

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

Module 4: Macro Report

September 10, 2012

Country: Poland
Date of Election: 9th October 2011

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Date of Preparation: 11th July 2014

NOTES TO COLLABORATORS:

- The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.
- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.
- Where brackets [] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an “X” within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]
- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1a. Type of Election

- Parliamentary/Legislative
 Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
 Presidential
 Other; please specify: _____

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?

- Upper House
 Lower House
 Both
 Other; please specify: _____

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

Platforma Obywatelska (PO)

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

Platforma Obywatelska (PO)

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
Platforma Obywatelska (PO)	10
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	3
Independent (close/affiliated to PO)	6

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

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3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

PO

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

PO

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
Platforma Obywatelska (PO)	11
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	3
Independent (close/affiliated to PO)	6

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are

considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

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4a. How many political parties received votes in the election? In this answer, we want political parties, not merely alliances or coalitions of political parties. Please include all parties that received votes, but do not include independents. Where coalitions are present, please count all member parties separately – for instance, a coalition of three parties would count as three parties in your answer, not as one party. Please provide separate information for elections held contemporaneously (e.g., legislative and presidential voting), when voters cast separate ballots.

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4b. Please provide a source of data and link to a website with official, detailed election results (votes and seats) for all parties participating in the election. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format if possible.

<http://wybory2011.pkw.gov.pl/wsw/pl/000000.html>

4c. Please list all parties who received at least 1% of the vote nationally, and the applicable electoral results for each, in the following table. Please indicate the source (even if the same as in Question 4b), and add additional rows to the table as necessary. Please provide party names both in English and in the original language, if applicable.

Source:

Party Name	Number of Votes	% of Vote	Number of Seats	% of Seats
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)	4 295 016	29.89%	157	34.1%
Polska Jest Najważniejsza (PJN)	315 393	2.19%	0	0.0%
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)	1 184 303	8.24%	27	5.9%
Ruch Palikota (RP)	1 439 490	10.02%	40	8.7%
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	1 201 628	8.36%	28	6.1%
Polska Partia Pracy - Sierpień 80	79 147	0.55%	0	0.0%
Platforma Obywatelska RP (PO)	5 629 773	39.18%	207	45.0%
Nasz Dom Polska-Samoobrona			0	
Andrzeja Leppera	9 733	0.07%		0.0%
Nowa Prawica - Janusza Korwin-Mikke	151 837	1.06%	0	0.0%
Prawica	35 169	0.24%	0	0.0%
Wyborców Mniejszość Niemiecka	28 014	0.19%	1	0.2%
Total	14 369 503	100%	460	100%

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election? Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

48.92%,

source: <http://wybory2011.pkw.gov.pl/wyn/pl/000000.html#tabs-1>

4e. Please provide the following six statistics for the country at the time of the election studied, so that we may calculate voter turnout in various ways. Some definitions, where provided, are based on those developed by International IDEA. Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

▪ **Total Population:**

37 748 288

Definition: The total population includes all inhabitants, of all ages, both citizens and non-citizens (including illegal aliens).

▪ **Total Number of Voting Age Citizens:**

30 762 931

Definition: This number is meant to approximate the eligible voting population.

▪ **Total Vote:**

15 076 705 (number of ballots given to voters at polling stations + ballots sent to voters as a postal voting method)

15 063 945 (number of ballots after opening ballot boxes)

15 050 027 (number of valid ballots – baseline for the voter turnout rate provided by Electoral Commission)

Definition: The total number of votes cast in the relevant election. Total vote includes valid and invalid votes, as well as blank votes in cases where these are separated from invalid votes.

▪ **Total Number of Invalid and Blank Votes:**

680 524 (invalid votes) +13 918 (invalid ballots)

▪ **Voting Age Population:**

31 391 900

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

▪ **Number of Registered Voters:**

30 762 931 (automatic registration hence number of registered voters equals total number of voting age citizens)

Definition: The figure represents the number of names on the voters' register at the time that the registration process closes, as reported by the electoral management body.

5. Ideological family of political parties. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. PIS	National-Populist
B. PO	Right Liberal
C. PSL	Agrarian
D. SLD	Social-Democratic
E. RP	Left Anti-clerical

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

(A) Ecology Parties

(B) Communist Parties

(C) Socialist Parties

(D) Social Democratic Parties

(E) Conservative Parties

(F) Left Liberal Parties

(G) Liberal Parties

(H) Right Liberal Parties

(I) Christian Democratic Parties

(J) National Parties

(K) Independents

(L) Agrarian Parties

(M) Ethnic Parties

(N) Regional Parties

(O) Other Parties

6a. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Left Right										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. PIS									X		
B. PO							X				
C. PSL						X					
D. SLD				X							
E. RP		X									

In Poland the Left-Right dimension is related (almost exclusively) to socio-cultural and symbolic issues. The above positioning is based on socio-cultural dimension.

6b. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on an alternative dimension, other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings of the parties on this dimension. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Name of dimension:

Label for left hand position: SOLIDARY POLAND

Label for right hand position: LIBERAL POLAND

Party Name	Solidarity							Liberal			
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. PIS				X							
B. PO								X			
C. PSL				X							
D.SLD					X						
E.RP							X				

7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)? Rank them according to their salience (1 = most salient).

1. Economic crisis and relative economic success of Poland

2. The consequences of the airplane crash at Smolensk in 2010, where the President of Poland and ninety-plus other high-ranked Polish officials lost their lives

3. Radicalism of the main opposition party (PiS) in their electoral appeal

8. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In the table below, report the leader(s) of each party. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I). If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this.

Party Name	Name of Party Leader	Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate
A. PIS	Jaroslaw Kaczynski	
B. PO	Donald Tusk	
C. PSL	Waldemar Pawlak	
D.SLD	Grzegorz Napieralski	
E.RP	Janusz Palikot	

9a. Fairness of the Election

How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

- Very impartial
- Mostly impartial
- Not very impartial
- Not impartial at all

9b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

Formal complaints were reported but Supreme Court of Poland stated that irregularities were minor and did not have any influence of election results.

9c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

9d. On what date was the election originally scheduled to be held?

9th October 2011

9e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 9d, please explain why.

9th October 2011

10a. Election Violence

To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation during the election campaign and the election day?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

- Geographically concentrated
- National

10c. Post-Election (and election-related) Violence

To what extent was there violence following the election?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10d. Post-Election (and election-related) Protest

To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

Questions about the Possibilities of Electoral Alliance

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

11. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are explicitly interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

Yes

No

Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

Yes

No

If “Yes” was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

No alliances at the time of 2011 Polish Parliamentary Elections.

Alliance Name

Participating Parties

(please indicate dominant members with an “*”)

Alliance 1:	
Alliance 2:	
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

12. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc. (please mark all applicable responses)

- Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
- Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
- Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the regulations governing independent parties; please specify: _____
- No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
- Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

13a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No

13b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

14a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes
- No

14b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other; please explain: _____

Data on Electoral Institutions

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

Electoral Tier (Segment) and House

15a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

15b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

Lower House – Sejm.

Questions about Voting

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.
1

16b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

- Candidates
- Party Lists
- Party Bloc Voting
- Other; please explain: _____

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

1

16d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

- Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)
- Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)
- Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across

different party lists as they see fit)

17. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are *transferred* from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

Yes

No

18. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

Yes

No

19. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions

Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions

Yes; Without Sanction for Violation

No

20. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

21a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

Yes

No

21b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

5% for parties, 8% for coalitions

21c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?

Percent of total votes

Percent of valid votes

Percent of the total electorate

Other; please explain: _____

21d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

Lower House

**Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier
(segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.
Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.**

Upper House – Senat.

Questions about Voting

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

1

16b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

Candidates

Party Lists

Party Bloc Voting

Other; please explain: _____

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

1

16d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)

Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)

Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

17. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are *transferred* from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

Yes

No

18. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

- Yes
- No

19. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

- Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions
- Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions
- Yes; Without Sanction for Violation
- No

20. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.
First past the post election procedure in single member districts is used.

Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

21a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

- Yes
- No

21b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

21c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?

- Percent of total votes
- Percent of valid votes
- Percent of the total electorate
- Other; please explain: _____

21d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

Lower House

Note: First past the post electoral rule is applied in the Upper House Polish Elections.

References

22. Please provide an official source for district-level election results. English language sources are especially helpful. Include website links or contact information if applicable.

<http://wybory2011.pkw.gov.pl/wsw/en/000000.html>

23. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.

<http://wybory2011.pkw.gov.pl/wsw/en/000000.html>