning may be successfully applied when it comes to certain mindsets that PSAs attempt to change. The study also examined the issue of the voting absence in the aspect of non-voters arguments that GOTV campaigns seek to overcome. The results turned out to be very similar in Poland and in the US were 70% of all ads tried to deal with the *I don't care* claim, 10% with *What difference does it make if I vote?* claim. It is worth stressing that these results fully reflect sociological analysis for the most frequent reason for not casting the ballot. The remaining 20% was typical for the respectively Polish and American social and political background. Polish PSAs tried to fight the belief that political life is mudslinging, politicians are dishonest and watch for their own benefit. American ads made an attempt to domesticate a complicated voting system in their messages and encouraged people to learn more about it.

Despite the fact that Polish GOTV ads are much shorter and on average use three times less words than its American counterparts, as indicated by the type-token ratio analysis the range of vocabulary they use is more varied and diverse. Notwithstanding, the overall impression of the past GOTV PSAs is still favorable for American more professional and creative campaigns but what needs to be emphasized at this point is a noticeable trend for Polish GOTV marketing to instantaneously evolve in a direction of more diversity, innovation and proficiency. The standards in the field are definitely set by American copywriters and their Polish colleagues openly admit to strive to live up to them.

Summary

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the linguistic aspect of get-out-the-vote (GOTV) social advertisements and to compare the use of language in such campaigns in Poland and United States. The paper presents political and cultural background influencing the message and specific features of the social advertising market in both countries. Despite the fact the campaigns encouraging voting are gaining more and more attention, no studies are conducted to examine the role and character of the linguistic devices used to deliver, reinforce the message and to discover methods of molding social behavior. The study in this paper was based on 79 GOTV public service announcements (PSA) (including 53 American PSAs and 26 Polish PSAs), mainly TV spots, but also radio spots, billboards and Internet viral videos, launched between 1992-2009. A disproportion in a number of messages examined was due to the short history of GOTV campaigning in Poland and significantly higher advertising budgets in the US, which leads to the increased number of GOTV actions to accompany one election. The study enabled to form conclusions concerning characteristic features, similarities and differences of the GOTV advertising discourse in Poland and the United States, including cultural factors determining peculiarities and discovering certain linguistic strategies of stimulating the electorate to vote in both countries.

The first part of this paper is devoted to the concept of social advertising, defining the idea behind, its field of interest and distinctive features. On the basis of the literature concerned with the subject, the author has conducted the analysis of linguistic strategies in advertising as such and described methods of shifting those strategies into social advertising. The emphasis was also put on the cultural context and its vital role in commercial and social advertising campaigns. The equally important aspects of the study concerned establishing principal differences in political communication and in the voting systems, which affect the GOTV campaigns. An attempt has been made to examine the condition of the civic engagement spirit and to gauge the political awareness of the electorate in both countries. Furthermore, the author has listed the most common reasons for political absence and provided an overview of the leading initiatives to increase voter turnout in Poland and USA.

The study has been carried out twofold: as an investigation based on ten variables and by applying the language corpus. The results proved that a short history of GOTV campaigning in Poland and a relatively small experience of copywriters in this field affect the quality and innovativeness of the advertising messages. Polish PSAs exploit much less certain linguistic strategies, popular in the United States, such as humor, irony, controversy, provocation. Polish GOTV messages could be described as circumspect, and, in consequence,

more universal than American. PSAs created in the United States consider market segmentation to a greater extent, since more than a half of all ads is targeted at young adults, who, according to numerous studies, constitute a group of special interest for both marketers and politicians. As a result, American ads much more often apply informal style, employ colloquialisms or vulgarisms. What is also surprising is the fact that Polish advertisements hardly use any cultural references, and if any appear, it is usually in the non-verbal domain. American PSAs willingly exploit the endless repertoire of culture, history, popular culture. Nonetheless, the corpus-based analysis proved that Polish PSAs use a more varied and diverse lexis.

What GOTV campaigns in two countries have in common is the main objective behind their action to overcome the same most common non-voters arguments: *I don't care* and *What difference does it make if I vote?*. Moreover, both in Poland and in the United States GOTV messages strive not to be too imposing and pushy in promoting the idea of going to the polls, while still being persuasive. They rather make attempts to evoke interest, intrigue and encourage thinking over the issue of voting on one's own. The developing tendency of GOTV campaigning is conducive to more and more professional, diverse messages, that are aimed at very specific target audience.

Резюме содержания

Настоящая работа посвящена исследованию роли и значения лингвистического аспекта социальной рекламы направленной на достижение высокой явки в выборах. Анализ проводится на сопоставительном материале рекламных кампаний такого типа в Польше и в Соединённых Штатах. В работе представляется обусловленность рекламы культурой, ключевые политические факторы и своеобразие рынка социальной рекламы в обеих странах. Несмотря, что такой вид рекламной и социальной деятельности получает всё больше распространение и в Польше и в США, то его языковая специфика почти неизучена. Материалом для анализа послужили 79 рекламные кампании стимулирующие принять участие в голосовании (53 американские и 26 польские), в большинстве телесюжеты, но также радио-ролики, билборды и *«вирусная реклама»*, которые появились в Польше и США в период между 1992-2009. Диспропорция связана с количеством изучаемых объявлений польской и американской социальной рекламы, связана с короткой историей кампаний типа «Отдай свой голос!» в Польше и со значительно большими рекламными бюджетами, которыми располагают американские агентства, благодаря чему, в Америке одну выборную избирательную кампанию сопровождает много реклам направленных на достижение высокой явки. В результате исследования, автор даёт определение общих свойств и различий рекламного дискурса типа «Отдай свой голос!» в Польше и США, описывает определённые стратегии влияния на модель поведения общества.

В первой части работы даётся необходимое определение понятия социальной рекламы, сферы её деятельности и специфики социального маркетинга. Вторая глава работы представляет собой обзор основных теоретических вопросов связанных с языковыми стратегиями влияния в рекламе как таковой, а также описывает способы их переноса и приспособления в сферу социальной рекламы. Третья глава работы посвящена особенностям избирательных систем, которые важны для проведения общественных кампаний по повышению явки. Автор также предпринял попытку определить состояние гражданской активности и политического осознания избирателей в обеих странах и последний, но не менее важный аспект, то есть раскрыть главные причины отсутствия от голосования. Кроме того, представлены самые ведущие инициативы по поощрению электората принять участие в выборах в Польше и США.

Анализ материала составлён из двух частей: как исследование с десятью переменными и как исследование с помощью языкового корпуса. Выводы сделанные на основе проведённого анализа подтвердили, что короткая история объявлений

социальной рекламы типа «Отдай свой голос!» в Польше и небольшой опыт рекламистов в этой области негативно влияет на качество и новаторство рекламных сообщений. Польские рекламы в меньшей степени используют популярные в Америке стратегии, такие как юмор, ирония, спорная реклама, провокация. Польские общественные кампании можно описать как сохранные и вследствие этого - более универсальные. Американская реклама более учитывает рыночную сегментацию и так половина сообщений направлена на молодых людей, которые согласно исследованиям, составляют целевую группу особого внимания и для рекламистов и для политиков. В результате, американские рекламы чаще используют неформальный стиль, употребляя коллоквиализмы и даже вульгаризмы. Надо заметить, что в польской рекламе удивительно мало культурных отношений, которые если появляются, то в основном в невербальной сфере. Зато американская реклама часто использует огромный репертуар отношений к культуре, истории, массовой культуре. Однако, корпусное исследование доказало, что польская реклама употребляет богатейшую лексику, чем американская.

Общей чертой кампаний по повышению избирательной явки в обеих странах является главное стремление рекламистов, то есть победить общественную инертность и убеждение, что один голос не может ничего изменить. И в Польше и в США объявления типа «Отдай свой голос!» стараются не навязать идею обязанности подать избирательный бюллетень, но скорее реклама прилагает усилия, чтобы вызвать интерес, заинтриговать и самостоятельно продумать вопрос участия в голосовании. Развивающая тенденция общественных кампаний по повышению явки благоприятствует всё больше профессиональным и разнообразным сведениям рекламного характера, учитывая собственной сегмент целевой аудитории.

Streszczenie

Celem niniejszej pracy było zbadanie językowego aspektu profrekwencyjnych reklam społecznych oraz porównanie użycia środków językowych tychże kampanii w Polsce i w Stanach Zjednoczonych. W pracy zaprezentowano polityczne i kulturowe uwarunkowania oraz swoistość rynku reklamy społecznej w obydwu krajach. Pomimo, że kampanie społeczne zachęcające do udziału w wyborach powoli zyskują coraz większą popularność, to niewiele uwagi poświęca się zbadaniu specyfiki środków językowych stosowanych do przekazania, wzmocnienia komunikatu i sposobów wpływu na zachowania społeczne. Przedmiotem badania było 79 reklam społecznych (53 amerykańskie i 26 polskich), głównie spotów telewizyjnych, ale również spotów radiowych, billboardów, reklama *wirusowa*, ukazujące się w Polsce i w USA na przestrzeni lat 1992-2009. Dysproporcja związana z liczbą badanych reklam polskich i amerykańskich jest wynikiem krótkiej historii kampanii profrekwencyjnych w Polsce oraz dużo wyższych budżetów reklamowych przeznaczanych na ten cel w USA, dzięki czemu jednym wyborom towarzyszy wiele produkcji o charakterze profrekwencyjnym. Efektem badania było określenie cech charakterystycznych, podobieństw i różnic dyskursu profrekwencyjnych kampanii społecznych w Polsce i w Stanach Zjednoczonych, czynników kulturowych warunkujących różnice, oraz określenie konkretnych strategii stosowanie do aktywizowania wyborców w obydwu krajach.

W pierwszej części pracy dokonano niezbędnej definicji pojęcia reklamy społecznej, zakresu jej działania oraz określono specyfikę tego typu działań marketingowych. Na podstawie literatury przedmiotu dokonano również analizy strategii językowych stosowanych w reklamie jako takiej oraz sposobów przeniesienia i dostosowania ich do reklamy społecznej. Istotne było również przedstawienie roli kontekstu kulturowego w reklamie komercyjnej i społecznej. Nie mniej ważnym aspektem badań było określenie głównych różnic systemów wyborczych mających wpływ na kształt kampanii profrekwencyjnych, próba oddania kondycji społecznej i świadomości politycznej wyborców w obydwu krajach oraz wyszczególnienie najpowszechniejszych przyczyn absencji wyborczej. Ponadto, autorka dokonała również krótkiego przeglądu głównych inicjatyw profrekwencyjnych w USA i w Polsce.

Analiza materiału została dokonana dwustopniowo: w formie badania z 10 zmiennymi oraz przy użyciu korpusu językowego. Wyniki badań dowiodły, że krótka historia przekazów profrekwencyjnych w Polsce i relatywnie niewielkie doświadczenie copywriterów odbija się na jakości i innowacyjności przekazu. Polskie reklamy w znacznie mniejszym stopniu korzystają ze strategii popularnych za oceanem np. humor, kontrowersyjność przekazu,

ironia, prowokacja. Polski przekaz profrekwencyjny można określić jako zachowawczy, a co za tym idzie bardziej uniwersalny niż amerykański. Reklama amerykańska również w większym stopniu uwzględnia segmentację rynku i w ponad połowie przypadków komunikat kieruje ku młodym wyborcom, którzy, jak wykazują badania, są szczególnym celem marketingowym i politycznym. W konsekwencji treść reklam amerykańskich jest dużo częściej utrzymana w stylu nieformalnym, z użyciem kolokwializmów, wulgaryzmów. Zaskakująca w polskiej reklamie jest niewielka ilość odwołań kulturowych, które jeśli się pojawiają, to raczej w sferze niewerbalnej. Z kolei reklama amerykańska bardzo chętnie korzysta z arsenału odwołań do historii, kultury wysokiej i masowej. Badanie korpusowe wykazało, że polska reklama stosuje bogatszy i bardziej zróżnicowany repertuar leksykalny.

Cechą wspólną kampanii profrekwencyjnych w obydwu krajach jest główny cel ich działań, jakim jest przełamanie bierności obywateli oraz walka ze stereotypem, iż jeden głos niczego nie zmienia. Zarówno w Polsce, jak i w Stanach Zjednoczonych przekaz profrekwencyjny stara się również nie narzucać wyborcom idei koniecznego pójścia do urn do wyborczych, a raczej dąży do zainteresowania, zaintrygowania i zachęcenia do samodzielnego przemyślenia kwestii udziału w głosowaniu. Tendencja rozwojowa kampanii profrekwencyjnych sprzyja coraz bardziej profesjonalnym i zróżnicowanym przekazom, dostosowanym do konkretnych grup docelowych.

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Appendix 1. Transcripts of American GOTV PSAs (1992-2008)

NOTE: text in *italics* indicates written message

1. America Ferrera for Declare Yourself (2008)

It's easy to forget that this Presidential Election is not about candidates but about us. We're choosing between bringing our friends and family home or keeping them at war, we're voting for giving us an affordable, accessible healthcare or for a chance to afford college or to save ourselves from an angry planet. We are the change we want to see in the world, but nothing will change unless we register and we vote. Go to declareyourself.com and do it, don't silence yourself.

2. Brady Quinn for Declare Yourself

Someone who is not registered to vote and has no desire to vote, obviously, is missing out on one thing that makes this country great and it's that everyone has a say, you know, it may seem small and insignificant but all the voices put together are heard. *Be a player.*

3. One Vote by Choose or Lose

What difference can one person's vote make? Let's find out. That's me. That's our vote. That's my vote. And mine. That is my voice. That's my vote. This November count. To find out how you can make a difference go to chooseorlose.com

4. Rachael Harris for Declare Yourself

Hi, I'm Rachael Harris. You need to go to declareyourself.com to register to vote. If you don't, you'll get spanked.

5. Sonic Youth for Rock the Vote (1992)

If you live in America, you're free to vote and free to protest. You're also free to speak your mind and free to decide what choices are correct for you. Don't take freedom for granted. Vote to keep that strong. If you like to rock, rock the vote. Live free, stay free, let freedom rock. This is a message from Sonic Youth. Rock the vote on November 3rd 1992. Peace.

6. Spiderman wants you to vote (1992)

If you think superheroes like me can fight all your battles for you, think again. Voting for your local, state and federal representative let you choose who is on your side, knows the

issues we face today - from little ones to the really big ones too. But before you can vote you need to register. So do it now. For registration form and information about how to register visit your local participating video store. Have a voice in your future, register and vote.

7. *Voting is Not a Spectator Sport*

Late. Listen, you cannot change the future sitting out life on the bench. Voting is essential; it's not a spectator sport. Where will you be on November 7th?

8. *Madonna for Rock The Vote (1992)*

What do you looking at? Do I look like someone who's never voted before? I voted before. (Yeah.) I did. All right, all right. I never voted. OK. I registered to vote though. That's the important thing. (Yeah.) OK, OK, I never registered but I thought about it. I mean, they don't exactly make it easy. I mean, first you have to call at the board of elections and find out how to vote, right. And you know what that means. It means they're gonna put you on hold and you're gonna have to listen to Kenny G. for a half an hour (Oh, we hate that). You make my hair look too poofy. And then to add insult to injury, you've got to give them your real age (Oh no). In my case that's 21. And then you've got to educate yourself about the issues, you've got to find out about the candidates, right, you've got to read about their plans, you've got to read about their backgrounds, about their wives and their wives cookies. I mean, you know, really interesting stuff. I mean, as far as I am concerned, you can never know too much about these guys, right. Get out of my eye line! I mean, voting for a president is like hiring help. I want references, you know what I'm saying. Now, you've got to stop watching MTV and start watching C-Span all the time, which lately has not been that difficult of a switch to make. Next, you're gonna have to start planning for that important day. OK, what do you have to do? We have to find out where to vote, right? That's probably gonna be in a local school or a church, Masonic temple, elks lodge, motel. I mean, who goes to these places? Then you're gonna start making sacrifices. You've got to cancel your facial, your manicure, pedicure, deluxe combo, bikini wax. We're talking about major sacrifices. You've got to be brave, right. Are we ready? Can we be brave? Because chances are, you're gonna find yourself at the end of a very long line, once you get in. I've never done it myself but if you do, you push, scratch, claw and kick your way to the front. OK, so finally you're in there. You make your choice, you vote and it's over. I mean all that sweating and pushing and pulling and clawing and suffering and it's done. It's kind of like sex with my boyfriend. I mean, what do I get out of it? I'll tell what I get out of it. A good night sleep. Coz if I have to listen to him, complaining one more night about how I'm not responsible citizen of this country and

how my vote can make a difference, how if everyone had the same lazy attitude I have, where would we be. I swear, I'm gonna blow chance. Don't interrupt me. This is the climax of the whole thing. Well, you're probably thinking that's not a very good reason. It's not a very good reason to vote Madonna. So sue me, everybody else does. You guys finished? (Done). I'm going to vote. I need something to wear, darling. (How bout that?) Please, Cher votes in stuff like that...

9. *Vote for something (2008)*

Vote for trees; Vote for lumberjacks; Vote for paper; Vote for forests; Vote for national park; Vote for old growth; Vote for the environment; Vote for sensibility; Vote for recycling; Vote for something. Vote for something. For more information go to chooseorlose.com

10. *Tony Hawk for Choose or Lose (2008)*

Hey, I'm Tony Hawk. And you know, the buck does not even stop here but I have a say where the buck stops coz I vote. And you can too. All you've got to do is register. Go in, go to the booth, put down your opinions, and that's it and you have a say where this country's headed, who's in charge. It's easier than signing up for a spam list. For more on this year's election go to chooseorlose.com

11. *Vote for something (2008)*

Culture of fear; Ground zero; Orange alert; Shock and Awe; War on terror; Shaking the trees; Regime change; Coalition of the willing; Homeland security; Dirty Bomb; Axis of evil; Enemy combatants; Freedom fries; Vote for meaning. Vote for new words. Vote for scary words. Vote for rhetoric. Vote for meaning. Vote for clarity. Vote for something. Vote for something. For more information go to chooseorlose.com

12. *Restaurant – Choose or Lose (2008)*

- Check it out. I just got accepted to state. - Congratulations. - Wow. Books, room and board, tuition...how can you pay for that? *It's up to you.* Education. One of the many issues being decided this election. This November get heard. To find out how go to chooseorlose.com

13. *Citizen's cry (2008)*

They say empires rise and fall. Well, we Millenials, our silence is why America fell. I can only reach back in time when I had a chance. I would take my country back and tell everyone

no, time and hour is now. *Speak now with your vote or your silence will be heard for generations. Vote for tomorrow.*

14. Dan Dyer for Rock The Vote (2006)

Because you make a difference. Because you are in control. This is your moment. Rock The Vote. Coz your voice must be heard.

15. Ashanti for Rock the Vote (2008)

Now, in this historic election year, it's more important than ever that you cast your ballot on November 4th. My family's deep roots within civil rights movements have taught me that voting is one of our precious privileges and we definitely should take advantage of this opportunity. Need more information or just have questions, visit Rock The Vote election center at rockthevote.com. This is our time and our election.

16. Jake Gyllenhaal in a café

- I wonder if she votes. – I hope so. *Vote on November 2nd.*

17. Chris Mintz-Plasse for Declare Yourself

Hi America, welcome to my bedroom. I'm just about to register to vote. You wanna join me? All done. I'll stick around and you can watch me touch myself.

18. Christina Aguilera for Rock The Vote

O beautiful, for spacious skies, For amber waves of grain, For purple mountain majesties Above the fruited plain! America! America! God shed His grace on thee, And crown thy good with brotherhood, from sea to shining sea. It's time to make history. It's time to rock the vote.

19. Dancing is a right

I know we look like a couple of wild chicks dancing on the bar after a few too many cosmos but we're not. We're exercising our rights. You see, back in the 19th century it was illegal for some cities for unescorted women to drink in public houses, much less dance. But then in 1866 Congress passed the 14th Amendment, which protected the civil liberties and individual rights of every citizen of the United States and now we have exactly the same rights as every drunken prat boy in this place. So look again, because this is a major milestone in the history of our country. *Enjoy your freedom. Register to vote.*

20. Danica Patrick for Declare Yourself

I'm registering with Declare Yourself because it's something very important. Just register and vote it's the only way you can have any part in what you want out of this country. In the time it takes me to do one lap around the track you could have already voted.

21. The Man for Declare Yourself - Asian Pacific Islander Americans

The number one demographic of voter-no turnouts is Asian Pacific Islander Americans. Number one among them – young voters. – Eeey, you guys are number one! – Such overachievers. – Eighteen year old Asian Pacific Islanders just don't vote and, you know what, why should we? We have way more important things to do. – Studying to your exams, brushing up for your ACTs. – Drifting in your tuner colors. – Shut up. The way I figured it: there are many Asian Pacific Islanders in office anyway, and for everyone who gets elected there will be another who comes along and runs against him, and then we'd have to pick and that would lead to more voting. It would spiral out of control and soon all we'll be doing is voting. All the time and at every election. My fellow Asian Pacific Islander Americans, this madness must stop, before it starts. We must leave politics to politicians and... politicians are white. – Better listen to her. She's Japanese. They're very very clever people. – I'm Korean. – Whatever. – Thank you for not voting.

22. The Man for Declare Yourself – Credit Card Debt

Hey kids, we're 'The Man' and we just wanted to take this opportunity to explain to you exactly what happens when you register to vote. – Registering to vote is super easy and it takes like five seconds. – It's like five seconds. Because when you registered to vote, the government takes that information and they use it to track you from satellites in space. – It sounds insane but it's totally true. The government will track you from satellites in space, they will peep on your location and they will send this information to the credit card company. – It sounds totally crazy and it totally can't be proven but it's totally true. – Now, there is nothing to worry about unless of course you have a credit card debt. – Oh God, you kids don't have credit card debts do ya? – Oh, no they all have credit card debts and overdue student's loans. – Oh fuck. Then you totally shouldn't register to vote because if you do, the credit card companies will be able to track you from the satellites in space. – OK, he's totally overreacting. You should register to vote, but stay indoors afterwards and if you must go outside, camouflage yourself with sticks and leaves on the top of your head. – Good plan. Register to vote and then wear leaves and sticks on your head. – They're both your rights.

23. The Man for Declare Yourself – I’m wiser than you

Hey kids, we’re ‘The Man’. Now, don’t take it the wrong way but take our words for it. As eighteen year olds, the single best thing that you can do for your country is to keep your fucking opinion to yourself. Did that come out of the wrong way? – No, it came exactly right. We’re older than you and we’re much much much much much richer than you and you’re gonna say: Hey, it doesn’t mean you’re smarter than us. Except it does. We are. We’re smarter than you. – I mean, come on, you’re only eighteen, you shouldn’t be allowed to operate a fucking pencil sharpener, much less vote. You can barely get a condom on. – Don’t get us wrong. We think it is so cute, that you guys have opinions but on election day do the right thing. Keep your opinions to yourself. – Jesus kept his mouth shut till he was thirty. Right. So, we think it’s great that you have an opinion, just bear in mind it’s probably wrong. You’re just the kids. Leave the voting to us grown-ups. – And we’ll leave the ghost-riding to you guys.

24. The Man for Declare Yourself – Rap

Yo, yo, yo, whassup, it’s ‘The Man’. And we wanted to take a moment to talk to you eighteen year olds in your own language. – Yo, base, here we go. – Live 2008. – Here we go, yo. – Don’t go voting coz voting is for chump. – I knew a bitch who went into a vote and she’s caught a mumps– Voting is confusing, complicated and strange. - Unlike you we have investments in Chinese factories and oil. – A lot of nice shit that you boys can spoil. – Break it down. – I think that went really well. – That was a really good running.

25. The Man for Declare Yourself – What we don’t mind you voting for

Hey there, eighteen year olds, sitting around, downloading porn and stealing movies of the Internet. Listen up. Me and my buddy have something we wanted to explain to you. – You probably don’t realize it coz your young brains are addled from years of oxycodone but you’re what’s known as target demographic for every industry from sports apparel to show business. Do you know what that means? – Of course you don’t. It means that, as eighteen years old, you are the most powerful people on Earth. Every single commercial is aimed at you guys. Every single movie in the multiplex, every music video, every sneaker, everything was designed for you. You get to decide who is in and what color it’s gonna be. Every product on the market is tested, marketed and manufactured for you. You are the ones that are polled, surveyed and hooked up the machines to find out... -... do eighteen year olds like this product? – Every crapy old TV show that make a movie out of every extreme new flavor of energy drink, you decide all of that! We love that. – We love that. We love that you guys get

to decide who is the next American idol, who is Peter Parker gonna kiss in the next Spiderman 4. You kids are good at that fucking shit. Stick to that fucking shit. Leave the voting to us grown ups. – Thank you for not voting.

26. The Man for Declare Yourself – Black

Hi, we're 'The Man'. You know, some of our best friends are black and we just wanted to take moment to address all the young blacks out there that are thinking about voting. And to help with that we've brought in our very good and very black friend Cedric. –It's Sedrick, not Cedric or Cedrics. – You're sure? – Yea, I'm sure. You're thinking about "The Entertainer" I'm sure. – Anyway, you blacks have fought for many years for the right to vote and I've got to say I'm sorry but I don't think you should have to fight anymore. – Haven't we had enough fighting? – You people have struggled and you have struggled and you have earned the right to not vote. Just like us. You shouldn't have to do anything. – The civil rights war is over, man. Let's bury the hatchet. – And say in your talks so they know it's cool. – Do what? – Say it in black talks that's cool.

27. The Man for Declare Yourself – Push-up

- Go, go, you can do it! – Hi, we're 'The Man' and we would like to thank you eighteen year olds out there for not voting. My associate right here just attempted to do three push-ups. – I can't do it again. – He can't do it. And that's fine. After all we're 'The Man', we're pushing forty and we're so rich that it's not even funny. There is zero chance that either one of us is ever gonna have to do anything hard like doing any kind of minimum physical labor. You're the eighteen year olds. You guys get to do that first. So please kids, help us make sure things stay exactly as they are. Don't vote. – Thank you for not voting.

28. Deee-Lite for MTV (1992)

Vote baby vote, vote baby vote, are you registered baby? Vote baby vote, vote baby vote, are you registered baby?

29. Ed Helmes for Declare Yourself

I'm asking you to register to vote and I think that the fact that I have American flag wrapped around me, means I'm pretty serious about that.

30. Cast of the 'Greek' for Declare Yourself

Here is the thing: you, me, we revolutionizing the world. We can turn a skateboarding bulldog into an icon. We can cyber-chat with five, ten, twenty people at once, while talking on the phone with mom. That's our power, our superpower. Vote. We say what we think, blog and vote on everything. So let's do it for our country. Go, right now, to declareyourself.com and register to vote.

31. Gromax

Hello young man, are you anxious because you're too young to have to get up three times a night or more to urinate. Does it make you irritable to know you can achieve an erection any time you want and many times a day that you don't want? Do you feel you have no control over your future or suffering from incombat indifference, voter's disenchantment, minimized personal responsibility or general apathy? If so, then you might want to consider taking Gromax. Gromax, the only chemical guaranteed to increase your capacity for political awareness. Gromax for turning you into your vote. Try Gromax to turn your disfunction into full-on citizenship. See your therapist if you suffer from indifference, a total lack of interest in your future, nausea at the early signs of patriotism, or headache, back pain and flatulence when in close proximity to the Constitution or Bill of Rights. Try Gromax and turn your disfunction into full-on citizenship.

32. Jealous squirrel

- Are you registered to vote? – No, I'm not. – You either, ha. I just don't get it with you humans with all civil rights and liberties you have, why you wouldn't register to vote? We squirrels, we've been trying to organize an Urban Animal League for years. The pigeons keep crapping all over our leaflets. You don't know how good you got leaving in democratic society. I'd give my nuts to have what you have. I got to go. *Enjoy your freedom. Register and Vote.*

33. Johnny Cash 'I am the Nation'

I am the nation. I'm many things and many people. I'm Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. I am the Brooklyn Bridge, the wheat lands of Kansas, the Golden Gate, the fertile lands of the West. I'm 200 million living souls and the ghost of millions who have lived and died for me. I'm a ballot dropped in a box and I'm a letter to a Congressman. I am freedom to the oppressed. I am the nation. *Johnny Cash knew we are all Americans. Your voice will be heard. Vote November 4th.*

34. Making out is legal

I know it looks like I'm making out with some random guy, whose name I don't even know and who I probably won't see after tonight. But I'm not. I'm exercising my rights. You see, as late as 1958 it was illegal in sixteen states for people of different races to fraternize. And in 1959 Richard Loving, a white man was arrested in the state of Virginia for marrying Mildred Jeter, a black women. As a result, Chief Justice Earl Warren who was appointed by President Eisenhower declared those laws unconstitutional. That's make it legal for people of all races to marry, fraternize whenever and wherever they want. This is a moment of historic significance. One of many. Made possible by glorious democratic system. – I love this country. *Enjoy your freedom. Register to vote.*

35. N.E.R.D for Rock The Vote

Hi, this is Pharrel from N.E.R.D. –Shay from N.E.R.D. – And this is Chad from N.E.R.D. – And you've got to go to the polls, you've got to do it, you've got to make a change. The only way to change things is to make a change and rock the vote and register to vote and then, you know, sit back and see that, you know, all of your hard work, you know, pays off at the end of a day because who you vote for, ultimately with your encouragement, some campaigning and just showing the world and universe that you're really interested in change and making things happen just may pay off. And if it does, you'll be super happy, you know you did everything that you could so go and rock the vote, go and register, go to the polls. You've got to empower yourself, coz the only way to change things is to put your energy into things that you want to change and you want to see better for tomorrow. So we suggest you rock the vote. Go register, get it done, be a part of the change. See you there.

36. Lauren Conrad for Declare Yourself

In the time it takes to write a prefect text message, you could register to vote in 2008 election. *Register to vote now.*

37. Rock The Vote

I don't have to tell you things are bad. Everybody knows things are bad. Today we had 50 homicides, 53 fires and crimes. This is not how it's supposed to be. I don't know what to do about the depression, the inflation, and the Russians, and the crime on street. All I know is that you've got to get right, you've got to say 'I'm a human being, God damn it. My life has value. I'm as mad as hell. I can't take this anymore!' *Vote because you can.*

38. Marco Andretti for Declare Yourself

As a race car driver I think I have less patience than most people I know. It doesn't matter who you vote for. Just go to declareyourself.com, it's that easy, just do it. If I have patience to do, I think everybody can.

39. MTV Choose or Lose – Phone

- I got it. This got to be Richie. Hello? How do I answer this thing? – Push the button. – Which damn button? – Hit the talk button. – Talk button. It is a piece of tinnitus, not a real phone. *Old people outvote young people 2 to 1.* Will you get off your ass and come and help me with this thing? *Just sayin'*

40. MTV Choose or Lose – Airport

- Boarding passes out. Sir, you don't need to dump that out. – No? – No. Madam, you're gonna have to take your shoes off. – My shoes off? – Yes, ma'am. And sir not your shirt. You don't need to...just your belt, take off your belt. – You want me to take off my shirt? – No, ma'am, no. Just take off your shoes ma'am. Please... – I wish you make up your mind. *Old people outvote young 2 to 1. Just sayin'*

41. Murs for Rock The Vote

Hi, my name is Murs and until the age of 22 I was a non-voting American citizen. I'm now ashamed but I was apathetic youth to feel it doesn't matter, they're gonna do what they wanna do. I don't care. So I voted one time and it felt good. I mean, you can fail and you can have no voice and you can be an armchair revolutionary and you can say... you know, even if you one of these people that I used to be like pro-revolution, anti-government, hate everybody, hate the authorities. The beauty of America is that you have the right to do that but if you don't continue to vote and participate, then they can take that right away from you. What is it hurting to get off your ass for ten minutes and go do something that will affect the lives of your children? So much going on, the world is so much bigger than you and there're so many people that don't have voice. You have a voice as Americans, go in, vote, and it's over, it's done. It doesn't hurt you, it only helps you, you and generations to come. If you're not registered, you don't have a voice. *Register to vote. 11/04/2008 The power of your vote. 13.3 million 18-29 year old do not have health insurance. 1,049,398 young Americans under the age of 29 have served in Iraq and Afghanistan.*

42. Publishers Voting House

Let's go, let's go. Move it. Brad Novakowski, you have just won one vote! Yeah! – One vote! – Oh, oh my God! – Shut up! Oh, my God! No! Are you serious? – Oh my God, oh my God! Yes! – Ooooooone vote! – This is the best day in my life! – Thank you! – Oh, he's a little emotional people. – So exciting. *On November 4, cash in your vote*

43. One Tree Hill for Rock The Vote

Hey, from *One Tree Hill* this is This election is important to our children's future. I'm voting for our soldiers, for families, for education. I'm voting for the right to pursue happiness. – You wanna make a difference? Get informed. It's time to make a difference. Time to vote. – Time to be courageous, time to be outraged. Time to fight for what is right. Time to rock the vote. – What are you gonna vote for? Register and vote at rockthevote.com

44. Voting changes the world.

Voting changes the world. Literally! – Tired of that boring old water Johnny? Well, why don't you vote for something new? Chocolate milk, sure is better than water, isn't it Johnny? Here is dad, tired of having the same old wife do all the cooking and cleaning? Looks like, father time has slapped her around a little. Maybe you should give voting a try? Mmmm, three wives is better than one, isn't it dad? Hey there Susie, tired of all those homeless people cluttering up your streets. Try handing them a voter registration card. There, that's better, now he smells dandy. When you're looking to change the world, don't forget to vote. *Vote (it's the least you can do)*

45. Voter madness

Unstoppable madness is sweeping the nation. Young people are running wild through the streets. A mass hysteria that can only be described as voter madness. What is causing this panic you ask? It's simple. Voting is out there. Readily available and it's addictive. In the early stages young voters reported feeling of fright, followed by a fulfilled sense of a civic duty. How can you tell if someone you love has been voting? It's best to check their eyes first. Voting booths are popping up in cities all across America. Local authorities are doing their part to maintain control, but are you doing yours? Make sure your son or daughter knows the dangers of voting before it's too late. This message is paid for by adults. Vote. It's the least you can do.

46. Voting and you

America. Beautiful, isn't she? But we have to work hard to keep it that way. How do we do that you ask. Voting. That's how. *Voting and you.* – What's voting? – Well, I'm glad you ask Billy. You see, voting is the most important part of being an American. Because in America we have, what's called, a democracy. – So what's a democracy? – Well, you see Billy, when God created America, he blessed us with the government that lets us have a say in how things work. – So you mean we have the right to choose? – Ha-ha, I wouldn't go that far. But we do have a lot better than all those other places. – So how do I do it? How do I vote in a democracy? – I'm charmed by your curiosity. Here, let me show you how it all works. When it's time to vote you had your assign to a voting station and step in to, what's called, a booth. Once you decided who or what you'd like to vote for, you pull the magic lever and presto! You've just voted. The voting machine then uses radio waves to beam your vote up to the moon or a giant brain-looking alien creature (*Dramatization*) we call Salazar tallies up all the votes and beams the results back to Earth. Then a lead group of mathematicians and other smart people eventually make up their own mind about who wins and who loses. – What's the wizard doing there? – He's magic. You see Clarence... - Billy. – Billy, it's just that simple. – Oh gee-whiz I wanna vote right now. – Oh, you can. All you have to do is be an eighteen year old American citizen. – I'm only seventeen. – Billy, who's that your talking to? – What did you say your name was again, mister? – My name is not important. I'm gonna go explain things to your mother now. Why don't you start practicing for the big day? – Why don't you explain it me, firmly yet passionately? Vote. It's the least you can do.

47. Dog Food

He's like a member of the family. Not a care in the world. Doesn't have to think or decide. His biggest problem is one more ear scratch or another tummy rub. That's why I choose apathy. For the life of a dog. So some day I can be just like him. And maybe he'll take care of me. *Only you can silence yourself. Register to vote now.*

48. Ben Affleck

In the amount of time it takes Ben Affleck to pick his nose, you could help decide the future of our country. Long story short...remember to vote on November 2nd.

49. Adam Brody

In the amount of time it takes Adam Brody to chew his fingernails, you could help decide the future of our country. Long story short...remember to vote on November 2nd.

50. Lip sealer

Introducing lip sealer by Indifference for sheer beauty, uninterrupted by thought. Perfect coverage to hide deep beliefs. A super sealing shine for lips that form no opinions became vibrantly vacuous now with Indifference. *Only you can silence yourself. Register to vote now.*

51. Muzzler

We now return to: *Snatch it up with Jessica*. – Our final item today is The Muzzler 2008. If you have no plans to vote in the November presidential election, then this is the product for you! This hand-made mask has a craftsman touch that will leave you, literally, speechless. Now if silence is your thing, shop no further, call 323-472-Go-08 for your very own muzzler now. But don't just take my word for it, check out this success story from Ricky in Nevada. – Well before I found Muzzler 2008, you know, life was chaotic. Then I turned 18, I was qualified to vote, things just got crazy, you know. So I found a mask. No I can just sit on my butt, play video games, eat, just do nothing all day and don't have to worry making difference. It's so liberating, man. – Ricky is just one of millions silenced by the Muzzler. The election is almost here, folks. If you don't act fast, you may be expected to vote. Big hassle, people! Buy now and avoid all of this. Call in the next two minutes and I'll come personally to your house and slap it on your face. Having a hard time imagining how this mask will look like on you, well imagine no further we have Hayden here today that will show it off. And here is the kicker. Hayden likes her Muzzler so much she actually had it customized and surgically implanted. Hi Hayden, how are you today? Is that mask the best thing that's ever happened to you? Amazing! And if you look at Hayden before the Muzzler, you can see how far she's really come. Just check out how beautiful this is, the way it fits. Thanks Hayden. Now folks, this mask normally goes for \$129.99 and now and only right now you can have it for \$19.99. That's right \$19.99! Dial now and you'll get a toddler mask for free. I'm offering you a chance of a lifetime, folks. The opportunity to have no say in who runs our country for the next four to eight years. What's that? – 36 left. – Only 36 left? Wow! Call right now, we're running out of time. Watch us next week and see our next product The Suffocator. It'll take your breath away, we promise. Thanks for watching. Bye now. – Warning. If this product isn't for you, consider registering at declareyourself.com

52. For the future

Abortion. Healthcare. Economy. Energy. Immigration. Government. Conservation. Taxes. War. Foreign policy. Crime. Welfare. Employment. We can pretend we know what we're

talking about or do something and change the world. Take action. Vote. For me. For me. For me. For me. For me. For America. For the future

53. Don't vote

Please, just don't vote. Don't vote. Don't vote. No, seriously don't. You don't care. What's the point. Don't. This is the biggest financial disasters in American history. Why would you vote. Who cares the economy is the toilet. Who gives the shit? I don't care. I got so much money. Don't. Out of the question. Don't vote. Because who cares about your children education. You're right. Don't vote. That's a bad idea. You don't have to. Who cares about global warming? Polar bears can swim. I forbid you to vote. Stay where you are. Don't vote. Because who gives a shit about terrorism? I've got 19 kids, never used abortion once. Seriously, do not vote. Voting is absurd. It's ridiculous. Who cares? About the war on drugs. Do not vote. There's no point. Who cares about Darfur? I don't even know the fuck that is. That sounds like a T-shirt company to me. You don't care. I don't care. Don't vote. Whatever you do, don't vote. Fuck it. Don't vote unless you care about healthcare. If you care about gun control. Women's rights. Civil rights. Rising gas prices. Social security. The war. Then you should vote. First amendment, second amendment, all the amendments. Or the future. Or our country. Everything. I care. Does that matter to you? Because if it does, maybe you ought to vote. You know you have to register to vote, right? You do know that, you have to register first in order to vote. The deadline is day away. You know in some states is October 4th. And then that's it, your power is gone. You have no choice. It's very easy. You can register online. You're probably online right now, aren't you? You can literally register to vote, while you're pooping if you have a laptop. What I'm gonna do is I'm gonna wait around while you write this information down. Me too. I'll wait. OK, if you're like me and you're already registered I need you to send it to five people. Five friends. God I hope you have at least five friends. And then they're gonna send it to five friends. And then five and five and five and five... I mean, seriously after all this, if you're not gonna vote after this whole video, I don't even know what to say anymore. You know you have to vote.

Appendix 2. Transcripts of Polish GOTV PSAs (2005-2009)

NOTE: text in *italics* indicates written message

1. *Pokolenie '89 – Głosuj (Generation 89' – Vote)*

Ja wybiorę sam. A ty? Głosuj, żebyś nie był przybity po wyborach.

2. *Pokolenie '89 – Głosuj 2 (Generation 89' – Vote 2)*

Transmisja z Sejmu Wybrano nas. Stanowimy trzon władzy. I nikt nam tego nie wybije z głowy. Tak ma być. Cisza. – Hańba. Złodzieje. – Cisza. Głosuj, żebyś nie był przybity po wyborach.

3. *Próżność (Vanity)*

Nie przegap. Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego. Niedziela 7 czerwca 2009

4. *Idź na wybory (Go to the polls)*

Był czas poświęcenia. Wojny. Zjednoczenia. Walki. Wolności. Teraz nadszedł czas wyborów. Idź głosować by ich poświęcenie nie poszło na marne. 21 października 2007 wybory parlamentarne

5. *Nie narzekaj! (Don't complain!)*

Ile mam jeszcze czekać? Gdzie ten autobus? Nawet rozkładu nie ma. Szyby powybijane. Policja tu nie jeździ czy jak. A nie jeździ, bo na paliwo nie mają. Ale do limuzyn dla tych wszystkich VIP-ów to paliwo jest. Za moje pieniądze jeszcze. To po to na nich głosowałam. Po to płacę podatki, żeby się teraz tak... *www.maszglos.pl* *Zamiast narzekać, sprawdzaj tych, których wybrałeś. Masz głos, masz wybór*

6. *Babcia i droga (Grandmother and a road)*

Nie pękaj. Dokonaj wyboru. 21 października 2007

7. *Wiadomości – Parlament Europejski (News – European Parliament)*

Mur wzdłuż granic europejskich ma powstrzymać nielegalną imigrację. Zakaz importu ma uratować miejsca pracy w Europie. Jazda samochodem w dni robocze jest zakazana. Zniesienie podatku dochodowego ma pomóc w walce z kryzysem. Ojcowie muszą zostać w domach przez co najmniej dwa lata. Europa sfinansuje montaż kamer na każdej ulicy. To nie

są prawdziwe wiadomości. Ty zdecydujesz, jaka będzie ich treść. Wybory europejskie. Ty decydujesz!

8. *Rusz dupę. Idź głosować! (Move your ass. Vote!)*

Ty też rusz dupę i idź głosować!

9. *Kółko, krzyżyk (Tick- tack- toe)*

Jeden głos może zdecydować o wyniku wyborów lokalnych. Wybierz swój samorząd 12 listopada. *Masz głos, masz wybór.*

10. *Babcia i krzesła (Grandmother and chairs)*

Nie pękaj! Dokonaj wyboru. 21 października 2007

11. *Dziewczynka i ciastka (Girl and cookies)*

Nie pękaj. Dokonaj wyboru. 21 października 2007

12. *Parlament – zrób to sam (Parliament Do-It-Yourself)*

Parlament. Zrób to sam. 21 października

13. *Zmień kraj, idź na wybory (Change the country, vote)*

Nie idę na wybory, bo jeden głos nic nie znaczy. Nie idę na wybory, bo jeden głos nic nie jest wart. Nie idę na wybory, bo mój głos nikogo nie obchodzi. Nie idę na wybory, bo jeden głos... Nie idę na wybory, bo... Na wyborach twój głos nigdy nie jest jeden. Zmień kraj. Idź na wybory. A najpierw idź na stronę 21października.pl

14. *Pępek Europy (Europe's navel)*

Wyleciał Maćko z obory, pędzi chłopak na wybory. Za nim młodzi, baby, chłopcy, bliżej to do Europy. Poszły wójty i plebany i walili w barabany. Oj ta Europa cała będzie o Polsce słyszała. Zobaczą, że w naszej wsi, Polacy a nie gęsi. Mamy język i piętę, łeb na karku i pępek. Pokażmy Europie, że mamy swój pępek. Gmina z najwyższą frekwencją wyborczą do Europarlamentu zdobędzie tytuł Pępka Europy. Jeszcze jeden powód, żeby pójść na Eurowybory.

15. *Wyborcy.org (Voters.org)*

Obwodowa Komisja Wyborcza. Oni zdążyli. Ty też możesz. Wybory 2007

16. Nie narzekaj – taxi (*Don't complain – Taxi*) radio spot

Znowu te korki Panie, że też zawsze to na moją taksówkę musi trafić. No jedź! Zielone masz, ech ty. O roboty drogowe. No jeździć się normalnie w tym kraju nie da. Dziura na dziurze. Co źle mówię? Podatki płacę, to i wymagać mam prawo. Na co idą moje pieniądze? Gdzie te drogi obiecane, Panie? A oni co, helikopterami latają za moje pieniądze, to po co im drogi dobre. Zamiast narzekać sprawdzaj tych, których wybrałeś. www.maszglos.pl

17. Rap (Rap) radio spot

Żeby pójść na wybory, chyba musiałbym być chory. Mój głos się nie liczy, więc mnie to nie dotyczy. Cały ten parlament, to jeden wielki zamęt. Jeden głos nic nie zmieni, nikt go nie doceni. Każdy tylko krzyczy, ale łatwo policzyć, takich głosów jest kilkaset tysięcy. Nie daj się zniechęcić. Na wyborach twój głos nigdy nie jest jeden. Zmień kraj, idź na wybory. 21października.pl

18. Parlament – zrób to sam (*Parliament – Do-It-Yourself*) radio spot

Na stronie 21października.pl znajdziesz trzy proste ilustracje. Przyjrzyj się im dokładnie. Sprawdź czy też tak potrafisz. Parlament. Zrób to sam. 21października.pl

19. Wybieram.pl 2005 (*Ichoose.pl 2005*)

Masz jeden dzień, żeby wszystko zmienić. 9 października. wybieram.pl

20. Wybieram.pl 2006 (*Ichoose.pl 2006*)

Bo nie dam innym decydować za mnie. Wybieram. Bo nie chcę się wstydzić. Wybieram. Bo mam 18 lat. Wybieram. Bo tak. Wybieram. Bo chcę decydować o swojej przyszłości. Wybieram. Bo chcę. Wybieram. Bo lubię chodzić po lokalach. Wybieram. Bo mam prawo. Wybieram. Bo mogę. Wybieram. Bo chcę żeby mnie było widać. Wybieram. Bo mam blisko. Wybieram. Bo jestem u siebie. Wybieram. Głosuj. Głosuj jak chcesz.

21. Gwiazdy dla wybieram.pl (*Celebrities for Ichoose.pl*)

Wybieram. Wybieram. Wybieram. Wybieram. Wybory Parlamentarne 21 października. *Chcesz wiedzieć dlaczego wybierają? Sprawdź 10 października!* wybieram.pl

22. Wybieram.pl 2007 (1)

Bo będę w Dublinie i mam już karteczkę do głosowania. Bo chciałbym, żeby w Polsce było dobrze, a jestem mądry i wiem ja wybrać. Bo ktoś zrobi to za ciebie. Bo mam takie widzimisie. Bo nie głosując wybieram najgorzej. Bo zależy mi na przyszłości moich dzieci. Głosuj. Głosuj jak chcesz. *Wybory Parlamentarne 21 października*. Idźcie Państwo wybierać, bo inni za nas wybiorą gorzej.

23. Wybieram.pl 2007 (2)

Bo lubię ten kraj i robię to dla niego. Bo wreszcie mogę głosować. Bo nie chcę stąd wyjeżdżać. Bo może mój głos coś zmieni. Bo jak byłem mały to mamusia mówiła: zjedz krupnik, a ja chciałem pomidorówkę, więc wolę wybierać. Bo nie chcę się wstydzić za swój kraj. Bo życie to kwestia wyboru. Nie pozwól żeby ktoś wybierał za ciebie. Głosuj. Głosuj jak chcesz. Wybieram. Wybieram. Wybieram. Wybieram. *Wybory Parlamentarne 21 października*.

24. Wybieram.pl 2007 (3)

Bo nie chcę, żeby ktokolwiek wybierał za mnie. Bo nie rozumiem jak można nie głosować. Bo nie lubię bałaganu. Bo mam takie widzimisie. Bo to jest sexy. Bo nie chcę stąd wyjeżdżać. Bo to nic nie kosztuje. Głosuj. Głosuj jak chcesz. Wybieram. Wybieram. Wybieram. *Wybory Parlamentarne 21 października*.

25. Wybieram.pl 2007 Polacy zagranicą też wybierają (Poles abroad choose too)

Wojtek. Jestem na Socratesie w Oslo i głosuję w naszej ambasadzie. Ponieważ też lubię nosić beret, ale mam swoją głowę. Cześć, jestem Ola. Jestem teraz we Francji i tutaj zagłosuję, bo uważam, że jak nie zagłosuję, to nie będę mogła później narzekać. Iwo, studiuje we Francji. Jadę zagłosować do Starsburga, żeby zwiedzić miasto. Jestem Ewa, studiuje w Manchesterze i tutaj zagłosuję, bo już czas. Mam na imię Krzysiek, głosuję w Strasburgu po to, by dać szlaban tym, którym nie ufam. Ula, studiuje we Francji i zagłosuję w Strasburgu, bo umiem. *Wybory Parlamentarne 21 października*.

26. Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego 2009 (billboards) – European Parliament election

Skąd chcemy czerpać energię? Jak pomóc godzić życie rodzinne z zawodowym? W co inwestować wspólne pieniądze? Użyj siły swojego głosu w wyborach do Parlamentu Europejskiego 7 czerwca.

Appendix 3. List of graphs and tables

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