

Czech University of Life Sciences Prague

Faculty of Economics and Management

Department of Management



Diploma Thesis

**Political marketing: A case study of marketing the
political movement ANO**

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DIPLOMA THESIS ASSIGNMENT

Bc. Boris Kolařík

European Agrarian Diplomacy

Thesis title

Political marketing: A case study of marketing the political movement ANO

Objectives of thesis

The aim of the diploma thesis is to describe the tools, methods, latest trends of political marketing and briefly summarize its history. In the following chapters, focusing specifically on the ANO political movement, its electoral program and its leader. In the practical part, based on a quantitative survey on a given sample of the population, the political marketing of the ANO movement will be surveyed by the respondents with the right to vote.

Methodology

This work will consist of two parts using primary and secondary data. The first, theoretical part, will be based on secondary data obtained through detailed study of chosen literature and other external sources dealing with the topic. The second, practical part, will be based on the primary data obtained through a questionnaire survey with a minimum of 60 respondents.

The proposed extent of the thesis

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Election Campaign, Election Leader, Political Marketing, Political Marketing tools

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Declaration

I declare that I have worked on my diploma thesis titled “Political marketing: A case study of marketing the political movement ANO” by myself and I have used only the sources mentioned at the end of the thesis. As the author of the diploma thesis, I declare that the thesis does not break copyrights of any their person.

In Prague on 28.03.2019

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Political marketing: A case study of marketing the political movement ANO

Abstract

The diploma thesis deals with the political marketing of the ANO movement focusing on the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2017 and is divided into the theoretical and practical parts. The first part describes the theoretical background for political marketing and defines the basic concepts. Secondly, brief description of the political environment in the Czech Republic with an emphasis on the ANO movement is outlined.

At the beginning of the practical part, the election campaign of the ANO movement and its leader, including focus on the use of social media, is described. Subsequently, the practical part, using a quantitative exploratory survey, investigates how respondents with the right to vote perceive the political marketing of the ANO movement used in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2017 and how this perception can be influenced by given set of determinants (gender, age, education, size of municipality).

Keywords: Election Campaign, Election Leader, Political Marketing, Political Movement, Political Party

Politický marketing: případová studie marketingu politického hnutí ANO

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce se zabývá politickým marketingem hnutí ANO se zaměřením na volby do Poslanecké sněmovny 2017 a je rozdělena na teoretickou a praktickou část. V první části práce jsou popsána teoretická východiska pro politický marketing a vymezeny základní pojmy. Následuje stručná charakteristika politického prostředí v České republice s důrazem na hnutí ANO.

V úvodu praktické části je popsána volební kampaň hnutí ANO a jejího lídra se zaměřením na využití sociálních médií. Následně praktická část pomocí kvantitativního průzkumného šetření zjišťuje, jak respondenti s právem volit vnímají politický marketing hnutí ANO využitý ve volbách do Poslanecké sněmovny 2017 a jak toto vnímání mohou ovlivnit stanovené determinanty (pohlaví, věk, vzdělání, velikost obce).

Klíčová slova: Politická strana, Politické hnutí, Politický marketing, Volební kampaň, Volební leader

Table of content

1	Introduction.....	13
2	Objectives and Methodology.....	15
2.1	Objectives.....	15
2.2	Methodology.....	15
3	Literature Review.....	17
3.1	Political marketing.....	17
3.1.1	Marketing.....	17
3.1.2	Political marketing.....	17
3.1.3	History of political marketing.....	18
3.1.4	Commercial marketing and the political marketing.....	19
3.1.5	Political management.....	19
3.1.6	Leader.....	20
3.1.7	Campaign.....	20
3.1.7.1	Permanent campaign.....	21
3.1.7.2	Campaign professionalism.....	21
3.1.8	Political marketing tools.....	22
3.1.9	Modern political marketing and trends.....	23
3.1.10	4P model in political marketing.....	24
3.1.10.1	Product.....	25
3.1.10.2	Distribution policy (Place).....	25
3.1.10.3	Communication policy (Promotion).....	25
3.1.10.4	Cost-management policy (Price).....	26
3.2	Political parties.....	26
3.2.1	Party.....	26
3.2.2	Movement.....	26
3.2.3	Right-wing political party.....	27
3.2.4	Left-wing political party.....	27
3.2.5	Liberalism.....	27
3.2.6	Conservatism.....	27
3.2.7	Populist political parties.....	28
3.2.8	Protest political parties.....	28
3.2.8.1	Populist and protest parties.....	28
3.2.9	Traditional parties.....	28
3.3	The Political Compass.....	29
3.4	Legal regulations.....	30

3.4.1	Donations	31
3.4.2	Election campaign regulation	31
3.4.2.1	Understanding new rules by parties	32
3.4.3	Parties in the Czech Republic	33
3.4.3.1	ANO	33
3.4.3.2	ODS (Civic Democratic Party).....	33
3.4.3.3	Piráti (Pirate Party)	34
3.4.3.4	SPD (Freedom and Direct Democracy – Tomio Okamura)	34
3.4.3.5	KSČM (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia).....	35
3.4.3.6	ČSSD (Czech Social Democratic Party)	35
3.4.3.7	KDU-ČSL (Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People’s Party) 35	
3.4.3.8	TOP 09.....	36
3.4.3.9	STAN (Mayors and Independents).....	36
3.4.4	Election results for the Chamber of Deputies 2017	37
3.5	About the ANO movement	38
3.5.1	History of the ANO movement.....	38
3.5.2	Ing. Andrej Babiš	40
3.5.3	Logo of the ANO movement	41
3.5.4	Election program of the ANO movement.....	41
3.5.5	Financing the campaign	44
4	Practical Part.....	46
4.1	Political campaign of the ANO movement	46
4.1.1	Social media.....	46
4.1.2	Leader Andrej Babiš	48
4.1.3	Billboards, clips, brand	49
4.1.4	Andrej Babiš's book	50
4.2	Questionnaire survey.....	51
4.2.1	Preparation and implementation phase	51
4.3	Analysis of questionnaire survey results.....	52
4.3.1	Questions No. 24-27 – Identification data	52
4.3.2	Questions No. 1-7	56
4.3.3	Questions No. 8-23	68
5	Results and Discussion.....	93
6	Conclusion.....	98
7	References	100

List of pictures

Picture 1 – Political marketing tools	23
Picture 4 – Political compass	29
Picture 5 – Political compass iDNES.cz: Basic chart	30
Picture 6 – Political compass iDNES.cz: where people put parties (median)	30
Picture 2 – Results of elections to the Chamber of Deputies 2017.....	37
Picture 3 - Results of elections to the Chamber of Deputies 2013	38
Picture 7 – ANO logo development.....	41
Picture 8 - An example of a post by Andrej Babiš on his Facebook profile	48
Picture 9 – Andrej Babiš.....	49
Picture 10 – Billboard of the ANO movement	50
Picture 11 - Billboard of the ANO movement.....	77

List of tables

Table 1 – Total costs of election campaign	45
Table 2 - Comparison of the gender in regards to participants age	54
Table 3 - Comparison of the highest educational attainment in regards to participants age.....	55
Table 4 - Question No. 1 - In general, there are right and left wing parties in politics, where do you personally see yourself?	57
Table 5 - Comparison of the question No. 1 in regards to participants gender	58
Table 6 - Comparison of the question No. 2 in regards to participants age.....	59
Table 7 - Comparison of the question No. 3 in regards to participants highest educational attainment.....	62
Table 8 - Comparison of the question No. 5 in regards to participants highest educational attainment.....	65
Table 9 - Comparison of the question No. 7 with the question No. 2	68
Table 10 - Comparison of the correct answer to question No. 9 in regards to age.....	70
Table 11 - Comparison of the question No. 10 with the question No. 3	72
Table 12 - Comparison of the question No. 11 with the question No. 3	73
Table 13 - Comparison of the question No. 12 with the question No. 10	75
Table 14 - Comparison of the question No. 12 with the question No. 11	75
Table 15 - Comparison of the question No. 14 with the question No. 27	78
Table 16 - Comparison of the question No. 15 in regards to participants age and gender ..	79
Table 17 - Comparison of the question No. 16 in regards to participants age.....	81
Table 18 - Comparison of the question No. 18 in regards to participants age.....	84
Table 19 - Comparison of the question No. 19 in regards to participants gender	85
Table 20 - Comparison of the answer “I did not visit any of these” in regards to participants age	86
Table 21 - Comparison of the question No. 20 with the question No. 5	87
Table 22 - Comparison of the question No. 21 with the question No. 20	89
Table 23 - Comparison of the question No. 22 in regards to participants age.....	91

List of charts

Chart 1 – Question No. 24 - Gender	53
Chart 2 - Question No. 25 - Age	54
Chart 3 - Question No. 26 - The highest educational attainment	55
Chart 4 - Question No. 27 - You live in a municipality of the size	56
Chart 5 - Question No. 1 - In general, there are right and left wing parties in politics, where do you personally see yourself?	57
Chart 6 - Question No. 2 - If you look at recent elections, have you voted (or you would vote) traditional parties or protest parties?	59
Chart 7 – Comparison of the question No. 2 in regards to participants age	60
Chart 8 - Question No. 3 - Do you follow election campaigns?	61
Chart 9 - Comparison of the question No. 3 in regards to participants education	62
Chart 10 - Question No. 4 - Where do you get information about election campaigns?	63
Chart 11 - Question No. 5 - To what extent do you follow political campaigns?	64
Chart 12 - Comparison of the question No. 5 in regards to participants education	65
Chart 13 - Question No. 6 - The election campaign for you is:	66
Chart 14 - Question No. 7 - Pre-election campaigns of what parties interested you?	67
Chart 15 - Question No. 8 – Do you know what the abbreviation “ANO” means?	69
Chart 16 - Do you know the slogan of the ANO movement in the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies?	70
Chart 17 - Comparison of the correct answer to question No. 9 in regards to age	71
Chart 18 - Question No. 10 - The main electoral slogan for the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the ANO movement program was "Now or never". Have you met with it in any form?	71
Chart 19 - Question No. 11 - Another electoral slogan for the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the ANO movement was "...and do not babble" (for example, "Stand against corruption and do not babble"). Have you met with it in any form?	73
Chart 20 - Question No. 12 - How do the previous slogans impress you?	74
Chart 21 - Question No. 13 - Do you know what election program did the ANO movement use in the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies? (Multiple options can be selected)	76
Chart 22 - Question No. 14 - Did you notice the following or similar advertising messages?	78
Chart 23 - Question No. 15 - How does this billboard impress you?	79
Chart 24 - Comparison of the question No. 15 in regards to participants gender	80
Chart 25 - Question No. 16 - How interesting have you found the election campaign of ANO movement? (1 - very interesting, 5 - absolutely uninteresting)	81
Chart 26 - Question No. 17 - Do you think the ANO movement had:	82
Chart 27 - Question No. 18 - Parties and politicians present themselves in different ways on the Internet. Which of the following media do you think were used in the last election to the Chamber of Deputies? (Multiple options can be selected)	83
Chart 28 - Question No. 19 - Which of the following social media have you visited? (Multiple options can be selected)	85
Chart 29 - Question No. 20 - Did you notice that Andrej Babiš published the book "What I dream about when I happen to fall asleep"?	87
Chart 30 - Question No. 21 - Do you think this book is part of election marketing?	88
Chart 31 - Question No. 22 - Methods of public appearance (manner of expression, dressing style) of Andrej Babiš:	90

Chart 32 - Question No. 23 - Do you think the ANO movement would have such support even if Andrej Babiš was not the leader?92

List of abbreviations

ANO	Action of Dissatisfied Citizens
ČSSD	Czech Social Democratic Party
KDU-ČSL	Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People’s Party
KSČM	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia
ODS	Civic Democratic Party
SPD	Freedom and Direct Democracy – Tomio Okamura
STAN	Mayors and Independents

1 Introduction

Efforts for effective political communication have been found in all historical periods since ancient Greece and Rome. Interest in these questions can be found in Aristotle's, Platon's, or Cicero's works. However, communication channels were limited. With the discovery of letterpress and the gradual increase in literacy, it was possible to reach more people. The influence of printed media in the 20th century was gradually weakened by radio and television broadcasting.

Political parties also existed in antiquity and the middle ages, but for a long time, only few people had the right to vote. Modern political parties began to form at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century. They represented the interests of a particular group. At first, it was the socialist parties that represented the interests of the workers, followed by other political groups - Christians, agrarians, later liberals and conservatives. Expanding the right to vote forced the parties to create greater ties with voters.

In the 60s of the 20th century, new catch-all parties appear in response to the transformation of Western European society after the Second World War. The politically moderate middle class is growing and the parties are expanding programs and weakening the ideological charge. There are a lot of voters who decide just before the election, to whom they give their vote is influenced by the election campaign. The parties are beginning to use modern methods and techniques of political marketing that were born in the US.

Extending the right to vote was crucial, and the masses of the population could suddenly come to the polls and express their views.

Political communication is undergoing dynamic changes, especially in the last two decades with the development of communication technologies. Thanks to the availability of the Internet to the wider population, new media are becoming increasingly important for politicians' communication. Election campaigns are increasingly taking place on the Internet. Social networks allow politicians to reach voters directly, practically 24 hours a day and get feedback quickly. Despite the ban on TV advertising, they can reach voters on the Youtube video server.

Political marketing is a young discipline. It is based on economic marketing, instead of product it promotes political party, politics itself. The aim of the political parties is therefore to analyse the situation on the political scene, to find out the preferences of the

voters and then to adjust the election campaign. Political marketing experts are in the US, but much more emphasis has been placed on it in the Czech Republic in recent years. A well-managed political marketing then helps the subject to enforce and realize political intentions with respect to his voters' expectations. The ways in which the party and politicians present themselves and the electoral campaign is then reflected in the election result.

An example of well-managed political marketing is the ANO movement. The entity, which was, compared to most parties, recently created, has reached the top of the Czech political scene in a few years. After the 2013 elections, they were the only ones who did not dissolve the electoral team, but lead a permanent campaign led by marketing experts and social networks. Party leader Andrej Babiš presents himself as a non-politician, talks to people simply. In the Parliamentary elections, ANO won with a majority, the difference between ANO and the second ODS was 18 %. Whether such a success is guaranteed directly by the party leader or by a well-conducted election campaign, political marketing has played a significant role here.

2 Objectives and Methodology

2.1 Objectives

The aim of the diploma thesis is to define the basic concepts of political marketing, its methods and tools and briefly summarize its history. In the following chapters describe the political scene in the Czech Republic, focusing specifically on the ANO political movement, its electoral program and its leader.

In the practical part, based on a quantitative survey on a given sample of the population, the political marketing of the ANO movement will be surveyed by the respondents with the right to vote.

2.2 Methodology

The diploma thesis will consist of two parts, theoretical and practical. The theoretical part will describe the concept of political marketing based on the study of professional literature and comparison. Other methods as analysis and deduction will be used. Political parties and movements operating in the Czech Republic will also be described to better understand the political scene in this country. Furthermore, the legal regulations focusing on the amendment to the Act on Financing Election Campaigns will be described. In the following chapters focusing specifically on the ANO political movement, its history, electoral program and its leader. The knowledge obtained when processing the theoretical part will be used for the practical part.

In addition, an election campaign to the Chamber of Deputies 2017 of this movement will be described. In the practical part, the method of quantitative research will be used to determine the relationships between variables. The aim of the survey will be to find out the perception of political marketing of ANO by citizens of the Czech Republic with the right to vote. A questionnaire survey will be prepared and then tested in a pre-survey of at least five respondents for verification of clarity. Based on this pre-research, the selected questions will be adjusted for better clarity.

After the questionnaire compiling and modifying, the data will be collected electronically via the Vyplnto.cz website. Respondents will be citizens of the Czech Republic with the right to vote without further limitation. Data collection will last for at least two weeks with a minimum of sixty respondents. After data collection, an evaluation

will be performed. The results will be processed into tables and graphs using Microsoft Excel. Overall evaluation of the survey will be in the conclusion.

The procedure for an elaboration of the diploma thesis will be in the following steps:

1. Determining objectives.
2. Assembly and study of literature and other sources.
3. Processing of the theoretical part based on studied materials.
4. Characteristics of the political movement ANO.
5. Characteristics of the election campaign of the ANO movement
6. Execution and compilation of own questionnaire survey.
7. Evaluation of the survey.
8. Conclusion.

3 Literature Review

The theoretical part describes political marketing, its history, political campaign and other related concepts. Furthermore, there are briefly characterized political parties and movements operating on the Czech political scene, and the ANO movement itself, which is dealt with in the questionnaire survey in the practical part, is described in more detail.

3.1 Political marketing

3.1.1 Marketing

In short definition marketing is the process of meeting needs and profitability; it is identifying and meeting human needs and social needs. (Kotler, et al., 2009)

American Marketing Association defined marketing in 1960 as “*the performance of business activities that direct the flow of goods and services from producer to consumer or user*”. (in O'Shaughnessy, 1990, p. 2)

3.1.2 Political marketing

There are more definitions of political marketing. The literature accepts the analogy of political parties as businesses in competitive relationship seeking for voters as consumers with the assumption that political actors can be marked as any other commercial good. Alongside with the assumption, that parties can be marked as businesses and voters as consumers. According to advocates there is a similarity in the political and commercial contexts and therefor political campaigners face similar challenges as business managers and so similar methods and responses are appropriate. (Savigny, 2008)

Political marketing is a method that provides political actors the ability to address voter concerns and needs through marketing analyses, political and electronic campaigns, planning and implementation. It can be also seen as the science of influencing mass behaviour. (Savigny, 2008) According to Shama who wrote the first definition of political marketing, it is “*the process by which political candidates and their ideas are directed at voters in order to satisfy their potential needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question*” (Shama in Ormrod, et al., 2013, p. 10)

Political marketing is important part of political life to obtain and maintain the favour of target groups and to achieve political goals.

Political marketing contains: (Lees-Marshment, 2014)

Market research – used for deciding on policies and service design to understand what people (voters) want and need

Voter profiling – to create new segments to target

Strategy guides creation of the political brand – for developing an attractive vision

Analytics and experimental research – test communication message

Delivery management – helps to convey progress and set expectations after elections

3.1.3 History of political marketing

Although political marketing is considered as a new science, in fact it is older than commercial marketing and its history goes back to antiquity, where it was associated with political art. In ancient Rome, Res Publica (a public matter) was formed after the overthrow of the king. A new consular office was created, officers power was given by people. The Republican system had its rules: the officials were elected by people (not a single person); one person could not hold more functions at once; the official was in office for a limited time, and could not hold the office more than once; each office had more officials. This political system gave the opportunity for political marketing, which was used by consuls, later by the emperors and others who wanted to win the favour of voters. Political marketing took the form of promises and measures, thus enabling new voters to be obtained and existing ones to be kept. Another completely different stage arises with the invention of letterpress around 1450. This helped to quickly transmit and disseminate new information. At that time, one of the most effective instruments of political marketing, newspapers, was created. (Štědroň, et al., 2013)

The United States has another meaning in history for political marketing. Newspapers appeared there in the 17th century and immediately became a political tool. Benjamin Franklin's brother began to publish newspapers that were not censored and tried to influence political events. Then the newspaper became a tool of political marketing for anti-British forces. After 1780, a press emerged that preferred certain political groups. Around 1920, a new phase of political marketing began with the invention of radio. President C. Coolidge used radio in the election campaign and his last speech was broadcasted with 26 stations. This has changed the methods and techniques of political marketing. Television has gained in importance gradually with the spread of television among the population. Television was not just about the voice but also about the

appearance of the candidate and his optical expression. The last stage of political marketing is the development of information and telecommunication technologies. Today's dominant communication channel is the Internet and social networks. (Štědroň, 2013)

The term political marketing was first used by political scientist Stanley Kelley in 1956 in a study about professional election campaigns in the USA. In the 1970s, a new study field was created and the first methods were applied. (Kubáček, 2012)

3.1.4 Commercial marketing and the political marketing

The idea that politics can use marketing was first suggested in the 1960s by Kotler and Levy. They argued that marketing, which was associated to business and commercial use, can be used by all organizations including non-profit, state, public sector and charitable sector. Marketing provides a useful concept for all organizations because it helps the organization to keep in touch with organization's consumers. Marketing is the function that read consumers' needs, develop 'product' to meet these needs and helps to express organization's purposes. *"What makes politics amenable to a marketing perspective is its interest in the relationship between elites and the market; electorate and candidates; volunteers and campaigns; audience and media."* (Lees-Marshment, 2014, p. 11) On the market there is a limited range of political products that is continually evolving and has only symbolic value. Consumers 'buy' (support) one political product to avoid another. Politicians show political leadership and judgement, political parties then provide representation, ensure link between citizens and the government and aggregate interests by reconciling a variety of conflicting individual demands. (Lees-Marshment, 2014)

There are some differences between politics and business. Politics is about ideals, ideology and principles, not about making money or just to get votes. Politics links marketing to elections and therefore who controls the state or even world. (Lees-Marshment, 2014) Both business and party marketing expects a return on investment. While the costs for company marketing is in the price of goods or services, the marketing of the party is then paid largely from the state budget, from sponsors and party members. (Šimíček, et al., 2012)

3.1.5 Political management

Political management is a process where political parties, movements and other political groups determine their priorities and key issues that they are further developing. It

includes activities as political marketing for campaign management, lobbying, government and media relations, communication strategy development, crisis management, and more. In Political Management “... *the views, attitudes and behaviour of target groups regarding political preferences and problems are examined*” (Štědroň, et al., 2013, p. 27). The interviews with respondents, surveys, analysis and in-depth interviews, as well as regular management, are used to collect information. Media that presents things and events to the public are important. Public opinion then does not respond to the environment, but by media created pseudo-environment. They do not reflect reality, but filter it and form it. According to surveys, mass media have a significant impact on what voters see as the main topic of the election campaign, which is called “agenda setting”. In the agenda setting, it is assumed that a topic that is given a significant place in the media is also considered to be important by public opinion. (Štědroň, et al., 2013)

3.1.6 Leader

The term leader is usually understood to be synonymous with party chair in the Czech Republic. Case the chair is not leading the party into parliamentary elections is rare and it leads to a sudden internal crisis in the party. In all parties’ chairs are elected indirectly by Congresses, in practise the importance differs. One extreme is represented by Andrej Babiš who has total dominance of a party thanks to his key role in the foundation of ANO and dependence on him and his resources. (Sobolewska-Myšlik, et al., 2016)

Voters choose from the parties, the leaders and policies on offer, so leader is one component in voter decision matrix and so can change the results. Information about leader personal view on the party policies and personal qualities of the leader can help the voters with a right choice. (Aarts, et al., 2011)

Electoral results are more than in the past determined by party leaders. This is due to the politics and behaviour of the party, as well as new technologies such as television. Another reason may be a decline in party loyalty, the lower the loyalty, the greater the effect of leaders. (Aarts, et al., 2011)

3.1.7 Campaign

Political Campaign is “*any promotion of a candidate political party, political movement or coalition, their candidate or independent candidate or electoral agitation in favour of a candidate political party, political movement or coalition, their candidate or*

independent candidate, in particular a public announcement intended to support or serve them, including any accompanying action for which a payment is or is normally provided.” (Czech Republic, Act No. 247/1995 Coll., § 16 paragraph 1, 1995)

According to Kubáček (p. 25), the campaign is organized efforts of the entities in order to influence the decision-making process of potential voters for the benefit of that party. It is a time-bound series of communication tools with a series of messages with a similar theme; the aim is then to influence the attitudes and behaviour of those to whom it is addressed.

Through the campaign, it is then possible to create decision making criteria in the voters and then to compose a message that penetrates to voter's predisposition, then to identify problems and offer answers or solutions to the problems. The product in the election campaign is then a political subject / candidate. (Kubáček, 2012)

3.1.7.1 Permanent campaign

Political parties communicate with voters more often and more intensive even out of the electoral term. The political campaign does not end with the elections, there is still a fight for public opinion. Continuous political campaign is rather for the ruling parties so they can rule with the consent of society. The difference between electoral and permanent campaign is that the election campaign is a period of promises, arouses interest in voters, and motivate them to go to the elections. The permanent campaign then keeps voters satisfied so they are satisfied with their choice. In a permanent campaign, it is about creating a positive public opinion, which then legitimizes government action. The problem may be that the government presents itself only in a positive sense and the real problems may not be discussed. (Eibl, et al., 2012)

3.1.7.2 Campaign professionalism

Professionalization of political campaign is a broad process and has become a catch-all term to describe changes difficult to pin down empirically. It is used in political communication to represent the gradual evolution of the permanent campaign in which opinion polls and professional media management applied to everyday politics. The campaign warriors were activists and volunteers, today they are professional political persuaders and consultants. (Cushion, et al., 2018)

3.1.8 Political marketing tools

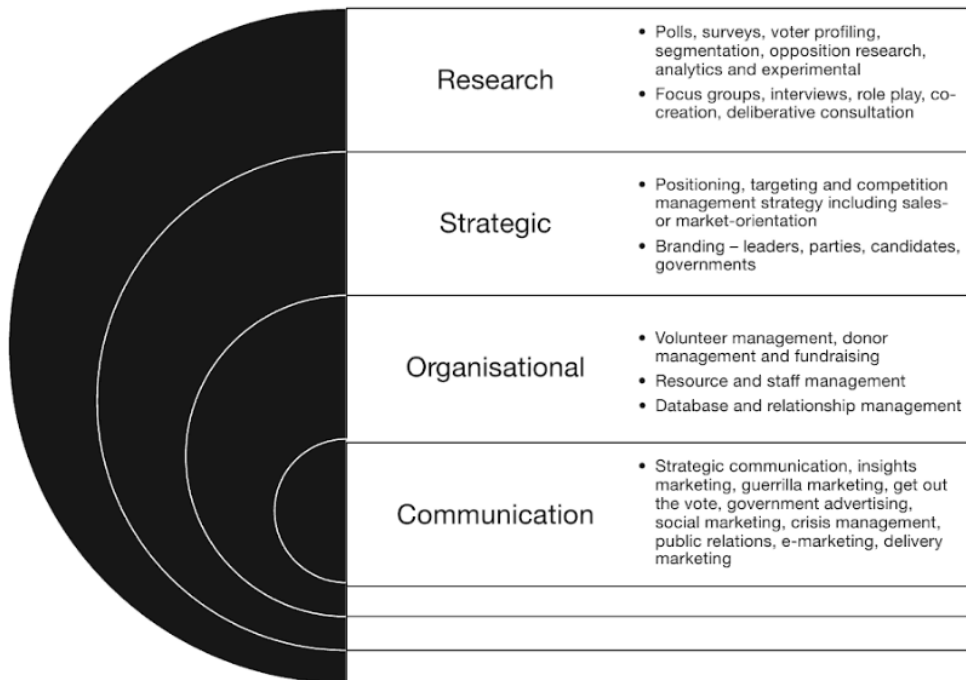
Marketing techniques in business are more common in politics. It offers politicians now ways of engaging with demanding voters and a way for responding them. Political marketing offers a range of tools to achieve their goals and obtain support for their product. (Lees-Marshment, 2014)

To identify and understand the market there are a range of political market tools for research. Research includes quantitative and qualitative techniques, experimental research and analytical market research. With understanding voters at individual level helps segmentation and voter profiling, that connect them into groups politicians can target. Positioning suggests that parties and candidates have a competition which they need to take in account and ensure they have a superior position. Another strategy includes adopting a sales or market orientation, which involves using research to create creative communication to sell the product or utilising the results to create a product that voters want. Branding is for creating a long term and sustainable relationship with voters. (Lees-Marshment, 2014)

Communication strategies include e-marketing, political advertising, public relations and delivery management. It includes also long-term communication for developing a positive relationship between politicians and the public. (Lees-Marshment, 2014)

All political marketing tools work in relation to each other, for example segmentation can take place under market research, it can be used to inform communication, product development and voter profiling. Most effective communication is not about only one or two tools but about an overall framework of activities that can be used to achieve goals. (Lees-Marshment, 2014)

Picture 1 – Political marketing tools



Source: **Lees-Marshment**, Jennifer. 2014. *Political marketing: Principles and applications*. New York: Routledge, 2014. ISBN 9780415632072.

3.1.9 Modern political marketing and trends

Theoretical and practical aspects of political marketing are significantly influenced by modern democracies, citizens' political involvement and by development of new technologies. Modernization causes changes in direct involvement in election campaigns and also spectatorship. Political campaigns take place mainly through mass media, citizens are then their viewers. Thus politicians become actors of the political spectacle. (Cwalina, et al., c2011)

According to Harris (in Cwalina, et al., c2011, p.44), there are 4 key elements of modern political campaign:

The personalization of politics - the classical ties with the political parties is increasingly replaced by the voter's relationship with the candidate.

The politicians' image – importance of the image is still growing, because the image is rather than substance in central political marketing.

The role of public relations - in processes where mass media are the centre of opinion formation and decision making, public relations are an inevitable consequence. They also limit possible events with negative consequences for the candidate.

The scientificization of politics – politicians use technical and scientific expertise for their campaign and also for taking political decisions.

The elections to the Chamber of Deputies 2013 in the Czech Republic have brought many changes to political marketing in the Czech Republic.

Elections are becoming more about leaders than parties. People can make an opinion on the leader more easily than on the political party. The qualities and behaviour of the leader then the voters connect with the characteristics of the whole party. The parties have also begun to focus more on a few of the most important issues and have abandoned the difficult explanation of electoral programs. The most important topics are then interpreted by the parties in their slogans. Social networks and the Internet became more important. While the websites of the parties are matter of course, electoral teams are trying to focus more on activities on social networks such as Facebook and Twitter. Some parties then start to make their own mobile apps. Video clips placed on the Internet are also becoming important. Thus, parties can have more clips and easily reach a large numbers of voters. More emphasis is also placed on the contact campaign, i.e. direct contact with voters. Election stands are traditional, but other ways of contact campaigns are being added. Examples include discussions in all regions, giving donuts to people in towns, opening of electoral cafes, or meetings with a glass of alcohol. (Šíma, 2013)

3.1.10 4P model in political marketing

Political marketing is part of political management and usually uses the classic 4P marketing model.

To implement the marketing concept a series of strategies and techniques are required. One of the most used marketing tools is the 4P marketing mix – price, place, promotion and product. Effective marketing is when these four factors are successfully mixed. An organization influences demand for a product or service by combination of the four elements in different ways to suit the different markets. Product is promoted by free and paid media. Free media, for example, by news coverage and paid by, for example, advertising. Placement is distribution including regional networks and local campaigning activities. The price reflects a vote as a psychological purchase. Companies are political actors and they do not need to compete in all markets, they compete only in segments where they consider to achieve their goals. *“In electoral competition terms this means that parties need only compete in identified key seats, rather than at the level of the electorate*

as a whole.” (Savigny, 2008) Political parties refine their offer only to voters that can influence election result. (Savigny, 2008)

3.1.10.1 Product

Product can be seen in three elements – candidate, party image and the main promise. The main tangible asset of the provided service is the candidate’s images and traits. Traits can be, for example, the right clothes, intimacy with world leaders or newcomer image or anti-establishment image. Candidate oriented instruments are used frequently, and favourable image of a candidate is a key objective of modern campaign.

Another product instrument, party image, is made up of variety of aspects relevant for credibility of the political organization as service provider. It can be related to the party’s image, if it is conservativeness or innovativeness, if the party listen to the people or its internal democracy. Use of the instrument party image can change the corporate culture as design or organization of the corporate. (O’Shaughnessy, et al., 2002)

The main promise of a party/candidate and its political intensions laid out in manifesto. Manifesto is a long-term, very complicated, complex and stable policy statement important for party’s existence. There are specific political issue stands and changes are rare. (O’Shaughnessy, et al., 2002)

3.1.10.2 Distribution policy (Place)

Distribution instruments links between the offer of product/service and potential customer/voter. It includes the delivery of political product (mainly politician) with help of traditional distribution as campaign meetings, voter meetings, speeches and door-to-door canvassing together with more modern distribution as interviews, press conferences, media picture events and others. The physical distribution of the candidate can be direct with the electorate or indirect with a targeting of specific media. (O’Shaughnessy, et al., 2002)

3.1.10.3 Communication policy (Promotion)

It is the most important instrument in political marketing. The political product can be created, influenced and distributed by communication instruments like political broadcasts, ads, leaflets, posters and also new technology as chat shows, live video discussions, talk in radio and others, even non-political events (for example Bill Clinton was playing the saxophone during his first campaign on chat shows). The agenda can be also influenced by

repeating constantly specific themes. Part of communication instruments are also attack and negative advertising. There are other instruments that are personal based and micro-targeted. *“These communication instruments are concerned with planting information, interpretations and opinions with crucial “information leaders” via sophisticated methods of personal communication by persuasive experts.”* (O’Shaughnessy, et al., 2002, p. 128)

3.1.10.4 Cost-management policy (Price)

In political marketing is rare and neglected but it works together with communication instruments. The main function is to reduce costs of information process by using easy to understand arguments and specific catch phrases. Another instrument that can increase the involvement level of electorate concerning politics is, when voters, party members and others perceive a benefit from involvement in political actions and when acting in the political sphere is not costly, there will be incentive for citizens to open up psychologically to the political sphere. Good cost management can be seen as filter variable that decides the success of other variables in political marketing management. Cost management instruments can be, for example, transport services to the polling station, education about the voting process, enhancing the elements of voting as citizen’s duty and other. (O’Shaughnessy, et al., 2002)

3.2 Political parties

3.2.1 Party

A political party is an organization that seeks to influence government activities and policies by uniting people to put their representatives in government offices. It is a pivotal institution in a healthy democracy that represents wider society. Most parties espouse an ideology or a set of principles and believes. Parties compete to elect their leaders to the office. (Ethridge, et al., 2015)

3.2.2 Movement

Movement is a group of people who wants to build a radically new social order. It is a series of collective actions in order to bring change in social structures guided by vision. Participants in a movement try to make lasting, large scale and significant changes in the structure of the society. (Zirakzadeh, 2006)

ANO was registered as political movement, and because of public mistrust in parties, they benefited from this at their inception, even though their conditions of operation were the same. (Sobolewska-Myślik, et al., 2016)

3.2.3 Right-wing political party

It is the political spectrum with conservative political thought. In the 19th century, they supported authority, tradition and property. In the 20th century there was a radical form associated with fascism. (Nolen, 2010) What the term Right means depend on the country, culture and the particular issue. (Encyclopedia.com, 2008)

3.2.4 Left-wing political party

Left¹ is the political spectrum associated with the control of institutions of political and economic life. Leftists are against the interests of traditional elites, wealthy and aristocracy. They prefer, on the contrary, the interests of the working class. The most important goal of government should be social well-being. In most countries, socialism is a standard left-wing ideology, communism is more radical ideology. (Nolen, 2009)

3.2.5 Liberalism

Liberalism is widely accepted idea of the importance of freedom and equal rights. Liberals mostly support views as constitution, liberal democracy, human rights, free trade, free and fair elections and capitalism. (CTI Reviews, 2013)

3.2.6 Conservatism

Conservatism is traditionally defined by desire to conserve and resist to any change. It supports tradition, stability, rootedness, tries to uphold structure of society and believe in human imperfection. (Heywood, 2012)

¹ the terms Left and Right come from 1790s and are derived from the seating arrangement of the French revolutionary parliament. Conservatives were on the presiding officer's right, socialist representatives were on the left.

3.2.7 Populist political parties

These parties present people as virtuous and homogeneous, advocate popular sovereignty and define themselves against the political establishment because it supposedly acts against the interest of people. (van Kessel, 2015)

3.2.8 Protest political parties

Protest parties disagree with a particular situation in the society they want to resolve or change and use political participation as the protest tool. Political protest parties represent disagreement with the political situation; the main object of disagreement is the political system / regime. (Dočkal, 2002)

According to the political scientist Bohumil Doležal, the ANO movement should not be issued as a protest party after four years of government, but it does so. (Otto, 2017)

3.2.8.1 Populist and protest parties

The terms “populist” and “protest” are very close and so can often be interchanged and difficult to distinguish. Every protest party does not have to use a populist strategy, and populist parties do not always have to be protest - if they get to power and realize the change, the protesters' character, unlike the populist, is extinguished. Thus, the populist party cannot define itself against other objects and try to change or modify the political regime, and at the same time to have realistic programmatic. (Dočkal, 2002)

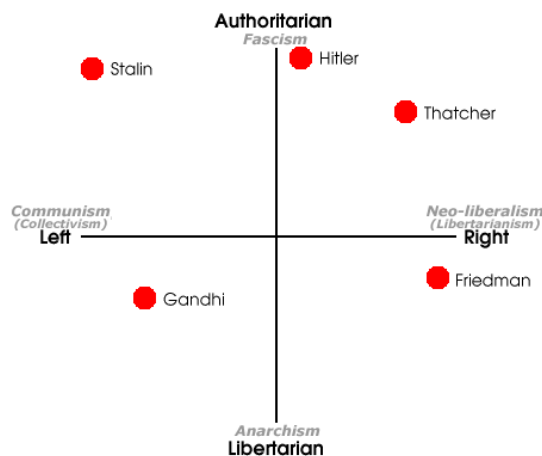
3.2.9 Traditional parties

Traditional parties have a compact ideology and programmatic and rely on a relatively stable electoral core. The period of the party's rise does not play the role in the Czech Republic, since the traditional parties are also those of the 19th century, as well as parties that exists for only a few years. Parties that had been in government in the past cannot be taken as traditional as well because some parties (e.g. the Green Party) are non-traditional. (Uherek, 2015)

3.3 The Political Compass

The political compass is a model used by the British website of the same name - politicalcompass.org. It rates political views on two axes – economic and social and is applicable to all democracies. Left and Right dimensions are measure of economic, social dimension is also important in politics and is ranging in positions from extreme authoritarian to extreme libertarian. Both dimensions are important for proper political analysis. By adding the social dimension, we can show better where any political party or person is.² (politicalcompass.org, 2018)

Picture 2 – Political compass

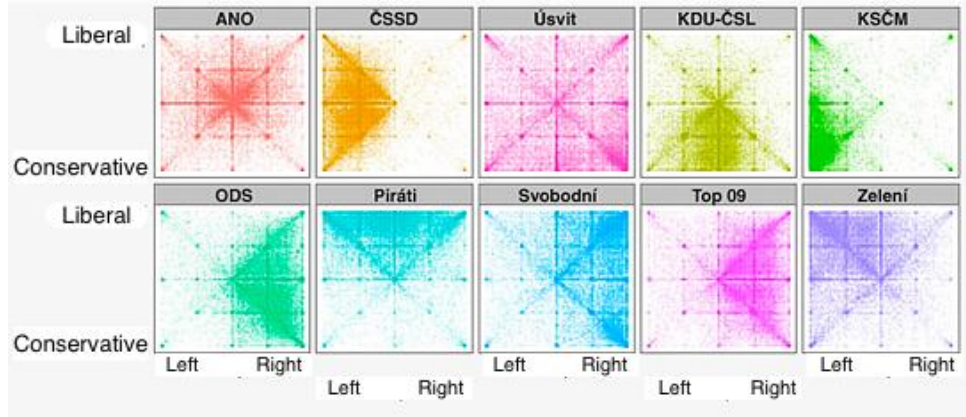


Source: Political Compass [online]. Available at: <https://www.politicalcompass.org/analysis2>

News portal iDNES.cz examined in, how people perceive the political scene in the Czech Republic in September 2016. To retrieve the data, they used a political compass. The result is a unique political map showing how people perceive the political scene in the Czech Republic. For a better performance, a chart is provided where the is the mean value – median. The location of some parties is not surprising - ODS as right, ČSSD left, Pirates as liberal, and KDU-ČSL as conservative, the ANO movement was tended to the centre. (Wirnitzer, 2016)

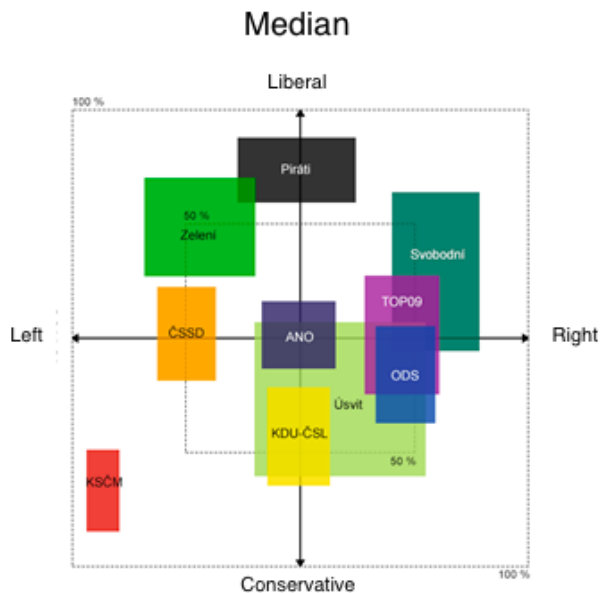
² e.g. Stalin was an authoritarian leftist, Gandhi is a liberal leftist

Picture 3 – Political compass iDNES.cz: Basic chart



Source: iDNES [online]. Available at: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/politicky-kompas-prvni-zjisteni.A160911_141109_domaci_jw

Picture 4 – Political compass iDNES.cz: where people put parties (median)



Source: iDNES [online]. Available at: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/politicky-kompas-prvni-zjisteni.A160911_141109_domaci_jw

3.4 Legal regulations

Essential legal regulation of parties is article 5 of the Czech Constitution. It stated that *“The political system is based on free and voluntary formation and free competition between political parties respecting basic democratic principles and rejecting violence as a means of promoting their interests.”* (Czech Republic, Czech Constitution, 1992)

Other legal documents are in the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, 1991 Act on Association in Political Parties and in Political Movements. Post 1989 the term party was viewed with suspicion and that is why the Act addresses both political parties and movements. However, it treats both concepts equally, what is valid for a party is also valid for a movement. These legal regulations are slight and, in many cases, addressed in a general manner (lack of concretization and precise legal specification). (Sobolewska-Myšlik, et al., 2016)

3.4.1 Donations

After scandals with controversial and fictional private donors, the legislation was changed in 2001 – the volume of state subsidies was increased as well as share in party budget. Therefore, the state is the most important source of income for parliamentary parties. Private donors play limited role today, but a dependency can be observed – when a party accedes to governmental power, the funding from private donors increase. In the case of ANO, it was fully funded by Andrej Babiš and his companies, but after the 2013 election, the most important source of income became the state. (Sobolewska-Myšlik, et al., 2016)

3.4.2 Election campaign regulation

Regulation on the conduct of the election campaign and its financing is regulated by the Act on Elections to Parliament. There are two reasons for this regulation, to create equal conditions for all candidates, and also to prevent the publication of false information. It also sets the exact start and end of the election campaign. It starts the day by announcement of the Election Day for the Czech Parliament by President and ends by the announcement of the final election results. (Poslanecká sněmovna)

From 2017, new funding rules apply with an amendment to the electoral laws. If a party is a candidate, it must have at least two transparent banking accounts - the so-called special account for donations and state contributions, the second so-called election account, from which only an election campaign is funded. Remote access to the election account must be available on the party's website. (Bohuslavová, 2017)

All Transactions over CZK 5000 have to be done non-cash through banking accounts. And therefore, in addition to the above-mentioned accounts, the parties are also setting up an account for transactions resulting from labour code and contracts and account for other income and expenditure. (Vymětal, © 2017)

Each political party and movement then have newly an electoral campaign limit of CZK 90 million (including VAT) for the elections to the Parliament and the limit for acceptance of donations is limited to CZK 3 million per year from one subject. (Transparency International, 2017)

Each party also has the obligation to publish “*any person who has paid or pledged to pay for the election campaign spending, provide a cash gift or provide gratuitous performance in favour to the candidate political party, political movement or coalition, their candidate or independent candidate.*” (Czech Republic, Act No. 322/2016 Coll., § 16c paragraph 4, 2017)

3.4.2.1 Understanding new rules by parties

For most politicians, movements and parties, the new rules are a mystery. The MF DNES newspaper (17.6.2017, page 2) divided the mysteries into 5 points:

1. 90 million Czech crowns: for many wealthy parties, this limit can be a problem. The parties must count all items, whether it means roses or books given for free. So the parties had to start saving, the ANO movement, for example, cancelled the billboards and plan to rebuild them again in September.

2. What has to be counted in the accounting: When a candidate, minister and co-worker, will go somewhere, who will be charged for the trip? Andrej Babiš takes the receipts for every coffee, the difference is whether the coffee is paid out of the money of the movement or his private ones. For events, it is also important whether they are organized as a campaign or whether it is a job related to a political function. For example, if a minister opens a new road, it is not a campaign, but, when they in the same time are handing out leaflets of the party and promote the party in a speech, it is a campaign.

3. Tribal employees - who to include in the limit: employees need to be counted if they receive an additional surcharge or reward, including consultants working for the party with trade license.

4. Involvement of volunteers: Parties can use free of charge only its members and family members of the party members. For other volunteers the party has to pay the amount normally paid to the person on the part-time job for the same job, regardless of the party pay them or not.

5. Anti-campaign: An anti-campaign budget is up to 1.8 million Czech crowns. At the same time, each ad must be registered and priced. Another case is a campaign directed

against Andrej Babiš, when several journalists shot a critical film about him and wrote a book. The difference is that they collected money for the screening, and the book was sold in a bookstore. (Pokorný, et al., 2017)

3.4.3 Parties in the Czech Republic

In the Czech Republic, there were two large stable parties from mid 1990s till 2010, the centre-right ODS (Civic Democratic Party) and the center-left CSSD (Czech Social Democratic Party). It was disrupted in 2010 or even more in 2013 by the early election. Especially the second in 2013 could be described as electoral earthquake. After there was highly fragmented party system with only two bigger parties (ČSSD and ANO) and five smaller one. (Sobolewska-Myšlik, et al., 2016)

In the Czech Republic, a total of 233 active political parties and movements, including 89 political parties and 144 political movements, are currently registered. (Ministerstvo vnitra České republiky, © 2018)

Despite the fact that there are over 230 active political parties and movements in the Czech Republic, for the purposes of this thesis only the most important ones were chosen. These are the 9 parties and movements that were elected in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2017:

3.4.3.1 ANO

The ANO movement was founded by Adrej Babiš in autumn 2011. First, it was a civic association called Action of Dissatisfied Citizens, which criticized the corruption and the state of Czech politics. In May 2012 ANO was registered by the Ministry of Interior as a political movement. According to the website, ANO does not belong to either the right or the left. In autumn 2013, early elections to the Chamber of Deputies were held, and ANO ended second after the Social Democrats (ČSSD) and gained 47 mandates. In the Chamber of Deputies elections in 2017, ANO won with a clear predominance and gained 78 mandates. (ANO, © 2018) (iDNES.cz, © 1999–2019) (iDNES.cz, © 1999–2018) (Babiš, 2013)

3.4.3.2 ODS (Civic Democratic Party)

The Civic Democratic Party is a right-wing, liberal conservative party founded in April 1991. The chairman had been Václav Klaus since the beginning until 2002. Later,

Mirek Topolánek replaced him (2002-2010), followed by Petr Nečas (2010-2013) and Petr Fiala, who led the party in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2017. According to the website of this party, the ODS is, after November 1989, the strongest and largest right-wing party in the Czech Republic and honours the democratic legacy of the First Republic and the traditions of Christian civilization. *“In our program, therefore, we are promoting the freedom of the individual, the rule of law and the free market, which is the best presumption of general prosperity. Likewise, we are advocating the standard functioning of Western-style liberal democracy, so we reject eternal attempts to find third ways, collectivist ideologies, and naive attempts at non-political politics.”* (ODS, © 1991 – 2019)

In elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2017, the ODS was second with a gain of 11.32 % of votes. Received 25 parliamentary mandates, 9 more than in the previous election, and refused to form a coalition with the winning ANO movement. (iDNES.cz, © 1999–2019)

3.4.3.3 Piráti (Pirate Party)

Pirate Party was created in 2009 by programmer Jiří Kadeřánek. The party first appeared under the title Czech Pirate Party, in 2011 the name was changed to Pirates. The chairman of the party is Ivan Bartoš. Already in 2012, member of the Pirates was elected Senator, in 2014 the party succeeded in municipal elections in several municipalities and districts. *“We are pointing to corruption scandals, we publish videos and records from local councils, we organize free culture festivals, we fight with the effort of the state to spy on citizens or censorship on Czech television.”* (Piráti, © 2016)

They participated in the Chamber of Deputies in 2017 for the first time and immediately finished in third place with a total of 10.79 % of votes and gaining 22 mandates. (iDNES.cz, © 1999–2019)

3.4.3.4 SPD (Freedom and Direct Democracy – Tomio Okamura)

The populist movement of Freedom and Direct Democracy was founded on 16 June 2015. The founders are Tomio Okamura and Radim Fiala, who, due to disagreements, left the political movement of the Dawn of Direct Democracy. The SPD program is based on the introduction of direct democracy, the holding of a referendum, on the Czech Republic's exit from the EU and very significant restrictions on immigration. (SPD, © 2017-2019)

In the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2017, the SPD received 10.64 % of the votes and 22 mandates, and in each region, they have a deputy. (E15.cz, © 2001 - 2019)

3.4.3.5 KSČM (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia)

In 1989, an extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia took place, where it was decided that it was necessary to create a communist organization in Bohemia and Moravia. On 31 March 1990 the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia was founded. *“The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia is committed to the values and traditions of the leftist movement at home and abroad. We strive for the position of a modern and active left-wing party in today's society. We want to defend the interests of ordinary citizens who, through their work, create spiritual and material values. We want citizens to be able to make the most decisions about themselves and about social matters.”* (KSČM, © 2019)

Miroslav Grebeníček was elected in 1993 the chairman. In 2005 he was replaced by JUDr. Vojtěch Filip, who also led the party to the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2017. In these elections, the KSČM defended 33 mandates, but gained only 7.76 % of votes and so only 15 mandates. (iDNES.cz, © 1999–2019)

3.4.3.6 ČSSD (Czech Social Democratic Party)

The ČSSD is the largest left-wing social-democratic party on the Czech political scene. It was founded in 1878 in Prague as the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party in Austria. In 1893, the party became independent and the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Workers Party was formed. Four years later they had 5 deputies in Parliament. With different names, ČSSD is very important party to the present. (ČSSD, © 2013)

Lubomír Zaorálek led the party in 2017 to the elections, and the party gained 7.27 % of the votes and 15 mandates, what is a huge drop from 35 mandates compared to the 2013 elections. (iDNES.cz, © 1999–2019)

3.4.3.7 KDU-ČSL (Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party)

The predecessor of the KDU-ČSL was the Czechoslovak People's Party (ČSL), which was formed in 1919 by the merger of several Catholic parties. At the 1992 congress, ČSL merged with the KDU (Christian and Democratic Union) and since then has been

known as the KDU-ČSL. The Party is at the centre of the political spectrum, relying on Christian principles, emphasizing the democratization and humanization of society and its spiritual and cultural development. (KDU-ČSL, © 1997–2018)

Pavel Bělobrádek is the chairman of the party since 2010. He led the party also in the elections in 2017, where the party gained 5.8 % of votes and 10 mandates. (iDNES.cz, © 1999–2019)

3.4.3.8 TOP 09

The party was founded in 2009 by Miroslav Kalousek after his leaving KDU-ČSL. It is a right-wing conservative party based on the principles of Christian-Jewish culture. The establishment of the party was conditioned by the support of Karel Schwarzenberg, who became the face and chairman of the party. The name of the party means Tradition, Liability and Prosperity, which are the principles on which the party is based. TOP 09 from 2009 until 2016 cooperated with STAN. (TOP 09, © 2009-2019) (Kalousek, 2016)

Miroslav Kalousek led TOP 09 in the elections in 2017 to defend 26 mandates. However, they gained only 5.31 % of votes and 7 mandates. Only a month after the election, Jiří Pospíšil was elected as a chairman of the party. (iDNES.cz, © 1999–2019)

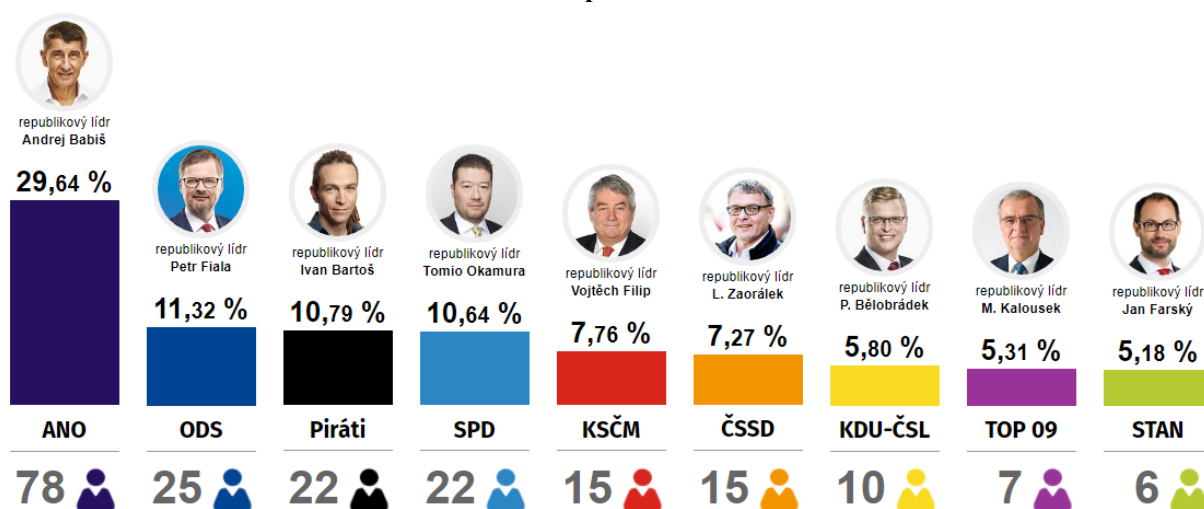
3.4.3.9 STAN (Mayors and Independents)

In 2004, the Independent Mayors for the Region movement was established from which the Mayors and the Independents movement was created in 2009. At first STAN was active at the regional and municipal level but they have representatives also in the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, and the European Parliament. It is the centre-right party, the leader for the 2017 election was Jan Farský. They wanted to go to an open coalition with KDU-ČSL, but they did not agree on the cooperation. The STAN candidate on its own for the first time to the Chamber of Deputies and obtained 5.18 % of votes and 6 mandates. (Česká televize, © 1996 – 2019) (iDNES.cz, © 1999–2019)

3.4.4 Election results for the Chamber of Deputies 2017

The 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies won the ANO movement with a strong lead. They received 29.64 % of votes (1.5 million votes), which means 78 mandates. Followed by ODS with 25 mandates (11.32 %), Pirates with 22 mandates (10.79 %) and SPD also with 22 mandates (10.64 %), KSČM and ČSSD with 15 mandates. In addition, KDU-ČSL (5.8 %), TOP 09 (5.31 %), STAN (6.18 %) won the elections to the Chamber of Deputies. (iDNES.cz, © 1999–2019)

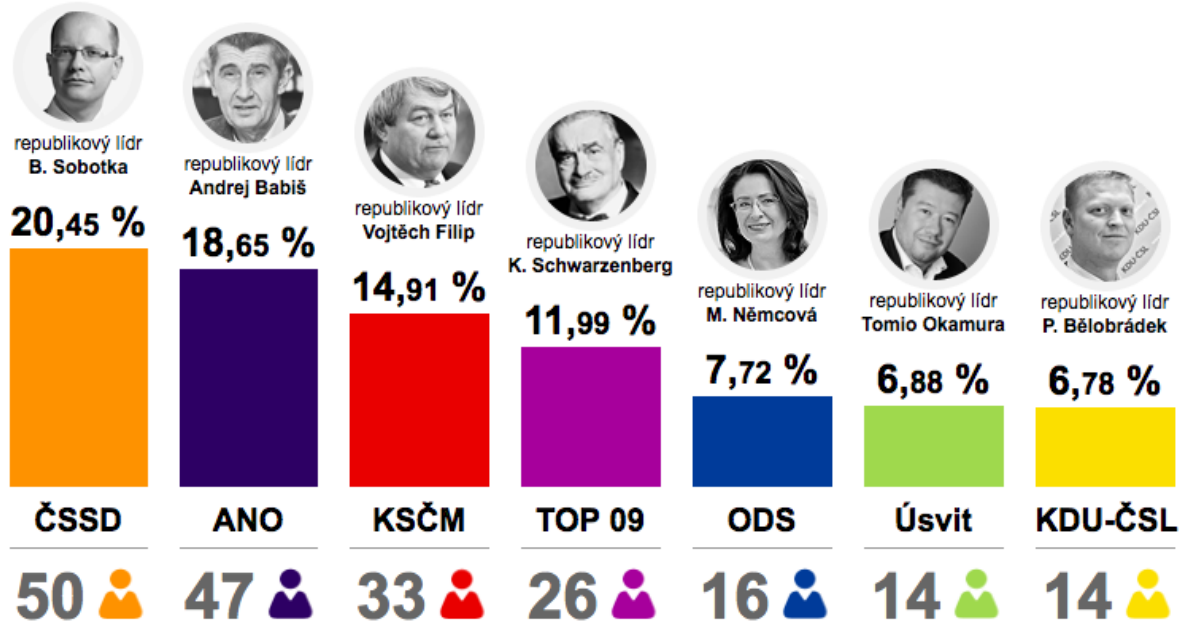
Picture 5 – Results of elections to the Chamber of Deputies 2017



Source: iDNES [online]. Available at: <https://volby.idnes.cz/poslanecka-snemovna-2017.aspx#vlb-zvoleni-zastupitele>

In the previous elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2013, ANO ended second (47 mandates, 18.65 % of votes) behind the ČSSD in the first place (50 mandates, 20.45 % of votes). (iDNES.cz, © 1999–2018)

Picture 6 - Results of elections to the Chamber of Deputies 2013



Source: iDNES [online]. Available at: <https://volby.idnes.cz/poslanecka-snemovna-2013.aspx>

3.5 About the ANO movement

As mentioned in the theoretical part, the ANO movement has been active in the Czech Republic since 2012 and was founded by Andrej Babiš, who is also the party chairman.

3.5.1 History of the ANO movement

In the autumn of 2011, Andrej Babiš has registered with the Office of Industrial Property several acronyms of ANO2011 and the name “Action of Dissatisfied Citizens”. (Aktuálně.cz, 2013) It happened after several public appearances in the media, where he criticized the current politics and corruptness. His views generated a great deal of positive feedback. (Eliášová, et al., 2011)

On the basis of a positive response, the political movement ANO2011 was launched on 11 May 2012.

Despite the short run of preparation for the early elections in the autumn of 2013, the election result was a great success. *“In the early elections 25.10.2013 and 26.10.2013 ANO got almost a million votes, which is historically the highest number for a new political subject in the history of the Czech Republic.”* (ANO, © 2018)

The Movement ended the second (after the ČSSD) with the gain of 18.65 % of votes and 47 mandates. Half a year later, 23-24.5.2014 there were elections to the European Parliament, in which ANO won with 16.13 % of votes. (Český statistický úřad, © 2017)

In January 2014, a coalition agreement was signed between the ČSSD, ANO and the KDU-ČSL for the 2013-2017 election period. In the Chamber of Deputies, this coalition had a majority (111 votes). (ČSSD, ANO, KDU-ČSL)

ANO received six departments: the Ministry of Finance (A. Babiš), the Ministry of Defence (M. Stropnický), the Ministry for Regional Development (V. Jourová), the Ministry of the Environment (R. Brabec), the Ministry of Justice (H. Válková) and the Ministry transport (A. Prachař). (ANO, © 2018)

Four years later, in 2017, the ANO movement won the election with the predominance. It received 29.64 % of votes and 78 parliamentary seats. (Český statistický úřad, © 2017)

The ANO movement was created as a protest movement based on dissatisfaction with the current policy and constantly growing problem of corruption. *“Our movement was created as a protest against the corruption of traditional political parties that played on the left and right-wing. Against the fact that godfathers and lobbyists drove the country through the mistress of the prime minister. Against the fact that politicians tightened the belts to the people while gave 54 billion CZK to churches in overpriced restitution.”* (Babiš, © 2018)

The movement should work like a well-managed company. It is presenting itself with the slogan “We are not like politicians. We're working hard.” (Právo, 2014)

According to opinion polls, Babiš was the second most popular politician in October 2013, and in 2014 he was already in the first position and remains there also in 2017. (STEM, 2015)

Babiš is the symbol of the whole movement, the leader of the party, and so there is a question how it is in the party with the democratic decision-making of all members and how much Babiš influences the running of his party. These assumptions are compounded by the fact that in the 2015 National Assembly, Babiš was the only candidate for the party chairman and won 100 % of the votes. (Kopecký, et al., 2015)

In 2013, he was the main sponsor of his party, legal entities that are part of Agrofert were among other significant sponsors. (Kaňok, et al., 2013)

3.5.2 Ing. Andrej Babiš

Andrej Babiš was born on September 2, 1954 in Bratislava. He graduated at the University of Economics in Bratislava, Faculty of Business, Foreign Trade. During his studies he was president of the international organization AIESEC. (Babiš, 2013)

After completing his studies in 1978, he joined the foreign trade company Chemapol Bratislava, where he controlled materials that were imported into the company. The company was later renamed to Petrimex. According to his words, a dream came true in 1985 when he was sent as a Petrimex delegate to Morocco where he could test his skills. *“I sold timber, tires, washing machines, office supplies, but mainly bought phosphates - the main Moroccan wealth. The president of the company, Mohamed Karim Lamarin, was the double premier and one of Africa's richest person, he was known to our Petrimex CEO.”* (Babiš, 2013)

In 1991 he returned to Czechoslovakia and he was the director of the 32nd Petrimex Sales Department until 1995. In 1992, when it was clear that Czechoslovakia will split, Babiš suggested to establish the Czech branch of the company. In January 1993, the AGROFERT Company was created. (Babiš, 2013)

At present AGROFERT is the largest Czech agricultural, food and chemical holding company. The company covers more than 250 companies, such as Lovochemie, MAFRA (which publishes Mladá fronta DNES and Lidové noviny), a music TV station Óčko, mobile operator mobil.cz and many others. (AGROFERT, a.s.)

From a very successful businessman, he became a politician in 2011 when he founded the ANO movement. When asked why he had joined politics, he replied, *“From coercion. I can no longer see who and how controls this country. I especially want that our children want to live and work in the Czech Republic. We are here at home after all.”* (Babiš, © 2018)

In 2013 he was elected a deputy; in January 2014 he was appointed Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister. After scandals about affecting media and tax evasion in May 2017, he was dismissed from the post. In the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2017, the ANO movement won the elections and Babiš was appointed prime minister of the Czech Republic. (ČTK, 2017)

3.5.3 Logo of the ANO movement

The first official logo of the ANO movement was in red, blue and white colours (in the colours of Czech tricolour) and contained the full name and year 2011. During 2012, it was changed to red ANO with blue exclamation mark, under the logo there was year 2011. A year later the logo was changed again to the form we know today. It received a blue-violet colour, adding “It will be better” and “Political movement”. (Komínek, 2015)

Picture 7 – ANO logo development



Source: Design Portal [online]. Available at: <https://www.designportal.cz/strany-pred-volbami-upravuji-loga-podivejte-se-s-cim-jdou-do-boje/>

3.5.4 Election program of the ANO movement

In September 2017 Andrej Babiš published the election program of the ANO movement for the October elections to the Chamber of Deputies. The main slogan of the program is “*Ted’ nebo nikdy*” (Now or never). At the beginning there are 4 basic points, which are, according to Babiš, the most important and generally characterize the whole program. After there is the program itself, which is 44 pages long and is divided into 22 chapters. (ANO 2011, 2017)

CONTENT

1. EFFECTIVE STATE 5
2. FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION 6
3. eGOVERNMENT 7
4. STATE ECONOMY, TAX, FINANCE AND BUDGETARY POLICY 10
5. UNDERSTANDABLE AND ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY 13
6. ECONOMY AND ENERGY 15
7. BUSINESS SUPPORT 16
8. TRANSPORT 18
9. PUBLIC INVESTMENT AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT 19
10. EXTERNAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE OF THE COUNTRY 21
11. INTERIOR AND INTERNAL SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY 23

12. JUSTICE 24
13. CONSUMER PROTECTION 25
14. WORK AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS 26
15. EDUCATION 30
16. SCIENCE, RESEARCH AND INNOVATION 32
17. ENVIRONMENT 33
18. AGRICULTURE 34
19. HEALTHCARE 36
20. CULTURE 38
21. TOURISM 40
22. SPORT 41

At the beginning of the program Babiš says he did not change their basic program and promises: *“We will not lie, we will not steal, we will fight against corruption and inefficiency and we will work for people and our country. That was true four years ago, it is true even today, and it will be true even after four years. In the upcoming elections, I would like to emphasize four points: Security, Efficient and Economical State, investment in our country and investment in our people.”* (ANO 2011, 2017, p. 3)

Probably as a result of the migration crisis, security is the first point. According to Babiš, it is necessary to close the external borders of Europe and to fight against illegal migration. *“Both Czech and European foreign policy must strive for a solution of the migration crisis by limiting migratory flows already in the countries of origin. For this purpose, we want to contribute in solving the causes of migration within international operations (EU, NATO), mainly in conflict areas, and thus to prevent further migratory waves. We will assert a change of the focus of development programs, which must focus on conflicts in a distorted country (Libya, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan) or on countries with a very poor standard of living (Eritrea, Sub-Saharan Africa countries).”* (ANO 2011, 2017, p. 14).

The second point of the program is to make the functioning of the state more efficient. *“In our work in the current government, and thanks to us, the state's debt fell by CZK 70 billion. In the year 2016 we achieved a record surplus of CZK 61.8 billion, which is the best result since the establishment of an independent state. With these indicators, we ended up second behind Luxembourg in the EU.”* (ANO 2011, 2017, p. 10)

It also deals with the fight against corruption, inefficiency and overpriced contracts, digitization of state administration, centralization of purchases and enforcement of whistleblowing law.

The ANO wants to introduce a “sliding mandate” (a deputy who becomes a member of the government, leaves his post to a substitute). It also wants to introduce only one-round elections to the Senate, reduce the budget of the Chamber of Deputies, and freeze deputies' salaries for the entire election period.

A striking step is the reduction of the number of ministers from 16 to 13 - cancel the Minister for Human Rights, Equal Opportunities and Legislation, the Minister for Science and Research, and brings together the Ministry of the Environment with the Ministry of Agriculture. (ANO 2011, 2017)

Another comprehensive point is investments. *“The Czech Republic is a beautiful country, and every crown we invest will come back many times. And it does not matter whether it is speed trains, new kilometers of roads, building schools, kindergartens, creches, retirement homes, sports grounds, train stations renovation, or the restoration of monuments.”* (ANO 2011, 2017, p. 4)

By 2021, 170 km of new highways will be built, another 220 km of highways will begin to build, and they will modernize 110 km of D1 highway. Around the regional cities they will build bypasses, which should help cities and cars will not pass through their centers. Furthermore, they want to support public transport on the road and rail and introduce high-speed rail and alternative-drive cars. (ANO 2011, 2017)

Babiš considers the investment to the people as the most important investment. *“It is an investment in the future and the future is created by our children. That is why I want to raise wages to teachers by 150 percent of their current wage during the next four years and return the prestige and respect to the profession as it deserves”.* (ANO 2011, 2017, p. 4). He also promises not to introduce school fees at universities and another increase in pensions.

After summarizing these, according to Babiš, 4 most important points, there are another 22 points, where there are in detail described parts that the ANO wants to pay attention to during the election period. (ANO 2011, 2017)

It is, for example, the topic of e-government, the aim of which is to build a portal where all the services of all ministries will be together, promising that *“none of the citizens will have to visit the authorities in perspective”* (ANO 2011, 2017, p. 7).

They promise not to raise taxes, but to lower it for the lower and the middle class and for high income people to stabilize taxes and not to increase. In addition, they are considering a reduction in VAT. In the program it is specifically listed what this reduction

will be affected (for example, tax on draft beer will be reduced from 21% to 10%, most of the basic food will be reduced to 10%, but also cut flowers or water and sewerage). Supposedly, thanks to EET, they want and can lower the tax on services with a large proportion of human work (e.g. care for the elderly, children, repair shops, and beauty services). The section devoted to this point is really very detailed and diverse. They also want to cancel the super-gross wage, grant an exemption to EET (e.g. for on-line payments or school buffets), and they also do not want to accept EURO in the current situation. Other parts devote to, for example, education, science, culture, and health. (ANO 2011, 2017)

3.5.5 Financing the campaign

The law does not specify what information must be stated for each transaction. The ANO movement generally provides only general information such as financial gift, promo videos, marketing, and so on. (Bohuslavová, 2017)

The budget limit for the 2017 parliamentary elections began counting on 2.5.2017. For many parties, the limit of CZK 90 million is high but ANO has had to change plans. According to Andrej Babiš's interview with irozhlas.cz, ANO was planning with the elections announcement in mid-July. That is why the movement had to limit the campaign spending from the beginning and the big campaign started from September. At the beginning, it was not even certain what the movement would have to include in campaign spending. Andrej Babiš was, according to the interview, surprised that he should pay for a video on Facebook or program "Vision 2035" (since it is for year 2035 and not 2017). The movement did not even know how the wage costs should be calculated, because it is difficult to tell when they work for the movement and when they do campaign. (Bastlová, 2017)

The ANO movement invested CZK 84.5 million in the political campaign and was second in the amount of spent money following ČSSD with CZK 85.3 million. The table below shows the rounded total costs of parliamentary parties for campaign. (Novotná, 2018)

Table 1 – Total costs of election campaign

Costs of parliamentary parties for the campaign	
Party	Million CZK
ČSSD	85,3
ANO	84,5
ODS	82,7
TOP 09	74,8
STAN	56,7
KDU-ČSL	55,5
SPD	33,2
PIRÁTI	16,3
KSČM	35,4

Rewritten. Source: iRozhlas [online]. Available at: https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/kampan-parlamentni-volby-2017-cssd-ano-ods-urad-pro-dohled-zprava-o-financovani_1801241115_kno

There are interesting points in spending on some promotional items. The ANO movement, for example, spent more than a quarter million for donuts that are typical for their election campaign. A further 50,000 CZK were spent for bags for these donuts. Another example is the ČSSD - the symbol of the party is rose, and the typical colour is orange. For the orange roses, this party spent more than a million Czech crowns in the pre-election campaign. The untraditional promotion had political party TOP 09, which spent over 200 thousand for tattoo decals. (Klézl, et al., 2018)

4 Practical Part

In the practical part, the thesis deals first with the description of the ANO movement campaign for the elections to the Chamber of Deputies 2017. It describes their social media, the leader Andrej Babiš, his book and the movement billboards and clip. The following part deals with questionnaire survey, its processing and interpretation of obtained results.

4.1 Political campaign of the ANO movement

The following chapters describe the political campaign of the ANO movement to the Chamber of Deputies 2017. The social networks, the leader Andrej Babiš, the billboards and Andrej Babiš's book are briefly described.

4.1.1 Social media

Social networks are important in the election campaign, as most political parties and movements have understood. ANO uses Facebook and YouTube to promote the party and its views. The leader Andrej Babiš then has his private profile on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube.

In the pre-election campaign, the ANO movement added to the Facebook profile mainly the contributions of the leader Andrej Babiš, but also from other candidates, and quoted them. Frequent posts were also pre-election surveys, in which ANO was a clear winner. Most of the posts were in the form of video. Before the elections, ANO had over 104,000 likes on Facebook.

Andrej Babiš on his private Facebook profile added mostly videos from political discussions and trips within the election campaign. From these trips he also added many photos with sympathizers with information where he was and what he was doing, showing how he was talking to ordinary people and finding out what to do and change. The posts also include invitations to meetings with him, information about the campaign and, for example, promotional videos where emoticons are used instead of people's faces. The contributions are written very simply, understandable, and mostly by common Czech. Babiš's greeting, "*Čau lidi*" (Hey People), is also typical. This style of posting shows that he is one of us and is not a common politician. Andrej Babiš had over 140,000 fans on his

Facebook profile before the election, much more than the movement's profile. However, both Facebook profiles had a lot of likes, comments and sharing.

Andrej Babiš's Twitter is very similar to his Facebook profile with the posts, but he has there more followers (over 300,000). His Facebook and Twitter have long been speculated about a large number of fake followers.

Another private media platform of Andrej Babiš is Youtube. There are only 8 videos uploaded which describe his dreams and his book "What I dream about when I happen to fall asleep". The last video was added 22.6.2017. There are significantly more videos on the ANO Youtube channel. Videos added in the pre-election period are electoral clips, but mainly videos about the leader and his election trips, media interviews and talks with supporters. Several videos are also dedicated to other candidates of the movement. There is also an introductory video for the application "*Pojď do mě!*", where Babiš offers the possibility to upload a video directly to the application via the application and he will then personally reply back through the video. Some videos with his answers then appeared on Youtube after the elections.

ANO also has a website where they add their own articles and other articles about the work of the ANO movement and its members. Furthermore, there is an overview of members and information about them, a program for elections, basic information about the movement and more. Visually they are modern, clear and simple, the messages are clear.

Picture 8 - An example of a post by Andrej Babiš on his Facebook profile



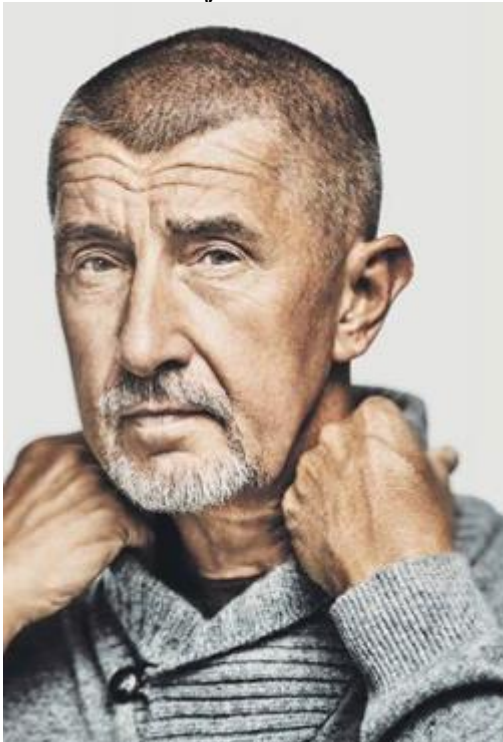
Source: Facebook, Andrej Babiš [online]. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/AndrejBabis/>

4.1.2 Leader Andrej Babiš

Leader Andrej Babiš, a very successful businessman, presents himself as a man who wants to make a difference and is not in politics because of money. He presents himself as a man of the people, not as a common politician. His speech is often non-literary, using expressive expressions and familiar addressing. He is often dressed informally; in billboards he is in a shirt without tie and folded sleeves. For pre-election meetings he often wore sweater and jeans.

During the election campaign he visited many towns and villages and tried various craft work. The whole campaign was focused on direct contact with voters, so Babiš went among people, talked to them or took pictures with them. He also gave his book for free, signed it, and eventually wrote a dedication. A great positive and negative response came when Andrej Babiš was distributing donuts at busy places (for example in the underground).

Picture 9 – Andrej Babiš



Source: Facebook, Andrej Babiš [online]. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/AndrejBabis/>

4.1.3 Billboards, clips, brand

In the pre-election campaign, the movement used billboards for communication. Billboards were simple, clear, with a modern look. Again on the billboards they used emoji instead of faces beside with Andrej Babiš with different messages, for example with "blabla" and do not babble and slogan "*Makat a neblábolit*" (Work hard and do not babble). Another example of a similar billboard is a soldier with emoji instead of face alongside Andrei Babiš and the words Strengthen security and not babble.

Picture 10 – Billboard of the ANO movement



Source: Facebook, Volební billboardy [online]. Available at: <https://cs-cz.facebook.com/volebni.billboardy/>

In the pre-election clips it can be noticed the division of us/me (the movement) and them (traditional politicians). At the end of the clip, there is a message that they cannot make it without us and that we, the voters, can decide it. In fact, there is no vision or program, but it is clearly stated that they are working hard. An example of a clip can be found on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XNUj1sYQcpI>.

The logo is simple with a clear message, memorable. It also portrays the message of the movement "*Bude líp*" (It will be better) and that it is a political movement, not a political party. The name ANO is well remembered and sounds positive (ANO means yes).

4.1.4 Andrej Babiš's book

Before the elections, Andrej Babiš published a book "What I dream about when I happen to fall asleep (Vision 2035 for the Czech Republic, for our children)". The book has over 280 pages and is for free for all. Babiš used it as a gift for voters in his travels around the municipalities where he signed it. It was possible to get for free, for example, in pre-election info stands or in Levné knihy books shops or it was possible to write for it directly, download ebook on the Internet or download audiobook. According to anobudelip.cz, more than 300,000 people read Andrej Babiš's book.

At the beginning of the book Babiš describes why he entered politics and his beginnings with business. The book continues with 16 chapters, all beginning with "A dream about ...". It describes the digitization of the Czech Republic and the Internet

everywhere for free, smart highways and even entire cities, mentioning the problem of social benefits and debt traps. In health care, he would then introduce applications for better communication and ordering to the doctor and so-called telemedicine, a treatment remotely through smart bracelets. For sport he wants a sports complex in every district town and to improve physical education in schools. In other chapters, he describes how he would improve the air pollution, the judicial and school system, about reduction of ministries to eleven, describe the importance of culture and how to make business easier. In the last part of the book, he describes how to achieve all this and what needs to be done. (Babiš, 2017) In fact, the election program of the ANO movement is very similar to this book and the topics discussed are almost identical.

In the book, he supports his dreams with his experience from other countries or similar situations. He often gives people he met as an example. The book is readable, typical stylistics for Babiš is used, trying to communicate directly with readers.

4.2 Questionnaire survey

The questionnaire contains a total of 27 questions. Except two questions all are closed and offer a set of options. Two questions are semi-closed, where it is possible to choose any of the offered options or write own answer. For some questions, only one answer can be selected, some are multiple choices and some with the rating scale.

The questionnaire can be divided into several areas. The first seven questions survey respondents' views on politics and political campaigns. From the 8th to the 23rd question, the questionnaire deals with the respondents' opinion on the ANO movement and Andrej Babiš campaign. The last four questions are identifying gender, age, the highest educational attainment, and the size of the place of residence by population.

The questionnaire is attached in appendix in the Czech language in which it was distributed and also in English version.

4.2.1 Preparation and implementation phase

After the creation of the questionnaire survey, the clarity was checked by six respondents. Based on the responses, the questionnaire was modified. Electronic distribution was used with the help of the website VypInTo.cz. Electronic distribution seemed to be suitable for easier distribution and to obtain a larger range of respondents, as well as to ensure anonymity, fast data collection and inability to not complete or skip a question, which is

often a problem in questionnaire surveys. Anonymity helps sincerity and greater willingness to fill out the questionnaire. The target group were citizens of the Czech Republic with the right to vote.

Data collection was done in person, by sharing on social networks and by distributing it with the help of relatives and friends. At the beginning of the questionnaire, there was a text to inform respondents about what the questionnaire is about and about the anonymity of the survey. The questionnaire was not placed publicly on the website VypInto.cz for filling in by voluntary respondents, the visitors of the website, in order to limit multiple filling of the questionnaire by one person. At the same time, the “Unique IP of Responder” function was not enabled because of data collection in person via one device.

The questionnaire survey was conducted in January 2018, specifically from 6.1. to 27.1.2018. A total of 113 responders were collected, with a questionnaire return of 76.5 %. While collecting the data in person, various willingness to fill the questionnaire was found. Some respondents were interested by the questionnaire, but there were also many respondents who rejected to fill it. The most frequent reaction to rejection was the unwillingness to deal with something about politics or directly with the ANO movement.

4.3 Analysis of questionnaire survey results

The questionnaire survey was conducted through the web-based questionnaire service VypInto.cz. The obtained data were statistically processed partly through the service vypInto.cz and further through the Pivot Table and other functions in Microsoft Excel. The basis of interpretation is the absolute (abs.) and relative frequency of answers for each question. Furthermore, narrower segments of respondents were formed, most often by identification questions such as respondents' age, gender and education, but also by other questions. The results were processed into tables and charts in Microsoft Excel.

4.3.1 Questions No. 24-27 – Identification data

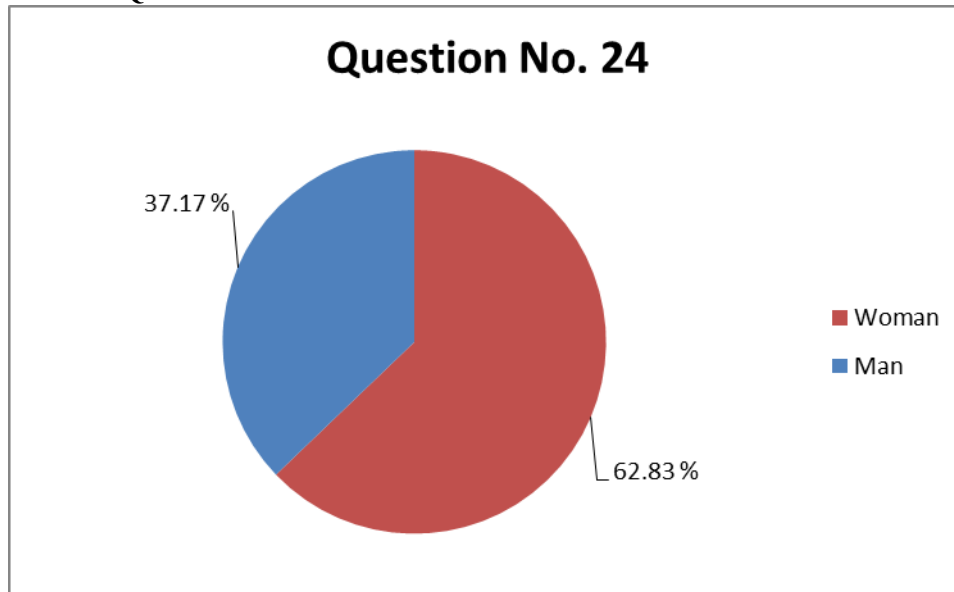
The last 4 questions (24 to 27) were identifying and used to identify the gender, age, highest educational attainment and respondent's place of residence. The questions were closed. The questions were deliberately placed at the end of the questionnaire. Questions of this kind are usually placed at the beginning of the questionnaire; the

respondent may find the questionnaire the same as another or even boring and leave before more interesting questions are asked.

Question No. 24 and 25 – Gender and age of the respondents

A total of 113 respondents participated in the survey, with more women, 63.83 % (71 abs.). There were 37.17 % participating men (42 abs.).

Chart 1 – Question No. 24 - Gender



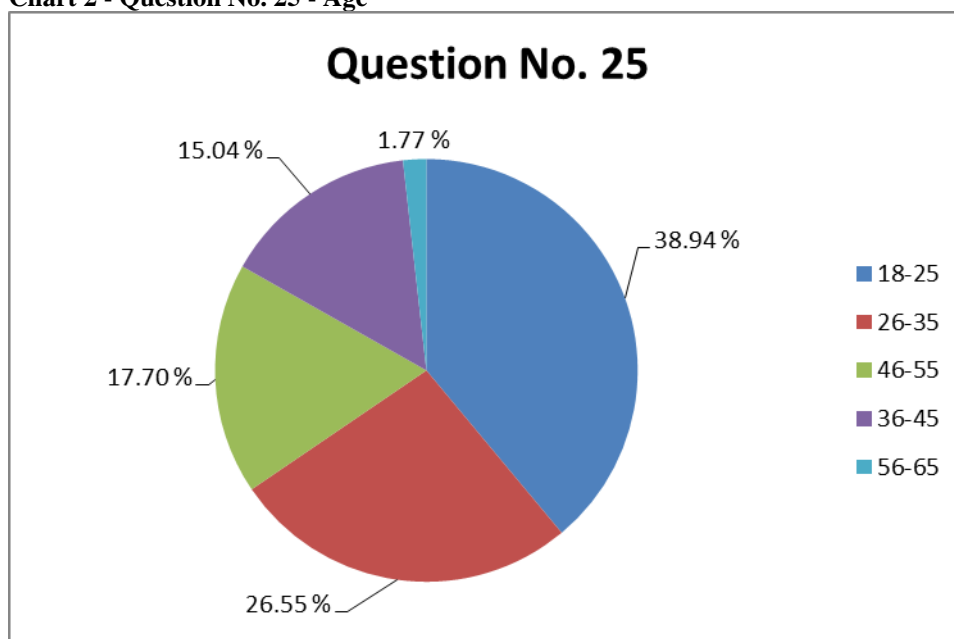
Source: own processing

Next question was to determine the age when the interviewee had to choose to which age category they belong. Five age categories were offered. The highest attendance was in persons aged 18-25, 38.94 % in total (44 abs.), followed by respondents aged 26-35 with 26.55 % (30 abs.), 46-55 with 17.70 % (20 respondents). 15.04 % (17 abs.) participated in the respondents aged 36-45. The lowest number was recorded for persons aged 56-65, only 1.77 % (2 respondents). Nobody in age 66 and over attended the survey.

There was a lack of respondents aged 56 and over, so they do not represent a sample for the Czech Republic and will not be taken into account when comparing with other questions.

The clearer interpretation of this question shows the following chart 2, table 2 shows the distribution of men and women by age.

Chart 2 - Question No. 25 - Age



Source: own processing

Table 2 - Comparison of the gender in regards to participants age

		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55
Man	Absolute	15	14	3	10
	Relative	34.1 %	46.7 %	17.6 %	50 %
Woman	Absolute	29	16	14	10
	Relative	65.9 %	53.3 %	82.4 %	50 %

Source: own processing

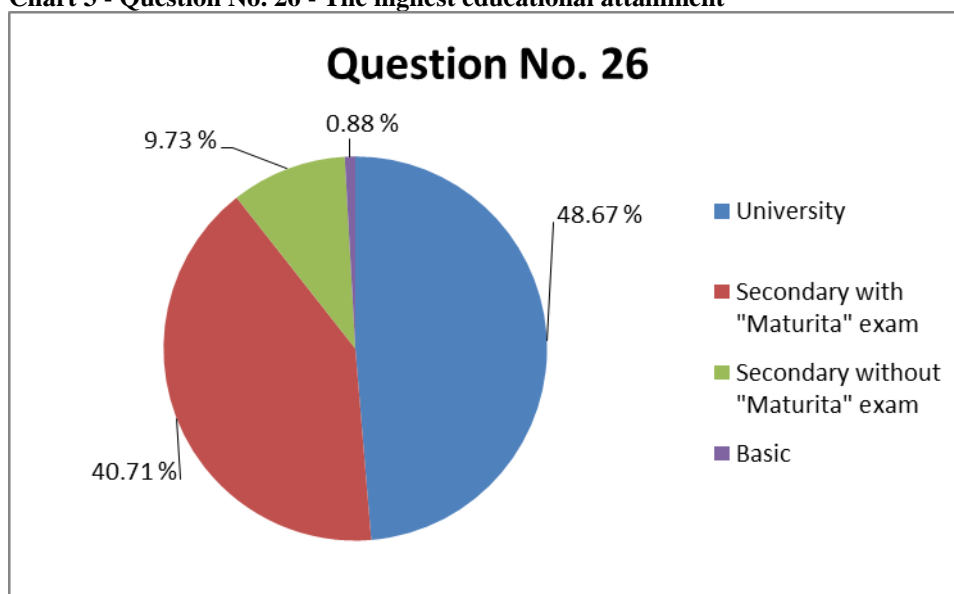
Question No. 26 – The highest educational attainment

Question 26 identified the highest educational attainment. The respondent had to choose from 4 offered categories. Most people participated in the survey with a university degree – a total of 48.67 % (55 respondents), followed by secondary school with *maturita* exam³ (40.71 %, absolute 46), then secondary school without *maturita* exam (9.73 %) and only one respondent had basic education (0.88 %).

Not enough respondents with basic education were obtained, so they do not represent the sample for the Czech Republic and will not be taken into account in comparison with other questions.

³ Secondary school leaving exam in the Czech republic usually taken by young adults. It is necessary to have this exam when applying for higher education.

Chart 3 - Question No. 26 - The highest educational attainment



Source: own processing

Table 3 below shows the distribution of the highest educational attainment of respondents by age. At the age of 18-25, the majority of people have the University degree with 56.8 % (25 respondents), similarly, the respondents aged 26-35 with 66.7 % (20 absolute). Respondents aged 36-45 have the most secondary school with *maturita* exam, 65.7 %, as do respondents aged 46-55 with 55 %.

Table 3 - Comparison of the highest educational attainment in regards to participants age

		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55
Secondary without <i>maturita</i> exam	Absolute	0	4	3	2
	Relative	0 %	13.3 %	17.6 %	10 %
Secondary with <i>maturita</i> exam	Absolute	18	6	11	11
	Relative	40.9 %	20 %	64.7 %	55 %
University	Absolute	25	20	3	7
	Relative	56.8 %	66.7 %	17.6 %	35 %

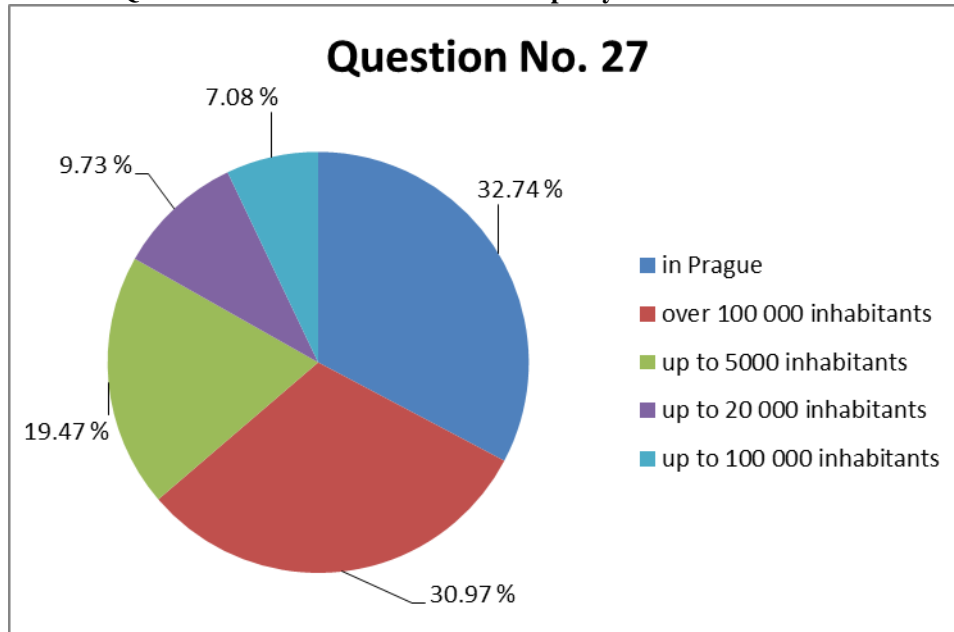
Source: own processing

Questin No. 27 – Place of residence

The last question focuses on the place of residence. A total of 5 options were offered. Most respondents, 32.74 % (37 abs.), live in Prague. 30.97 % of respondents live in a large city with more than 100,000 inhabitants (35 abs.). The third largest group was living in the municipality up to 5000 inhabitants, 19.47 %, followed by the municipality to 20 000

inhabitants, which was chosen by 9.73 % of the respondents. The least respondents live in a municipality with up to 100,000 inhabitants - only 7.08 % (8 persons).

Chart 4 - Question No. 27 - You live in a municipality of the size



Source: own processing

4.3.2 Questions No. 1-7

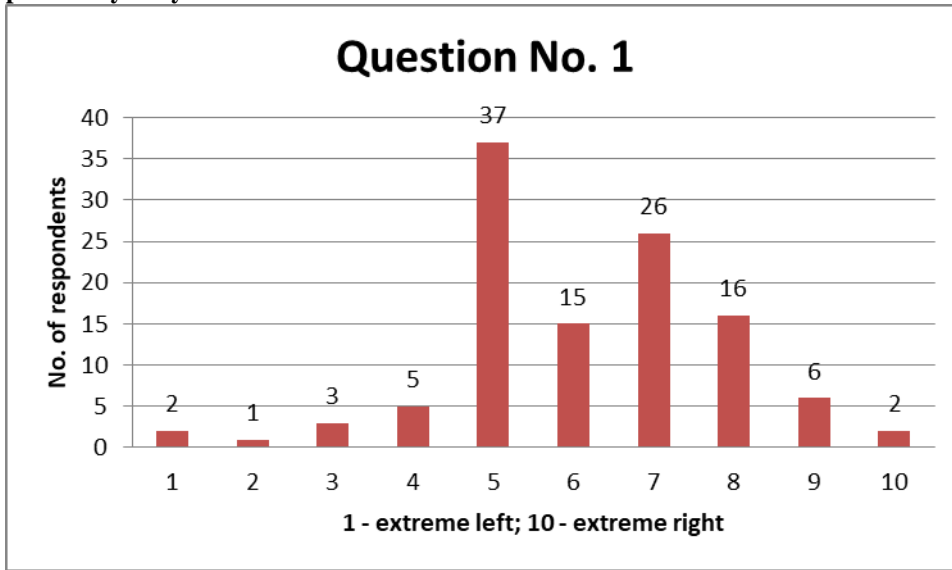
Questions 1 to 7 surveyed the general view of respondents on politics and political campaigns.

Question No. 1 - In general, there are right and left wing parties in politics, where do you personally see yourself?

This question is trying to find out where the respondents see themselves on the left-right political spectrum. A scale from 1 to 10 was chosen, where 1 represented the extreme left and 10 the extreme right. Numbers 5 and 6 are then close to central ideology.

Most people chose middle response in this question. Number 5 was selected by 32.74 % of respondents (37 abs.) and number 6 by 13.27 % (15 abs.). In addition, respondents tend to be more on the right side, number 7 was the second most chosen by 23.01 % (26 abs.), number 8 chose 14.16 % respondents. An interesting feature can be the answers for numbers 1 and 10, which means extreme left and extreme right. Each was chosen by 2 respondents (1.77 %). More details can be seen on chart 5 and in table 4.

Chart 5 - Question No. 1 - In general, there are right and left wing parties in politics, where do you personally see yourself?



Source: own processing

Table 4 - Question No. 1 - In general, there are right and left wing parties in politics, where do you personally see yourself?

Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Absolute	2	1	3	5	37	15	26	16	6	2
Relative	1.8 %	0.9 %	2.7 %	4.4 %	32.7 %	13.3 %	23 %	14.2 %	5.3 %	1.8 %

Source: own processing

The division of question 1 by gender in the table below shows that all 4 respondents for responses 1 and 10, which means extreme left and extreme right, are all chosen by women. For other options there are not significant differences when compared with gender.

Table 5 - Comparison of the question No. 1 in regards to participants gender

		24. Gender			
		Man		Woman	
		Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative
1. There are right and left wing parties in politics, where do you personally see yourself?	1	0	0 %	2	2.8 %
	2	1	2.4 %	0	0 %
	3	2	4.8 %	1	1.4 %
	4	1	2.4 %	4	5.6 %
	5	14	33.3 %	23	32.4 %
	6	5	11.9 %	10	14.1 %
	7	11	26.2 %	15	21.1 %
	8	5	11.9 %	11	15.5 %
	9	3	7.1 %	3	4.2 %
	10	0	0 %	2	2.8 %

Source: own processing

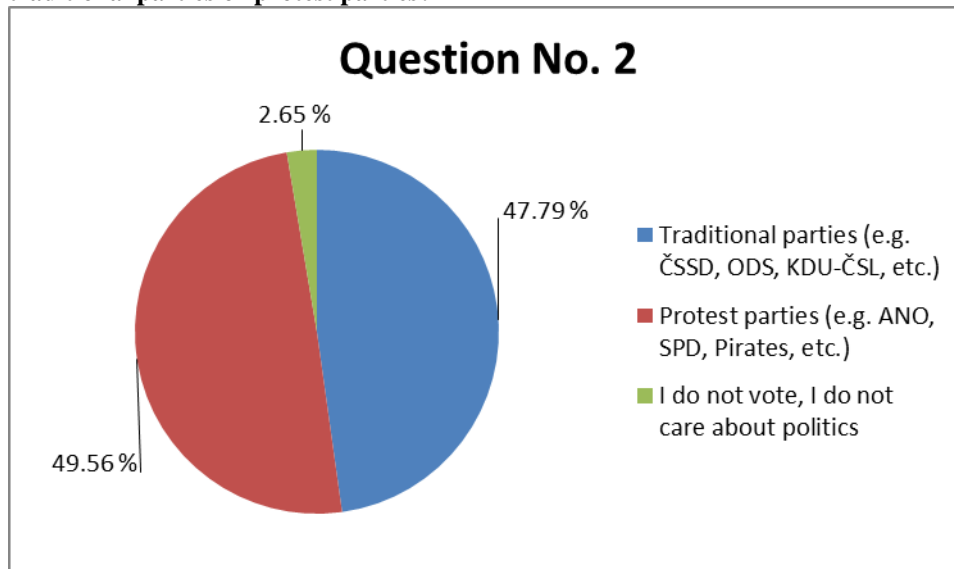
Question No. 2 - If you look at recent elections, have you voted (or you would vote) traditional parties or protest parties?

The second question was to find out who the respondents voted for or would vote for in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies 2017. There were 3 options, the respondent had to choose one answer. The choices were the Traditional Parties, the Protest Parties, and then the answer for those who did not vote or are not interested in politics. For the first two responses, examples which parties belong to each answer were given, for a better idea.

The pre-research found that many respondents did not want to indicate the specific party they voted for. For this reason, and to ensure a higher return on questionnaires, the answers like Traditional and Protest were chosen.

As shown in chart 6, the answers to whether they voted (or would vote) traditional parties or protest parties are relatively balanced. More respondents chose the protest parties with 49.56 % (56 abs.) and 47.79 % (54 abs.) of respondents then chose the traditional parties. Only 3 respondents (2.65 %) chose they did not vote or are not interested in politics.

Chart 6 - Question No. 2 - If you look at recent elections, have you voted (or you would vote) traditional parties or protest parties?



Source: own processing

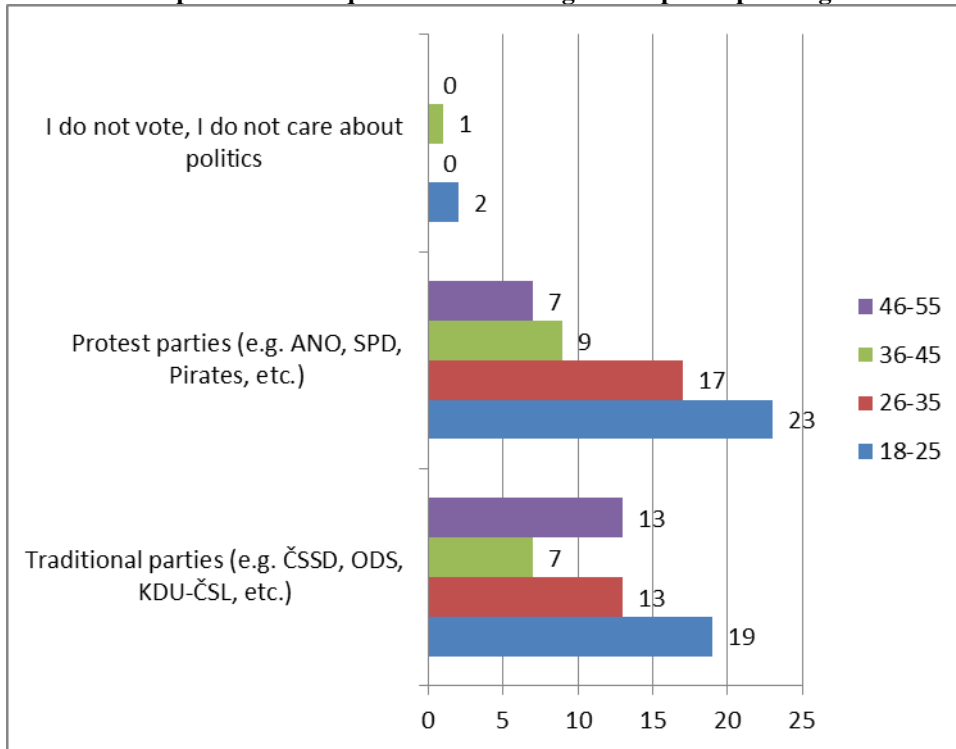
Table 6 shows the comparison of question number 2 with the age of respondents. As can be seen, respondents aged 18-45 choose more protest parties than traditional ones. 52.3 % (23 abs.) of respondents aged 18-25 chose protest parties, aged 26-35 with 56.7 %, and 36-45 years elected protest parties with 52.9 %. There can be seen a bigger difference between respondents aged 46-55. 65 % of them voted or would vote for traditional parties, only 35 % in this age range chose protest parties.

Table 6 - Comparison of the question No. 2 in regards to participants age

			25. Age			
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55
2. Have you voted (or you would vote) traditional parties or protest parties?	Traditional parties (e.g. ČSSD, ODS, KDU-ČSL, etc.)	Absolute	19	13	7	13
		Relative	43.2 %	43.3 %	41.2 %	65 %
	Protest parties (e.g. ANO, SPD, Pirates, etc.)	Absolute	23	17	9	7
		Relative	52.3 %	56.7 %	52.9 %	35 %
	I do not vote, I do not care about politics	Absolute	2	0	1	0
		Relative	4.5 %	0 %	5.9 %	0 %

Source: own processing

Chart 7 – Comparison of the question No. 2 in regards to participants age

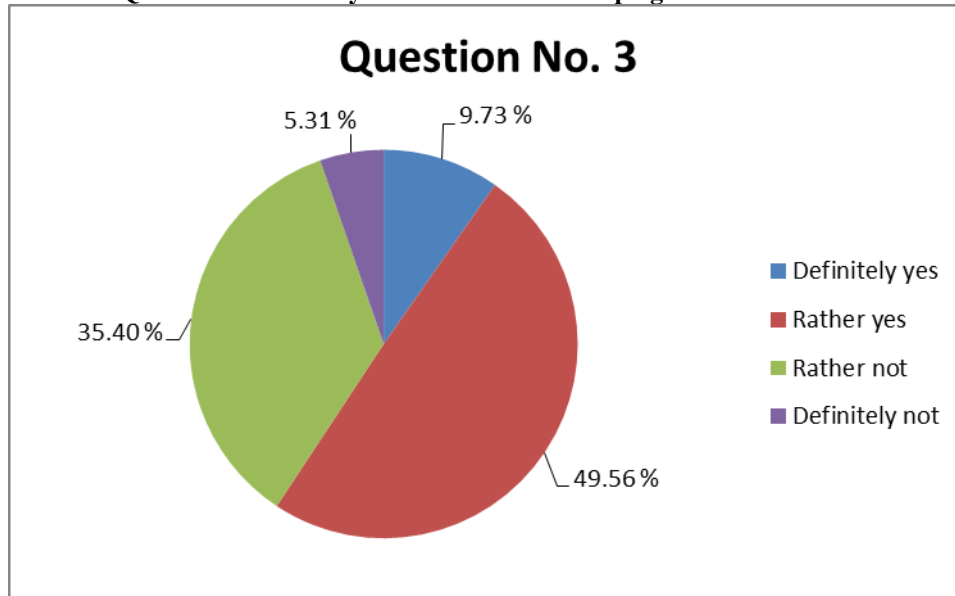


Source: own processing

Question No. 3 – Do you follow election campaigns?

Whether the respondents follow the election campaign, we can find in the question number 3. There were four options to choose from. Most respondents chose option rather yes, 49.56 % (56 abs.). Quite a lot of respondents, 35.40 %, do not follow election campaigns that much. 9.73 % definitely follow election campaigns and 5.31 % definitely not.

Chart 8 - Question No. 3 - Do you follow election campaigns?



Source: own processing

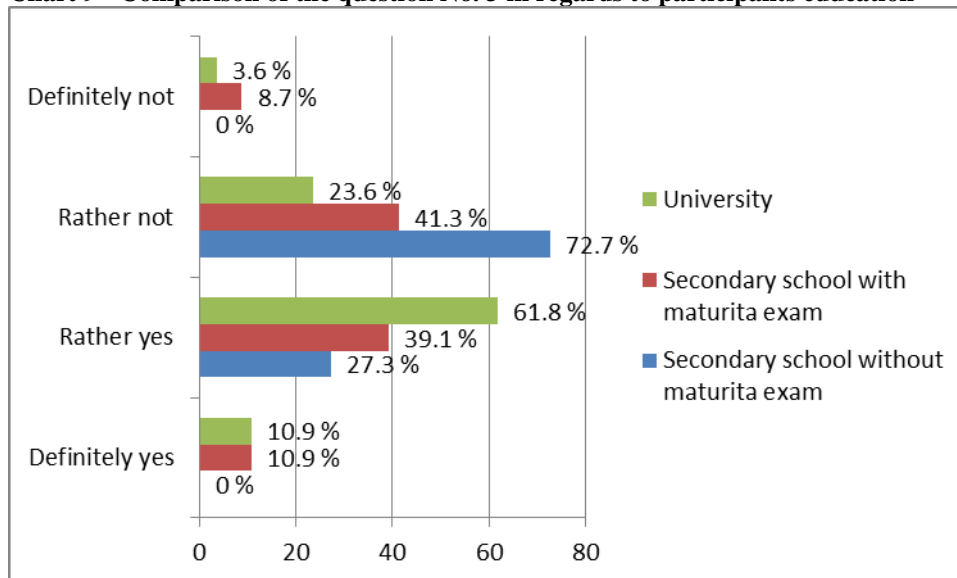
In table 7 and chart 9, we can see that with higher education, people are more following electoral campaigns, and vice versa, the lower their education, the more they do not follow electoral campaigns. 61.8 % of university-educated respondents said they were more likely to follow electoral campaigns, the same answer chose only 27.3 % of respondents with secondary school without *maturita* exam. 72.7 % of respondents with secondary school without *maturita* exam said they were rather not following electoral campaigns while only 23.6 % of university respondents chose the same answer. Respondents with secondary school with *maturita* exam responded similarly at both options, around 40 %.

Table 7 - Comparison of the question No. 3 in regards to participants highest educational attainment

			26. The highest educational attainment		
			Secondary without "Maturita" exam	Secondary with "Maturita" exam	University
3. Do you follow election campaigns?	Definitely yes	Absolute	0	5	6
		Relative	0 %	10.9 %	10.9 %
	Rather yes	Absolute	3	18	34
		Relative	27.3 %	39.1 %	61.8 %
	Rather not	Absolute	8	19	13
		Relative	72.7 %	41.3 %	23.6 %
	Definitely not	Absolute	0	4	2
		Relative	0 %	8.7 %	3.6 %

Source: own processing

Chart 9 - Comparison of the question No. 3 in regards to participants education



Source: own processing

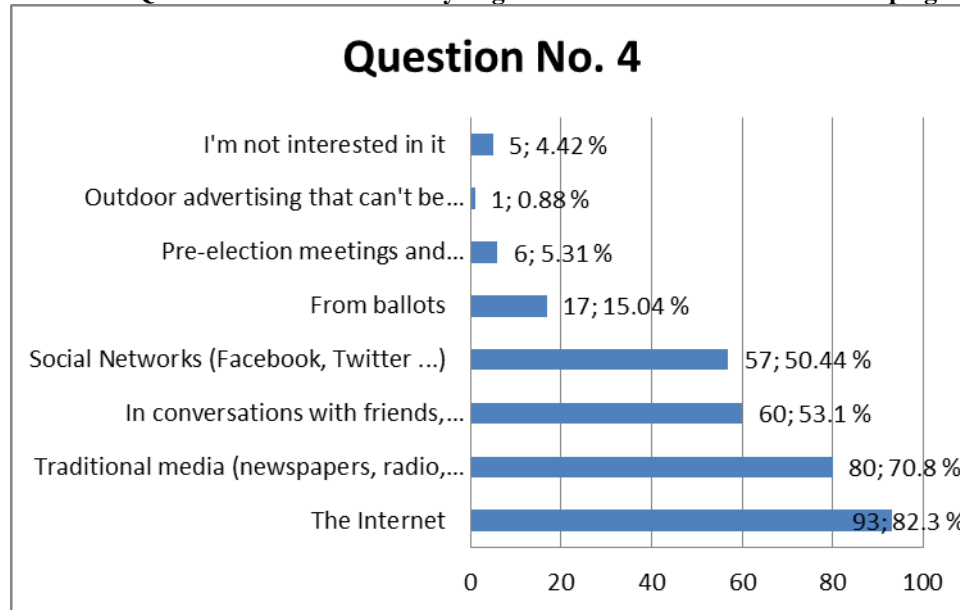
Question No. 4 – Where do you get information about election campaigns?

In the question, where respondents get information about election campaigns, there was a possibility to tick multiple options. Six different responses were offered and the option to write their own response.

Most respondents receive information about campaigns on the internet (82.3 %), and in traditional media such as newspaper, radio and television (70.8 %). More than half (53.1 %) said they get information when they talk to family, friends or colleagues. It may be surprising that only 50.44 % of respondents receive information from social networks.

They also receive information directly from ballots (15.04 %) and from pre-election meetings and information tents (5.31 %). The only respondent wrote own response “Outdoor advertising that can't be overlooked ...”. Five respondents (4.42 %) are not interested in it at all.

Chart 10 - Question No. 4 - Where do you get information about election campaigns?



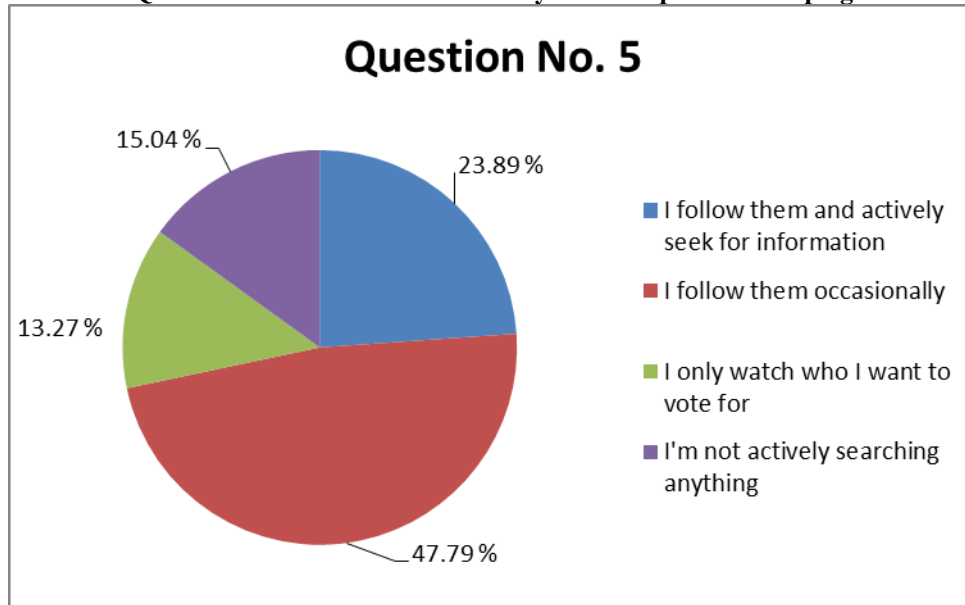
Source: own processing

Question No. 5 – To what extent do you follow political campaigns?

The next question is again focused on monitoring political campaigns, now it examines how much political campaigns the respondents monitor, whether they are actively seeking for information or are only occasionally tracking it, whether some are watching only who they want to vote for or the last option that they are not actively searching anything.

As shown in chart 11, almost half (47.79 %; 54 absolute) of all respondents follow electoral campaigns occasionally. Quite a lot, 23.89 % follow them and actively seek for information. 15.04 % said they do not actively search anything about election campaigns and 13.27 % (15abs.) watch only who they want to vote for.

Chart 11 - Question No. 5 - To what extent do you follow political campaigns?



Source: own processing

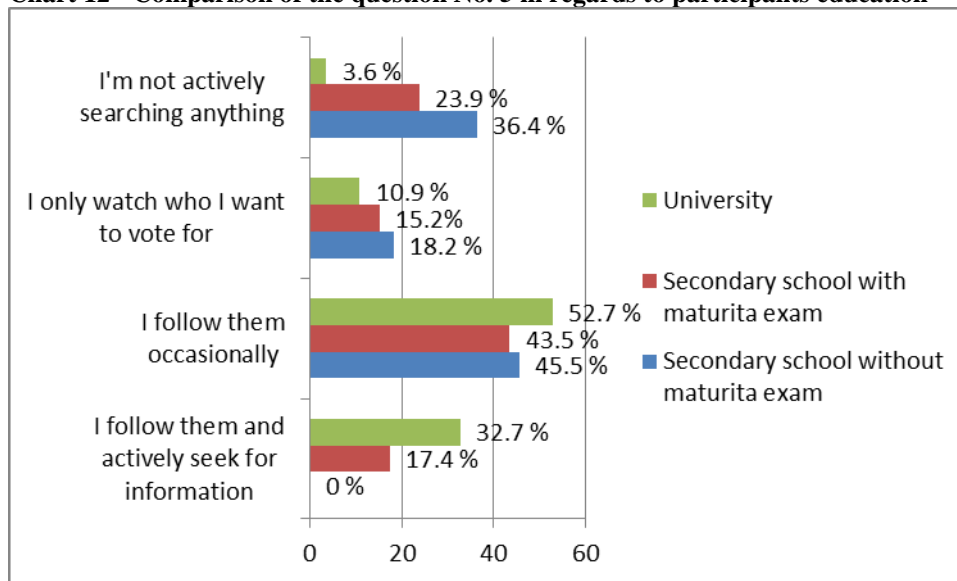
When compared to education (table 8), the results are similar to question 3. Those who follow the campaign and are actively seeking for information are mostly university graduates and partly respondents with secondary school with *maturita* exam. 32.7 % of university graduates and 17.4 % of secondary school with *maturita* exam chose this answer and no respondent without *maturita* exam. The opposite answer, that they do not actively search anything, has the most answers from respondents with high school without *maturita*, 36.4 %, and the least from respondents with university, 3.6 %. The other 2 options were fairly balanced. A chart 12 is included for a better illustration.

Table 8 - Comparison of the question No. 5 in regards to participants highest educational attainment

			26. The highest educational attainment		
			Secondary without "Maturita" exam	Secondary with "Maturita" exam	University
5. To what extent do you follow political campaigns?	I follow them and actively seek for information	Absolute	0	8	18
		Relative	0 %	17.4 %	32.7 %
	I follow them occasionally	Absolute	5	20	29
		Relative	45.5 %	43.5 %	52.7 %
	I only watch who I want to vote for	Absolute	2	7	6
		Relative	18.2 %	15.2 %	10.9 %
	I'm not actively searching anything	Absolute	4	11	2
		Relative	36.4 %	23.9 %	3.6 %

Source: own processing

Chart 12 - Comparison of the question No. 5 in regards to participants education



Source: own processing

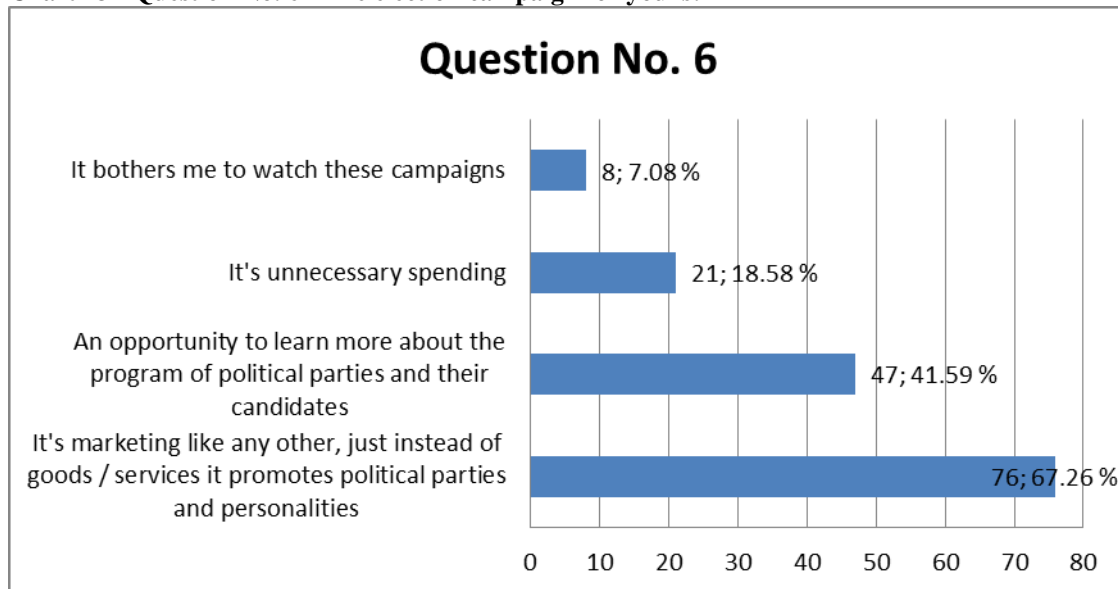
Question No. 6 - The election campaign for you is:

The sixth question asked if the respondents see a election campaigns as part of marketing, an opportunity to find out more about the party's program and candidates, whether some see it as an unnecessary spending and the last option if it bothers someone. There was a possibility to choose more options in this question.

As shown in chart 13, 67.26 % (76 abs.) of respondents see election campaigns as marketing like any other. At the same time, 41.59 % chose it is an opportunity to learn

something about political parties and candidates. 18.58 % of respondents see it as unnecessary spending, and it bothers only 7.08 % of respondents.

Chart 13 - Question No. 6 - The election campaign for you is:



Source: own processing

Question No. 7 - Pre-election campaigns of what parties interested you?

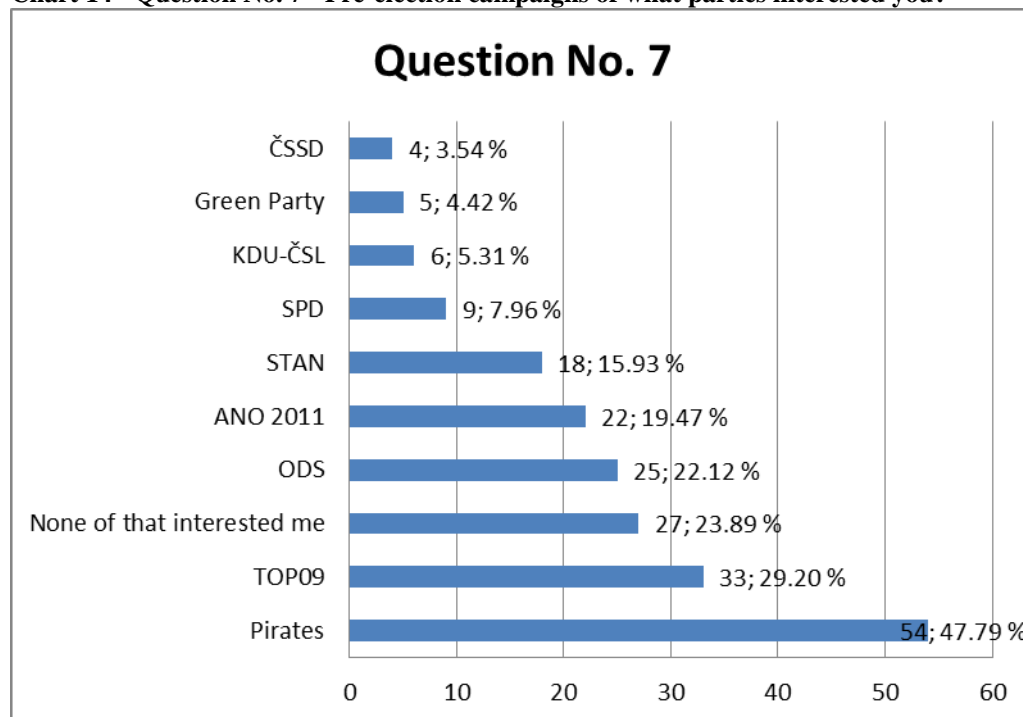
The last question of this series of questions asks, what pre-election campaigns of what parties were interesting for the respondents. They could choose up to 3 answers. It was possible to choose from several major parties and movements and the option to write their own answer. For those who were not interested in any campaign, there was a possibility “None of that interested me”.

Almost half, 47.79 % (54 abs.) of respondents found interesting the campaign of the Pirates, the second most interesting was for them the TOP09 pre-election campaign, 29.2 % of respondents found it interesting. 27 respondents think there was not any interesting pre-election campaigns, ie 23.89 %. The ANO movement placed fourth in interesting of their campaign with 19.47 % (22 abs.) just behind ODS with 22.12 %. No one chose KSČM. Result for other parties can be seen in the chart 14.

Some respondents also wrote their own response. Five respondents found interesting the Green Party campaign (4.42 %). One found interesting the campaign of the Free Citizens' Party (Svobodní), another one of the Realists (Realisté). One respondent wrote “Glued posters across the republic of in that time a disintegrated coalition of People's Party

in STAN” and another wrote “Most of them impressed me with their awkwardness (and unwanted humor), if I want to vote for someone, I'm looking for what the candidate says”.

Chart 14 - Question No. 7 - Pre-election campaigns of what parties interested you?



Source: own processing

Interesting is to compare this question with question number 2 - who did the respondents vote for or would vote for. As can be seen in table 10, many voters of protest parties liked the campaigns of traditional parties and vice versa, some voters of traditional parties liked the pre-election campaigns of protest parties. One example can be Pirates, whose campaign found interesting 22.6 % of traditional parties voters. In the ANO movement, even more voters of traditional parties (11.3 %) found the ANO campaign interesting than the voters of protest parties (10.6 %). There are also exceptions, such as the ODS, whose campaign attracted 21.7 % of traditional parties voters, but only 2.1 % of protest parties voters.

Table 9 - Comparison of the question No. 7 with the question No. 2

			2. Have you voted (or you would vote) traditional parties or protest parties?	
			Protest parties (e.g. ANO, SPD, Pirates, etc.)	Traditional parties (e.g. ČSSD, ODS, KDU-ČSL, etc.)
7 - Pre-election campaigns of what parties interested you?	Pirates	Absolute	30	24
		Relative	31.9 %	22.6 %
	TOP09	Absolute	13	20
		Relative	13.8 %	18.9 %
	ODS	Absolute	2	23
		Relative	2.1 %	21.7 %
	ANO 2011	Absolute	10	12
		Relative	10.6 %	11.3 %
	STAN	Absolute	11	7
		Relative	11.7 %	6.6 %
	SPD	Absolute	6	3
		Relative	6.4 %	2.8 %
	KDU-ČSL	Absolute	2	4
		Relative	2.1 %	3.8 %
	Green Party	Absolute	4	1
		Relative	4.3 %	0.9 %
	ČSSD	Absolute	1	3
		Relative	1.1 %	2.8 %

Source: own processing

4.3.3 Questions No. 8-23

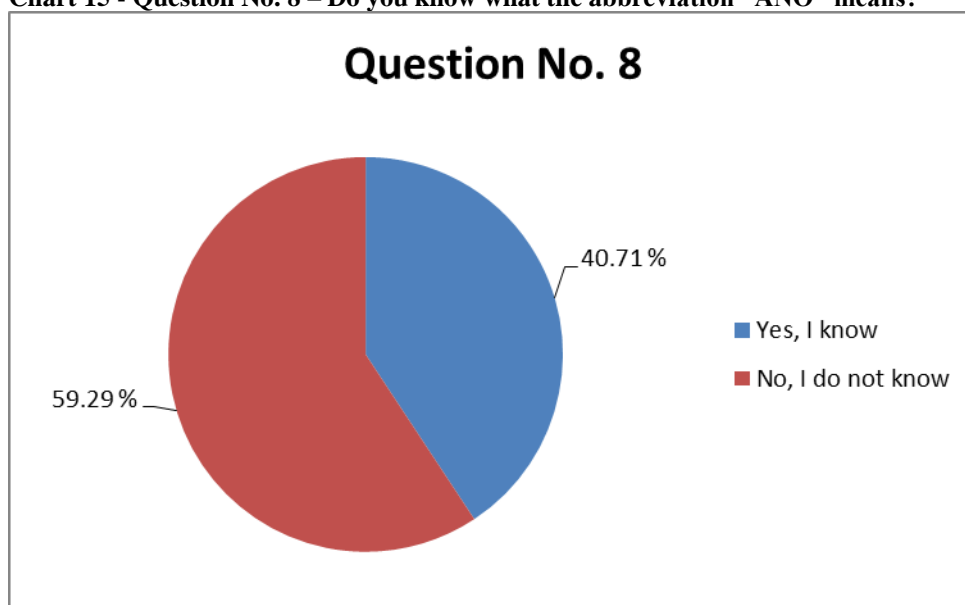
The last series of questions 8 to 23 relates directly to the ANO movement. These questions identify awareness and opinion on the ANO movement, its campaign, marketing and the leader Andrej Babiš.

Question No. 8 – Do you know what the abbreviation “ANO” means?

The abbreviation ANO means Action of Dissatisfied Citizens. What is the awareness of this is trying to find out question number 8. There were only two answers: “Yes, I know” and “No, I do not know”.

More respondents, 59.29 % (67 abs.) answered they do not know what this abbreviation means. There are 40.71 % (46 abs.) of respondents who know the meaning of the abbreviation.

Chart 15 - Question No. 8 – Do you know what the abbreviation “ANO” means?



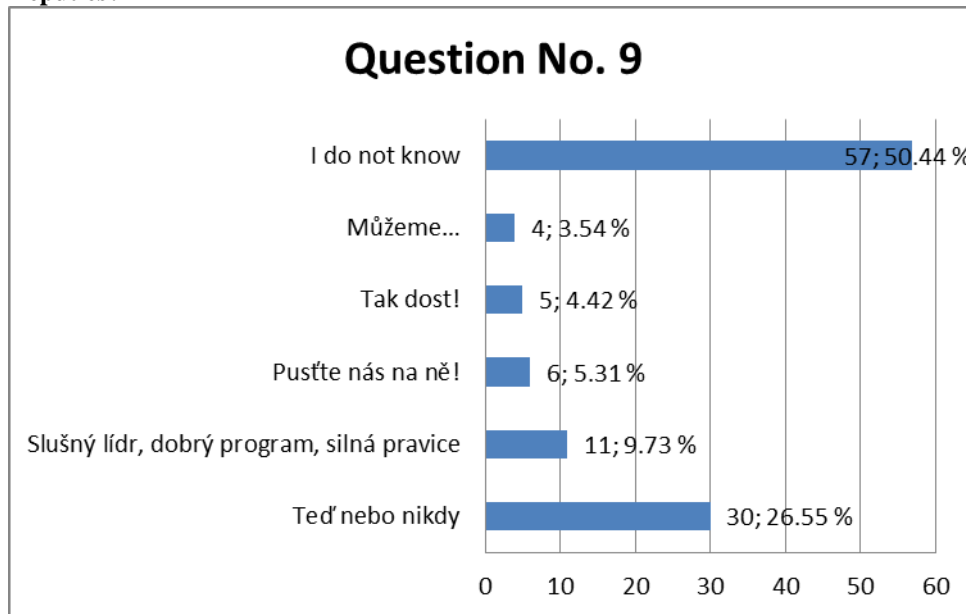
Source: own processing

Questions No. 9 and No. 10 – Do you know the slogan of the ANO movement in the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies? Have you met with it in any form?

The ninth and tenth questions were focused on the slogan of the ANO movement in the 2017 elections. In the ninth question there were several different slogans from different political parties and movements. The tenth question clarified the correct answer and asked if the respondents had met it in any form.

The correct slogan that the ANO movement used in its 2017 election program is “*Ted’ nebo nikdy*” (Now or never), a quarter of respondents answered correctly, 26.55 % (30 abs.). Half of all answers, 50.44 % is the answer I do not know. 9.73 % of participants said that the ANO slogan was “*Slušný lídr, dobrý program, silná pravice*” (Decent leader, good program, strong right), but it was used by ODS. They also chose the Pirates slogan “*Pust’te nás na ně!*” (Let us get them!), 5.31 %, and slogan of TOP 09 “*Tak dost!*” (Enough!) 4.42 %. “*Můžeme...*” (We can..) used by Free Citizens' Party was chosen by 3.54 % of respondents.

Chart 16 - Do you know the slogan of the ANO movement in the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies?



Source: own processing

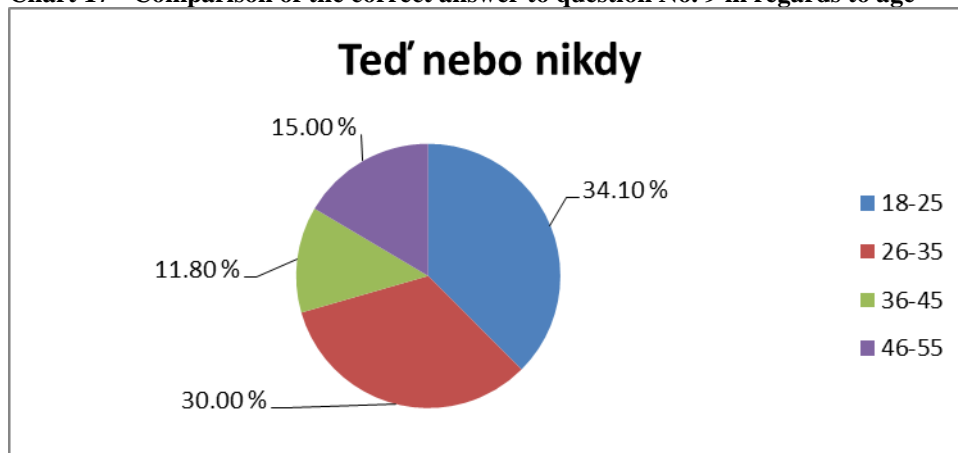
When looking closer to the right answer “Teď nebo nikdy”, more younger than older respondents chose the correct answer. Most respondents with the right answer were 18-25 years old, 34.1 % (15 abs.), and 26-35, 30 %. Only 11.8 % aged 36-45 and 15 % aged 46-55 chose the same answer. More in the table 10 and chart 17.

Table 10 - Comparison of the correct answer to question No. 9 in regards to age

			25. Age			
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55
Question No. 9	Teď nebo nikdy	Absolute	15	9	2	3
		Relative	34.1 %	30 %	11.8 %	15 %

Source: own processing

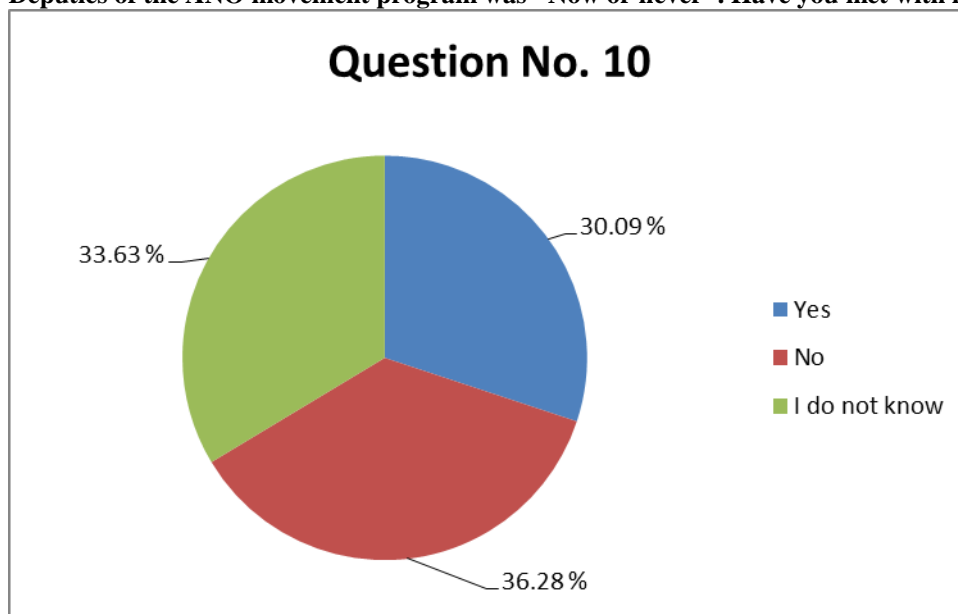
Chart 17 - Comparison of the correct answer to question No. 9 in regards to age



Source: own processing

The answers to the question of whether the respondents met this slogan in any form were balanced. Most of the respondents, 36.28 % (41 abs.) did not notice it before and 30.09 % did notice. 38 respondents (33.63 %) do not know if they encountered it.

Chart 18 - Question No. 10 - The main electoral slogan for the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the ANO movement program was "Now or never". Have you met with it in any form?



Source: own processing

By combining questions 10 and 3 was found that following election campaigns has probably no impact whether the respondents met the slogan. 36.5 % of those who definitely follow election campaign have met with the slogan and the same percentage of

them have not. 50 % of respondents who definitely do not follow election campaigns said they have met with the slogan, but there are only 3 of them in absolute. There were 12.5 % of respondents who have met the slogan and rather not follow election campaigns. More in table 11.

Table 11 - Comparison of the question No. 10 with the question No. 3

			3. Do you follow election campaigns?			
			Definitely yes	Rather yes	Rather not	Definitely not
10. Have you met with it in any form?	Yes	Absolute	4	22	5	3
		Relative	36.4 %	39.3 %	12.5 %	50 %
	No	Absolute	4	15	20	2
		Relative	36.4 %	26.8 %	50 %	33.3 %
	I do not know	Absolute	3	19	15	1
		Relative	27.3 %	33.9 %	37.5 %	16.7 %

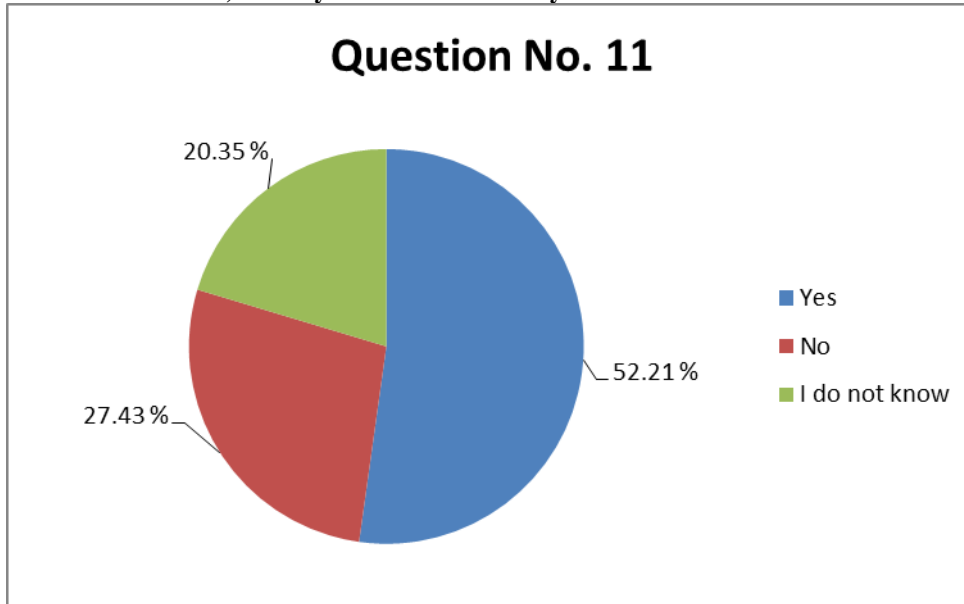
Source: own processing

Question No. 11 – Another electoral slogan for the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the ANO movement was “...a neblábolit” [...and do not babble] (for example, “Stand against corruption and do not babble”). Have you met with it in any form?

Another slogan that people could see in videos or billboards was “... and do not babble”. Question 11 shows how much respondents met with this slogan.

On chart 19, we can see that more respondents have encountered this slogan compared to the first slogan mentioned in question 10. The answer “Yes” was chosen by 52.21 % (59 abs.) respondents and “No” by 27.43 %. 20.35 % (23 abs.) then said they do not know.

Chart 19 - Question No. 11 - Another electoral slogan for the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the ANO movement was "...and do not babble" (for example, "Stand against corruption and do not babble"). Have you met with it in any form?



Source: own processing

In this question, the same comparison was used as in the previous question number 10. From table number 12 it can be seen that there are much better results than in the previous question. 90.9 % of respondents, who are definitely following political campaigns, have encountered this slogan. It is interesting to note that a relatively large percentage of participants who do not follow campaigns have met this slogan (rather not 42.5 % and definitely not 66.7 %).

Table 12 - Comparison of the question No. 11 with the question No. 3

			3. Do you follow election campaigns?			
			Definitely yes	Rather yes	Rather not	Definitely not
11. Have you met with it in any form?	Yes	Absolute	10	28	17	4
		Relative	90.9 %	50 %	42.5 %	66.7 %
	No	Absolute	1	12	16	2
		Relative	9.1 %	21.4 %	40 %	33.3 %
	I do not know	Absolute	0	16	7	0
		Relative	0 %	28.6 %	17.5 %	0 %

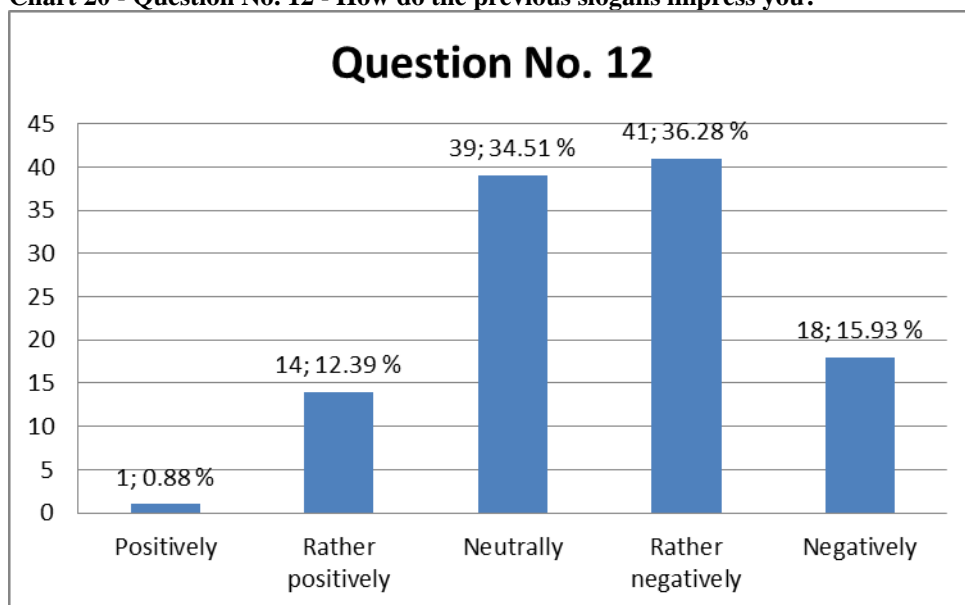
Source: own processing

Question No. 12 - How do the previous slogans impress you?

Another question is trying to find out how the ANO slogans mentioned above impressed the respondents. There were five options to choose from, from positive to negative.

The answer “Rather negative” was chosen by 36.28 % of respondents (41 abs.), which was the most of all answers. Neither positively nor negatively see them 34.51 % of all respondents, they chose the answer “Neutral”. Slogans rather negatively impress 15.93 % of respondents. Only one respondent, ie 0.88 %, perceives them positively, rather positively then 12.39 % (14 abs.).

Chart 20 - Question No. 12 - How do the previous slogans impress you?



Source: own processing

In tables 13 and 14 the question is compared with previous questions 10 and 11. Those who have met the slogan “*Ted’ nebo nikdy*” before see it mostly rather negatively (44.1 %) and negatively (23.5 %) while people who have not met the slogan impress the respondents less negatively and more positively; 19.5 % of those who have not met the slogan in any form chose rather positively compared to 5.8 % with the same answer who have met the slogan.

Table 13 - Comparison of the question No. 12 with the question No. 10

			10. Have you met with the slogan “ <i>Ted’ nebo nikdy</i> ” in any form?		
			Yes	No	I do not know
12. How do the previous slogans impress you?	Positively	Absolute	0	1	0
		Relative	0 %	2.4 %	0 %
	Rather positively	Absolute	2	8	4
		Relative	5.9 %	19.5 %	10.5 %
	Neutrally	Absolute	9	16	14
		Relative	26.5 %	39 %	36.8 %
	Rather negatively	Absolute	15	9	17
		Relative	44.1 %	22 %	44.7 %
Negatively	Absolute	8	7	3	
	Relative	23.5 %	17.1 %	7.9 %	

Source: own processing

Similarly it is with the slogan “...a neblábolit”. More respondents who did not meet the slogan before, chose the neutral option, 51.6 %, those who met the slogan before chose neutrally with 23.7 %.

Table 14 - Comparison of the question No. 12 with the question No. 11

			11. Have you met with the slogan “...a neblábolit” in any form?		
			Yes	No	I do not know
12. How do the previous slogans impress you?	Positively	Absolute	0	1	0
		Relative	0 %	3.2 %	0 %
	Rather positively	Absolute	7	4	3
		Relative	11.9 %	12.9 %	13 %
	Neutrally	Absolute	14	16	9
		Relative	23.7 %	51.6 %	39.1 %
	Rather negatively	Absolute	24	8	9
		Relative	40.7 %	25.8 %	39.1 %
Negatively	Absolute	14	2	2	
	Relative	23.7 %	6.5 %	8.7 %	

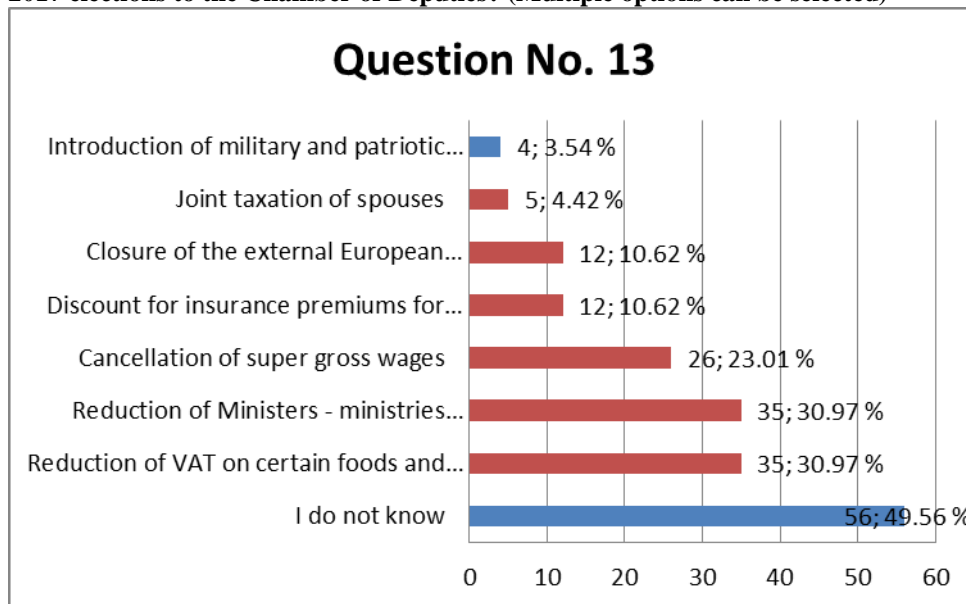
Source: own processing

Question No. 13 - Do you know what election program did the ANO movement use in the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies?

Knowledge of the ANO movement program tried to find out question number 13. Eight options were offered plus one option “I do not know”, respondents could chose more options. Most of the answers were correct (in chart number 21 in red color), only two did not match the ANO programme. The right options were chosen because they often appeared in the media.

Almost half of the respondents (49.56 %) do not know what program ANO used. The most correct answers were for “Reduction of ministers” and “Reduction of VAT ...”, both selected by 30.97 % of respondents. “Cancellation of super gross wages” then chose 23.01 % (26 abs.) of respondents. Other correct answers were chosen quite a few (more in the chart 21). No one chose the wrong answer “Cancellation of the EET”, 4 respondents (3.54 %) chose “Introduction of military and patriotic education”.

Chart 21 - Question No. 13 - Do you know what election program did the ANO movement use in the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies? (Multiple options can be selected)



Source: own processing

Questions No. 14 and No. 15 - Did you notice the following or similar advertising messages? How does this billboard impress you?

For question number 14, there was a photo of the billboard that was used for the pre-election campaign by the ANO movement. The question was whether respondents had noticed similar advertising message. The next question number 15 then asked how this billboard impressed them.

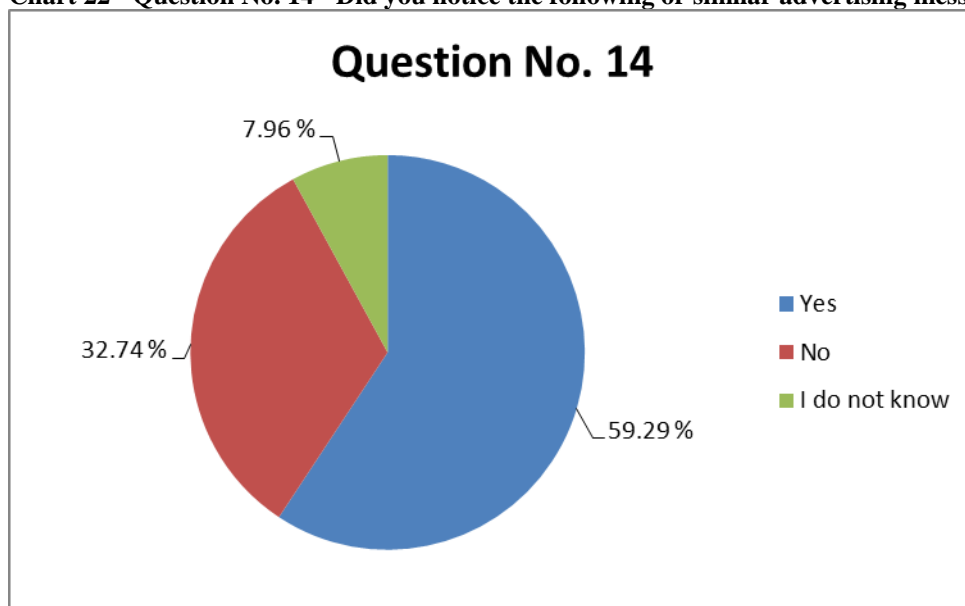
Picture 11 - Billboard of the ANO movement



Source: Facebook, Volební billboardy [online]. Available at: <https://cs-cz.facebook.com/volebni.billboardy/>

This or similar advertising message have seen 59.29 % of respondents (67 abs.) and 32.74 % have not. Only 8.96 % of respondents do not know.

Chart 22 - Question No. 14 - Did you notice the following or similar advertising messages?



Source: own processing

In table 15 it can be seen that more than a half of respondents noticed this or similar advertising message in all sizes of municipalities with no matter what size. Most of them, 70.3 % (26 abs.) noticed it in Prague. Least, 50 % noticed it in municipalities up to 100 000 inhabitants.

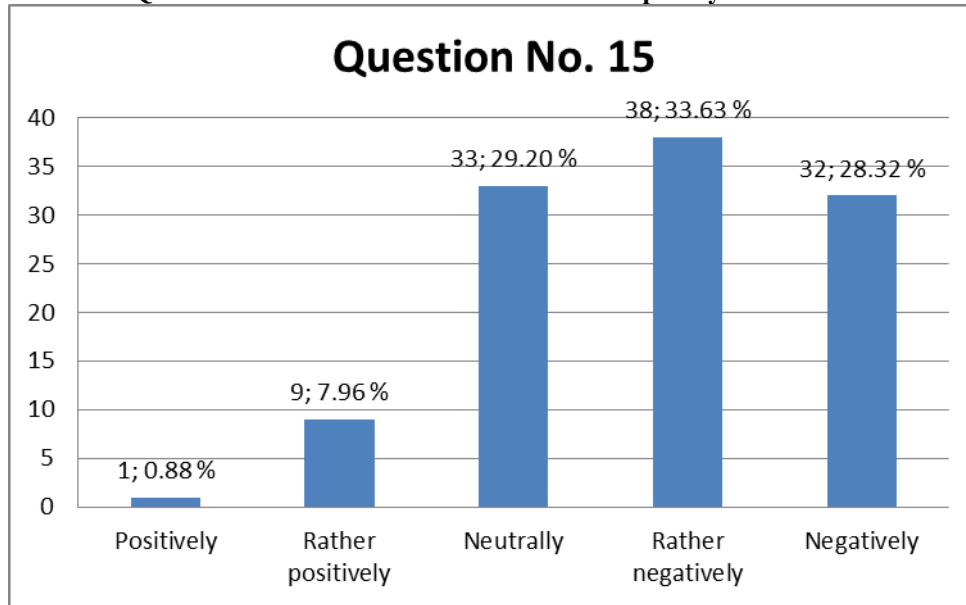
Table 15 - Comparison of the question No. 14 with the question No. 27

			27. You live in a municipality of the size:				
			up to 5000 inhabitants	up to 20 000 inhabitants	up to 100 000 inhabitants	over 100 000 inhabitants	in Prague
14. Did you notice the following or similar advertising messages?	Yes	Absolute	12	7	4	18	26
		Relative	54.5 %	63.6 %	50 %	51.4 %	70.3 %
	No	Absolute	10	2	3	13	9
		Relative	45.5 %	18.2 %	37.5 %	37.1 %	24.3 %
	I do not know	Absolute	0	2	1	4	2
		Relative	0%	18.2 %	12.5 %	11.4 %	5.4 %

Source: own processing

How directly this billboard impressed respondents was questioned by question 15. More negative answers prevailed, most respondents, 33.63 % (38 abs.) chose rather negatively and 28.32 % completely negatively. 33 participants (28.32 %) found it neutrally, 7.96 % rather positively and only one person (0.88 %) chose positively.

Chart 23 - Question No. 15 - How does this billboard impress you?



Source: own processing

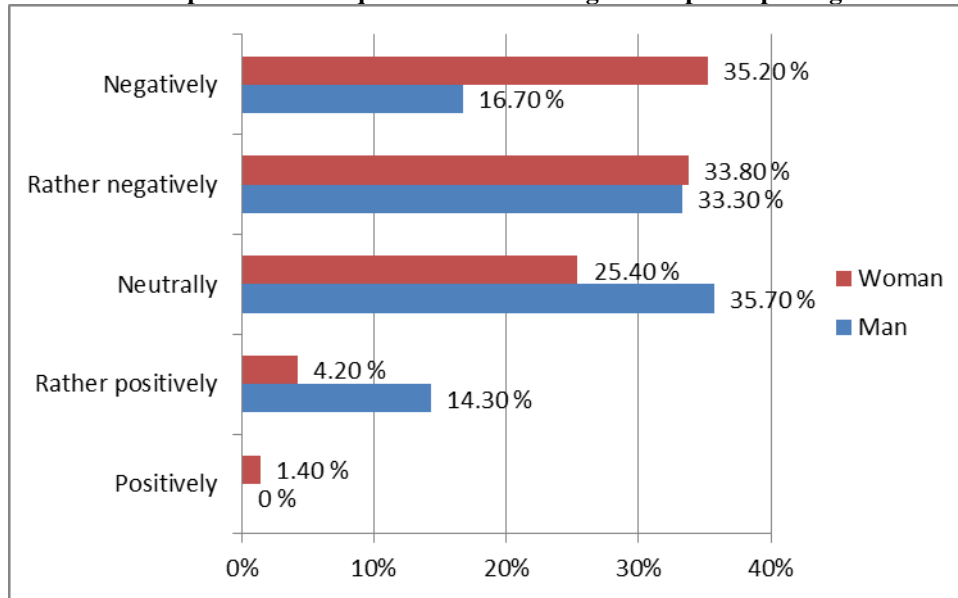
How billboard impress the respondents of different age and by gender is shown in table 16. While around 20 % of respondents aged 26-55 this billboard impress negatively and around 40 % neutrally, there are 40.9 % of participants aged 18-25 who chose negatively and only 15.9 % neutrally. The billboard impress women more negatively than men. This also affects the 18-25 age group because there are 65.9 % women. Men then chose answer “rather positively” more than woman. Results by gender can be better seen in the chart 24.

Table 16 - Comparison of the question No. 15 in regards to participants age and gender

			25. Age				24. Gender	
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	Man	Woman
15. How does this billboard impress you?	Positively	Absolute	1	0	0	0	0	1
		Relative	2.3 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	1.4 %
	Rather positively	Absolute	4	2	1	1	6	3
		Relative	9.1 %	6.7 %	5.9 %	5 %	14.3 %	4.2 %
	Neutrally	Absolute	7	11	7	8	15	18
		Relative	15.9 %	36.7 %	41.2 %	40 %	35.7 %	25.4 %
	Rather negatively	Absolute	14	11	6	7	14	24
		Relative	31.8 %	36.7 %	35.3 %	35 %	33.3 %	33.8 %
	Negatively	Absolute	18	6	3	4	7	25
		Relative	40.9 %	20 %	17.6 %	20 %	16.7 %	35.2 %

Source: own processing

Chart 24 - Comparison of the question No. 15 in regards to participants gender



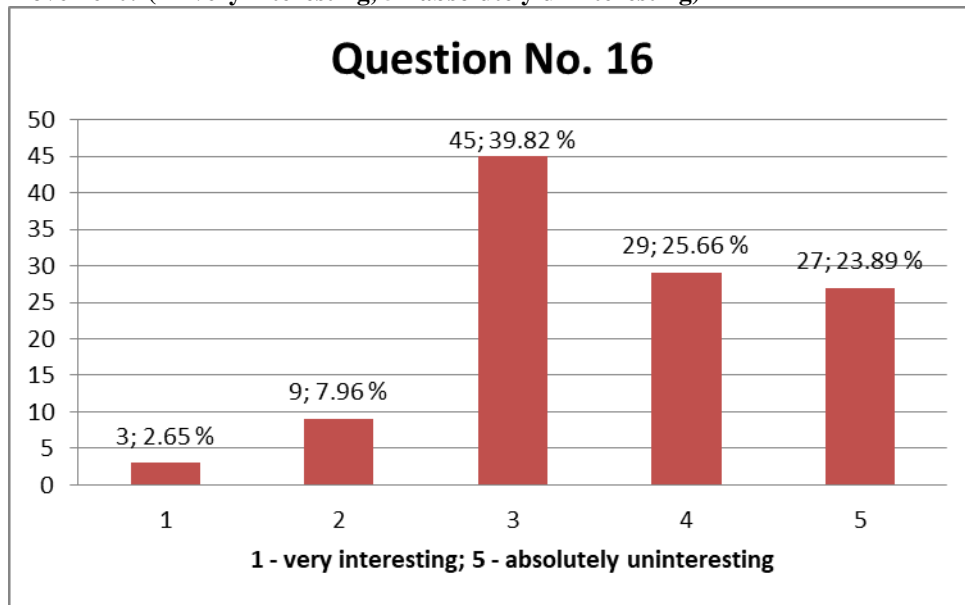
Source: own processing

Question No. 16 - How interesting have you found the election campaign of the ANO movement?

This question is focused on the entire election campaign of the ANO movement, whether the respondents find it interesting or not. The option was a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 meant very interesting and 5 absolutely uninteresting.

39.82 % of respondents (45 abs.) have not found campaign of the ANO movement either interesting or uninteresting and rated it with number 3. Most of them do not think the campaign is interesting, 25.56 % of them rated it with 4 and 23.89 % (27 abs.) found it absolutely uninteresting. 12 respondents think the campaign is interesting, only 3 of them (2.65 %) found it very interesting. The mean of all answers is 3.6.

Chart 25 - Question No. 16 - How interesting have you found the election campaign of ANO movement? (1 - very interesting, 5 - absolutely uninteresting)



Source: own processing

If we choose age as the determinant in question 16, there are several differences. Positive answers, ie 1 - very interesting and 2 - interesting, were chosen only by respondents aged 18-35, none of the respondents at the age of 36-55 found the campaign interesting, they chose more the neutral option 3 (36-45 years and 46-55 years 40 %). Absolutely negative, the answer number 5, was chosen least by the respondents aged 26-35, 13.33 %, and by respondents aged 36-45, 17.65 %.

Table 17 - Comparison of the question No. 16 in regards to participants age

			25. Age			
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55
16. How interesting have you found the election campaign of the ANO movement?	1	Absolute	2	1	0	0
		Relative	4.6 %	3.3 %	0 %	0 %
	2	Absolute	5	4	0	0
		Relative	11.4 %	13.3 %	0 %	0 %
	3	Absolute	12	12	11	8
		Relative	27.3 %	40 %	64.7 %	40 %
	4	Absolute	13	9	3	4
		Relative	29.6 %	30 %	17.7 %	20 %
	5	Absolute	12	4	3	8
		Relative	27.3 %	13.3 %	17.7 %	40 %

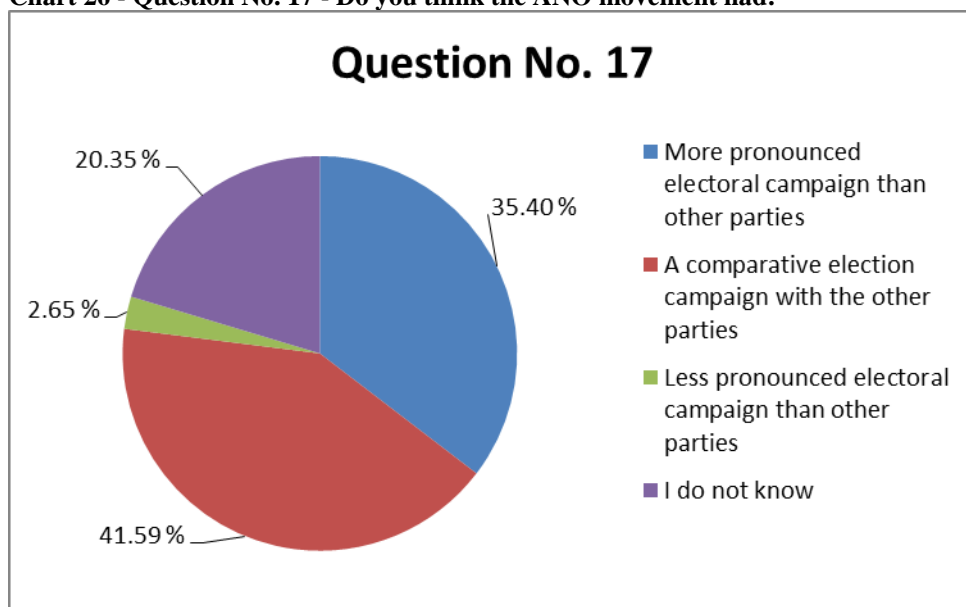
Source: own processing

Question No. 17 – Do you think the ANO movement had:

Respondents were asked to give an opinion on whether the ANO movement, according to them, had a more pronounced, less pronounced or comparative election campaign when compared with other parties. Again there was also the possibility “I do not know”.

41.59 % of respondents (47 abs.) think that the ANO movement had a comparable campaign to other parties and 35.4 % then think ANO had a more pronounced campaign than others. Only 3 participants (2.65 %) think their campaign was less pronounced. 20.35 % chose “I do not know” option.

Chart 26 - Question No. 17 - Do you think the ANO movement had:



Source: own processing

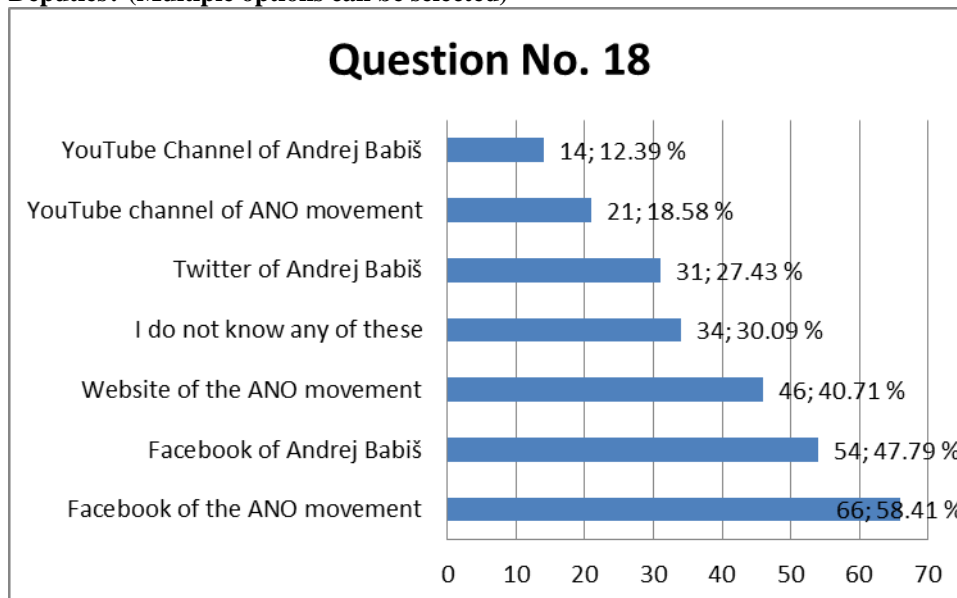
Questions No. 18 and No. 19 - Parties and politicians present themselves in different ways on the Internet. Which of the following media do you think were used in the last election to the Chamber of Deputies? Which of the following social media have you visited?

Part of the communication of ANO and Andrej Babiš are also social media. The ANO movement uses Facebook and YouTube for promotion. Andrej Babiš then uses Facebook, YouTube and also Twitter. All media were also used for promotion in the last election to the Chamber of Deputies 2017. Unlike some other political parties, the ANO movement and Andrej Babiš do not use Instagram. Question 18 is trying to find out at which of these

media respondents think were used in the 2017 elections. In the following question number 19 respondents answered which of these media they directly visited. In both questions it was possible to chose more options.

Most respondents think that for elections to the Chamber of Deputies the Facebook of the movement was used, which was chosen by 58.41 % of participants (66 abs.), followed by Andrej Babiš's Facebook, 47.79 %. On the third place is the website of the movement with 40.71 % (46 abs.). 30.09 % of respondents said they do not know any of these. Andrej Babiš's Twitter then with 27.43 %, YouTube chanel of the ANO movement 18.58 %, and the YouTube channel of Andrej Babiš was chosen the least, 12.39 % (14 abs.).

Chart 27 - Question No. 18 - Parties and politicians present themselves in different ways on the Internet. Which of the following media do you think were used in the last election to the Chamber of Deputies? (Multiple options can be selected)



Source: own processing

In table 18 below you can see the comparison of question number 18 with age. Facebook was chosen the most, it was chosen by more young respondents than older ones, 77.3 % (34 abs.) of respondents aged 18-25, less by respondents aged 36-45 (35.3 %) and the least by respondents aged 46-55 years (30 %; 6 abs). Respondents aged 26-35 years more than younger respondents chose answers: ANO website (56.7 %), both YouTube channels and Twitter of Andrej Babiš (46.7 %). The answer I do not know was chosen more by older respondents than younger ones. This answer chose only 13.6 % by respondents

aged 18-25 and 26.7 % aged 26-35, more by 36-45 years old (52.9 %) and 50 % aged 46-55.

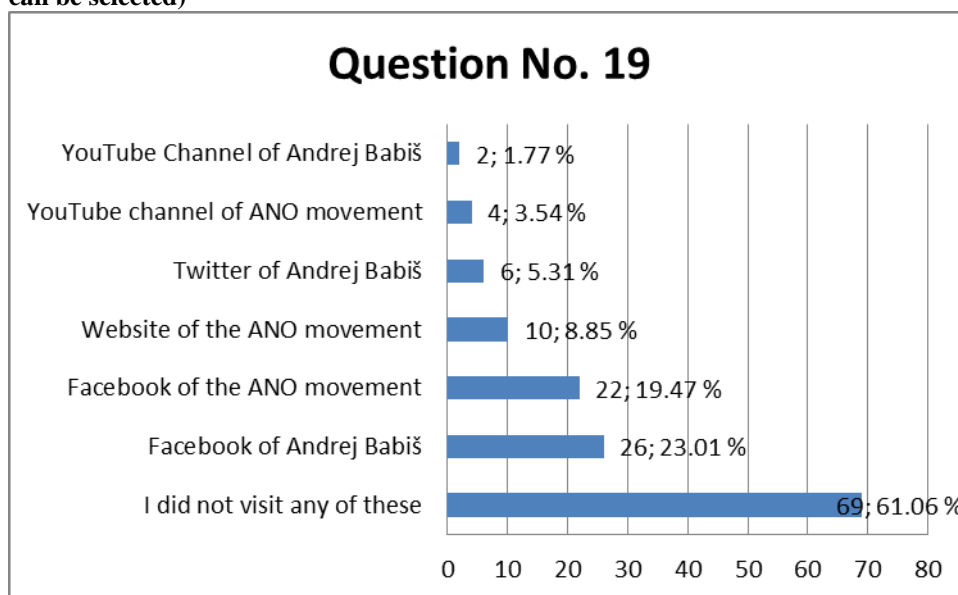
Table 18 - Comparison of the question No. 18 in regards to participants age

			25. Age			
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55
18. Which of the following media do you think were used in the last election to the Chamber of Deputies?	Website of the ANO movement	Absolute	17	17	8	3
		Relative	38.6 %	56.7 %	47.1 %	15 %
	Facebook of the ANO movement	Absolute	34	19	6	6
		Relative	77.3 %	63.3 %	35.3 %	30 %
	YouTube channel of ANO movement	Absolute	9	9	2	1
		Relative	20.5 %	30 %	11.8 %	5 %
	Facebook of Andrej Babiš	Absolute	27	16	3	7
		Relative	61.4 %	53.3 %	17.6 %	35 %
	Twitter of Andrej Babiš	Absolute	12	14	1	4
		Relative	27.3 %	46.7 %	5.9 %	20 %
	YouTube Channel of Andrej Babiš	Absolute	3	9	1	1
		Relative	6.8 %	30 %	5.9 %	5 %
	I do not know any of these	Absolute	6	8	9	10
		Relative	13.6 %	26.7 %	52.9 %	50 %

Source: own processing

Most respondents (61.06 %; 69 asb.) did not visit any of the mentioned social media. Most of the visited ones was Facebook of Andrej Babiš, which was visited by 23.01 % of respondents, and Facebook of the ANO movement, which was visited by 19.47 % of participants. The movement website was visited considerably less, only by 8.85 % of respondents (10 abs.). Same as in the previous question, these social media were in the last places: Andrej Babiš's Twitter (5.31 %), the ANO movement YouTube channel (3.54 %) and Andrej Babiš's YouTube channel, which was visited by only two respondents (1.77 %).

Chart 28 - Question No. 19 - Which of the following social media have you visited? (Multiple options can be selected)



Source: own processing

From table 19, we can find out whether the media were visited more by women or men. The men visited all the above mentioned media more than women. Facebook of the ANO movement was visited by 31 % of men versus 12.7 % of women. Likewise, Andrej Babiš's Twitter was visited by more men (11.9 %) than women (1.4 %).

Table 19 - Comparison of the question No. 19 in regards to participants gender

			24. Gender	
			Man	Woman
19. Which of the following social media have you visited?	Website of the ANO movement	Absolute	4	6
		Relative	9.5 %	8.5 %
	Facebook of the ANO movement	Absolute	13	9
		Relative	31 %	12.7 %
	YouTube channel of ANO movement	Absolute	3	1
		Relative	7.1 %	1.4 %
	Facebook of Andrej Babiš	Absolute	13	13
		Relative	31 %	18.3 %
	Twitter of Andrej Babiš	Absolute	5	1
		Relative	11.9 %	1.4 %
	YouTube Channel of Andrej Babiš	Absolute	1	1
		Relative	2.4 %	1.4 %
	I did not visit any of these	Absolute	20	49
		Relative	47.6 %	69 %

Source: own processing

In the next table, number 24, there is a closer view at the option "I did not visit any of these" by age. The least who visited from mentioned media were by respondents aged 36-45, 94.1 % of them said they did not visit any. Most of the media were visited by respondents aged 18-25, 52.3 % of them did not visit any of the mentioned media.

Table 20 - Comparison of the answer "I did not visit any of these" in regards to participants age

		25. Age			
		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55
I did not visit any of these	Absolute	23	16	16	13
	Relative	52.3 %	53.3 %	94.1 %	65 %

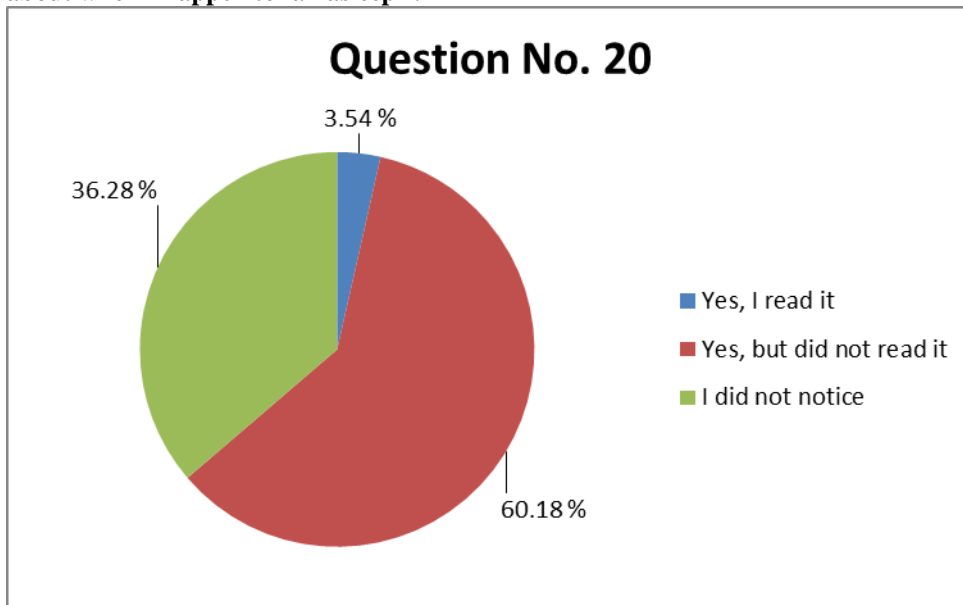
Source: own processing

Questions No. 20 and No. 21 – Did you notice that Andrej Babiš published the book “What I dream about when I happen to fall asleep”? Do you think this book is part of election marketing?

Before the election, Andrej Babiš published a book “What I dream about when I happen to fall asleep”. In question number 20, respondents answered whether they had noticed that Babiš had published the book, if they read the book, or whether if they registered it at all. In Question 21, they answered whether they think the book is part of marketing.

Only 3.54 % (4 abs.) of the respondents read the book, but quite a lot of them (60.18 %; 68 abs.) have noticed that Andrej Babiš published it. 36.28 % of participants did not notice it at all.

Chart 29 - Question No. 20 - Did you notice that Andrej Babiš published the book "What I dream about when I happen to fall asleep"?



Source: own processing

When comparing question number 20 with the question of how many respondents follow election campaigns, it can be seen that 29.4 % of respondents who are not actively searching any information noticed the book. 68.5 % who follow campaigns occasionally also noticed the book as well as 77.8 % (21 abs.) of those who follow campaigns and actively seek for information. The book read only younger respondents, two aged 18-25 and two aged 26-35.

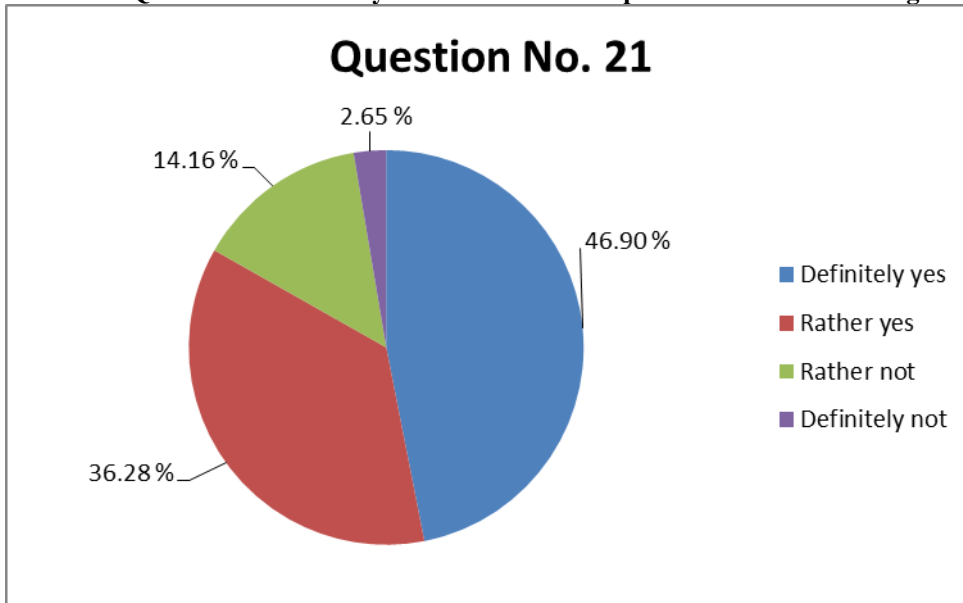
Table 21 - Comparison of the question No. 20 with the question No. 5

			5. To what extent do you follow political campaigns?			
			I follow them and actively seek for information	I follow them occasionally	I only watch who I want to vote for	I'm not actively searching anything
20. Did you notice that Andrej Babiš published the book?	Yes, I read it	Absolute	2	1	0	1
		Relative	7.4 %	1.9 %	0 %	5.9 %
	Yes, but did not read it	Absolute	21	37	5	5
		Relative	77.8 %	68.5 %	33.3 %	29.4 %
	I did not notice	Absolute	4	16	10	11
		Relative	14.8 %	29.6 %	66.7 %	64.7 %

Source: own processing

Almost half of all, 46.90 % (53 abs.) think that the book is definitely part of election marketing and 36.28 % think it rather is part of marketing. Rather not than chose 14.16 % (16 abs.) of the respondents and only 2.65 % think it is definitely not part of election marketing.

Chart 30 - Question No. 21 - Do you think this book is part of election marketing?



Source: own processing

Respondents who noticed the book and read it chose from 50 % that the book is definitely part of marketing and 50 % of them that it rather is marketing. 58.8 % (40 abs.) who noticed the book but did not read it think it definitely is part of marketing and 33.8 % (23 abs.) chose the answer “rather yes”. There are less respondents who think it is part of marketing and did not read the book, 26.8 % chose definitely yes and 39 % rather yes. 29.3 % of participants who did not read the book think it might be part of marketing and 4.9 % think it is definitely not marketing.

Table 22 - Comparison of the question No. 21 with the question No. 20

			20. Did you notice that Andrej Babiš published the book		
			Yes, I read it	Yes, but did not read it	I did not notice
21. Do you think this book is part of election marketing?	Definitely yes	Absolute	2	40	11
		Relative	50 %	58.8 %	26.8 %
	Rather yes	Absolute	2	23	16
		Relative	50 %	33.8 %	39 %
	Rather not	Absolute	0	4	12
		Relative	0 %	5.9 %	29.3 %
	Definitely not	Absolute	0	1	2
		Relative	0 %	1.5 %	4.9 %

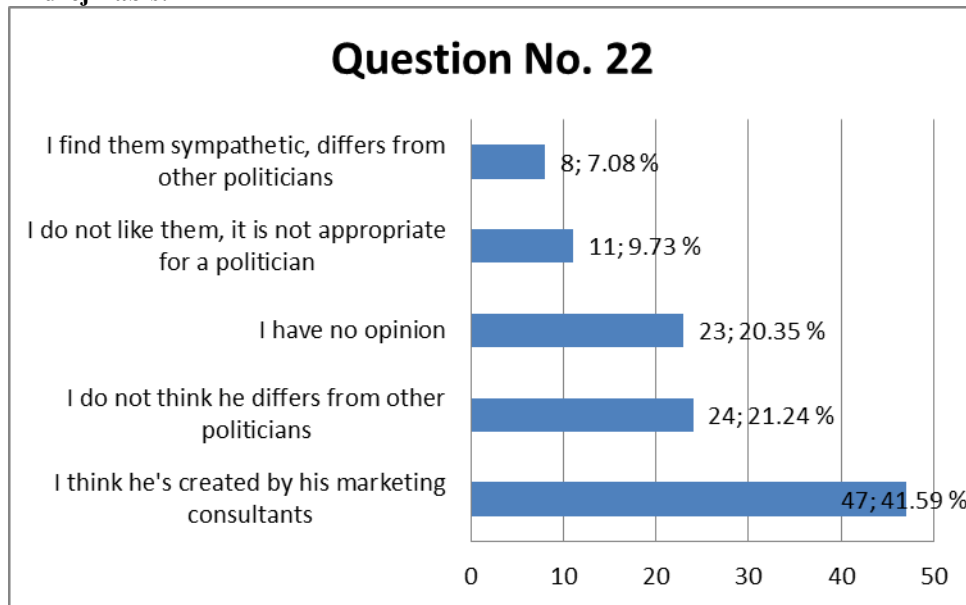
Source: own processing

Question No. 22 – Methods of public appearance (manner of expression, dressing style) of Andrej Babiš

Andrej Babiš has a different style of public appearance than is usual for many other politicians. An example can be Babiš on billboards only in shirt with no jacket and tie or his folk language, such as the well-known “*Čau lidi*” (“Hi people”). How respondents like or dislike it is trying to find out question number 22. There were five options to choose from.

41.59 % (47 abs.) of respondents think he is created by his marketing consultants, 21.24 % do not think he differs from other politicians. 23 respondents have no opinion about it. Only 8 respondents (7.08 %) find this methods sympathetic. The opposite possibility, those who do not like them and think it is not appropriate for a politicians, chose 9.73 % respondents.

Chart 31 - Question No. 22 - Methods of public appearance (manner of expression, dressing style) of Andrej Babiš:



Source: own processing

The methods of appearance of Andrej Babiš found sympathetic mostly respondents aged 36-45 years (29.4 %). 29.5 % participants aged 18-25 do not think he differs from other politicians and 38.6 % of the same group think he is created by his marketing consultants and 11.4 % think it is not appropriate for a politician. The older the respondents are, the more they think Andrej Babiš differs from other politicians.

Table 23 - Comparison of the question No. 22 in regards to participants age

			25. Age			
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55
22. Methods of public appearance of Andrej Babiš:	I find them sympathetic, differs from other politicians	Absolute	1	1	5	1
		Relative	2.3 %	3.3 %	29.4 %	5 %
	I do not like them, it is not appropriate for a politician	Absolute	5	3	0	1
		Relative	11.4 %	10 %	0 %	5 %
	I do not think he differs from other politicians	Absolute	13	6	3	2
		Relative	29.5 %	20 %	17.6 %	10 %
	I think he's created by his marketing consultants	Absolute	17	15	7	8
		Relative	38.6 %	50 %	41.2 %	40 %
	I have no opinion	Absolute	8	5	2	8
		Relative	18.2 %	16.7 %	11.8 %	40 %

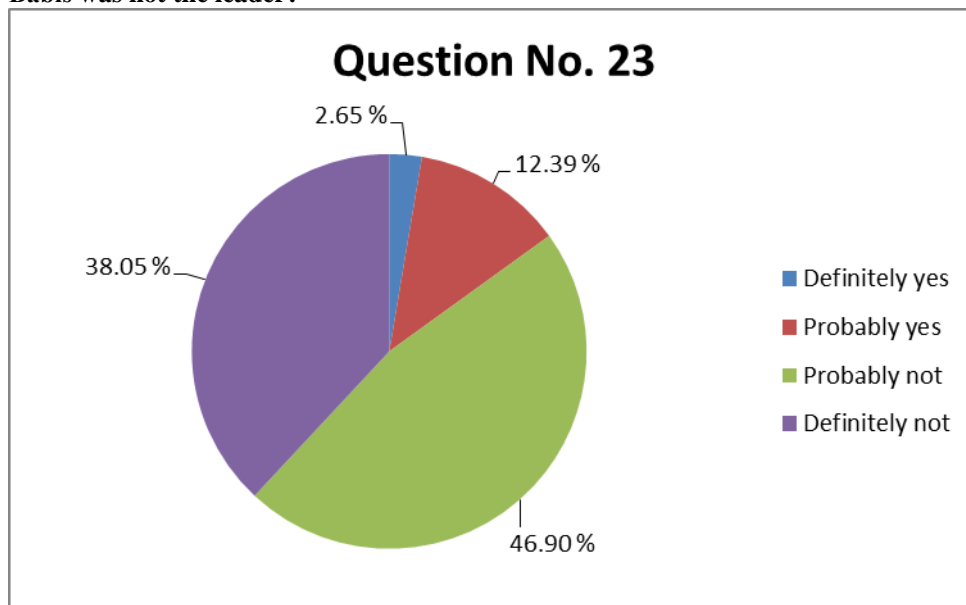
Source: own processing

Question No. 23 – Do you think the ANO movement would have such support even if Andrej Babiš was not the leader?

In the last question, respondents answer to what they think about support of the ANO movement if Andrej Babiš was not its leader. There were four options, from definitely yes to definitely not.

Most survey participants think the ANO movement would not have such support without Andrej Babiš as a leader. Definitely not chose 38.05 % (43 abs.) and rather not 46.90 % (53 abs.). 2.65 % (3 respondents) definitely think that the ANO movement would have same support even though the leader was not Andrej Babiš. 12.39 % answered “probably yes”.

Chart 32 - Question No. 23 - Do you think the ANO movement would have such support even if Andrej Babiš was not the leader?



Source: own processing

5 Results and Discussion

The aim of the questionnaire and the whole thesis was to find out the opinion of the respondents on the issue of political marketing, specifically, the campaign of the ANO movement in 2017 was chosen. The results of this research are described and analysed in the results and discussion.

Out of 113 respondents, 2/3 of women participated in the questionnaire survey. The most were represented a group of young people aged 18-25 years, half of the approached people had a university education and only one respondent had basic education. Unfortunately, despite all efforts, there were not enough participants aged 56 and over. These shortcomings are probably based on the fact that the questionnaire was not publicly available and was only distributed in person or by sharing on social networks. Although this step prevented repeated filling of the survey with one and the same person, therefore the amount of respondents lowered down. Another reason why the 56+ age group is not largely presented may be that the participants were not interested in completing the questionnaire. They often did not want to talk about politics and mention their opinions despite the fact that the questionnaire was anonymous.

The first set of questions focused on politics and political marketing in general. Immediately in the introduction, it was surveyed whether the respondents see themselves on the right or on the left wing political spectrum from 1 to 10. There was no middle value established, the values of 5 and 6 were considered to be the mean value. As expected, most of the respondents chose one of the middle choices, from other answers, the right wing side dominated above the left wing side. If we choose gender as a determinant, the distribution of responses remains comparable, but only female respondents chose extreme values of 1 and 10. In the question, whether they voted or would vote for traditional or protest parties, the answers were evenly distributed. However, in terms of age of the participants, younger and middle aged adults were inclined to vote more protest parties. In contrast the 46+ age respondents vote more traditional parties.

The following set of questions focused on political campaigns. There was a direct correlation between the interest in election campaigns and the level of education attained; the higher education attained the higher interest in election campaigns. In general, about half of all respondents were interested in them, while 1/3 of all was not interested in campaigns, and there were few respondents who were not interested at all.

Only a quarter of all surveyed follow campaigns and actively seek for information. Here as well, the interest in information seek is increasing with higher education. Only for 47 respondents (41.6 %), the election campaign is an opportunity to learn more about the party; on the contrary, 8 respondents (7 %) said they were bothered by the election campaign, and 21 people (18.6 %) think it is just unnecessary spending. For 76 people (67.2 %), a political campaign is marketing like any other. It is worth to mention that the question was multiple choices, so everyone could choose more options.

It is surprising that, although the parties are still widely using pre-election meetings for promotion in municipalities across the Czech Republic, only 6 respondents said it is a place where they obtain information about the election campaigns and parties. Others get information about election campaigns and parties on the Internet, find out what they need in traditional media or while talking with family or friends. At the same level, as the above mentioned, are social networks, especially Facebook and Twitter.

The last question from the first set of questions was again a multiple choice, where the respondent could choose up to 3 political subjects whose campaign they found interesting. Here, the Pirates, who attracted one half of respondents, prevailed. The ANO movement is on the fourth place behind the ODS. Surprisingly, although both ANO and Pirates are a protest political parties, their campaigns have attracted also many voters of traditional parties. However, given the possibility to choose more options, it is possible that they have chosen both traditional and protest parties.

The second set of questions was focused on the ANO movement in relation to the topic of this thesis.

On most promotional materials the ANO movement uses only its abbreviation, and the name in its full version is rarely seen. It may be quite surprising that, despite this, 40 % of respondents know what the abbreviation ANO means. The question is whether it would be better to have this question with an open answer. Some respondents might have thought they know the answer, or were afraid to show they do not know.

In the question about the ANO movement slogan, there were five slogans of various electoral parties. Only 30 respondents chose the right slogan "*Ted' nebo nikdy*" (Now or never). With increasing age, awareness has decreased. Quite surprisingly, the slogan "Decent Leader, Good Program, Strong Right", which is the slogan used by right-wing ODS, has been chosen by 11 respondents. The ANO movement had two significant slogans for the Parliamentary elections in 2017. These are the above-mentioned "*Ted' nebo*

nikdy" (Now or never) and "...*a neblábolit*" (... and do not babble). The first motto mentioned in the previous question is known by one third of the respondents, one third does not know the right answer, and one third of respondents chose answer "I do not know". If we compare this with whether they are actively following the election campaigns or not, it does not affect the results. The second slogan "...*a neblábolit*" (... and do not babble) was used mainly in pre-election clips and on billboards with emoticons instead of the head. Probably it is the reason that more than 50 % of all respondents met it in any form. From results it is quite clear that 91 % of the voters who follow campaigns have met the slogan. Both slogans have a rather negative effect on the respondents. Those who know "*Ted' nebo nikdy*" (Now or never) from the past find it more negative than those who met with the slogan for the first time in the questionnaire. On the contrary, 20 % of those who did not know the slogan find it positive. The motto "...*a neblábolit*" (... and do not babble) has quite similar result. Only those respondents who have not met the slogan before have not found it so negative, but 50 % of them said it impress them neutrally.

For advertising, the ANO movement used a lot of billboards with the above-mentioned slogan "...*a neblábolit*" (... and do not babble). Almost 60 % of the respondents noticed this kind of billboard, what can be considered a big success. People living in Prague noticed it the most (70 %), but even in other municipalities the answer was positive with good results, everywhere with more than 50 %. It seems that ANO had very well distributed billboards across the Czech Republic. However, it has a positive effect only to 9 respondents, while more than 60 % say it impressed them negatively. The negative answer was chosen mostly by younger respondents aged 18-25 and more by women than men.

The knowledge of the electoral program was detected in question number 13, in which were 8 options to choose from. Only two variants were wrong. The first was the introduction of military and patriotic education - this option was wrongly chosen by 4 respondents, the second wrong answer was the cancellation of the EET, which no one chose. The most chosen answer was the reduction of VAT and the reduction of the Ministers, both were chosen by more than 30 % of respondents. Almost a quarter then chose the cancellation of super gross wages. Other options have been chosen only by a few respondents. The reason may be that the first three of the above were much more publicized and repeated for example in media.

The evaluation of how interesting was the ANO election campaign, was possible to evaluate from 1 to 5 (1 - very interesting, 5 - absolutely uninteresting). Almost 40 % of all

evaluated it with mark 3. Generally, it was evaluated with rather worse marks (26 % chose 4, 24 % chose 5). Only respondents in the age group up to 35 years gave the marks 1 and 2. Specifically, the mark 1 was given by 3 respondents and mark 2 was given by 9 respondents.

Only three respondents think that the ANO movement was less promoted than the other parties, while 35 % think they had a stronger campaign.

The following questions were focused on which of the social media, according to respondents, were used for promotion before the elections and which of them they visited. These questions were again a multiple choice, but only a few respondents selected more options. ANO uses all the options offered in question 18. Not surprisingly, YouTube was selected the least. This is probably because it is not the platform on which the voter seeks for information about election campaigns or political parties. Twitter was not chosen a lot, but Andrej Babiš has many followers there. Interestingly, the ANO's Facebook and Andrej Babiš's Facebook was chosen more than the classic website of the movement. As expected, young respondents selected more Facebook, older the website. However, more than 50 % of respondents in the 36+ age group said they did not know any of the options offered. Here is the possibility that the question was misunderstood.

This was followed by a question of which of the following social media have respondents visited before. Over 60 % of them did not visit any. From the others, most visited was the Facebook of Andrej Babiš visited by 23 % of respondents (mostly by men) and Facebook of the ANO movement by 12.5 %.

In the pre-election period, Andrej Babiš published the book "What I dream about when I happen to fall asleep". This book was also billed in the costs of the election campaign. More than 60 % of the respondents registered the book, but only 4 read it. According to the ANO pages, 300,000 people read it, which means about 2.8 % in the Czech Republic, so the questionnaire result 3.5 % is quite similar. Especially those who actively follow election campaigns know about the book, but even many of those who were not interested in the campaigns know about it. More than 4/5 of all respondents said the book was part of election marketing.

The last two questions were focused directly on the icon of the ANO movement, the leader Andrej Babiš. 42 % of people think he is a person created by marketing consultants. Surprisingly, 21 % think he does not differ from other politicians. It is interesting because Andrej Babiš presents himself as a man from the people and constantly repeats that he is

not like other politicians. It is therefore a question whether he is able to create this appearance. 30 % of young respondents under 25 think Babiš does not differ from other politicians. It may be like this because the current electoral campaigns are often trying to attract more young people, look modern and attractive than it was before. Traditional electoral leaders speak literarily, wear a suit, but retreating from stiffness is beginning to be a trend. An example can be the TOP 09 icon with a punk head, or the use of hashtags.

The vast majority (85 %) of all respondents think that the ANO movement without its leader Andrej Babiš would not be as successful as it currently is. This shows his importance for the movement and that he is a really strong leader.

The results of the questionnaire survey show that the ANO election campaign is perceived rather negatively. However, it is clear that political marketing as such is very successful and well executed. According to the results, we can say that many parts of the campaign, which were examined in the questionnaire, were noticed by many respondents. An example is a billboard or Andrej Babiš's book. By the contact campaigns the ANO movement target rather to the older generation of voters, while the communication on social networks is mostly addressed to the younger. The success of the entire ANO marketing campaign is also confirmed by the results of the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2017, in which they won with big dominance.

6 Conclusion

The ANO movement, led by the leader Andrej Babiš, was created, compared to other parties, relatively recent, yet it is a good example of how well political marketing can be done. In the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2017, ANO won with a majority.

The theoretical part describes political marketing, its beginnings and the terms such as leader and campaign are briefly defined. The parties and movements that won the elections in 2017 are described to introduce the political scene in the Czech Republic. The amendment to the Act on Election Campaign and the related regulation of finance is also mentioned. Given the focus of the thesis, the ANO movement, its electoral program, and its leader are described in more detail.

The beginning of the practical part is devoted to the political campaign of ANO used in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies 2017. The social media used by them, its leader Andrej Babiš and his book are mentioned there. The questionnaire survey focused on the political marketing of the ANO movement in 2017 elections follows. The questionnaire had a total of 27 questions and was filled by 113 respondents.

According to the questionnaire, it can be said that the ANO campaign was successful. The campaign interested 22 respondents (19.5 %) and won fourth place. The most interesting election campaign was, according to respondents, from Pirates.

The ANO movement uses contact campaigns which attract rather the older population, and it uses also social networks a lot which are focused more on the younger generation. It would be advisable to focus on middle-aged respondents. From the questionnaire, it also comes out that this age category is least represented in questions focused on perception or knowledge of ANO marketing in the 2017 elections.

Despite the predominantly negative perception of the various components used by the movement in the elections, it can be said that they had successful marketing. In questions, whether respondents met or knew some of the slogans, billboard or Andrej Babiš' book, were positive responses represented by a relatively high number of respondents. Despite the overall success of the campaign, it would be appropriate to focus on its better and more positive perception by population. The use of social networks, which are nowadays an important tool for communication with the public, have also been recorded by a large number of respondents, several of them have also directly visited some. An example can be Facebook of Andrej Babiš, which was visited by 23 % of respondents. The survey shows

that leader Andrej Babiš is very important for the movement. Most respondents think that without him the movement would not have been so successful. Many participants of the survey said he is created by his marketing consultants. Mostly young respondents said that he does not differ from other politicians, but only 9.7 % of all respondents said they do not like his public appearance methods and that are not suitable for politics.

People are also aware of the influence of political marketing as such. The majority of the answers were positive for questions about whether respondents think that the performance and the appearance of Andrej Babiš or his book are parts of election marketing.

The overall success of ANO's political marketing is not only seen in the questionnaire but is also evident from the election results. The ANO movement won the election to the Chamber of Deputies in 2017 with a big majority over the other parties and is still at the top of the on-going surveys. It is therefore clear that they are also good in the use of a permanent campaign between the elections. Comparing pre-election marketing and marketing of a permanent campaign could be analysed in the next thesis.

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8 Appendix

Appendix A: questionnaire survey in Czech language

Dobrý den,

jmenuji se Boris Kolařík a jsem studentem České Zemědělské Univerzity v Praze.

Dotazník se zabývá politickým marketingem politického hnutí ANO a slouží jako podklad k vypracování mé diplomové práce.

Dotazník je anonymní a je určený všem osobám s volebním právem.

Tímto Vám děkuji za vyplnění.

1. Obecně se v politice hovoří o pravici a levici, kde se osobně vidíte Vy? (1 – extrémní levice; 10 – extrémní pravice)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2. Pokud se ohlédneme na nedávné volby, volil jste (eventuálně byste volil) tradiční strany nebo protestní strany?

Tradiční strany (například ČSSD, ODS, KDU-ČSL atd.)

Protestní strany (například ANO, SPD, Piráti atd.)

Nevolím, o politiku se nezajímám

3. Sledujete volební kampaně?

Rozhodně ano

Spíše ano

Spíše ne

Rozhodně ne

4. Kde získáváte informace k volebním kampaním?

Tradiční média (tisk, rozhlas, televize)

Internet

Sociální sítě (Facebook, Twitter...)

Při hovorech s přáteli, kolegy, rodinnými příslušníky

Předvolební meetingy a infostánky

Z volebních lístků

Nezajímám se o to

Jiné (napíšte)

5. Do jaké míry politické kampaně sledujete?

Sleduji je a aktivně vyhledávám informace

Sleduji je okrajově

Sleduji jen toho, koho chci volit

Sám nic aktivně nevyhledávám

6. Volební kampaň je pro vás:

Příležitost dozvědět se více o programu politických stran a jejich kandidátech

Je to marketing jako každý jiný, jen místo zboží/služby propaguje politické strany a osobnosti

Je to zbytečné utrácení

Obtěžuje mě sledování těchto kampaní

7. Předvolební kampaně jakých stran Vás zaujaly? (zaškrtněte maximálně 3 odpovědi)

ANO 2011

ČSSD

KDU-ČSL

KSČM

ODS

Piráti

SPD

STAN

TOP09

Jiná (napište)

Žádná mě nezaujala

8. Víte, co zkratka ANO znamená?

Ano, vím

Ne, nevím

9. Víte, s jakým sloganem šlo do voleb do Poslanecké sněmovny 2017 hnutí ANO?

Slušný lídr, dobrý program, silná pravice

Pusťte nás na ně!

Ted' nebo nikdy

Tak dost!

Můžeme...

Nevím

10. Hlavním volebním heslem pro volby do Poslanecké sněmovny 2017 na programu hnutí ANO bylo "Ted' nebo nikdy". Setkali jste se s tím v nějaké formě?

Ano

Ne

Nevím

11. Dalším volebním sloganem pro volby do Poslanecké sněmovny 2017 hnutí ANO bylo “...a neblábolit” (například “Postavit se korupci a neblábolit”). Setkali jste se s tím v nějaké formě?

Ano

Ne

Nevím

12. Jak na vás předchozí zmíněná hesla působí?

Pozitivně

Spíše pozitivně

Neutrálně

Spíše negativně

Negativně

13. Víte, s jakým volebním programem šlo hnutí ANO do voleb do Poslanecké sněmovny 2017? (Lze zaškrtnout více možností)

- Zavedení branné a vlastenecké výchovy
- Zrušení super hrubé mzdy
- Snížení DPH u některých potravin a u piva
- Sleva na pojistném pro zaměstnance
- Redukce ministrů - sloučení ministerstev
- Zrušení EET
- Uzavření vnější evropské hranice - obrana proti nelegální migraci
- Společné zdanění manželů

14. Zaznamenali jste někde následující nebo tomu podobné reklamní sdělení?



Zdroj: <https://cs-cz.facebook.com/volebni.billboardy/>

Ano

Ne

Nevím

15. Jak na vás tento billboard působí?

Pozitivně

Spíše pozitivně

Neutrálně

Spíše negativně

Negativně

16. Nakolik Vám celkově přišla zajímavá volební kampaň hnutí ANO? (1 – velice zajímavá; 5 – naprosto nezajímavá)

1 2 3 4 5

17. Myslíte si, že hnutí Ano mělo:

Výraznější volební kampaň než ostatní strany

Srovnatelnou volební kampaň s ostatními stranami

Méně výraznou volební kampaň než ostatní strany

Nevím

18. Strany a politici se na internetu prezentují různým způsobem. Které z následujících médií si myslíte, že byly využity při posledních volbách do PS? (Lze zaškrtnout více možností)

Facebook hnutí ANO

Facebook Andreje Babiše

Webové stránky hnutí ANO

Twitter Andreje Babiše

YouTube kanál hnutí ANO

YouTube kanál Andreje Babiše

Neznám žádné z uvedených

19. Které z následujících sociálních médiích jste navštívili? (Lze zaškrtnout více možností)

Facebook Andreje Babiše

Facebook hnutí ANO

Webové stránky hnutí ANO

Twitter Andreje Babiše

YouTube kanál hnutí ANO

YouTube kanál Andreje Babiše

Nenavštívil/a jsem žádné z uvedených

20. Zaznamenali jste, že Andrej Babiš vydal knihu „O čem sním, když náhodou spím“?

Ano, četl/a jsem ji

Ano, ale nečetl/a

Nezaznamenal/a jsem

21. Myslíte si, že je tato kniha součástí volebního marketingu?

Rozhodně ano

Spíše ano

Spíše ne

Rozhodně ne

22. Způsob veřejného vystupování (způsob vyjadřování, styl oblékání) Andreje Babiše:

Je mi sympatický, liší se od ostatních politiků

Nemyslím si, že by se od ostatních politiků odlišoval

Myslím si, že je vytvořen jeho marketingovými poradci

Nelíbí se mi, k politikovi se nehodí

Nemám na to názor

23. Myslíte si, že by hnutí ANO mělo takovou podporu i v případě, že by nebyl leaderem Andrej Babiš?

Rozhodně ano

Spíše ano

Spíše ne

Rozhodně ne

24. Pohlaví: Muž Žena

25. Věk: 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66 a více

26. Nejvyšší dosažené vzdělání:

Základní

Středoškolské bez maturity

Středoškolské s maturitou

Vysokoškolské

27. Bydlíte v obci o velikosti:

do 5000 obyvatel

do 20 000 obyvatel

do 100 000 obyvatel

nad 100 000 obyvatel

v Praze

Appendix B: questionnaire survey in English language

Hello,

My name is Boris Kolařík and I am a student of the Czech University of Life Sciences in Prague. The questionnaire deals with the political marketing of the ANO political movement and serves as a basis for the elaboration of my diploma theses.

The questionnaire is anonymous and is intended for Czech citizens with the right to vote.

Thank you for completing the questionnaire.

1. In general, there are right and left wing parties in politics, where do you personally see yourself? (1 - extreme left, 10 - extreme right)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2. If you look at recent elections, have you voted (or you would vote) traditional parties or protest parties?

Traditional parties (e.g. ČSSD, ODS, KDU-ČSL, etc.)

Protest parties (e.g. ANO, SPD, Pirates, etc.)

I do not vote, I do not care about politics

3. Do you follow election campaigns?

Definitely yes

Rather yes

Rather not

Definitely not

4. Where do you get information about election campaigns?

Traditional media (newspapers, radio, television)

The Internet

Social Networks (Facebook, Twitter ...)

In conversations with friends, colleagues, family members

Pre-election meetings and information tents

From ballots

I'm not interested in it

Other (write)

5. To what extent do you follow political campaigns?

I follow them and actively seek for information

I follow them occasionally

I only watch who I want to vote for

I'm not actively searching anything

6. The election campaign for you is:

An opportunity to learn more about the program of political parties and their candidates

It's marketing like any other, just instead of goods / services it promotes political parties and personalities

It's unnecessary spending

It bothers me to watch these campaigns

7. Pre-election campaigns of what parties interested you? (choose a maximum of 3 answers)

ANO 2011

CSSD

KDU-ČSL

KSČM

ODS

Pirates

SPD

STAN

TOP09

Other (write)

None of that interested me

8. Do you know what the abbreviation "ANO" means?

Yes, I know

No, I do not know

9. Do you know the slogan of the ANO movement in the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies?

Decent leader, good program, strong right

Let us take them!

Now or never

Enough!

We can ...

I do not know

10. The main electoral slogan for the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the ANO movement program was "Now or never". Have you met with it in any form?

Yes

No

I do not know

11. Another electoral slogan for the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the ANO movement was "... and do not babble" (for example, "Stand against corruption and do not babble"). Have you met with it in any form?

Yes

No

I do not know

12. How do the previous slogans impress you?

Positively

Rather positively

Neutrally

Rather negatively

Negatively

13. Do you know what election program did the ANO movement use in the 2017 elections to the Chamber of Deputies? (Multiple options can be selected)

Introduction of military and patriotic education

Cancellation of super gross wages

Reduction of VAT on certain foods and beer

Discount for insurance premiums for employees

Reduction of Ministers - ministries assembly

Cancellation of the EET

Closure of the external European border - protection against illegal migration

Joint taxation of spouses

I do not know

14. Did you notice the following or similar advertising messages?



Source: <https://cs-cz.facebook.com/volebni.billboardy/>

Yes

No

I do not know

15. How does this billboard impress you?

Positively

Rather positively

Neutrally

Rather negatively

Negatively

16. How interesting have you found the election campaign of ANO movement? (1 - very interesting, 5 - absolutely uninteresting)

1 2 3 4 5

17. Do you think the ANO movement had:

More pronounced electoral campaign than other parties

A comparative election campaign with the other parties

Less pronounced electoral campaign than other parties

I do not know

18. Parties and politicians present themselves in different ways on the Internet.

Which of the following media do you think were used in the last election to the Chamber of Deputies? (Multiple options can be selected)

Facebook of the ANO movement

Facebook of Andrej Babiš

Website of the ANO movement

Twitter of Andrej Babiš

YouTube channel of ANO movement

YouTube Channel of Andrej Babiš

I do not know any of these

19. Which of the following social media have you visited? (Multiple options can be selected)

Facebook of Andrej Babiš

Facebook of ANO movement

Website of the ANO movement

Twitter of Andrej Babiš

YouTube channel of ANO movement

YouTube Channel of Andrej Babiš

I did not visit any of these

20. Did you notice that Andrej Babiš published the book "What I dream about when I happen to fall asleep"?

Yes, I read it

Yes, but did not read it

I did not notice

21. Do you think this book is part of election marketing?

Definitely yes

Rather yes

Rather not

Definitely not

22. Methods of public appearance (manner of expression, dressing style) of Andrej

Babiš:

I find them sympathetic, differs from other politicians

I do not think he differs from other politicians

I think he's created by his marketing consultants

I do not like them, it is not appropriate for a politician

I have no opinion

23. Do you think the ANO movement would have such support even if Andrej Babiš was not the leader?

Definitely yes

Probably yes

Probably not

Definitely not

24. Gender: Male Female

25. Age: 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 66 and over

26. The highest educational attainment:

Basic

Secondary without "Maturita" exam

Secondary with "Maturita" exam

University

27. You live in a municipality of the size:

up to 5000 inhabitants

up to 20,000 inhabitants

up to 100 000 inhabitants

over 100 000 inhabitants

in Prague