



Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

Module 6: Macro Report

Version: August 21, 2024

Country/Polity: Poland

Date of Election: 15 October 2023

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NOTES TO COLLABORATORS IN COMPLETING CSES MACRO REPORT

- The information provided in this report contributes to the macro data portion of the CSES, an essential component 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.
- Collaborators are advised that the CSES makes the macro reports public to the user community upon the release of the dataset.
- There are eight sections (sorted by alphabet section A-H inclusive) in this report. Please ensure that you complete **ALL** eight sections (A-H) before returning the completed report to the CSES Secretariat.
- Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports, district data) 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.
- To help collaborators complete the macro report, instructions and definitions appear in the document where necessary. Specific instructions to collaborators are highlighted in **RED** and the definitions CSES adheres to are highlighted in **BLUE**.

NOTES TO CSES DATA USERS CONSULTING PUBLISHED CSES MACRO REPORTS

CSES Macro Reports are made publicly available in the interests of transparency. Users are advised there may be instances where the macro report indicators for a polity differ from the

published macro CSES data. In these circumstances, we recommend users rely on the published CSES data, which takes precedence.

A) DATA PERTINENT TO ELECTION AT WHICH 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?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If the system is unicameral, please select "Lower House election".

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

2a. What was the president's party *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?*INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If no role of President exists, please write "N/A".*

Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – PiS)

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?*INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If no role of Prime Minister exists, please write "N/A".*

Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – PiS)

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, write "all.") Please also provide a website link to this data if possible.*DEFINITION: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.*

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – PiS)	21
*Republicans (Partia Republikańska, Republikanie)	2
*Sovereign Poland (Suwerenna Polska, SP),	2
Independent	2

* These parties were part of Law and Justice alliance in 2023 elections

Link: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Cabinet_of_Mateusz_Morawiecki

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (i.e., total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.

DEFINITION: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and have voting rights at Cabinet meetings.

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2e. Was the President *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential, male or female?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how the politician self-identifies. If there is no role of the President, please select N/A.

Male Female Other Unsure N/A

2f. Was the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election male or female?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how the politician self-identifies. If there is no role of the Prime Minister, please select N/A.

Male Female Other Unsure N/A

2g. How many female members were in the cabinet *prior* to the election?

DEFINITION: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and have voting rights at Cabinet meetings.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how many cabinet members identify as female.

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

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If no role of President exists, please select "N/A".

Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – PiS)

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

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If no role of Prime Minister exists, please select "N/A".

Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska - PO)*

*A caretaker government, headed by Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki who was appointed by President Andrzej Duda on Nov 27, was formed in the aftermath of the 2023 parliamentary election. Two weeks later, on Dec 11, Morawiecki failed to receive a vote of confidence, with 266 of the 460 MPs voting against. The four main opposition parties—Civic Coalition, Poland 2050, Polish People's Party, and The Left—stated their intent to oppose Morawiecki and instead support a government headed by Donald Tusk (Civic Platform). On Dec 12, Tusk's cabinet successfully obtained a vote of confidence with 248 of the 460 MPs voting in the affirmative. He and his cabinet were officially sworn in by president Andrzej Duda on Dec 13.

Responses to questions 3c-i reflect the compositions of Tusk's (PO) cabinet. For the composition of Morawiecki's cabinet please refer here: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_Cabinet_of_Mateusz_Morawiecki

- 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, write "all"). Please provide a website link to this data if possible.

DEFINITION: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska, PO)	11
Polish People's Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL)	4
Szymon Hołownia's Poland 2050 (Polska 2050 Szymona Hołowni, PL2050)	3
New Left (Nowa Lewica, NL:SLD + Wiosna)	4
*Polish Initiative (Inicjatywa Polska, iPL)	1
*Modern (Nowoczesna, .N)	1
Independent	3

* These parties were part of Civic Coalition alliance in 2023 elections

Link: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_Cabinet_of_Donald_Tusk

- 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.

DEFINITION: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and have voting rights at Cabinet meetings.

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- 3e. Was the President *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential, male or female?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how the politician self-identifies. If no role of President exists, please select "N/A".

Male Female Other Unsure N/A

- 3f. Was the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election male or female?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how the politician self-identifies. If no role of Prime Minister exists, please select "N/A".

Male Female Other Unsure N/A

- 3g. How many female members were in the cabinet *after* the election?

DEFINITION: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and have voting rights at Cabinet meetings.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how many cabinet members identify as female.

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3h. Were the Finance Minister, Foreign Affairs (External Affairs) Minister, and Health Minister *prior* to **(Column A)** and *after* **(Column B)** the election male or female?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how many cabinet members identify as female. Mark the box below in column A and column B respectively.

Minister	(A)		(B)	
	Officeholder <i>prior to the election</i>		Officeholder <i>after the election</i>	
Finance Minister	Male [] Other []	Female [X] Unsure []	Male [X] Other []	Female [] Unsure []
Foreign Affairs Minister	Male [X] Other []	Female [] Unsure []	Male [X] Other []	Female [] Unsure []
Health Minister	Male [] Other []	Female [X] Unsure []	Male [] Other []	Female [X] Unsure []

3i. What was the party of the Finance Minister, Foreign Affairs (External Affairs) Minister, and Health Minister both *prior* to and *after* the election?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Please specify the party holding the portfolio in the below columns. Only polities classified as parliamentary systems or semi-presidential systems where party affiliations are apparent are required to answer this question. Polities that are Full Presidential systems or where cabinet affiliation is unclear can omit and move to question 4.

Minister	(A)	(B)
	Party holding the office <i>prior to the election</i>	Party holding the office <i>after the election</i>
Finance Minister	Independent	Civic Platform (PO)
Foreign Affairs Minister	Law and Justice (PiS)	Civic Platform (PO)
Health Minister	Law and Justice (PiS)	Civic Platform (PO)

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

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Detailed results here are not required. Instead, providing an official source, preferably using the Roman/Latin script¹, where the results can be obtained is sufficient. Should the source be unavailable in the Roman/Latin alphabet (e.g., the source data is only available in scripts such as Cyrillic, Chinese, Arabic, or Japanese, etc...), the CSES Secretariat may require your assistance in collecting the official election results and the district data.

<https://sejmsenat2023.pkw.gov.pl/sejmsenat2023/en/sejm/wynik/pl>

¹ By this we mean scripts that use the letters A, B, C etc...

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

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Detailed results here is not required. Instead, providing an official source, preferably using the Roman/Latin script¹, where the results can be obtained, is sufficient. Should the source be unavailable in the Roman/Latin alphabet (e.g., the source data is only available in scripts such as Cyrillic, Chinese, Arabic, or Japanese, etc....), the CSES Secretariat may require your assistance in collecting the official election results and the district data.

<https://sejmsenat2023.pkw.gov.pl/sejmsenat2023/en/sejm/wynik/pl>

4c. Can voters cast a ballot before Election Day(s)? (i.e., Is early voting possible)?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

Available for people with disabilities and elderly citizens

No _____

4d. Can voters cast a ballot by mail?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

Available for people with disabilities and elderly citizens

No _____

4e. Can voters cast a ballot by the Internet?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

No _____

B) COLLABORATOR EXPERT CLASSIFICATIONS: PARTY POSITIONS

5a. Ideological family of political parties: Please indicate the ideological party family for each party by using the numbered categories below. For this question, please use the same parties used in the CSES Module 6 respondent questionnaire.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Up to 9 parties can be classified for each polity. Please provide scores for the first nine parties achieving 1% of the national popular vote. Regarding labeling the parties alphabetically, Parties A-F are the six most popular parties/coalitions, ordered in descending order of their share of the popular vote in the parliamentary (or Presidential) election. Thus, Party A is the party/coalition that received the most votes in the election, Party B is the second most votes, and so on. Parties G, H, and I are supplemental parties. They may, but do not have to, accord with how parties A-F are ordered, that is ordered on the popular share of the vote in a polity.

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS)	9
B. Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska, PO)	6
C. Polish People's Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL)	11
D. Szymon Hołownia's Poland 2050 (Polska 2050 Szymona Hołowni, PL2050)	8
E. Confederation Liberty and Independence Confederation (Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość (Konfederacja)	10
F. New Left (Nowa Lewica, NL:SLD + Wiosna)	4, 5
G. Left Together (Lewica Razem, Razem)	3
H. Sovereign Poland (Suwerenna Polska, SP)	10, 9

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.)

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Ecology Parties | (6) Liberal Parties | (11) Agrarian Parties |
| (2) Communist Parties | (7) Right Liberal Parties | (12) Ethnic Parties |
| (3) Socialist Parties | (8) Christian Democratic Parties | (13) Regional Parties |
| (4) Social Democratic Parties | (9) Conservative Parties | (14) Independents |
| (5) Left Liberal Parties | (10) National Parties | (15) Others |

5b: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? 10

6a. Ideological Positions of Parties: Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator(s)). Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 6 respondent questionnaire.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Up to 9 parties can be classified for each polity. Please provide scores for the first nine parties achieving 1% of the national popular vote. Regarding labeling the parties alphabetically, Parties A-F are the six most popular parties/coalitions, ordered in descending order of their share of the popular vote in the parliamentary (or Presidential) election. Thus, Party A is the party/coalition that received the most votes in the election, Party B is the second most votes, and so on. Parties G, H, and I are supplemental parties. They may, but do not have to, according to how parties A are ordered, that is, ordered on the popular share of the vote in a polity.

Party Name	Left										Right
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS)									x		
B. Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska, PO)						x					
C. Polish People's Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL)								x			
D. Szymon Hołownia's Poland 2050 (Polska 2050 Szymona Hołowni, PL2050)							x				
E. Confederation Liberty and Independence Confederation (Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość (Konfederacja))										x	
F.. New Left (Nowa Lewica, NL:SLD + Wiosna)			x								
G. Left Together (Lewica Razem, Razem)		x									
H. Sovereign Poland (Suwerenna Polska, SP)										x	

6a2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? 10

6a3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

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 6 respondent questionnaire.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If not asked, please move to question 6c.

If asked, up to 9 parties can be classified for each polity. Please provide scores for the first nine parties achieving 1% of the national popular vote. Regarding labeling the parties alphabetically, Parties A-F are the six most popular parties/coalitions, ordered in descending order of their share of the popular vote in the parliamentary (or Presidential) election. Thus, Party A is the party/coalition that received the most votes in the election; Party B is the second most votes, and so on. Parties G, H, and I are supplemental parties. They may, but do not have to, according to how parties A are ordered, that is, ordered on the popular share of the vote in a polity.

Name of dimension: _____

Label for 0 position: _____

Label for 10 position: _____

Party Name	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	A.										
B.											
C.											
D.											
E.											
F.											
G.											
H.											
I.											

6b2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? _____

6b3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

6c. Populist classification of parties: Please indicate the degree to which each of the parties (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator) can be characterized as a populist party? Please use the same parties used in the CSES Module 6 respondent questionnaire and label them the same way (A-I).

DEFINITION: Populism can be defined as a thin-centered ideology that pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous ‘others’ which are depicted as depriving “the people” of their rights, values, prosperity, identity, and voice. The emphasis on anti-elite/ anti-establishment rhetoric and the contrast between the “pure people” and the “corrupt elite” are thus indications of the degree to which a party is populist. Populist parties can be found across the left-right ideological spectrum. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “not at all populist” and 10 is “very populist”, where would you place each of the parties in your country?.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): up to 9 parties can be classified for each polity. Please provide scores for the first nine parties achieving 1% of the national popular vote. Regarding labeling the parties alphabetically, Parties A-F are the six most popular parties/coalitions, ordered in descending order of their share of the popular vote in the parliamentary (or Presidential) election. Thus, Party A is the party/coalition that received the most votes in the election; Party B is the second most votes, and so on. Parties G, H, and I are supplemental parties. They may, but do not have to, according to how parties A are ordered, that is, ordered on the popular share of the vote in a polity.

Party Name	Not at all populist						Very Populist				
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS)									x		
B. Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska, PO)						x					
C. Polish People’s Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL)						x					
D.. Szymon Hołownia's Poland 2050 (Polska 2050 Szymona Hołowni, PL2050)					x						
E. Confederation Liberty and Independence Confederation (Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość (Konfederacja)							x				
F. New Left (Nowa Lewica, NL:SLD + Wiosna)						x					
G. Left Together (Lewica Razem, Razem)							x				
H. Sovereign Poland (Suwerenna Polska, SP)										x	

6b2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? 10

6b3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

C) SALIENT ISSUES IN THE ELECTION

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)?
Note: Please rank the issues according to their salience (1 = most salient).

1. Erosion of Constitutional Democracy and Rule of Law

The campaign was framed as a struggle for the preservation of constitutional democracy in Poland, with the ruling Law and Justice (PiS) party accused of undermining democratic norms and the rule of law. Key violations including the undermining of judicial independence and the politicization of key state institutions, were pivotal in mobilizing opposition support. Large-scale protests, notably the "Great March for Democracy" on June 4, 2023 underscored widespread concerns about democratic backsliding and influenced public opinion leading up to the elections.

2. Misuse of State Resources and Media Bias

The PiS party's use of state resources for campaigning was a major issue. The party's control over state media led to accusations of biased media coverage, which favored PiS messaging and undermined opposition platforms. The overlap between government-led information campaigns and PiS's electoral messaging skewed the playing field, granting PiS an undue advantage. This influenced voter perception, particularly in rural areas and among older voters who were less likely to engage with independent media.

3. Polarizing Campaign and Divisive Rhetoric

The electoral campaign in 2023 was notably polarized, with heightened emotional and ideological divisions between the ruling PiS party and the opposition. Issues such as abortion rights, LGBTQ+ rights, and media freedoms were key flashpoints. The PiS's rhetoric targeted opposition leaders and framed the election as a fight for the nation's moral and cultural values. This divisive approach both motivated PiS supporters and galvanized opposition groups, particularly younger and more liberal voters. The LGBTIQ-free zones and the abortion ruling served as a rallying point for protests and as significant issues during the campaign.

4. Economic Challenges and Social Inequality

While the PiS implemented a range of social welfare programs, the economic situation in Poland, especially rising inflation and its disproportionate impact on certain demographic groups (e.g., pensioners and rural populations), contributed to significant discontent. The inflation rate had reached a peak of 18.4%, which impacted the purchasing power of Polish citizens. Moreover, growing social inequality, including pension disparities, became a key issue for those negatively affected by economic policies. Despite economic growth, the inability to address these disparities led to the perception that the government was not adequately supporting vulnerable populations.

5. Geopolitical Context and Refugee Crisis

The geopolitical context, particularly Poland's role as a frontline state in the Ukraine war and its support for Ukrainian refugees, was a significant issue during the election. Poland hosted millions of Ukrainian refugees, which influenced domestic policies and public sentiment. The PiS government's handling of this crisis, including its decision to accept refugees, was both praised and criticized. While some saw this as a humanitarian success, others viewed it as a strain on Poland's resources. Additionally, PiS's continued confrontations with the European Union over issues related to rule of law and democratic standards negatively impacted Poland's international standing.

D) FAIRNESS OF THE ELECTION & ELECTION SCHEDULING

8a. How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

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

“The NEC is a permanent decision-making and supervisory body responsible for the overall conduct of elections and referendums. These are the first parliamentary elections under the new composition of the NEC consisting of two judges appointed for nine years (nominated by the Constitutional Tribunal and the Supreme Administrative Court) and seven members appointed for a four-year term by political parties in proportion to their representation in the Sejm. The election administration generally enjoyed the trust of most ODIHR IEOM interlocutors. However, some raised questions about their impartiality in view of the more political composition of the NEC and changes to the appointment criteria of CECs.” - <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/2/4/555048.pdf>

8b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
 No

“In connection with the elections to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland and the Senate of the Republic of Poland held on October 15, 2023, a total of 1,177 cases arising from the submission of protests against the validity of the elections were registered in the NSW register maintained at the Supreme Court for electoral matters. The Supreme Court, with regard to 14 electoral protests, expressed the opinion that the allegations were valid but concluded that they had no impact on the election results. In relation to 11 protests, the Court found the allegations to be unfounded. In two cases, the proceedings were discontinued. The remaining protests were left without further action due to failure to meet formal requirements, [...]” - translation of the excerpt from the Resolution of the Supreme Court of January 11, 2024, on the validity of the elections to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland and the Senate of the Republic of Poland held on October 15, 2023. <https://www.sn.pl/sites/orzecznictwo/Orzeczenia3/I%20NSW%201237-23.pdf>

8c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
 No
 No international election observers

“The joint observation mission from the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA) and Council of Europe’s Parliamentary Assembly (PACE), found that the legal framework provided a sufficient basis to hold democratic elections. While recent legal amendments incorporated some previous recommendations made by ODIHR, their adoption occurred shortly before the elections and without meaningful public consultation. [...] While the elections in Poland were competitive, we noted the erosion of checks and balances to gain further control over state institutions by the governing party, including the courts and the public media,” said OSCE PA head of delegation Pere Joan Pons. “This tilted the playing field, which meant the opposition did not have fully equal opportunities.” - <https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/poland/555072>

8d. On what date was the election originally legally scheduled to be held?

15 October 2023

8e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 8d, please explain why.

15 October 2023

E) ELECTION VIOLENCE

9a. To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation **during** the election campaign and on 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

9b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

- N/A: No violence at all
- Geographically concentrated
- National

9c. 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

9d. To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

F) ELECTORAL ALLIANCES & CANDIDATES

10a. There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are specifically 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?

DEFINITION: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together.

Yes

No

10b. Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

Yes

No

10c. 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.

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an “**”)
KKW TRZECIA DROGA PSL- PL2050 SZYMONA HOŁOWNI	Szymon Hołownia's Poland 2050 (Polska 2050 Szymona Hołowni, PL2050) + Polish People's Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL)
KW NOWA LEWICA	New Left* (Nowa Lewica, NL) + Left Together (Lewica Razem, Razem)
KKW KOALICJA OBYWATELSKA PO .N IPL ZIELONI	Civic Platform* (Platforma Obywatelska, PO) + Modern (Nowoczesna, .N) + Polish Initiative (Inicjatywa Polska, iPL) + Greens (Zieloni)
KW PRAWO I SPRAWIEDLIWOŚĆ	Law and Justice* (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS) + Sovereign Poland (Suwerenna Polska, SP) + Republicans (Partia Republikańska, Republikanie) + Kukiz'15 (Kukiz'15, K'15)
KW KONFEDERACJA WOLNOŚĆ I NIEPODLEGŁOŚĆ	New Hope* (Nowa Nadzieja, NN) + National Movement (Ruch Narodowy, RN) + Confederation of the Polish Crown (Konfederacja Korony Polskiej, KKP)

11. 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

12a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

DEFINITION: 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.

- Yes
- No

12b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

DEFINITION: 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.

- 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
- No apparentement

13a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes
- No

13b. 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: _____

G) ELECTORAL INSTITUTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If possible, please supplement answers to questions 14-25 inclusive by submitting copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials in the deposit of your CSES data to the CSES Secretariat.

14a. Have there been any electoral rule changes (e.g., electoral system changes, number of seats contested, number of districts, candidate nomination rules, etc...) in the polity in the preceding 5 years?

Yes

No

14b. If the answer to q14a was YES, please state below what changes occurred?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): In explaining, please attach any documents/sources that may help explain the change(s).

Some of the key changes introduced by the Act of 26 January 2023 amending the Electoral Code and certain other acts (Ustawa z dnia 26 stycznia 2023 r. o zmianie ustawy - Kodeks wyborczy oraz niektórych innych ustaw): increased number of polling stations (due to lowering the limit required to form a constituency, to 200 from 500 inhabitants), free transportation to polling stations in rural areas where public transport is not available, and replacement of the local, municipality-managed voter rolls with a Central Voter Register, overseen by the Ministry of Digital Affairs.

<https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20230000497/T/D20230497L.pdf>

Electoral Tiers (Segments)

DEFINITION: CSES takes a generalized approach to classifying electoral tiers. Many electoral systems (both plurality and proportional operate a single-tier system where all elected representatives within the polity are elected in the same way (e.g., of systems that accord to this general principle are the United Kingdom, Canada, Ireland, or the Netherlands). There are conventionally two tiers of representatives in mixed systems (e.g., of systems like this include Germany and New Zealand, which elect representatives in two distinct ways – one set elected via constituency mandates and the other through list mandates). Even purely proportional systems can have multiple tiers. These can be delineated in various ways. For example, representatives elected through different list procedures, like in South Africa, where representatives can be elected via regional and national lists. Alternatively, the tiers may delineate compensatory seats, distributed to achieve a proportional outcome at the national level. For example, in polities like Norway and Sweden, the compensatory seat allocations are conventionally considered separate tiers even though electors don't cast separate ballots for these segments.

15a. For lower house elections, how many electoral tiers operate?

One tier

Two tiers

Three tiers

Other; please explain: _____

15b. For lower house elections, if more than one electoral tier operates in the polity (see answer to q15a above), please specify the different tiers, and the maximum number of seats awarded (if applicable) at each tier?

Tier name	Maximum number of seats awarded

15c. For upper house elections, how many electoral tiers operate?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Only required to answer this question if the election under study is an upper house election or has an upper house election taking place simultaneously with a lower house and/or presidential election.

- One tier
 Two tiers
 Three tiers
 Other; please explain: _____

15d. For upper house elections, if more than one electoral tier operates in the polity (see answer to q15c), please specify the different tiers, and the maximum number of seats awarded (if applicable) at each tier?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Only required to answer this question if the election under study is an upper house election or has an upper house election taking place simultaneously with a lower house and/or presidential election.

Tier	Maximum number of seats awarded

Voting procedures

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): The voting procedure questions are asked of each electoral tier in the system (see the answer to Question 15 above). Hence, questions Q16a-Q20d and Q21a-25d are identical, but the answers should relate to the procedures operated at different tiers.

Questions Q16a-Q20d should be completed by polities with one electoral tier only or by polities with multiple electoral tiers, with the answers to questions Q16a-Q20d referring to tier 1 in that polities' multi-tier system.

Questions Q21a-Q25d need only be completed by polities that operate multiple election tiers, with the answers to questions Q21a-Q25d referring to tier 2 in that polities' multi-tier system. For those few polities with more than two tiers (e.g., Greece), we request that collaborators in answering Q21a-Q25d specify the answers for both tiers 2 and 3, clarifying which answers refer to tier 2 and tier 3, respectively.

For polities who have only one tier or tier 1 for multi-tier polities

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATORS: Questions Q16a-Q20d should be completed by polities with one electoral tier only or by polities who have multiple electoral tiers with the answers to questions Q16a-Q20d referring to tier 1 in that polities' multi-tier system.

Lower House Elections

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast?

1

16b. Do voters vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists, or some other variant?

(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

Candidates and Party Lists → open-list proportional representation

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

N/A – only one vote cast

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

20a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

- Yes
 No

20b. If YES in Question 20a, what is the threshold? Please supply all potential thresholds. Also, in multi-tier systems, please specify at which tier the thresholds operate. 5% for single parties and 8% for coalitions; at the national level, for the Lower House (Sejm)

20c. If YES in Question 20a and the threshold relates to a percentage of the vote a party needs to obtain to win seats, what is the unit for this threshold?

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

For polities with more than one tier only – please provide answers related to tier 2 & 3 here.

For polities that operate only one tier, the Collaborator can skip questions Q21a-Q25d and go straight to Q26.

Questions Q21a-Q25d (below) need only be completed by polities who operate MULTIPLE election tiers, with the answers to questions Q21a-Q25d referring to tier 2 in that polities' multi-tier system. For those few polities with more than two tiers (e.g., Greece), we request that collaborators in answering Q21a-Q25d specify the answers for both tiers 2 and 3, clarifying which refers to tier 2 and tier 3, respectively.

Upper House Elections (Senat)

21a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast?

1

21b. Do voters vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists, or some other variant?

(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 → first-past-the-post, single-member districts

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

21c. How many rounds of voting are there?

1

21d. 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)
- N/A

22. Are the votes transferable?

(DEFINITION: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. For example, 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

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

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

- Yes
- No
- N/A – only one vote cast

24. 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

25a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?
 Yes
 No

25b. If YES in Question 25a, what is the threshold? Please supply all potential thresholds. Also, in multi-tier systems, please specify at which tier the thresholds operate.

25c. If YES in Question 25a and the threshold relates to a percentage of the vote a party needs to obtain to win seats, what is the unit for this threshold?
 Percent of total votes
 Percent of valid votes
 Percent of the total electorate
 Other; please explain: _____

H) References

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

INTERNATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION, Republic of Poland, Parliamentary Elections, 15 October 2023, STATEMENT OF PRELIMINARY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS; <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/2/4/555048.pdf>

Resolution of the Supreme Court of January 11, 2024, on the validity of the elections to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland and the Senate of the Republic of Poland held on October 15, 2023. <https://www.sn.pl/sites/orzecznictwo/Orzeczenia3/I%20NSW%201237-23.pdf>

Markowski, R. (2024). The Polish election of 2023: mobilisation in defence of liberal democracy. *West European Politics*, 47(7), 1670–1685. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2024.2346436>