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## Geography of the presidential elections in Poland in 2020

**Abstract.** The elections for the president of Poland in 2020 took place during a difficult period of the pandemic. Additionally, by the decision of the National Electoral Commission, they were postponed from May 10 to June 28. The incumbent president Andrzej Duda won the election, defeating his opponent Rafał Trzaskowski with a majority of around 420,000 in the second round. votes. The study aims to indicate the geographical differentiation of the results of two candidates and the spatial changes in the results in the first and second rounds of elections. In the first round, A. Duda won in thirteen regions (voivodeships) of Poland, in the second only in six, in eastern and south-eastern Poland. However, the big difference in the winning regions (15-20%) allowed him to win the final. R. Trzaskowski won in ten regions (voivodeships), but his advantage was small (5-10%).

**Key words:** presidential election, Poland, voivodeship, region.

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### Introduction

According to the election calendar, presidential elections in Poland, in accordance with the electoral law and the election calendar, were scheduled for May 10, 2020. However, the growing number of infections in March and April (Vashchanka, 2020), despite the determined stance of the government, and the clear opposition of one of the coalition political parties, prevented them from being carried out within this period. The legal inconsistencies raised by many constitutionalists deserve a separate text in the field of legal and political science. Just like the irregularities related to the conduct of correspondence elections with the participation of Poczta Polska (Polish Post). After May 10, the day on which the elections were not held, the election of the Polish president found itself in a legal vacuum. However, logically flawed, which does not change the fact that the current resolution of the National Electoral Commission allowed organizing the presidential election on June 28, 2020. Eleven candidates took part in the first round of elections. President Andrzej Duda, who was running for re-election, won over 8,450,000. votes (43.5%). The second place was taken by Rafał Trzaskowski with the result of almost 5,920,000. votes (30.46%), and the third Szymon Hołownia, who was slightly over 2,690,000. votes (13.87%) with an attendance of 64.51%. This result meant the second round of elections, scheduled for July 12, 2020. As a result of the July elections, Andrzej Duda was re-elected president, who received the support of 10,440,648 voters (51.03%), while 10,018,263 voters voted for his opponent, Rafał Trzaskowski (48.97%), with a slightly higher turnout of 68.18%. In the opinion of external observers, the election campaign, which resulted in the victory of Andrzej Duda, the candidate of the Law and Justice party, was not free from shortcomings. In terms of image, it differed from the election in 2015 (Robak, Wojtasik, 2016). The unequivocal support of the public television behind the president was emphasized, and the government's policy, which focused on supporting A. Duda in every possible dimension, was assessed similarly.

### Aim and methods of the study

The purpose of this study is to indicate the geographical differentiation of election results broken down into voivodeships and constituencies. In the first case, it is interesting to change the

advantage of Andrzej Duda, who in the first round won more votes than Rafał Trzaskowski in as many as 13 voivodeships. However, in the second round, he gained an advantage only in 6 provinces. In this case, an interesting problem is the problem of labile provinces, which we dealt with in Poland during the local government elections (Kulas, Wendt, 2018). In the case of district election commissions, not only the number of districts in which two candidates won in the second round were analyzed, but also attention was paid to the diversity of the population divided into large cities and other centers. The data for the analysis of the election results come from the websites of the National Electoral Commission, and the figures showing the election results from the websites provided in the paper.

### Results of the presidential elections in Poland

As can be seen from the data provided in the table below, President Andrzej Duda, who is seeking re-election, won in the first round in thirteen voivodeships, where the party that supports him, Law and Justice (PiS), receives traditionally high election results. His opponent with the greatest support in the first round won only in three provinces, in which a large part of the electorate most often chooses the Civic Platform (PO) - the party he represented in the presidential elections (regions): Lubuskie, Pomorskie, Zachodniopomorskie). An interestingly cognitive comparison is the comparison of the results and "conquests" of the voivodeship between the first and the second round of presidential elections (see Table 1).

Table 1

Results of the election of the President of Poland in the 1st and 2nd round - division of the country into 16 voivodeships (%)

Voivodeship	Andrzej Duda		Rafał Trzaskowski	
	28 June (I)	12 July (II)	28 June (I)	12 July (II)
Dolnośląskie	38,21	44,61	35,92	55,39
Kujawsko-pomorskie	39,54	46,77	33,59	53,23
Lubelskie	56,67	66,31	19,32	33,69
Lubuskie	34,19	40,20	36,94	59,80
Łódzkie	46,64	54,46	28,74	45,54
Małopolskie	51,11	59,65	23,92	40,35
Mazowieckie	40,71	47,74	34,30	52,26
Opolskie	40,46	47,36	31,88	52,64
Podkarpackie	60,69	70,92	16,23	29,08
Podlaskie	50,59	60,14	20,60	39,86
Pomorskie	33,82	40,16	38,58	59,84
Śląskie	41,22	48,99	31,28	51,01
Świętokrzyskie	56,02	64,41	21,29	35,59
Warmińsko-mazurskie	40,10	46,84	33,00	53,16
Wielkopolskie	37,85	45,07	33,83	54,93
Zachodniopomorskie	35,38	41,24	37,91	58,76
Poland	43,50	51,03	30,46	48,97

Source: own study based on official results by district election commissions

In the second round of presidential elections, we dealt with a classic social division. Such a division led to an increase in voter turnout, more than 2/3 of voters entitled to vote took part in the elections. If it took the form of "everyone" against the PiS candidate, the re-election of President Andrzej

Duda would be impossible. However, the division of the electorate in some of the villagers, who already voted to a large extent for A. Duda and the right-wing electoral committee: "Confederation" gave the president an additional 2 million votes. The opposition took away consistency and solidarity. Although R. Trzaskowski won in the second round, compared to the first, an additional 4 million votes.

Considering the absolute number of votes cast for each candidate, in the second round of elections, President A. Duda "lost" the advantage in seven voivodeships, and his opponent R. Trzaskowski finally increased his advantage compared to the first round by "winning" ten voivodeships. However, this was not enough for the final victory. The advantage of A. Duda in the provinces where he won over R. Trzaskowski was, respectively (regions): Łódzkie - 8.92%; Lubelskie - 32.62%; Małopolska - 19.30%; Podkarpackie - 41.84%; Podlaskie - 20.28% and Świętokrzyskie - 28.82%. In the case of R. Trzaskowski, the differences between his result and that of his opponent were much smaller. R. Trzaskowski scored the biggest difference in his favor in Pomorskie - 19.68%; Lubuskie - 19.60% and Zachodniopomorskie - 17.52%. In other voivodships it reached 5% -10%, and in Śląskie only 2%. Such large differences in the provinces that were "victorious" for A. Duda allowed him to finally win.

With R. Trzaskowski's dominance in the elections divided into voivodeships (10 to 6), a completely different picture is presented by the results of the elections in terms of the division into 49 District Election Commissions (OKW), as shown in Tab. 2. Rafał Trzaskowski won in 20 OKW, and the incumbent President Andrzej Duda won in the remaining 29.

Table 2

Number of potential electors and the result of the election of the President of Poland 2020 – division of the country into 49 district election commissions (%)

No.	District Election Commissions (OKW)	Voivodeship (all OKW together in voivodeship)	Result of elections (%)	
			Andrzej Duda	Rafał Trzaskowski
1	Wrocław	Dolnośląskie together	40,02	59,08
2	Jelenia Góra		45,32	54,68
3	Legnica		53,50	46,50
4	Wałbrzych		46,50	53,50
			44,61	55,39
5	Bydgoszcz	Kujawsko-pomorskie together	44,44	55,56
6	Toruń		46,04	53,96
7	Włocławek		53,88	46,12
			46,77	53,23
8	Lublin	Lubelskie together	64,47	35,53
9	Biała Podlaska		68,08	31,92
10	Chełm		64,76	35,24
11	Zamość		66,31	33,69
			66,31	33,69
12	Zielona Góra	Lubuskie together	40,22	59,78
13	Gorzów Wielkopolski		40,20	59,80
			40,20	59,80

14	Łódź		46,48	53,52
15	Piotrków Trybunalski		64,72	35,28
16	Sieradz		63,83	36,17
17	Skierniewice		65,52	34,48
		Łódzkie together	54,46	45,54
18	Kraków		51,15	48,85
19	Nowy Sącz		72,46	27,54
20	Tarnów		70,00	30,00
		Małopolskie together	59,65	40,35
21	Warszawa		35,79	64,21
22	Ciechanów		66,45	33,55
23	Ostrołęka		69,67	30,33
24	Płock		59,39	40,61
25	Radom		67,53	32,47
26	Siedlce		68,58	31,42
		Mazowieckie together	47,36	52,64
27	Opole	Opolskie together	47,36	52,64
28	Rzeszów		70,54	29,46
29	Krosno		70,14	29,86
30	Przemyśl		72,86	27,14
31	Tarnobrzeg		70,84	29,16
		Podkarpackie together	70,92	29,08
32	Białystok		53,95	46,05
33	Łomża		73,25	26,75
34	Suwałki		60,15	39,85
		Podlaskie together	60,14	39,86
35	Gdańsk		37,57	62,43
36	Słupsk		42,33	57,67
		Pomorskie together	40,16	59,84
37	Katowice		44,96	55,04
38	Bielsko-Biała		53,62	46,38
39	Częstochowa		52,67	47,33
		Śląskie together	48,99	51,01
40	Kielce	Świętokrzyskie together	64,41	35,59
41	Olsztyn		44,63	55,37
42	Elbląg	Warmińsko-mazurskie together	49,88	50,12
			46,84	53,16
43	Poznań		33,74	66,26
44	Kalisz		54,03	45,97
45	Konin		56,77	43,23
46	Leszno		48,38	51,62
47	Piła		45,07	54,93
		Wielkopolskie together	45,07	54,93
48	Szczecin		40,65	59,35
49	Koszalin		42,17	57,83
		Zachodniopomorskie together	41,24	58,76

Source: own study based on official results by district election commissions

The decisive victory of R. Trzaskowski in big cities is worth emphasizing. 66% in Poznań, 64% in Warsaw and 62% in Gdańsk. He won over 55% in OKW in Bydgoszcz, Zielona Góra, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Słupsk, Katowice, Olsztyn, Szczecin and Koszalin. However, A. Duda won in individual OKW with an even greater difference of votes. He won over 70% in OKW in Nowy Sącz, Tarnów, Rzeszów, Krosno, Przemyśl, Tarnobrzeg and Łomża. He won over 60% of votes in OKW in Lublin, Biała Podlaska, Chełm, Zamość, Piotrków Trybunalski, Sieradz, Ciechanów, Ostrołęka, Radom, Siedlce, Suwałki and Kielce. He also won with a slight advantage in OKW in Kraków (51.15%).

It would be interesting to analyze the results of aggregated elections to the level of counties, in which Andrzej Duda won, winning the majority of votes in 236 counties, including 20 urban counties (municipal communes with land county rights). Rafał Trzaskowski won in 144 counties, including 46 town counties (Kireev, 2020). He also won the fight for Poles abroad, gaining 73.61% of the votes and among the crews of Polish ships with the result of 69.44%. In the case of the analysis of the results of elections in municipalities, Andrzej Duda's victory is even more emphatic (Wendt, Bógdał-Brzezińska, 2020). The president, who was seeking re-election, won in 1872 communes, and his opponent won only in 601 communes. In some municipalities, the president received support above 90% (the municipalities of Godziszów, Chrzanów and Kulesze. The best results, over 70%, were achieved by Rafał Trzaskowski in the municipalities of Suchy Las, Dobra and Osielsko. in this work, the aim of the research and deserves a separate, analytical study.

### Conclusion

The election campaign, unequal access to media and financial resources, divided Polish society. Foreign observers emphasized the unequivocal support of public television for the president, similarly, assessed the policy pursued by the government, which focused on assisting in the re-election of a candidate in every possible way. Poles with voting rights were divided into roughly three equal parts, about 10 million each. One, around 10.4 million, supported PiS and its candidate. The other, around 10 million, chose the opposition. And the third, also numbering around 10 million, did not take part in the elections. The following figures show in an interesting way the division between the ruling camp and the opposition in Poland.

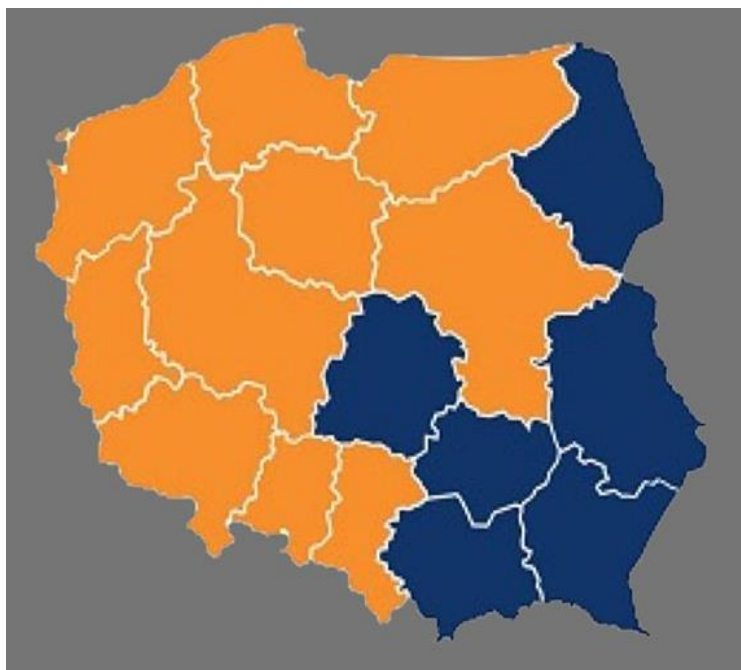


Figure 1. This is how Platforma Obywatelska (PO) sees it - candidate Rafał Trzaskowski (orange) [8]

The point of view of the Civic Coalition and the Civic Platform, of the groups opposing the government, is shown in Fig. 1. A decisive victory in 10 provinces and most large cities did not translate into the final success of Rafał Trzaskowski. Similarly, to the dominance of Andrzej Duda, who won over all municipalities in the country (Fig. 2), it does not show the scale of success. He was victorious, gaining about 400 thousand. more votes than its competitor.

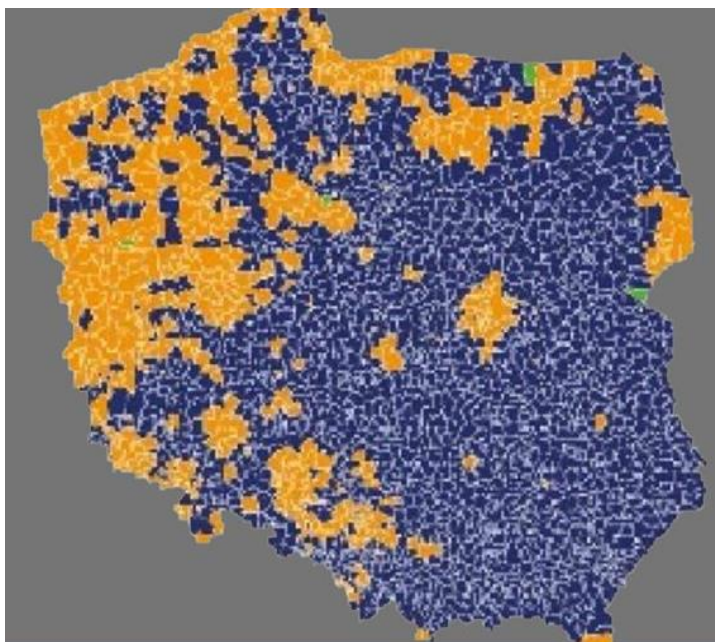


Figure 2. This is how Law and Justice (PiS) sees it - candidate Andrzej Duda (blue) [9]

Probably the best differentiation of results in the presidential election is shown in the next figure. It clearly shows A. Duda's victory in "agricultural", eastern and south-eastern Poland (Fig. 3). In regions with a strong tradition, high religiosity, and a lower degree of industrialization than in the rest of the country and the level of development of civil society (Wendt, 2007).

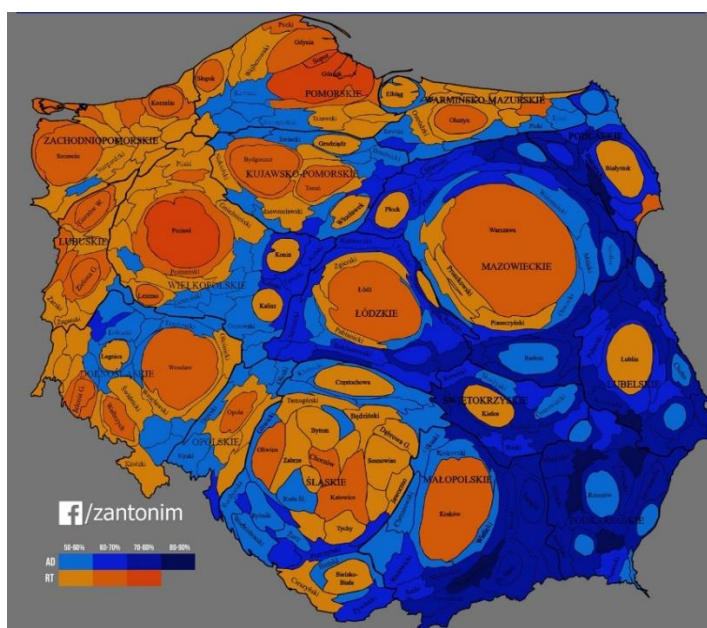


Figure 3. "This is what it really looks like" [10]

The above figure shows this division in a slightly comic book style, but in my opinion a more interesting way. Andrzej Duda (AD) wins (to put it simply) in the lands of the former Russian and Austrian partitions, except for large cities. Rafał Trzaskowski (RT) wins in large cities and in the so-called Regained Territories (regions), in Pomerania, Warmia and Mazury, Lubuskie, part of Wielkopolska, Kujawy and in Silesia (of course with the exceptions indicated in the figures and tables). These elections once again confirmed the division of Poland into, if desired by some politicians, patriotic and Europeanized or traditional and modern.

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### 2020 жылғы Польша президенті сайлауының географиясы

**Аңдатпа.** 2020 жылы Польша Президентінің сайлауы пандемияның қиын кезеңінде өтті. Сонымен қатар, Ұлттық сайлау комиссиясының шешімімен сайлау мамыр айының 10 жұлдызынан маусым айының 28 жұлдызына ауыстырылды. Зерттеу мақсаты – екі кандидат нәтижелерінің географиялық дифференциациясын және сайлаудың бірінші және екінші айналымындағы нәтижелердің кеңістік өзгерістерін көрсету. Бірінші айналымда кандидат А. Дуда Польшаның он үш өңірінде жеңіске жетсе, екінші айналымда Польшаның шығыс және оңтүстік - шығыс бөлігінің алты өңірінде ғана жеңіске жетті. Алайда жеңіскер-өңірлердегі (15-20%) айырмашылық финалда жеңіске жетуге мүмкіндік берді. Президенттікке екінші кандидат

Р.Трзасковский он өңірде жеңіске жетті, бірақ оның басымдылығы аз болды (5-10%). Осылайша, қазіргі президент Анджей Дуда екінші турда 420 000 дауыс жинап, сайлауда жеңіске жетті.

**Түйін сөздер:** президенттік сайлау, Польша, өңірлер.

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### **География президентских выборов в Польше в 2020 году**

**Аннотация.** Выборы президента Польши в 2020 году прошли в сложный период пандемии. Кроме того, решением Национальной избирательной комиссии они были перенесены с 10 мая на 28 июня. Цель исследования - указать географическую дифференциацию результатов двух кандидатов и пространственные изменения результатов в первом и втором турах выборов. В первом туре кандидат А.Дуда выиграл в тринадцати регионах Польши, во втором - только в шести регионах, в восточной и юго-восточной Польше. Однако большая разница в регионах-победителях (15-20 %) позволила ему выиграть финал. Второй кандидат в президенты Р.Трзасковский победил в десяти регионах, но его преимущество было небольшим (5-10%). Таким образом, действующий президент Анджей Дуда победил на выборах с отрывом в 420 000 голосов во втором туре.

**Ключевые слова:** президентские выборы, Польша, регионы.

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