Polish Political Science Yearbook vol. 45 (2016), pp. 205–218
DOI: 10.15804/ppsy2016016 PL ISSN 0208-7375

Krystyna Leszczyńska
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin (Poland)

The 2015 Elections to the Senate of the Republic of Poland

Abstract: The discussion about justification for the very existence of Senate, as it was the case in previous years, also took place prior to the 2015 parliamentary elections. Postulates for the second chamber of parliament to be abolished are the inseparable element of election campaigns in Poland. Announcements of total abolishment or change of: form, competencies or number and the election principles for members of Senate, although they found their expression in the 2015 election programs of some of the political parties, but they were never applied after elections. The single member Senate constituencies secured seats almost exclusively for candidates supported by one of the two strongest political parties, that is the Law and Justice (PiS) and the Civic Platform (PO). Even if in the result of 25 October 2015 elections four independent candidates were elected for senators, three of them used support of political parties, using a rule well proven four years earlier: there is not senator without a political party protector. The 40% support for PiS which turned into 61% of seats indicates that the election system for Senate leads to overrepresentation of election winners.

Keywords: *Senate; election campaign; single member constituencies; deformation of election result; overrepresentation of the winning party*

Introduction

The analysis of the 2015 Senate election campaign aims at verification of two hypotheses. First of the assumes that the announcements of abolishment or change of Senate's character are solely an element of pre-election strategy and in those categories we may perceive the votes that negate the justification for its very existence. The other is: the single member constituencies for Senate elections support the strongest

parties and lead to overrepresentation of election winner. The main research method applied in the work was the analysis: of election programs of election committees, election results for respective election committees and the media material containing statements of politicians.

The Senate in Electoral Programs[1]

The discussion pertaining the justification of the existence of Senate, the need to optimize its position in the system and the scope of competencies is present, with different intensity, ever since its restoration in 1989. Each election campaign to the Polish parliament brings about the polarization of positions regarding the very existence of second chamber of parliament (Bisztyga, Zientarski, 2014, pp. 272; Leszczyńska, 2015, pp. 71–129).

Prior to 2015 elections the total abolishment of Senate was supported by The United Left (ZL). The election program of this coalition of SLD+TR+PPS+UP+Green Party did not foresee the abolishment of Senate (The United Left SLD+TR+PPS+UP+Zieloni Election Program, 2015, p.48). But its leader Barbara Nowacka – according to the position of her own political formation – spoke for abolishment of this chamber of parliament (Nowacka, 2015). "The Senate is one of the curiosities of Polish system and Polish politics. This institution is completely useless" – as the leader of Your Movement convinced us. The political superior of B. Nowacka indicated, that the idea of single chamber parliament was always present in the program of the party he led (Palikot, 2015, p. 50). During the 2015 election campaign also the activists of Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) expressed their support for abolishment of Senate. Stanisław Wziątek, MP of the Alliance stated that the Senate in its current form is not worth financing, as its actions concentrate mainly on introduction of amendments to bills that are editorial and not substantial (Fabisiak, 2015). It is to be mentioned, that prior to the 2014 local elections the SLD argued that if the Senate "can't be abolished we have to try to repair it" (Local government leaders to the Senate! Material of the "SLD Left Together" Coalition Election Committee, 2014). The justification for further functioning of Senate in the current form was also questioned by Waldebar Witkowski, leader of the Labour United (UP). This politician stated, that the Senate shall be either abolished or transferred into a local government chamber, made of representatives of economic and local area governments (Witkowski, 2015). The

[1] The search returned not just election programs of political groups, but also speeches of politicians concerning the Senate that were presented in the media prior to parliamentary elections of 2015.

Razem [Together] party presented a brief postulate of limitation of cadencies of senators (Together another policy is possible. Election program, 2015, p.4). The newly created Nowoczesna [Modern] party stated it was for the abolishment of the second chamber of parliament (New Poland now. Modern – directions for changes, 2015, p. 11). Senate should be the guardian of quality of law, and it is not the case – argued the activist Joanna Szmidt (Szmidt, 2015).

What is symptomatic for the case, the political formations which were for abolishment of Senate during the 2015 electoral campaign, also run for Senate. PiS expressed their decisive veto against abolishment of Senate. "Our tradition, for ages now, was a parliament of two chambers. Apart from that the way the bills are passed has already proven, on numerous occasions, that if there was no Senate, the number of legislative 'lemons' would be even greater than it is". (Fabisiak, 2015) – as Elżbieta Witek said in support of their party's view. The July 2015 PiS and United Right program convent did not devote much of their attention to Senate. Still the proposal of change that emerged back then was essential. It envisaged the limitation of the role of Senate in the national referendum procedure in issues "of particular importance for the state". It was reasoned that the popular vote, as defined by art. 125 of the 2 April 1997 Constitution, that up to this date was ordered by Sejm or the President, with support of Senate, could exclusively be ordered by the President, after getting an opinion from the Senate (Thinking Poland – The Program Convention of Law and Justice and United Right, 2015, p. 48). The idea of PiS would thus be connected with the second chamber of parliament losing one of its essential prerogatives, that is the competence of finally accept the procedural actions connected with conduction of a referendum on a date and in a form set by the President, or to deny starting them (Garlicki, 2000, p. 8–10). The concept of changing the "acceptance" to "opinion" expressed the undisputed tendency of PiS for forcing the advantage of executive branch over the legislative one.

Prior to the 2015 parliamentary elections PO supported the introduction of mixed Senate elections system, that would join the advantages of single member constituencies and the proportional award of mandates. "The experience of our European neighbors show – as Ewa Kopacz justified that the application of such system is both possible and beneficial for supporting parliamentary democracy" (Future Poland – Program of the Civic Platform,2015, p. 84).

Taking into account that the single member constituencies for Senate were only introduced in Polish legislation in 2011, and that by the PO government with support of the Polish People's Party (PSL) and Poland Comes First (PJN), we can't stop having the impression that the politicians – independent from their political affiliation – are most willing to propose solutions that are beneficial for themselves

or such that would meet the expectations of their electorate. As an example – in time of strong political tensions started by the "Rywin affair" the Platform introduced the proposal of abolishment of Senate through a constitutional referendum on citizen's initiative (Tusk, 2005, pp. 14–19). Once the party led in election polls, it would benefit more from single member Senate constituencies. Drop of support for PO in polls was concurrent with the conception of mixed election system for that chamber of parliament. And the People's Party – supporters of transition of Senate into Local Government Chamber declared, during the 2015 campaign that "PSL members will run for the mandates of senators" (Close to human issues – PSL election declaration. Parliamentary elections, 2015, p. 6).

According to the KORWiN[2] party (Proud and rich Poland. Program of the KORWiN Party. The Freedom and Hope Coalition for the Renewal of the Republic, 2015, pp. 8–9) the Senate should become the most important legislative organ. The Senators were to be elected in constituencies in form of a Land, two from each every six years. Each of the Lands was to hold Senate elections every three years. It was also postulated for the Senate to become an institution that states: state of war, or declares it, declares peace, accepts the foreign policy directions proposed by the government. In the concept of KORWiN party we may see tendencies towards the reinstatement of the form of Old-Polish Senate: the Senators being elected from the so called Lands and participating in the shaping of foreign policy (Grzybowski, 1993, pp. 60–62).

Michał Pilc from the Kukiz'15[3] movement indicated the need for change of form of the second chamber of parliament. The Senate – as the equivalent of the former Royal Council should be an advisory body for the Sejm and President, that would form a protection from legislative errors. Such a Senate should be formed of former: presidents, prime ministers, judges of the Constitutional Court and the State Tribunal, and the representatives of local governments (Pilc, 2015). Unfortunately M. Pilc failed to describe in detail how an exclusively advisory body could be the cure for Polish legal system? And the appeal of prof. Witolda Kieżuna, known economist, to the supporters of the Kukiz'15 movement during the "Potrafisz Polsko!" ["Poland, You can!"] Convent in Warsaw the idea of limitation of the number of senators appeared (Kieżun, 2015).

---

[2] Conservative-liberal and Eurosceptic political party created in 2015 by some of the members of the Congress of New Right concentrated Janusz Korwin-Mikke.

[3] A voters' election committee initiated by Paweł Kukiz for the parliamentary elections of 2015. Afterwards a MP club in the Sejm of 8th term and an association forming the structures for the movement.

Election committees

The National Electoral Commission (PKW) within the date set by the head of state (Regulation of the President of the Republic of Poland…, Dz. U. 2015, item 1017) accepted the notifications of creation of 115 electoral committees (88 voter's committees, 25 committees of political parties and 2 committees of coalitions of parties) of which 91 registered candidates for Senate. Neither of the committees created registered candidates for all constituencies, and only three of them registered candidates for over half of them (Proclamation of National Electoral Commission…, Dz. U. 2015, item 1732). Two political parties were most effective. PiS registered 98 candidates and the PO 83. In constituencies there were no official candidates registered by PiS there were persons running for Senate with recommendation of that political formation. PSL representatives run for Senate in 58 constituencies, and the representatives of the United Left Coalition Election Committee SLD+TR+PPS+UP+Green in as few as 31 constituencies. In comparison to that the Alliance run for Senate in 68 constituencies in 2011 (Proclamation of National Electoral Commission…, 2011, Dz. U. Nr 218, item 1295). The representation of the remaining election committees political parties was 52 candidates in total.

Among the voter's submitted committees single candidate committees were predominant with 62 of such registered in 2015. The representation of 17 committees of political parties and coalitions made of 322 persons (76.1%) outnumbered over threefold the representatives of 88 voter's committees that had 101 candidates (23.9%) in total. PKW registered 423 senatorial candidates: 365 men (86.29%) and only 58 women (13.71%). The most women candidates were submitted by PiS – 13 out of 98 candidates and PSL – with 10 out of 57. The KORWiN party – using the lack of mechanism for equalization of opportunities of women and men in Senate elections – did not submit a single candidature of woman running for Senate. The lack of women candidates for Senate from this party forms a perfect illustration of rhetoric of Janusz Korwin-Mikke, saying that "women usually prefer to care for home and children" (Korwin-Mikke, 2009) and it is exactly why "they should not hold voting rights" (Korwin-Mikke, 2010). In 57 out of 100 Senate constituencies the voters had no chance to vote for a female candidate (Chełstowska and contributors, 2015, p. 13). In two constituencies (number 44 and 54) there were exclusively female candidates registered. Even if this fact was a result of coincidence rather than planned action, it is still worth stressing.

In 2015 Senate elections there were from two to eight candidates for each seat. In the constituencies where only two candidates were registered the campaign was between: PiS and PO (on four occasions); PiS and PSL (twice); and once: PO

and an independent candidate of the United Right (among others PiS and Poland Together); PiS and an independent candidate supported by multiple parties (PO, PSL, SLD).

The Senate Campaign

The senators were elected in single member constituencies for the second time. Election pursuant to the "majority rule" (Electoral code, 2011, Art. 256, Dz. U. Nr 21, item 112) is the award of mandate exclusively to the candidate who gathered the biggest approval of voters. Even minimal advantage (even a single vote) can make a win. The rule is "the winner takes it all" (Żukowski, 1997 pp. 46–47). Candidates can't count on the support of the "number one" of the list. That is why Senate, among other cause, is not that popular among Polish politicians. This finds a further confirmation in statement of one of MPs of PiS, concerning the division of "electable" positions among the candidates of J.Kaczyński's party and the "couch" i.e. small and insignificant parties of J. Gowin and Z. Ziobro who during the parliamentary elections of 2015 started together under one party banner. "We send the side-dishes to the Senate, as the Senate does not count anyway". (Bujara et. al., 2015, p.7).

Small popularity of Senate among politicians does not result in a total lack of those willing to run for Senate. The parties always succeed to enlist someone who is better or less known from the world of art: Anna Chodakowska (PiS), Tadeusz Ross (PO) or science: Jan Żaryn (PiS), Monika Płatek (ZL). There are also local government activists – willing to enter "through Senate" the world of big politics, among them: Joanna Agatowska (ZL), Mieczysław Bagiński (PSL), Paweł Nakonieczny (PO), Robert Paluch (PiS). And all of that based on the following rule: the potential and possibilities of respective candidates do shape the dynamics of election.

The fiercest fight for senator's mandate took place in constituencies in which the supremacy of PiS and PO electoral committees was not big. The analysis of 25 October 2015 election results show, that in five constituencies the differences in the number of votes between the two most popular candidates were less than 1% and in 13 following ones did not exceed 3%. In both cases the advantage of minimum wins gained was on the side of PiS representatives (ten to eight cases). The closest results in Senate elections were recorded in constituency no. 94. 28.76% voters supported Marian Pośledník (PO). 28.52% supported Adam Kośmider (PiS). The win of the representative o PO over the candidate of PiS was decided by just 275 votes (0.24%). In turn the biggest disparity in the number of valid votes was recorded in the constituency no. 91. The win of Jadwiga Rotnicka (PO) over Stanisław Mikołajczyk (PiS) was such of 83 809 votes difference (34.3%).

The 2015 Senate campaign saw the crucial role played by political parties. But the most spectacular election duels took place not just between the candidates of PiS and PO. In constituency no. 50 two politicians formerly associated with PiS met. Adam Bielan – recommended by leader J. Kaczyński himself got four times the support – with 77 912 votes – than Marzena Wróbel, starting from her own election committee – 16 832 votes. Constituency no. 41 saw the competition of two "media recognizable" lawyers. Roman Giertych (formally an independent candidate) competed with prof. Maria Płatek (ZL). Although R. Giertych won with a vote ratio of 51 289 to 33 155 he could still not beat Konstanty Radziwiłł (PiS) with his support of 99 875 voters. A very emotional election took place in constituency no. 44 where senator Barbara Borys-Damięcka and the daughter of general Władysław Anders, Anna Maria Anders competed. The PO representative attracted 164 735 votes while the PiS representative just under 10 thousand votes less – 154 746. It is worth mentioning these were two out of three highest vote numbers during 2015 Senate elections. The scale of support granted to A.M. Anders unanimously proves, that the principle of relative majority and single member constituencies are dysfunctional, as they fail to reflect the actual will of the electorate (Gdulewicz and Kręcisz, 2002, p. 27) in that they do not translate voter's preferences onto election results. Is it not paradoxical, that you can't get a seat in Senate with the third biggest support throughout Poland? No less exciting was the campaign of the constituency no. 42, where Marek Borowski, independent senator with support of PO and SLD competed with Piotr Łukasz Andrzejeski (PiS), senator of the 1st to 6th term of Senate. With a vote ratio of 124 064 to 80 356 the co-founder of the Social Democratic Party of Poland (of PZPR-origin), (Leszczyńska, 2001, p. 432) came victorious over the former member of democratic opposition of the Polish People's Republic.

A number of factors made the 2015 Senate elections, once again, dominated by PiS and PO. The most important ones include the dichotomous character of Polish political scene, that was shaped in the result of the 2005 parliamentary election, the ever shrinking number of candidates of PSL and SLD that lose their political significance, and minute number or even total lack of candidates from other political formations. Due to that the voters most frequently voted according to their opinion for the PiS or PO candidate, or lacking another alternative, voted to support one of those representatives. The representatives of the remaining committees, including the voter's committees, only played occasional roles.

The analysis conducted allows us to claim, that the belief in myth of victory of father figures from outside the choices of political leaders is still deeply rooted. In 2015 every fourth candidate (23.9%) started in Senate elections from a voters election committee.

The reasons behind contesting for senator's seat were differentiated, but usually noble "I would like to – as A.M. Anders declared – awake patriotism in Poles, for the Poles to be proud to be Polish" (Anders, 2015). The fact of running for re-election was justified by Aleksander Pociej with enchantment with "history of ancient Rome and the function of senator. For me – as the PO representative stated – it is the best sounding name of a function there can be – more important than the president" (Dziedzic, 2015, p. 23). Statement of W. Pawlak, who was twice the PM and an MP for years concludes, that the Senate is his way for political retirement (Pawlak, 2015). Jacek Fedorowicz (PO) justified his running for elections to the second chamber in a similar manner: "the third term of my work in Sejm goes by. I decided to make a step further and to run for the Senate" (Fedorowicz, 2015). Krzysztof Cugowski explained his second election campaign with the will to accomplish further action and projects for Lublin and the Lublin Region. "Citizens of Lublin and Lublin itself need changes, good changes. Changes that will be felt and will be noticed" (Cugowski, 2015). Barbara Wrzesińska, a candidate of the Modern, justified her presence in Senate with the need to protect health, conduct prophylactic actions and fight cancers. "Because this is the place we can do much, designed for people like me, that is social activists" (Wrzesińska, 2015).

Still for those, who as a result of decision of their party, or on their own initiative found themselves outside the main stream of politics, or ceased to be its participants, running in the elections to the second chamber of parliament gives a chance to return to the political play. "I am ready to withdraw to the second, third row. I am ready to run for Senate" (Ziobro, 2014) – declared the visibly despaired Zbigniew Ziobro, several days before the 19 July 2014 PiS-PR-SP agreement (Party agreement, 2014)[4] that was to form a strong alternative for the PO-PSL coalition government. Zbigniew Girzyński, who left the ranks of PiS in December 2014, in the result of the scandal with MP foreign trip costs, although decided to withdraw from active politics, still ran for Senate as an independent candidate. "I was convinced by people from Toruń who were important for me" (Kondzińska, 2015, p. 13) – quite enigmatically announced the MP of the 7th Sejm term. Waldemar Pawlak, who was the prime minister and deputy prime minister twice, functioning outside the mainstream politics since he lost the PSL head election in November 2012, resigned from running to Sejm

[4] „Strony Porozumienia zobowiązują się, że w nadchodzących wyborach samorządowych, które zostaną zarządzone na dzień 16 listopada 2014 roku oraz w wyborach parlamentarnych przypadających w 2015 roku wystawią swoich kandydatów z listy Prawa i Sprawiedliwości." [The parties to this Agreement undertake to put their candidates on the lists of Law and Justice in the coming local elections that will take place on 16 November, 2014 and for the 2015 parliamentary elections]

and competed for a seat in Senate instead. The fact that an MP who has, without interruption, served for 26 years decided to run for Senate could indicate, that he was not completely sure the People's Party will make it over the five percent election threshold and wanted to prevent further escalation of conflict with the current party leader – Janusz Piechociński. Still the official justification for that decision was the need to move to the second pan, to give a chance for younger people in politics (Pawlak, 2015).

Grzegorz Napieralski – who did not stand the least chance – according to polls – to enter the Sejm with his new Biało-Czerwoni [White-Reds] decided to run for Senate from the Platform in the constituency no. 98. "This is a new opening – stressed the former leader of SLD and up to recently a sharp critic of the PO-PSL government, and then added "what begins today will last"" (Napieralski, 2015). An attempt to return to politics through Senate was also made by Roman Giertych. The prominent member of the first government of J. Kaczyński publically declared that he intends to run for a seat in Senate as a candidate with support "of any party but the PiS" in order to "render the return of PiS to power impossible" (Giertych, 2015). Few months before the elections the publicists of "Do Rzeczy" suggested that R. Giertych plans to compete for the seat in Senate as an independent candidate with a silent promise of protection from PO (Wybranowski and Baranowska, 2015, pp. 16–20). This went this way too. The platform, once called the "dishwater opposition" by the leader of the League of Polish Families (LPR) (Giertych, 2007) not only did not place anyone to compete with him in the constituency no. 41, but also place their senator Łukasz Abgarowicz, who served for many years, on the list for Sejm elections. Although the enthusiasts of R. Giertych were quite scarce among the broadly understood PO camp, and D. Tusk and E. Kopacz did not trust him, he was able to secure their recommendation.

Adam Bielan of Poland Together, former PiS activist and then member of PJN, ran for Senate from the list of J. Kaczyński's formation. In order for the co-author of the 2005 PiS election success to run in the constituency no. 50 the former senator of that constituency, Wojciech Skurkiewicz (PiS) was moved to the list of Sejm candidates. Strong support for the former spin doctor and criticism of his potential competitors[5] were expressed by leader J. Kaczyński himself – " I support Adam Bielan as the sole PiS candidate for the Radom constituency. Others who recall to PiS in this constituency do so completely illegally and against the interest of PiS and Poland" (Kaczyński, 2015). Also several former members of the cabinet ran, without success, for Senate: Jerzy Kropiwnicki (recommended by PiS), Andrzej Celiński (from Democratic Party – demokraci.pl), Anna Kalata (supported by her own committee "Kalata dla Polski"

[5] Theses were the MPs formerly connected with PiS: Krzysztof Sońta and Marzena Wróbel.

[Kalata for Poland]); Wojciech Maksymowicz (supported by his own committee "Zdrowie w Regionie" [Health in the Region] and PSL). The frontman of the Budka Suflera rock band, Krzysztof Cugowski ran for senator with the support of PSL and PO, with a rather suggestive slogan of "strong voice in Senate". It would not come as a surprise if the former PiS senator in the years 2005–2007 did not publically declare that "he would not run for Senate again" (Rybak, 2006).

Several candidates for the second chamber of parliament decided to continue the work as if after member of their closest family: Barbara Zdrojewska (PO) the wife of Bogdan Zdrojewski, senator of the 4th term won the elections in Wrocław. Wojciech Piecha (PiS) brother of Bolesław Piecha, senator of the 8th term won the Senate elections in Rybnik. Grzegorz Religa (supported by PiS), son of the late Zbigniew Religa, senator of 3rd and 5th terms, competed for votes in Bytom and Zabrze. And Marek Pęk run for Senate in Lesser Poland in place of his father, Bogdan Pęk whom PiS did not list for elections after a series of compromising photographs was published by "Super Express". The 2015 Senate campaign saw no play with the so called "Smolensk card" (Leszczyńska, 2012, pp. 285–286). Although Alicja Maria Zając, widow of the late senator Stanisław Zając who perished on 10 April 2010 in the disaster of the President's Tu-154 airplane ran for senate again supported by PiS, but the Smolensk case was tuned out.

Results of Senate elections

PiS turned the winner of Senate elections with 61 seats. The second place was taken by PO with 34 seats. The formation of J. Kaczyński won senator's mandates in large proportion of the former territory of its political opponent. We may even risk the statement that after the 2015 elections the division onto two territorially different Polands in which PO ruled the north, west and the center and PiS mainly east and south in form of Lesser Poland and Carpathian Region all but disappeared. Only one representative of PSL entered the Senate. The result of the People's party (Leszczyńska, 2015, pp. 131–170) – one of the worst in the history of elections – can most likely be attributed to the fact, that in rural areas it was commonly adopted that the PSL was the party responsible for poor condition of farming industry. Four independent candidates won their Senate mandates. Still it seems that only Lidia Staroń was elected as a self-made candidate of this term – neither of the parties did put her candidature forward, neither did recommend it (Krzymowski, 2015, p. 4). Support granted by PiS was undoubtedly behind the election successes of G. Bierecki and J. Obremski. The renouncement of PO and left wing parties to register their own candidates made it possible for M. Borowski to win the senator's mandate. Solely due to recommen-

dation of PiS the Senate of the 9th term was reached by several members of parties who would not stand any chance of election without it. These are: Jerzy Czerwiński (The Catholic-National Movement), Adam Bielan (Poland Together). What is also undoubted is that Grzegorz Napieralski of White and Reds would not succeed in elections without the support of PO.

Over half (52%) of the senators of the 8th term of Senate were re-elected. The trust of voters was won again by 24 representatives of PiS, 24 of PO and three formally independent candidates. Furthermore seven of the senators elected on 25 October 2015 were senators of 6th and 7th term of Senate with PiS recommendation. The above data shows the very high degree of difficulty of getting an advantage over a well known and proven candidate of a set political party, or such whose ties with the respective political group are unquestionable.

The gender ratio for the 9th term of Senate is identical as for 8th term, that is 87 men (87%) and just 13 women (13%). The percentage of support of voters for both genders almost exactly reflected the number of men (86.3%) and women (13.7%) running for elections. This means that a larger proportion of women running for elections could potentially result in larger number of female senators.

The Senate candidates won their mandates with very varied numbers of votes. The best result – 164 796 – was that of B. Borys-Damięcka. "This result (again the highest one in Poland)[6] made me sure – declared the PO senator, that I was concerned with matters that were important for the voters in 7th and 8th term" (Damięcka, 2015). The lowest result – 25 508 votes – was that of Grzegorz Peczkis (PiS). The difference in support for both of the senators was that of 139 288 votes. It is worth stressing that within the group of twelve prospective senators who gained the support of over 100 thousand voters three top results were achieved by women, that is B. Borys-Damięcka (PO), A. M. Anders (PiS) and J. Rotnicka (PO).

Conclusion

Thus both of the hypotheses were positively verified. The 2015 postulates to abolish Senate or change its character were of declarative character only. The conducted analysis proves, that the second chamber of parliament is needed by the politicians for several reasons. The Senate means 100 additional positions to share, almost exclusively between political parties. It is the almost perfect place to: 1) start political career

[6] B. Borys-Damięcka won over 600 thousand votes (605 972) out of 1 567 038 voters entitled to vote in the constituency no. 18 in 2007 Senate elections and during the 2011 elections almost 200 thousand votes (196 735) out of 209 847 voters of the constituency no. 18.

on national level, 2) end this career, that is for political retirement or 3) successful rehabilitation. The 2015 Senate elections results proved that the single member constituencies do favor the "strongest" (Sokół, 2007, 24, pp. 44–45). The confrontation of number of votes for the respective election committees with the number of seats gathered confirmed the opinion saying that the Senate election system causes disparity (Kublik, 2011, p. 4). The 40% (39.99%) level of PiS support resulted in 61% of seats. The PO 29% (28.85%) approval of voters gave it 34% of seats in senate. And the trust of over 7% (7.40%) voters gave PSL a single mandate only.

References:

Acts of Law

Ustawa z dnia 5 stycznia 2011 r. – *Kodeks wyborczy* (Dz. U. Nr 21. poz. 112).

Postanowienie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 17 lipca 2015 r. *w sprawie zarządzenia wyborów do Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej i do Senatu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (Dz. U. 2015, poz. 1017).

Obwieszczenie Państwowej Komisji Wyborczej z dnia 11 października 2011 r. *o wynikach wyborów do Senatu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej przeprowadzonych w dniu 9 października 2011 r.* (Dz. U. Nr 218, poz. 1295).

Obwieszczenie Państwowej Komisji Wyborczej z dnia 27 października 2015 r. *o wynikach wyborów do Senatu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej przeprowadzonych w dniu 25 października 2015 r.* (Dz. U. 2015, poz. 1732).

Books

Bisztyga A., Zientarski P. (red.), *Kierunki zmian pozycji ustrojowej i funkcji Senatu RP*, Warszawa: Kancelaria Senatu.

Garlicki, L. (2000). *Komentarz do art. 125 Konstytucji*, [in:] L. Garlicki (ed.), *Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Komentarz*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe.

Gdulewicz, E., Kręcisz, W. (2002). *Ustrój polityczny Wielkiej Brytanii*, [in:] W. Skrzydło (ed.), *Ustroje państw współczesnych*, Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.

Grzybowski, S. (1993). *Udział Senatu w kształtowaniu polityki zagranicznej Rzeczypospolitej w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, [in:] K. Matwijowski, J. Pietrzak (ed.), *Senat w Polsce. Dzieje i teraźniejszość*, Sesja naukowa: Kraków 25–26 maja 1993, Warszawa: Kancelaria Senatu.

Leszczyńska, K. (2015). *Senat Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w latach 1989–2011*, Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.

Leszczyńska, K. (2012). *Polityczne aspekty wyborów do Senatu przeprowadzonych w dniu 9 października 2011 r.* [in:] Ł. Danel, J. Kornaś (ed.) *Dylematy polskiej demokracji*, Kraków: Fundacja Gospodarki i Administracji Publicznej.

Leszczyńska, K. (2001). *Socjaldemokraci w rządach III RP*, [in:] E. Olszewski (ed.) *Doktryna i ruch socjaldemokratyczny. Historia i współczesność*, Puławy: Wydawnictwo Puławskiej Szkoły Wyższej.

Sokół W. (2007). *Geneza i ewolucja systemów wyborczych w państwach Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej*, Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.
Żukowski A. (1997). Systemy wyborcze, Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej.

Documents of political parties

Blisko ludzkich spraw – Deklaracja wyborcza PSL. Wybory parlamentarne, (2015).
Dumna bogata Polska. Program Partii KORWiN. Koalicja Odnowy Rzeczypospolitej Wolność i Nadzieja, Warszawa, (2015).
*Myśląc Polska – Konwencja programowa Prawa i Sprawiedliwości oraz zjednoczonej pr*awicy, (2015).
Nowa Polska teraz. Nowoczesna – kierunki programu, (2015).
Palikot, J. (2015). *Nowa Konstytucja – teks jednolity uwzględniające propozycje programowe i poprawki zgłoszone przez Twój Ruch.*
Polska Przyszłości – Program Platformy Obywatelskiej RP, (2015).
Porozumienie pomiędzy Prawem i Sprawiedliwością, Polską Razem oraz Solidarną Polską (2014), http://polskarazem.pl/polska-razem-zawarla-porozumienie-z-pis-i-sp
Program wyborczy Zjednoczona Lewica SLD+TR+PPS+UP+Zieloni, (2015).
Razem inna polityka jest możliwa. Program wyborczy, (2015).
Samorządowcy do Senatu! Materiał Koalicyjnego Komitetu Wyborczego „SLD Lewica Razem", (2014).
Tusk, D. (2005), *Referendum 2005. Powiedz 4xTAK!dla Polski*", Platforma Obywatelska, Warszawa: Archiwum Partii Politycznych.

Report

Chełstowska, A., Druciarek, M., Niżyńska A., Skoczylas, N. (2015). *Udział kobiet w wyborach parlamentarnych w 2015 roku. Wyniki monitoringu obserwatorium równości płci*, Warszawa: Instytut Spraw Publicznych.

Articles in magazines

Bujara, M., Kubaś, B., Bielawa, W., Kozioł M., Dybalski, T., (19 June 2015), *PiS-owskie boje i wojenki o miejsca na listach Sejmu i Senatu*, Gazeta Wyborcza, 141.
Dziedzic, M. (12–18 August 2015), *Wycofany, zadumany, zacofany*, Polityka, 33.
Kondzińska, A. (30 September 2015), *Giżyński: Uległem namowom z Torunia*, Gazeta Wyborcza, 228.
Krzymowski, M. (10–16 August 2015), *Posłanka PO chce startować z listy PiS*, Newsweek, 33.
Kublik, A. (13 October 2011), *Rozmowa Agnieszki Kublik z prof. Radosławem Markowskim,* Gazeta Wyborcza.
Rybak, A. (2006), *Solo w Senacie*, Polityka, 2.
Wybranowski, W., Baranowska, K. (2015), *Nadmecenas władzy. Na politycznym* głodzie, Do Rzeczy, 4.

Internet-published content

Cugowski, K. (25 September 2015), *Dlaczego kandyduję?*, http://krzysztofcugowski.pl/kww.
Damięcka, B. (2015), *Senator RP Barbara Borys-Damięcka: Doświadczenie. Aktywność. Skuteczność*, www.barbaraborysdamiecka.pl

Fabisiak, M. (7 October 2015), Senat do likwidacji? Większość partii opowiada się za reformą izby wyższej, Wirtualna Polska, http://wiadomosci.wp.pl

Fedorowicz, J. (23 September 2015), Podsumowanie, http://fedorowicz.blog.onet.pl

Giertych, R. (22 September 2007), Wypowiedź podczas Konwencji wyborczej Ligi Polskich Rodzin w Krakowie 22 września 2007 r. http://www.lpr.pl/pl/2007/09/22/konwencja-wyborcza-lpr-w-krakowie

Kaczyński, J. (2015), Spot wyborczy Adama Bielana z udziałem Jarosława Kaczyńskiego, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=86eUi55t7ik

Kieżun, W. (30 September 2015), Przesłanie do uczestników Konwencji „Potrafisz Polsko!" w Warszawie, https://www.youtube.com/watch!v=AiGm4iMCSE.

Korwin-Mikke, J. (8 March 2009), *Czym jest kobieta*?, http://korwin-mikke.blog.onet.pl.

Pawlak woli Senat. W Sejmie chce dać szansę młodym, (3 July 2015), http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-z-kraju,3/waldemar-pawlak-chce-ubiegac-sie-o-mandat-senatora,556050.html.

Barbara Wrzesińska kandydatką Nowoczesnej do Senatu, (20 September 2015), calisia.pl: Ulubiony portal Kaliszan, http://www.calisia.pl

Media appearances of politicians

Anders, A. M. (12 April 2015). Statement in the "Dzień dobry tvn" show in TVN.

Giertych, R. (30 June 2015). Statement in the "Kropka nad i" program in TVN24.

Korwin-Mikke, J. (26 May 2010). Statement in the "Kwadrans po ósmej" program in TVP1.

Nowacka, B. (4 October 2015). Statement during the National Convent of the United Left [Ogólnopolska Konwencja Zjednoczonej Lewicy] for the RMF FM Radio.

Napieralski, G. (2 September 2015). Statement in the "Fakty" news in TVN.

Pilc, M., Szmidt, J., Witkowski, W. (24 September 2015). The sixth Poznań debate "Hear the voice of your MP" [Szósta poznańska debata „Usłysz głos swojego posła"] in the TOK FM Radio.

Ziobro, Z. (8 July 2014). Statement in the "Jeden na jeden" program in TVN.

Author

Professor Dr Hab. Krystyna Leszczyńska
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Department of Journalism. Contact details: pl. Litewski 3, 20–080 Lublin, Poland; e-mail: kles@hektor.umcs.lublin.pl