

2023 POLISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

*A post-electoral summary and
election impact analysis*



2023 Polish Parliamentary Election
 A post-electoral summary and analysis
Election implications for businesses and the Polish political scene

Warsaw, October 2023

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I. FOREWORD BY MICHAŁ KOCZALSKI

We are proud to present our final report on Poland's parliamentary elections. It captures a deeper analysis of the results and provides you with a closer look into all constituencies and newly elected members of parliament.

We are also happy to share the analysis by our founder, Marek Matraszek.

In the months running up to the election, the CEC Group team in Warsaw was busy preparing scenarios for all possible election outcomes. This was, perhaps, the most uncertain election in recent memory. We are happy to report that we were, and remain, prepared. In the coming days, mappings will be overhauled and strategies will be adapted. And most importantly, we will be able to finish off our 30th-anniversary year on this exciting and busy note.

Once the election dust settles, policymaking will return. The outlook on some policies in strategic sectors of the economy (Pharma & Healthcare, Sustainability & Manufacturing, Tech & Digital) will significantly change in the new government. Businesses will have to shift gears quickly to reorientate themselves in the new political landscape. We are certain that the parliamentary process will yet again become a lively beehive of policymaking.

The new government is also arriving just in time to prepare for the H1 2025 EU Polish Presidency. The government in Warsaw will aim not only to repair relations within EU institutions but also to take charge and become much more active and constructive in the European legislative process.

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The whole CEC Group team in Poland is ready for all these challenges and we do hope we will be able to support you in these exciting times of change.

Thank you for your continuous trust.

M Koczalski

Michał Koczalski

Chief Executive Officer
CEC Group



II. FOREWORD BY MAREK MATRASZEK

Poland's 2023 parliamentary elections had been trailed as one of the most important since 1989.

Certainly the stakes could not have been higher for the two leading competitors, the Law and Justice (PiS) party, in government since 2015, and the opposition parties dominated by the liberal Civic Coalition (KO). Victory of either would push Poland in radically different directions: a victory for PiS would allow the party to continue to take Poland down a robustly conservative path of suspicion of the EU, defence of traditional family values and a more "levelling up" economic policy; whereas the KO made no secret of its agenda of bringing Poland back to the top table in Brussels, opening up to a liberal cultural agenda, and promoting more free-market and fiscally austere economic policies. For the two leaders as well this was a major showdown: both Jaroslaw Kaczynski and Donald Tusk, PiS and KO leaders respectively, would see the electoral verdict as not only judgement of their political visions, but also as vindication of themselves as politicians. So what did Poland decide?

On Tuesday 17th October, the State Electoral Commission (PKW) formally announced the results, which were as follows:

- Law and Justice (PiS): 35.4%, 194 seats;
- Civic Coalition (KO): 30.7%, 157 seats;
- Third Way (3D): 14.4%, 65 seats;
- Left: 8.6%, 26 seats;
- Confederation: 7.2%, 18 seats;

In addition, the results to the Senate:

- Law and Justice (PiS): 35 seats;
- Senate Pact (single list coalition of Civic Coalition (KO), Third Way (3D) and Left): 65 seats;

There turnout was at a historic high of almost 75%, the result of the level of emotion whipped up by the negative PiS campaign and enthusiasm among urban voters for Donald Tusk.

As a result, the opposition (KO, 3D, Left) have a total of 248 seats, well above

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the 231-seat threshold of an absolute parliamentary majority. It is almost certain that the next government will be formed around an alliance of the parties in the opposition coalition, with former Prime Minister Tusk at its head. The result represents a dramatic shift in Poland's internal and external politics, and a historic defeat for the right-wing forces grouped around the previously ruling Law and Justice party.

The opposition parties do not have the necessary 276 votes (even with Confederation) to overturn a Presidential veto, giving President Duda significant negative control over the new government's legislative capabilities. However, opposition control of the Senate is an additional guarantee that legislation that passes through the lower house will not be amended; also, the Senate has certain prerogatives over some state appointments.

Although the opposition had not run on a single list, they remain aligned in a desire to remove PiS from power, and eliminate its influence on state-

owned companies, the media, and judicial institutions. Law and Justice for its part has no potential allies in parliament, apart from the right-wing Confederation alliance, but which with only 18 seats cannot take PiS over the 231-seat threshold.

For the losing Law and Justice (PiS) party, the defeat represents a significant challenge, with the current leader Jarosław Kaczyński (aged 74) fighting not to fade in the face of potential internal challenges from various party factions, including current Justice Minister Zbigniew Ziobro. In the short-term, Kaczyński's challenge will be to retain party unity and quickly move forward to contest the local elections in the Spring of 2024 and the subsequent European election in June of next year.

Before that, the new government must be formed. It is likely that President Duda, following the Polish Constitution to the letter, and on the basis that

It is likely that President Duda will allow PiS the first attempt at governmental creation.

PiS gained a plurality of votes in the election, will allow PiS the first attempt at governmental creation (a hopeless task, but seen by observers as allowing the current ruling party to remain in office for an additional month). The constitutional timeline is as follows:

- Within 30 days (November 14th), parliament must meet, at which session PM Morawiecki must resign his government. He will be asked to continue in office until a new PM is appointed;

- Within 14 days later (by 28th November), President Duda must appoint a new Prime Minister, who then must secure a vote of confidence;

- In the event of a failure of this new PM to secure a vote of confidence, parliament has 14 days in which to secure 231 votes for an alternative PM. During this period, the PM appointed by Duda in the first round continues in office. **With the opposition having secured a total of 248 seats, it is at this point they will be able to vote in their Prime Ministerial candidate and by mid-December at the very latest a Tusk-led government will be firmly installed, and the subsequent confidence vote in parliament a formality.**

These are maximum timelines - if truncated by the President or Parliament, the new government will be in place more quickly. Donald Tusk has already publicly declared himself the winner and is likely to commence coalition talks with his other two potential allies quickly, during which the allocation of cabinet positions to the three allies will be decided and the initial programme of action determined.

In the short term, the putative new Tusk government will face several key tasks and challenges:

- **An immediate clear-out of current ministers and their wholesale replacement** in all ministries, with deputy ministers and large numbers of lower ranking officials also being removed;

- **Intense negotiations with the two other allies of the Civic Coalition over the division of responsibilities in the new government.** There are suggestions that the Third Way movement is seeking control over the Ministry of Defence. It is likely Tusk's party will take the Ministry of Finance and key economic ministries; Third Way may well capture lesser positions such as Agriculture and Culture; whilst the Left may gain

influence over the welfare agenda;

- **Review of current spending commitments, including defence procurements.** These reviews will cover all programmes, with a focus on those where no binding contracts have yet been signed, with a view to rescoping the size of procurement, their sequencing, and also their levels of industrial commitments. Although limited by the exigencies of the Ukraine war and the need to rearm to meet Putin's aggression, the new Tusk government may decide to prioritise air defence and UAS procurements instead of large land forces buys such as HIMARS or Apache. The Korean contracts will come under close scrutiny, especially those where no executive contracts have yet been signed. Additionally, a pro-EU turn by Tusk may impact the planned additional two-squadron buy for the Air Force, and encourage Eurofighter in their campaign;

- **Commencing the process of purging the management of state owned companies (including PGZ),** in order to assert political control and remove one of the key sources of funding for Law and Justice;

- **Seek to assert control over state radio and television,** which had over the last few years become mouthpieces for the Law and Justice government. There are some legal obstacles to doing this quickly, but Tusk and his allies are confident they can assert control;

- **Commence a reform of Poland's judicial system** to meet the concerns of the EU over purported rule of law violations under the PiS government. Successful initiation of such reform will allow the EU to release significant financial resources to "reward" Polish voters and provide Tusk with additional fiscal headroom to conduct necessary budget and spending reforms tackling Poland's growing deficit;

- **Draw up and pass by the end of**

January a new 2024 budget, since the previous 2024 budget drawn up by the Morawiecki government had not passed parliament by the time of the election. Some observers suspect that President Duda will exercise his prerogative to dissolve parliament and mandate new elections is the end January deadline is not met;

D. Tusk has already publicly declared himself the winner and is likely to commence coalition talks.

- **Review key aspects of foreign policy, and especially revive strategic relationships with Brussels, Berlin and Paris.** Tusk and his allies are strong pro-Europeans, and will seek to engage in the current debate on EU reform as well as recover Poland's place at the European "top table". While the US relationship will continue to be strong, it will become more transactional from Poland's perspective (albeit a Trump victory in November 2024 may well lead to relations cooling). The bilateral relationship with Brexit Britain will cool (as long as Rishi Sunak is Prime Minister, given Tusk's antipathy to the UK Conservatives). Tusk will cancel Poland's relationship with Hungary, again because of his antipathy towards PM Orbán, and even relations with Italy under Melloni may become testy. Poland's support for Ukraine will not suffer, and Tusk will likely tune down some of the anti-Ukraine rhetoric recently coming from Poland;

- **A reopening of the debate on abortion,** which Tusk will seek to liberalise, as well as other culture war reforms such as legalisation of gay marriage, and a further expansion of

the LGBTQ rights agenda. On all of these issues Tusk will not shy away from a showdown with the Catholic Church and more traditional voters. Again, in a sop to Europe, Tusk may also engage with the EU on migrant reallocation into Poland in a show of “European solidarity”.

A key uncertainty for Tusk will be President Andrzej Duda, who retains legislative veto powers (which require a 3/5 majority in parliament to overturn, and the Tusk coalition is well short of the requisite 276 votes). This legislative

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 veto will allow Duda to stymie many of Tusk’s planned reforms (albeit not the ministerial and state company purges, which remain an executive prerogative of the government). In addition, President Duda regains control over the most senior military nominations, significant influence over ambassadorial appointments, as well as newly acquired

prerogatives in interaction with the European Union. Whether Duda will look for a consensual cohabitation with Tusk, or become a robust guardian of PiS-era reforms, will determine much of Tusk’s chances of success.

Another uncertainty for a Tusk government will be the continued ability of the PiS-nominated head of the National Bank of Poland, Adam Glapinski, to undermine the government’s economic policies; and the country’s Prosecutor General to influence legal investigations. Neither of these PiS appointees can be removed without legislative change, which in turn cannot pass without President Duda’s support.

In summary, the 2023 elections have generated a new opening for Poland, albeit with significant uncertainties as to details and also the ability to implement reform. But if there is no substantial change, Poland for the next four years will be governed by political forces with a much different political vision to that of Law and Justice.

Marek Matraszek

Marek Matraszek

Chairman of the Supervisory Board
 CEC Group



III. 2023 POLISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

GLOSSARY

Below is an exhaustive list that outlines the parties which are certain to enter the Sejm either individually or as part of a coalition.

United Right – *Zjednoczona Prawica*. The name of the coalition under Law and Justice allied with Sovereign Poland and the Republicans.

Law and Justice – *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)*. The outgoing right-wing party of Jarosław Kaczyński.

Sovereign Poland – *Suwerenna Polska (SP)*. PiS' coalition partner of Justice Minister Zbigniew Ziobro.

The Renewal of the Republic of Poland – The Renewal, *OdNowaRP*. Formed from former Agreement members. The party is led by the Deputy Minister of National Defence Marcin Ociepa.

The Republicans – *Republikanie*. A national-conservative party of Adam Bielan, composed in the aftermath of the Agreement party's split in 2021.

Kukiz'15 - Right-wing populist party led by former singer and actor Paweł Kukiz. *De facto* absorbed by PiS.

The Polish Affairs Party – *Polskie Sprawy*. A conservative-liberal party led by a member of the Council of Ministers Agnieszka Ścigaj.

Civic Coalition – *Koalicja Obywatelska (KO)*. The main opposition coalition under Civic Platform with Modern, the Greens, Initiative Poland, and AGROunion. Running as coalition electoral committee with an 8% electoral threshold.

Civic Platform – *Platforma Obywatelska (PO)*. The main opposition party led by Donald Tusk.

Modern – *Nowoczesna (.N)*. Party of Katarzyna Lubnauer, *de facto* absorbed

into the PO.

Polish Initiative – *Inicjatywa Polska (iPL)*. Minor center-left party of Barbara Nowacka.

Greens – *Partia Zieloni (PZ)*. Center-left party of Urszula Zielińska.

AGROunion – *AGROunia (AU)*. The radical left-wing agrarian party led by Michał Kołodziejczak. No elected officials at any level.

The Third Way – *Trzecia Droga (TD)*. Political alliance of Poland 2050 and the Polish People's Party. Running as coalition electoral committee with an 8% electoral threshold.

Poland 2050 – *Polska 2050 (PL2050)*. Liberal-conservative party of Szymon Hołownia. This is the party's electoral debut.

Polish People's Party – *Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)*. The agrarian conservative party of Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz. PSL leads a political alliance of smaller groupings under the name Polish Coalition (*Koalicja Polska*).

Centre for Poland – *Centrum dla Polski (CdPL)*. Conservative party led by Ireneusz Raś. Composed of former Civic Platform and Polish Coalition politicians.

Agreement – *Porozumienie*. Formerly known as Jarosław Gowin's Agreement, now led by Magdalena Sroka. It is part of the Polish Coalition.

The Left – *Lewica*. Running name of the left-wing alliance of New Left, Left Together, Polish Socialist Party, and the Labour Union. Running as an electoral committee with a 5 per cent electoral threshold.

The New Left – *Nowa Lewica (NL)*. Formed in 2021 as a merger of the

Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and Spring. Led by Włodzimierz Czarzasty and Robert Biedroń.

Left Together – *Lewica Razem (Razem)*. Radical leftist grouping under the leadership of Adrian Zandberg and Magdalena Biejat.

Polish Socialist Party – *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (PPS)*. Minor socialist party led by Senator Wojciech Konieczny.

Labour Union – *Unia Pracy (UP)*. Minor social democratic party.

Confederation Liberty and Independence – *Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość (KWiN; Konfederacja)*. Radical right-wing party formed by the New Hope, the National Movement, and the Confederation of Grzegorz Braun's Polish Crown. Running as an electoral committee with a 5 per cent electoral threshold.

The New Hope – *Nowa Nadzieja (NN)*. Right-libertarian, free market-capitalist party of Sławomir Mentzen. Formerly known as KORWiN.

National Movement – *Ruch Narodowy (RN)*. Far-right populist movement led by Krzysztof Bosak.

Confederation of the Polish Crown – *Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (KKP; Korona)*. Far-right monarchist party of Grzegorz Braun.

Nonpartisan Local Government Activists – *Bezpartyjni Samorządowcy (BS)*. Political movement operating at a local government level. Led by the Mayor of Lubin Robert Raczyński.

KW – Electoral Committee of a Political Party; *Komitet Wyborczy Partii Politycznej*. A temporary legal entity tasked with preparing and submitting candidate lists and undertaking all campaign activities. 5% electoral threshold.

KKW – Coalition Electoral Committee; *Koalicyjny Komitet Wyborczy*. Same as above, but created by a coalition of political parties. 8% electoral threshold.

2019 AND 2023 SENATE ELECTION RESULTS

Opposition keeps the Senate

The Senate Pact (KO, the Third Way, the Left) will have a majority of 65 seats, compared to 51 in the 2019 election. PiS and a PiS-leaning independent, Józef Zając, will only have 35 seats.

The official results from the National Electoral Commission reveal that the opposition has certainly increased its advantage over PiS in the Senate. Given the high likelihood of a Sejm majority coalition of the opposition parties, a political alliance led by the Civic Coalition (KO) could dominate both chambers of parliament and allow for a highly coordinated legislative process.

Similarly to the 2019 election, the

opposition opted for a wide coalition committee to the Senate. The strategy foresaw that opposition parties (the Civic Coalition, the Left, and the Third Way) would agree on one candidate for the 100 single-mandate constituencies. The only significant opposition party not to join the 2023 Senate Pact was the Confederation, which has fielded candidates in over half of the constituencies, albeit with no electoral success. In the first-past-the-post system, opposition candidates had a near-unobstructed run against their PiS rivals. Unity of the opposition was not maintained in all constituencies, as several candidates from Poland

2050 decided to run alone. Similarly, independent candidates competed successfully against the opposition and the ruling party.

Before the general election, most commentators agreed that neither the ruling party nor the opposition could expect to gain a parliamentary majority in the Sejm easily. However, given the late poll estimates, it seems highly likely that the coalition of KO, the Third Way, and the Left will be able to form a parliamentary majority in the future Sejm. The opposition has also increased impressively its domination over the Senate. As a result, the Senate Pact expects a majority of 65 seats, compared to 51 in the 2019 election. PiS and a PiS-leaning independent, Józef Zając, will only have 35 seats.

Nevertheless, if the opposition were to form a parliamentary majority in the Sejm, the nature of the upper house would change significantly. During PiS' term in office, the Senate played a key role in obstructing the legislative process of the ruling party. The Senate was also a platform for the opposition to criticize Law and Justice – a prime example being the recent Senate Speaker Tomasz Grodzki's public television address concerning the cash-for-visa scandal. In the next Sejm, the Senate is unlikely to play a role of vetoing legislation pushed forward by the lower chamber. The cooperation between the Sejm and the Senate is likely to be smooth, with the Senate rarely obstructing the legislative process. If the opposition dominates both the Sejm and the Senate, the Senate's ability to amend the law and offer its insights will increase. Therefore, while the Senate is likely to lose its symbolic importance as the focal point

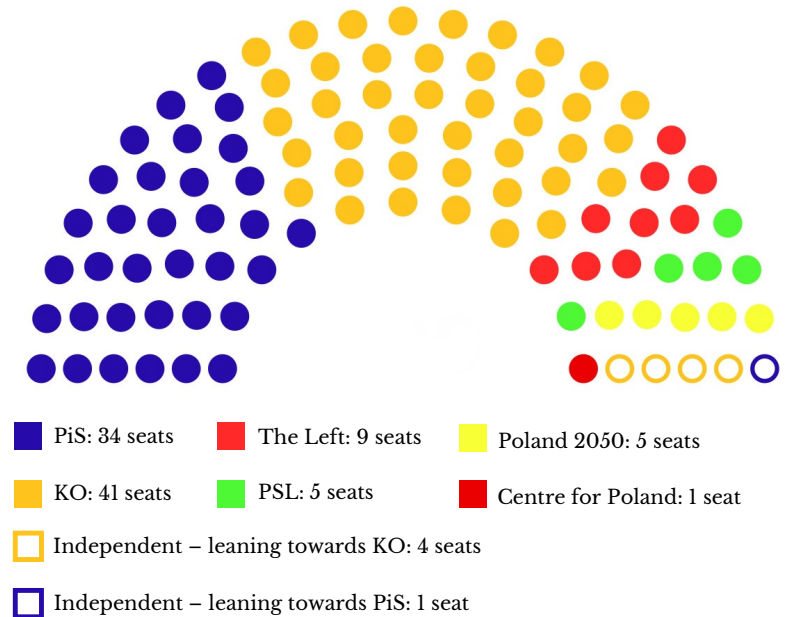
of resistance against PiS, the members of the Senate majority could hope that their substantive comments on laws will be heard by their party colleagues in the Sejm.

Compared to 2019, the Senate Pact is a far more politically diverse group. The Civic Coalition relinquished several constituencies to other parties within the electoral pact. Senators from the Left, the PSL, and Poland 2050 will occupy 20 seats in the Senate. The real number of KO senators fell from 43 to 41 seats compared to 2019. In a scenario where the Civic Coalition falls out with its parliamentary allies, the party and KO-leaning independents will not have a Senate majority. Therefore, KO may be far more dependent on its coalition partners in the Senate than expected before the election.

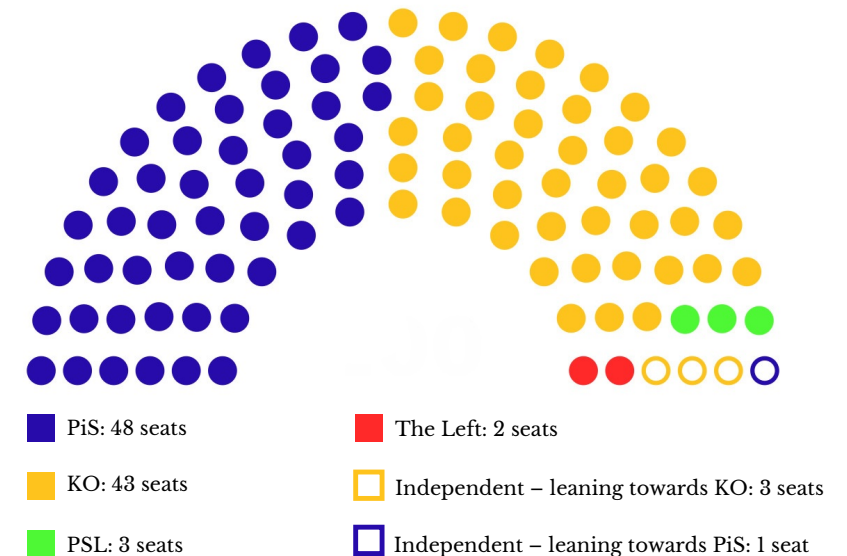
It remains to be seen whether the Civic Coalition appoints its own Speakers in Parliament, or rather uses these posts in coalition negotiations to secure better Council of Ministers positions. The election of the Senate Speaker will be a discretionary process resulting from power dynamics between KO and potential coalition partners.

In terms of voting preferences, the Senate elections are far more personal than those of the Sejm. While party affiliation is the primary factor in a voter's decision, the personal prominence of a particular candidate has greater significance. Results prove that voters also opted for candidates firmly rooted in their constituencies. This is confirmed by the re-election of several independent candidates despite PiS and opposition candidates running.

15 OCTOBER 2023 POLISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS - SENATE



13 OCTOBER 2019 POLISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS - SENATE



List of senator-elects by affiliation

| KKW KO (Civic Coalition) [41]: | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| BIEDA Halina | Local politician, senator (X term) |
| BODNAR Adam | Polish Ombudsman (2015-2021) |
| BOROWSKI Marek Stefan | Long-time parliamentarian, former Speaker of the Sejm |
| BORUSEWICZ Bogdan | Speaker of the Senat (VI, VII, VIII term), prominent party figure |
| BREJZA Ryszard | Local politician, MP (III term), senator (X term), father of prominent MP Krzysztof Brejza |
| CZARNOBAJ Leszek | Local politician, senator (VIII, IX, X term) |
| DUNIN Artur Jerzy | MP (VI, VII, VIII), senator (X term) |
| DZIKOWSKI Waldy | MP (IV, V, VI, VII, VIII term) |
| FEDOROWICZ Jerzy Feliks | MP (V, VI, VII term), senator (IX, X term) |
| GAWŁOWSKI Stanisław | MP (V, VI, VII, VIII term), senator (X term), former deputy Minister of Environment |
| GODYLA Beniamin | Local politician, senator (X, term) |
| GORGON-KOMOR Agnieszka | Local politician, senator (X term) |
| GRODZKI Tomasz | Speaker of the Senate (X term), leading party figure |
| GROMEK Janusz | Former mayor of Kołobrzeg, senator (X term) |
| GRUPIŃSKI Rafał | MP (V, VI, VII, VIII term) |
| HIBNER Jolanta | MP (V, VI, VIII term), MEP (VII term), senator (X term) |
| KALISZUK Ewa | Local politician, senate newcomer |
| KIDAWA-BŁONKA Małgorzata Maria | Key party figure, former PM candidate (2019), former presidential candidate (2020) |
| KLEINA, Kazimierz Mariusz | Local politician, MP (V term), senator (IV, VII, VIII, IX, X) |
| KLICH, Bogdan Adam | Long-time parliamentarian, former Minister of National Defence |
| KOBIAK Andrzej | Local politician, senator (VIII, IX, X term) |
| KOCHAN Magdalena Maria | MP (V, VI, VII, VIII term), senator (X term) |
| KOŁACZ-LESZCZYŃSKA Agnieszka | Local politician, MP (VII, VIII term), senator (X term) |
| KOMARNICKI Władysław | Senator (IX, X term) |
| JARMUZIEWICZ Tadeusz | MP (III, IV, V, VI, VII term), former Deputy Minister for Infrastructure (2007-2013) |
| LENZ Tomasz | MP (V, VI, VII, VIII, X term) |
| MAŁECKA-LIBERA Beata | MP (VI, VI, VII, VIII term), senator (X term), former Deputy Minister of Health |
| MATECKA Ewa | Local politician, senator (X term) |
| MORAWSKA-STANECKA Gabriela | Senator (X term), Deputy Speaker of the Senate |
| PĘCHERZ Janusz | Long-time mayor of Kalisz, senator (X term) |
| PIOTROWSKA Jolanta | Local politician, former mayor of Giżycko |
| RYBICKI Sławomir Piotr | MP (IV, V, VI, VII term), senator (IX, X term) |

| KKW KO (Civic Coalition) [41]: | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| SEKUŁA Joanna | Local politician, senator (X term) |
| SCHETYNA Grzegorz | Former leader of Civic Platform (PO), MP (III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X term) |
| SIEDLACZEK Henryk | MP (V, VI, VII term) |
| SZEJNFELD Adam | Long-time parliamentarian, former DepMin. of Economy |
| ŚWILSKI Ryszard Jan | Local politician, senator (X term) |
| WCISŁA Jerzy | Local politician, senator (IX, X term) |
| ZAWILA Marcin Edward | Local politician, MP (II, VI term) |
| ZDROJEWSKA Barbara Grażyna | Local politician, senator (IX term) |
| ZIEMNIAK Wojciech Stanisław | MP (V, VI, VII, VIII term), senator (X term) |

| KW Nowa Lewica (New Left) [9]: | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| BIEJAT Magdalena | MP (X term), co-leader of Left Together |
| GÓRSKA Anna | Political newcomer |
| KARPIŃSKI Marcin | Local politician |
| KONIECZNY Wojciech Jan | Senator (X term), leader of the Polish Socialist Party |
| KOPIEC Maciej | MP (X term) |
| KUKUCKI Krzysztof Aleksander | Political newcomer |
| SEKUŁA-SZMAJDZIŃSKA Małgorzata Helena | MP (VII, IX term), widow of the former Minister of National Defence Jerzy Szmajdziński |
| WITKOWSKI Waldemar | Leader of the Labour Union since 2006 |
| WOŹNIAK Piotr | Local politician |

| KW PSL (Polish People's Party) [5]: | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| BOBER Ryszard Jakub | Local politician, senator (X term) |
| BRZEZIN Gustaw Marek | Local politician |
| LIBICKI Jan Filip | MP (V, VI term), senator (VIII, IX, X term) |
| KAMIŃSKI Michał | Long-standing parliamentarian, former spokesperson of Lech Kaczyński, Deputy Speaker of the Senate (X term) |
| PAWLAK Waldemar | Former two-time Prime Minister of Poland (1992, 1993-5), former leader of the Polish People's Party (2005-2012) |

| KW Polska 2050 (Poland 2050) [5]: | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| FEDOROWICZ Grzegorz | Former Deputy of the Polish Prison Service (2017-2020), political newcomer |
| MASŁOWSKI Piotr Paweł | Local politician |
| RÓŻAŃSKI Mirosław | Former General Commander of the Armed Forces Branches (2015-2016), political newcomer |
| TRELA Jacek | Former President of the Polish Bar Association, political newcomer |
| ŻYWNO Maciej | Local politician |

| KW Centrum dla Polski (Centre for Poland) [1]: | |
|--|--|
| UJAZDOWSKI, Kazimierz M. | MP (III, IV, V, VI, VII), MEP (VIII), senator (X term), former Minister of Culture |

| Independents - leaning towards KO [4]: | |
|--|--|
| DZIUBA Andrzej | Mayor of Tychy since 2000, parliamentary newcomer |
| FRANKIEWICZ Zygmunt | Long-time mayor of Gliwice, senator (X term) |
| KWIATKOWSKI Krzysztof | Former Minister of Justice and President of the Supreme Audit Office, senator (X term) |
| TYSZKIEWICZ Wadim | Long-time mayor of Nowa Sól, senator (X term) |

| KW PiS (Law and Justice) [34]: | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| AMBROZIK Rafał | Senator (IX, X term) |
| BERNACKI Włodzimierz | MP (VII, VIII term), senator (X term) |
| BIENKOWSKI Krzysztof | Local politician |
| BIERECKI Grzegorz | Senator (VIII, IX, X term), former President of the World Council of Credit Unions |
| BŁASZCZYK Przemysław | Local politician, senator (VII, VIII, IX, X term) |
| BOGUĆKA Anna | Local politician |
| CHROŚCIKOWSKI Jerzy | Senator (IV, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X term) |
| CZELEJ Grzegorz | Senator (VII, VIII, IX, X term), Deputy Speaker of the Senate (IX term) |
| DOBKOWSKI Wiesław | Local politician, senator (VII, VIII, IX, X term) |
| DURLAK Wiktor | Local politician, senator (X term) |
| GALEMBA Leszek | Local politician, MP (VIII, X term) |
| GOGACZ Stanisław | Local politician, senator (IV, VII, VIII, IX, X term) |
| GOLBA Mieczysław | MP (V, VI, VII term), senator (IX, X term) |
| GÓRSKI Maciej | MP (X term) |
| HAMERSKI Jan | Local politician, senator (IX, X term) |
| JODŁOWSKI Józef | Local politician |
| KALATA Andrzej Jerzy | Local politician |
| KARCZEWSKI Stanisław | Senator (VI, VII, VIII, IX, X term), Speaker of the Senate (IX term), Deputy Speaker of the Senate (X term) |
| KOMOROWSKI Marek A. | Local politician, senator (X term) |
| KRASKA Waldemar Jerzy | Senator (VI, VII, VIII, IX, X term) |
| MAJER Ryszard Bogdan | Local politician, senator (IX, X term) |
| MAMAŹTOW Robert A. | Senator (VIII, IX, X term) |
| PAJAŃK Andrzej | Local politician, MP (VI term), senator (VIII, IX, X term) |
| PEŃK Marek | MP (VI term), senator (VIII, IX, X term), Deputy Speaker of the Senate (IX, X term) |
| PUPA Zdzisław Stanisław | Local politician, MP (III term), senator (VII, VIII, IX, X term) |
| RUSIECKI Jarosław | MP (V, VI, VII term), senator (VIII, IX, X term) |

| KW PiS (Law and Justice) [34]: | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| SAGATOWSKA Janina Z. | Local politician, senator (IV, V, VIII, IX, X term) |
| SEWERYŃSKI Michał | Former Minister of Science, Deputy Speaker of the Senate (IX term) |
| SKURKIEWICZ Wojciech | Senator (VII, VIII, X term), MP (VIII term), Deputy Minister of the Ministry of National Defence. |
| SŁOŃ Krzysztof Marek | Local politician, senator (VIII, IX, X term) |
| SZWED Aleksander | Local politician, senator (IX, X term) |
| WIATR Kazimierz Adam | Local (VI, VII, VIII, IX, X term) |
| WŁOSOWICZ Jacek W. | Local politician, senator (VI, IX, X term), MEP (VII term) |
| ZAJĄC Alicja | Local politician, senator (VII, VIII, IX, X term) |

| Independents - leaning towards PiS [1]: | |
|---|----------------------------|
| ZAJĄC Józef | Senator (VIII, IX, X term) |

2019 AND 2023 SEJM ELECTION RESULTS

Parties in the new parliament

Law and Justice (United Right)

Official result: 35,38% (194 seats)

Pre-election prediction: 37,6% (196 seats)

This result was not a surprise for analysts and commentators, albeit party hardliners did hope for a better result. Following the exit poll results, Prime Minister Morawiecki stated that his grouping will be attempting to form a parliamentary majority. Still, this is not likely to be successful given the Confederation's poor results and statements from other groupings. PiS leader Jarosław Kaczyński did suggest in his statement on election night that his party could be headed for the opposition. It is, however, clear that PiS hoped for a significantly lower electoral result of the Third Way – the PiS leadership believed that the Third Way could have failed to cross the 8 per cent electoral threshold, and the opposition parties would not be able to reach a 231-majority in the Sejm. PiS will remain in power until the formation of the new government, probably sometime in December.

The party is transitioning to the opposition after eight years in government. It will remain the strongest opposition force, but it faces a time of post-election settlements. Discussions on the power balance and the future of the party are likely to emerge. The good electoral results of the 40-year-olds, and the weaker ones of Jarosław Kaczyński's old guard, allow for questions to be asked about the shape of the party in the coming years. Most importantly whether it will face a generational change, and thus a change of emphasis in its programme and message to voters. While a major split is unlikely, PiS' smaller allies could splinter off in the coming months and years as the core of the party closes ranks and attempts to regroup.

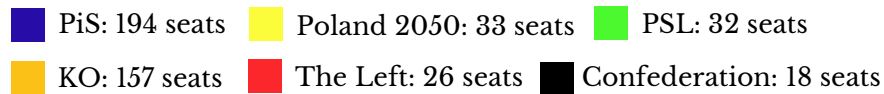
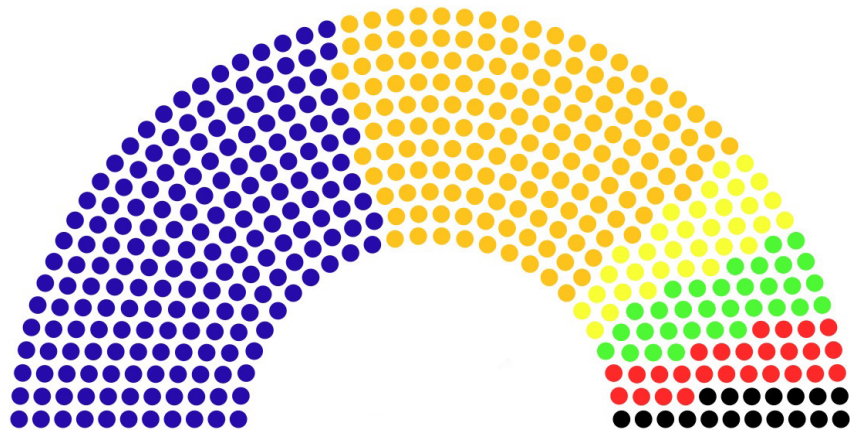
Civic Coalition

Official result: 30,70% (157 seats)

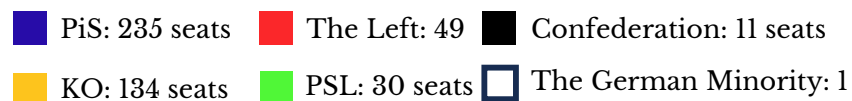
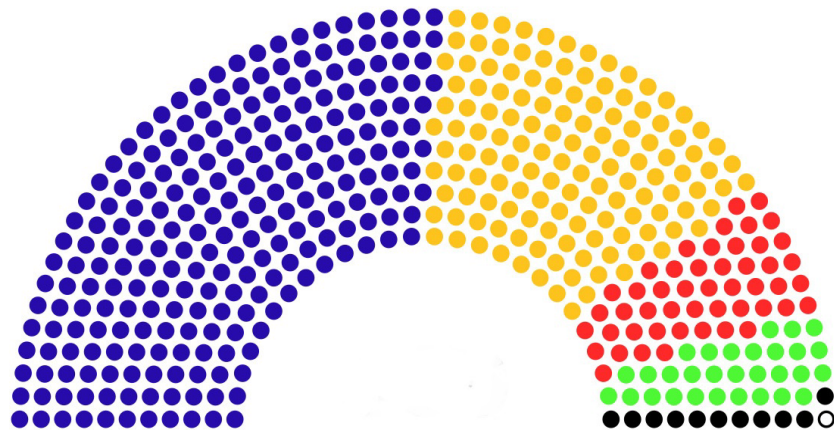
Pre-election prediction: 30,1% (145 seats)

It is now very likely, that after 8 years in

15 OCTOBER 2023 POLISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS



13 OCTOBER 2019 POLISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS



opposition, the Civic Platform (leading the Civic Coalition) will return to power. Former Prime Minister and President of the European Council Donald Tusk will head the new ruling camp and will be seen as the key political winner of this parliamentary election. Still, Tusk has challenging coalition negotiations ahead of him and an ambitious policy plan to overhaul many of PiS' state-changing reforms.

If Tusk successfully forms this upcoming government, discussions about a leadership challenge in the Civic Platform will subside and aspiring factions, such as those of Rafał Trzaskowski, will have to find their place in the new coalition order – at least until the 2025 presidential election. Questions are also emerging on how stable Tusk's coalition government could be in the mid and long term. For now, however, the liberal political camp will be focused on reversing PiS reforms rather than introducing ambitious new policies.

Third Way

Official result: 14,40% (65 seats)

Pre-election prediction: 11,1% (43 seats)

The Third Way could be seen as the biggest winner of these elections. Throughout recent weeks it was the potential below-threshold result of the Third Way that was seen as a possible scenario for a third consecutive term for the Law and Justice party. Ironically, the proliferation of this scenario motivated voters to support the coalition of PSL and Poland 2050. The latter party's leader, Szymon Hołownia, is also seen as a key winner of this election. His performance in the pre-election debate is regarded as one of the reasons for the grouping's success.

The formation of a joint parliamentary club (or a federated two-party club), as

announced by Hołownia and the leader of PSL Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz may not only strengthen their position in the coalition negotiations but could also be a harbinger of closer substantive and organizational cooperation in the future. The Third Way is a natural coalition partner for the Civic Coalition and Donald Tusk in forming the future government. The party could serve as a conservative link in the new parliamentary majority and, in the absence of fundamental changes in PiS, may be an alternative for the moderate voter with conservative sensibilities.

The Left

Official result: 8,61% (26 seats)

Pre-election prediction: 10,4% (37 seats)

The Left's result is generally disappointing compared with predictions as well as their score from 2019. Still, as one of the Left's leaders Włodzimierz Czarzasty argued, after 18 years in the opposition - the left wing is likely to return to co-governing Poland. In the upcoming coalition talks, the Left will likely be the most challenging negotiation-wise for the Civic Platform's Donald Tusk. Similarly, in terms of economic, welfare, and worldview policies, the Left could turn out to be on a collision course with Tusk's party. Given the disappointing result of the grouping, the position of the Left during the negotiations will be somewhat undermined.

It also remains to be seen how well aligned the Left continues to be after the election within its own grouping – the Together party could challenge the New Left within this coalition to push for a more progressive policy agenda. Due to the main coalition's ideological diversity, the Left may find it difficult to implement its most progressive demands. At the same time, the arrival of many younger parliamentarians raises

the question of generational change and possible programme changes.

Confederation

Official result: 7,16% (18 seats)

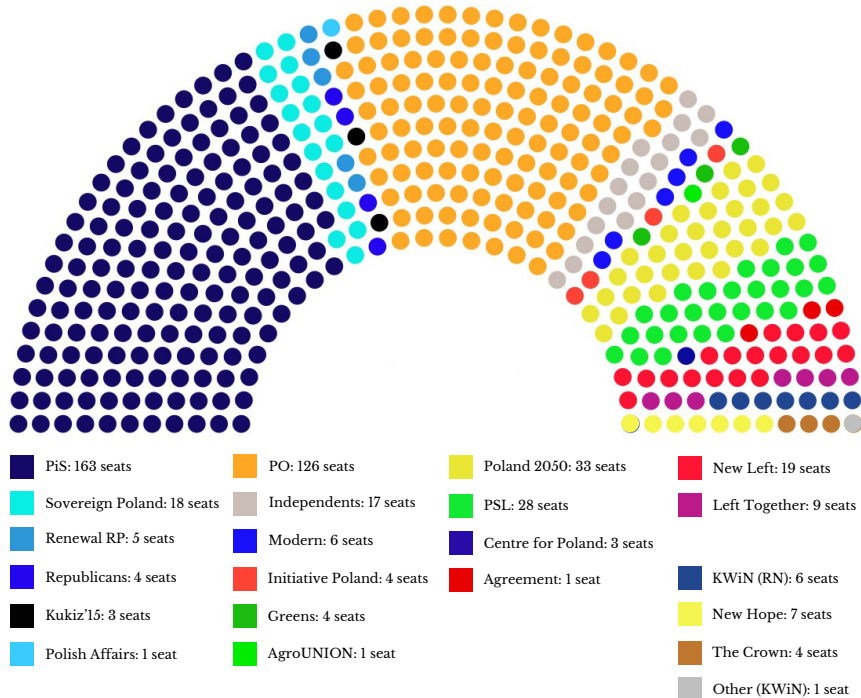
Pre-election prediction: 9,4% (38 seats)

Official results have confirmed that the Confederation has suffered the most significant defeat compared to pre-election expectations. The leader of the Confederation – Slawomir Mentzen – admitted that his grouping has suffered a loss “I feel personally responsible for this failure (...) We were supposed to ‘flip the table’. This did not happen”. Many key Confederation politicians and aspiring figures did not get into parliament. A leadership contest is also likely in the near future. While in

recent months some commentators argued that the Confederation could be a challenger for PiS’ domination on the right in Poland, this election result will stave off such a scenario.

A much weaker electoral result than predicted by polls and expert voices puts the formation in a difficult position. Its internal diversity does not make it possible to determine which way the formation will go – especially, as the current leading faction of Mentzen’s free-market libertarians received fewer parliamentary seats than the populist National Movement. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that in order to distinguish itself mainly from PiS it will adopt a radical anti-European and anti-immigrant line and bide its time to challenge PiS for conservative votes in the next election season.

2023 POLISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS: FACTIONS AND PARTIES



Voter tendencies

Due to the characteristics of the voting procedure in Poland, the National Electoral Commission (PKW) only provides data on how citizens voted, depending on their location. It does not offer election turnout dependent on the voter’s age.

However, the late poll studies allow for categorising voters into several groups based on age, career, and education levels. Respondents are also asked about their preferences in previous parliamentary and presidential elections. This allows for an analysis of voting tendencies and patterns. Consequently, this leads to an assessment of political parties in relation to their reception among different groups. Although the number of ‘undecided’ responses affects the accuracy of these particular polls, certain trends can still be deduced. Therefore, the report analyses data from a late poll conducted by IPSOS.

Voters by education

The structure of the PKW’s final results depending on education does not show significant changes compared to the late poll by IPSOS in voters with primary and vocational education. However, compared to the last election, PiS lost many secondary and higher education voters, losing 7.9 p.p. in both groups. The Left also failed to gather relatively many voters in these groups and lost 4.1pp and 4.8pp, respectively. The poor results of PiS and the Left stand in contrast to the surprisingly high popularity of the Third Way among highly educated voters. This is a substantial success for the coalition, which most likely should be attributed to the effectiveness of the Poland2050’s message rather than the PSL’s. The pro-environment, centrist party is especially popular with the specific group of conservative voters, characterised by higher education and

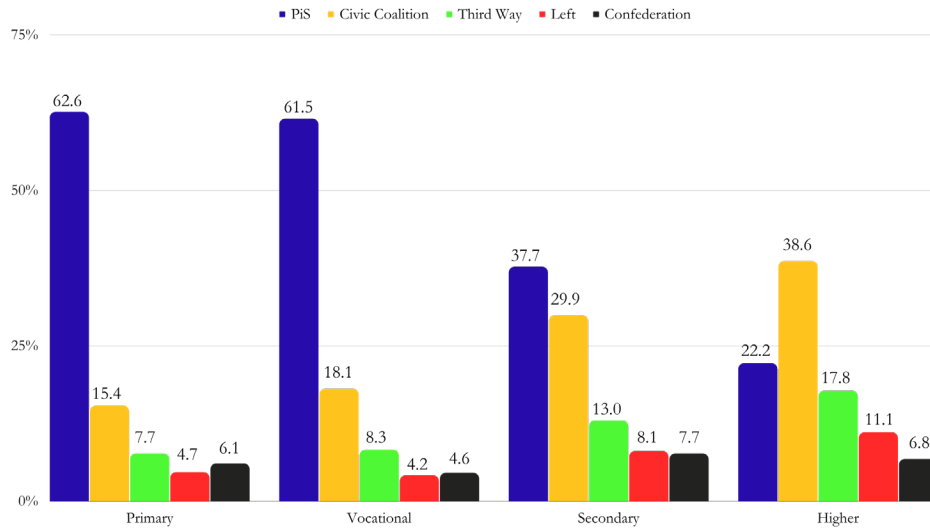
a firmly critical opinion of PiS but also a rather skeptic approach to relatively progressive views of some of the opposition parties (Civic Coalition and the Left). Despite the upward trend in the results of the Third Way, the Civic Coalition electorate’s slight increase was noted in all but primary education voters.

Voters by age

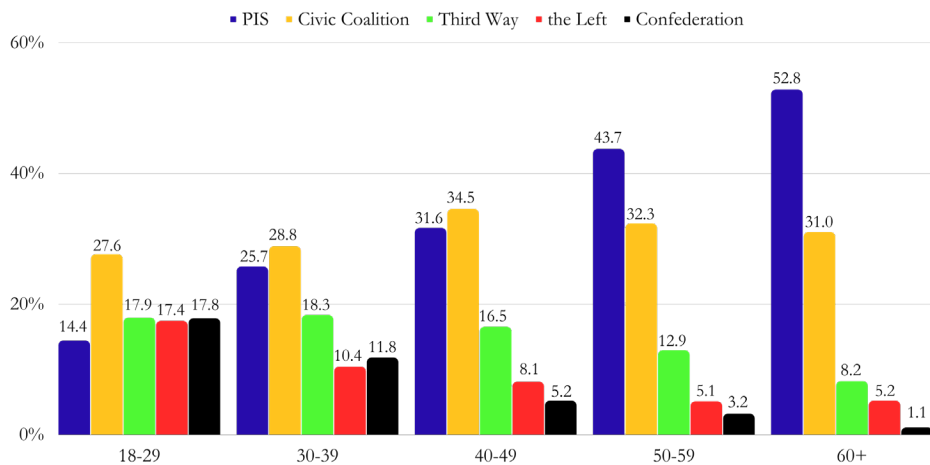
The votes and turnout of the youngest voters - especially the record-low support in this group for PiS - had a major impact on the final election results. Turnout among young people rose from 46% in 2019 and 64% in the 2020 presidential election to a record 68.8%, and thus slightly exceeded turnout among the oldest voters of more than 60 years old (66%). While PiS achieved the highest result among the youngest voters of all parties in 2019, at 26.3%, in this election, it ranked last among the committees that reached the electoral threshold with only 14.4% support. The Civic Coalition saw a slight increase of 2.2 p.p. in this group and came first with 27.6%. The three other parties - Third Way, Confederation, and the Left - had very similar results at 17.4-17.9%. As is the case among the general group of all voters, the Third Way contributed to the change in voting preferences among the young electorate. This is primarily due to Poland 2050, whose message had the chance to appeal to many undecided voters for the first time. Additionally, the level of polarisation among the youngest voters seems stable, as the Left and Confederation’s results - although both slightly worse than in 2019. - remain high.

In further age groups, it can be seen that the Civic Coalition also outperformed PiS among voters aged 30-39 and 40-49. There is a noticeable drop in support for

VOTERS BY EDUCATION



VOTERS BY AGE



PiS in these groups compared to 2019. Among voters aged 30 to 40, PiS lost 11.2p, and among those aged 40 to 50, it lost 9.4p. Although, as in 2019, PiS is still the main choice of voters aged 50-59 and 60+, its lead in these age groups has also decreased - by 7.5 p.p. in these

elections, respectively. (from 51.2% to 43.7%) and by 3 p.p. (from 55.8% to 52.8%). As turnout was highest in the 50-59 age group at 83.2%, the Civic Coalition's 8 p.p. increase and the Third Way's high score contributed significantly to the opposition's victory.

Interestingly - despite a strong focus on electoral promises aimed at older voters - such as the proposed widow's pension and the introduction of a merit pension scheme - the Left's support almost halved in both age groups to just over 5% and was significantly outperformed by the Third Way.

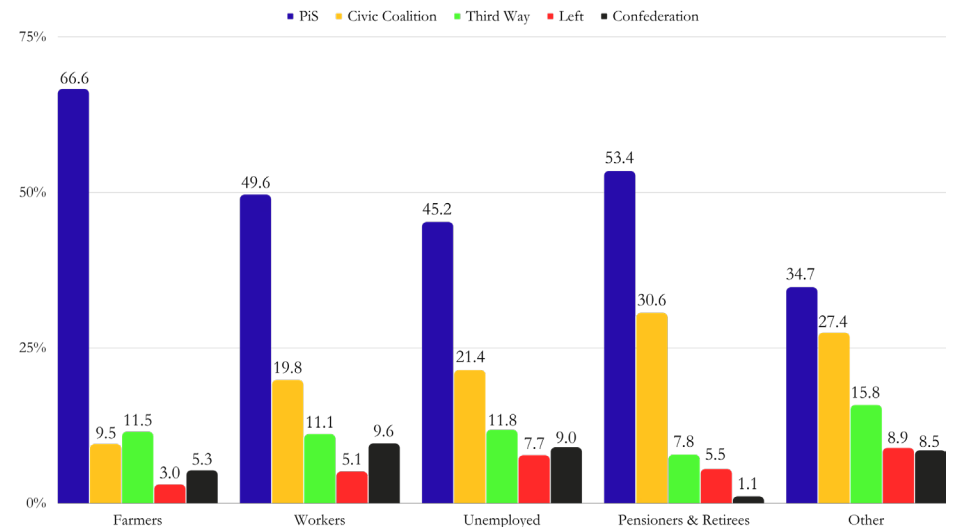
Voters by vocation

The new force, the Third Way coalition, recorded a high result among students, whose turnout was significantly higher than in previous elections. The Third Way scored almost twice as much as the PSL in this year's election among this group in 2019. - 18,1%. Overall, among students, the Civic Coalition won with a score of 31.0% and significantly increased its lead over the Left (21.6%) - the two parties scored almost equally in 2019 at 25.1% and 24.3%. PiS's score among student voters more than halved from 22.40% to 11%.

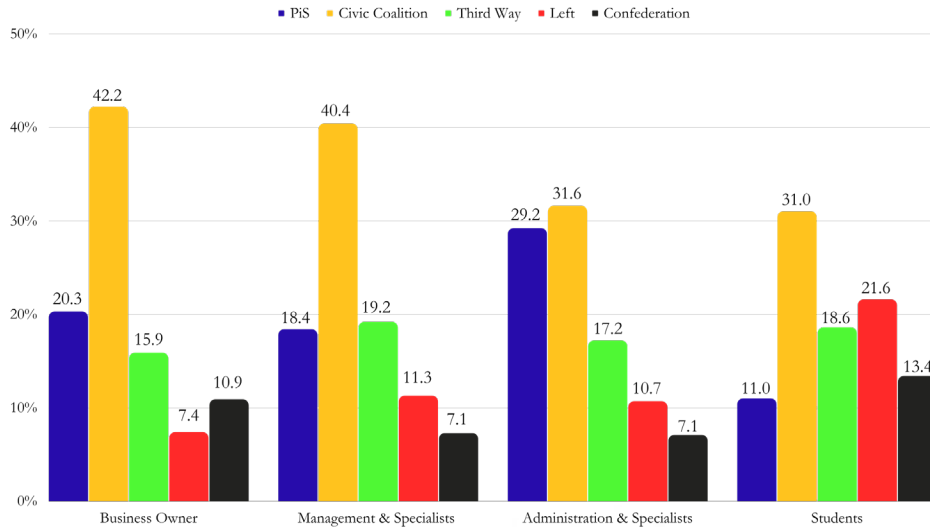
farmers aggressively targeted in the final weeks of the election campaigns - PiS saw a decline in support. At the same time, the Civic Coalition gained, coming out slightly ahead also among voters working in administration and services. Despite this, PiS remained the main choice of farmers - collecting as much as 2/3 of their votes. Surprisingly, this was also the only group where the Third Way recorded less support than the PSL in 2019, as it fell by more than 5 p.p. The Civic Coalition made a slight gain among farmers. However, its result is disappointing given the inclusion of the Agronomia leader Michał Kołodziejczak on the list. However, the farming community strongly criticised his inclusion on the KO list. On the broader group, in turn, it may have swayed a number of progressive animal rights voters towards the New Left and the Third Way.

In all other occupational groups - including among pensioners and

VOTERS BY VOCATION



VOTERS BY VOCATION



Voters by gender

As in previous elections, the overall voting pattern is similar for both genders, and turnout was slightly higher among female voters in this year's election. Overall, the small margin of difference between the genders in voting preferences in 2019 has shrunk further, except in the case of the Confederation, which saw an increase of 1.2 p.p in the popularity gap among male voters compared to female voters in 2019. Among women's electorate, the party only achieved 3.1%. In a reverse symmetry, the New Left was more popular among women, with support at 10.1% compared to 6.8% among male voters.

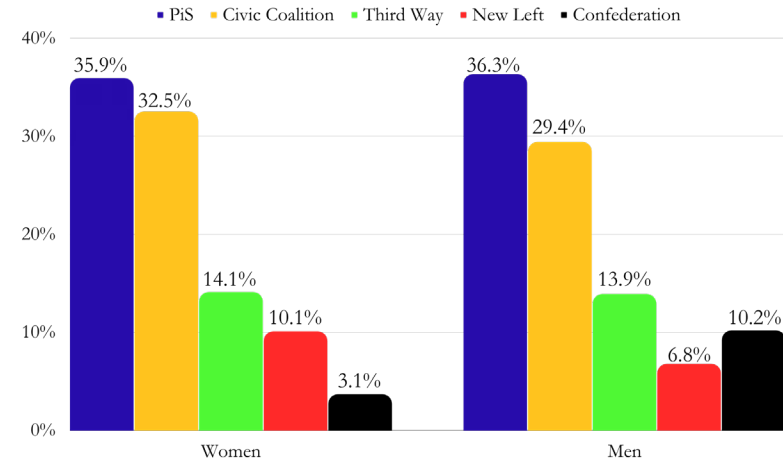
Voters by domicile

In Poland, the voter base remains largest in rural areas dominated by conservative voters. However, turnout among rural residents was the lowest despite incentives announced by the government for municipalities

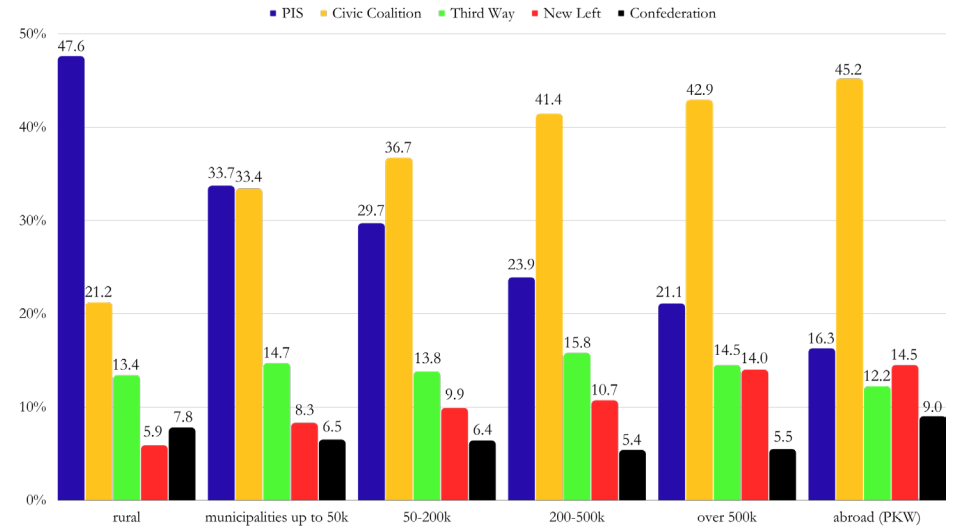
with the highest turnout to mobilise voters. It is possible that the relatively low participation rate in the villages contributed to the election being decided in favour of the united opposition bloc. In towns with up to 50,000 inhabitants, PiS and the Civic Coalition received similar support, amounting to around a third of the vote. However, KO won in all the larger municipalities, increasing its lead over PiS among urban voters. Interestingly, support for the Third Way was stable in all locations, ranging from 13.4% in rural areas to 15.8% in medium-sized cities. It overtook, albeit by a small margin, the Left in relatively progressive, left-leaning Warsaw.

A record number of votes abroad of almost 570,000 were cast predominantly for the opposition, with the Civic Coalition winning over 45% of the vote in this group. Surprisingly, the Left overtook the party in power so far and received 16.3% of support compared to 14.5% for PiS and 12.2% for the Third Way.

VOTERS BY GENDER



VOTERS BY DOMICILE



Constituency-level results

| Seat division | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|-----|-----|----|----|------|----------|
| Constituency | Main city | PiS | KO | TD | NL | KWiN | In total |
| 1 | Legnica | 5 | 5 | 1 | 1 | – | 12 |
| 2 | Wałbrzych | 3 | 4 | 1 | – | – | 8 |
| 3 | Wrocław | 4 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| 4 | Bydgoszcz | 4 | 5 | 2 | 1 | – | 12 |
| 5 | Toruń | 5 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| 6 | Lublin | 8 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 15 |
| 7 | Chełm | 7 | 2 | 2 | – | 1 | 12 |
| 8 | Zielona Góra | 4 | 5 | 2 | 1 | – | 12 |
| 9 | Łódź | 3 | 5 | 1 | 1 | – | 10 |
| 10 | Piotrków Trybunalski | 6 | 2 | 1 | – | – | 9 |
| 11 | Sieradz | 6 | 3 | 2 | 1 | – | 12 |
| 12 | Chrzanów | 5 | 2 | 1 | – | – | 8 |
| 13 | Kraków II | 5 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| 14 | Nowy Sącz | 6 | 2 | 1 | – | 1 | 10 |
| 15 | Tarnów | 5 | 2 | 2 | – | – | 9 |
| 16 | Płock | 5 | 3 | 2 | – | – | 10 |
| 17 | Radom | 6 | 2 | 1 | – | – | 9 |
| 18 | Siedlce | 7 | 2 | 2 | – | 1 | 12 |
| 19 | Warszawa I | 4 | 9 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 20 |
| 20 | Warszawa II | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| 21 | Opole | 4 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| 22 | Krosno | 7 | 2 | 1 | – | 1 | 11 |
| 23 | Rzeszów | 9 | 3 | 2 | – | 1 | 15 |
| 24 | Białystok | 7 | 3 | 3 | – | 1 | 14 |
| 25 | Gdańsk | 3 | 6 | 2 | 1 | – | 12 |
| 26 | Stąpsk | 4 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| 27 | Bielsko-Biała | 4 | 3 | 1 | – | 1 | 9 |
| 28 | Częstochowa | 3 | 3 | 1 | – | – | 7 |
| 29 | Gliwice | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | – | 9 |
| 30 | Rybnik | 4 | 3 | 1 | – | 1 | 9 |
| 31 | Katowice | 4 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| 32 | Sosnowiec | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | – | 9 |
| 33 | Kielce | 8 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 16 |
| 34 | Elbląg | 4 | 3 | 1 | – | – | 8 |
| 35 | Olsztyn | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | – | 10 |
| 36 | Kalisz | 5 | 4 | 2 | 1 | – | 12 |
| 37 | Konin | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | – | 9 |
| 38 | Piła | 3 | 4 | 2 | – | – | 9 |
| 39 | Poznań | 2 | 5 | 2 | 1 | – | 10 |
| 40 | Koszalin | 3 | 4 | 1 | – | – | 8 |
| 41 | Szczecin | 4 | 6 | 1 | 1 | – | 12 |
| | Poland | 194 | 157 | 65 | 26 | 18 | 460 |

| No. | Constituency no. | Main city | KW/KKW | Surname | Name | First term | Political affiliation |
|-----|------------------|-----------|--------|--------------------|------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | 1 | Legnica | PiS | Witek | Elzbieta | No | Law and Justice |
| 2 | 1 | Legnica | PiS | Machalek | Marzena | No | Law and Justice |
| 3 | 1 | Legnica | PiS | Kubów | Krzysztof | No | Law and Justice |
| 4 | 1 | Legnica | PiS | Pogoda | Szymon | No | Law and Justice |
| 5 | 1 | Legnica | PiS | Zubowski | Wojciech | No | Law and Justice |
| 6 | 1 | Legnica | KO | Borys | Piotr | No | Civic Platform |
| 7 | 1 | Legnica | KO | Kropiwnicki | Robert | No | Civic Platform |
| 8 | 1 | Legnica | KO | Czernow | Zofia | No | Civic Platform |
| 9 | 1 | Legnica | KO | Horbatowski | Łukasz | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 10 | 1 | Legnica | KO | Krawczyk | Iwona | No | Civic Platform |
| 11 | 1 | Legnica | TD | Samborski | Tadeusz | No | Polish People's Party |
| 12 | 1 | Legnica | NL | Sikora | Arkadiusz | Yes | The New Left |
| 13 | 2 | Wałbrzych | KO | Wielichowska | Monika | No | Civic Platform |
| 14 | 2 | Wałbrzych | KO | Bielawska | Sylvia | Yes | not a party member (KO) |
| 15 | 2 | Wałbrzych | KO | Mrzygłocka | Izabela | No | Civic Platform |
| 16 | 2 | Wałbrzych | KO | Chmielewski | Marek | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 17 | 2 | Wałbrzych | PiS | Dworczyk | Michał | No | Law and Justice |
| 18 | 2 | Wałbrzych | PiS | Gwóźdź | Marcin | No | Law and Justice |
| 19 | 2 | Wałbrzych | PiS | Zyska | Ireneusz | No | Law and Justice |
| 20 | 2 | Wałbrzych | TD | Leo | Aleksandra | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 21 | 3 | Wrocław | KO | Zdrojewski | Bogdan | No | Civic Platform |
| 22 | 3 | Wrocław | KO | Chybicka | Alicja | No | Civic Platform |
| 23 | 3 | Wrocław | KO | Jaros | Michał | No | Civic Platform |
| 24 | 3 | Wrocław | KO | Tracz | Małgorzata | No | Greens |
| 25 | 3 | Wrocław | KO | Niezgódzka | Jolanta | Yes | Modern |
| 26 | 3 | Wrocław | KO | Sobolak | Anna | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 27 | 3 | Wrocław | PiS | Stachowiak-Różecka | Mirosława | No | Law and Justice |
| 28 | 3 | Wrocław | PiS | Hreniak | Paweł | No | Law and Justice |
| 29 | 3 | Wrocław | PiS | Soin | Agnieszka | No | Law and Justice |
| 30 | 3 | Wrocław | PiS | Świat | Jacek | No | Law and Justice |
| 31 | 3 | Wrocław | TD | Zimoch | Tomasz | No | Poland 2050 |
| 32 | 3 | Wrocław | TD | Bodnar | Izabela | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 33 | 3 | Wrocław | NL | Śmiszek | Krzysztof | No | The New Left |
| 34 | 3 | Wrocław | KWiN | Tuduj | Krzysztof | No | Confederation (National Movement) |
| 35 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | KO | Brejza | Krzysztof | No | Civic Platform |
| 36 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | KO | Olszewski | Paweł | No | Civic Platform |
| 37 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | KO | Kozłowska | Iwona | No | Civic Platform |
| 38 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | KO | Giziński | Włodzisław | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 39 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | KO | Karolewska | Iwona | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 40 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | PiS | Schreiber | Łukasz | No | Law and Justice |
| 41 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | PiS | Szrot | Paweł | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 42 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | PiS | Król | Piotr | No | Law and Justice |
| 43 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | PiS | Kownacki | Bartosz | No | Law and Justice |
| 44 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | TD | Pietrykowski | Norbert | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 45 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | TD | Kłopotek | Agnieszka | Yes | Polish People's Party |
| 46 | 4 | Bydgoszcz | NL | Gawkowski | Krzysztof | No | The New Left |
| 47 | 5 | Toruń | PiS | Szczucki | Krzysztof | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 48 | 5 | Toruń | PiS | Ardanowski | Krzysztof | No | Law and Justice |
| 49 | 5 | Toruń | PiS | Borowiak | Joanna | No | Law and Justice |
| 50 | 5 | Toruń | PiS | Gembicka | Anna | No | Law and Justice |
| 51 | 5 | Toruń | PiS | Kałużny | Mariusz | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 52 | 5 | Toruń | KO | Myrcha | Arkadiusz | No | Civic Platform |
| 53 | 5 | Toruń | KO | Hartwich | Iwona | No | not a party member (KO) |
| 54 | 5 | Toruń | KO | Szymański | Tomasz | No | Civic Platform |
| 55 | 5 | Toruń | KO | Luczak | Krzysztof | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 56 | 5 | Toruń | TD | Sosnowski | Zbigniew | No | Polish People's Party |
| 57 | 5 | Toruń | TD | Skonieczka | Marcin | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 58 | 5 | Toruń | NL | Scheuring-Wielgus | Joanna | No | The New Left |
| 59 | 5 | Toruń | KWiN | Wipler | Przemysław | No | The New Hope |
| 60 | 6 | Lublin | PiS | Czarnek | Przemysław | No | Law and Justice |
| 61 | 6 | Lublin | PiS | Soboń | Artur | No | Law and Justice |
| 62 | 6 | Lublin | PiS | Kanthalak | Jan | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 63 | 6 | Lublin | PiS | Moskal | Michał | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 64 | 6 | Lublin | PiS | Skwarek | Sławomir | No | Law and Justice |
| 65 | 6 | Lublin | PiS | Filipek-Sobczak | Magdalena | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 66 | 6 | Lublin | PiS | Tufajew | Sylwester | No | Law and Justice |
| 67 | 6 | Lublin | PiS | Choma | Kazimierz | No | Law and Justice |
| 68 | 6 | Lublin | KO | Wcisło | Marta | No | Civic Platform |
| 69 | 6 | Lublin | KO | Krawczyk | Michał | No | Civic Platform |
| 70 | 6 | Lublin | KO | Bojarski | Krzysztof | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 71 | 6 | Lublin | TD | Mucha | Joanna | No | Poland 2050 |
| 72 | 6 | Lublin | TD | Hetman | Krzysztof | Yes | Polish People's Party |
| 73 | 6 | Lublin | KWiN | Pejo | Bartłomiej | Yes | The New Hope |
| 74 | 6 | Lublin | NL | Czerniak | Jacek | No | The New Left |
| 75 | 7 | Chełm | PiS | Kamiński | Mariusz | No | Law and Justice |

| No. | Constituency no. | Main city | KW/KKW | Surname | Name | First term | Political affiliation |
|-----|------------------|----------------------|--------|----------------------------|------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 76 | 7 | Chelm | PIS | Sachajko | Jarostaw | No | Kukiz15 |
| 77 | 7 | Chelm | PIS | Stefaniuk | Dariusz | No | Law and Justice |
| 78 | 7 | Chelm | PIS | Romanowski | Marcin | Yes | Sovereign Poland |
| 79 | 7 | Chelm | PIS | Dąbrowska-Banaszek | Anna | No | The Renewal |
| 80 | 7 | Chelm | PIS | Zieliński | Tomasz | No | Law and Justice |
| 81 | 7 | Chelm | PIS | Zawiślak | Sławomir | No | Law and Justice |
| 82 | 7 | Chelm | KO | Grabczuk | Krzysztof | No | Civic Platform |
| 83 | 7 | Chelm | KO | Gromadzka | Małgorzata | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 84 | 7 | Chelm | TD | Różyński | Wiesław | Yes | Polish People's Party |
| 85 | 7 | Chelm | TD | Ćwik | Sławomir | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 86 | 7 | Chelm | KWIN | Tumanowicz | Witold | Yes | Confederation (National Movement) |
| 87 | 8 | Zielona Góra | KO | Polak | Elżbieta | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 88 | 8 | Zielona Góra | KO | Ślugocki | Waldemar | No | Civic Platform |
| 89 | 8 | Zielona Góra | KO | Sibińska | Krzyszyna | No | Civic Platform |
| 90 | 8 | Zielona Góra | KO | Dowhan | Robert | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 91 | 8 | Zielona Góra | KO | Osos | Katarzyna | No | Civic Platform |
| 92 | 8 | Zielona Góra | PIS | Ast | Marek | No | Law and Justice |
| 93 | 8 | Zielona Góra | PIS | Dajczak | Władysław | No | Law and Justice |
| 94 | 8 | Zielona Góra | PIS | Materna | Jerzy | No | Law and Justice |
| 95 | 8 | Zielona Góra | PIS | Mejza | Łukasz | No | The Republicans |
| 96 | 8 | Zielona Góra | TD | Nowak | Maja | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 97 | 8 | Zielona Góra | TD | Tomczyszyn | Stanisław | Yes | Polish People's Party |
| 98 | 8 | Zielona Góra | NL | Kucharska-Dziedzic | Anita | No | The New Left |
| 99 | 9 | Łódź | KO | Joriski | Dariusz | No | Polish Initiative |
| 100 | 9 | Łódź | KO | Wiśniewska | Aleksandra | Yes | not a party member (KO) |
| 101 | 9 | Łódź | KO | Niemczyk | Małgorzata | No | Civic Platform |
| 102 | 9 | Łódź | KO | Bliźniuk | Paweł | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 103 | 9 | Łódź | KO | Józefaciuk | Marcin | Yes | not a party member (KO) |
| 104 | 9 | Łódź | PIS | Buda | Waldemar | No | Law and Justice |
| 105 | 9 | Łódź | PIS | Rau | Zbigniew | No | Law and Justice |
| 106 | 9 | Łódź | PIS | Wojciechowska van Heukelom | Agnieszka | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 107 | 9 | Łódź | NL | Trela | Tomasz | No | The New Left |
| 108 | 9 | Łódź | TD | Szymanowska | Ewa | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 109 | 10 | Piotrków Trybunalski | PIS | Telus | Robert | No | Law and Justice |
| 110 | 10 | Piotrków Trybunalski | PIS | Macierewicz | Antoni | No | Law and Justice |
| 111 | 10 | Piotrków Trybunalski | PIS | Milczanowska | Anna | No | Law and Justice |
| 112 | 10 | Piotrków Trybunalski | PIS | Lorek | Grzegorz | No | Law and Justice |
| 113 | 10 | Piotrków Trybunalski | PIS | Salek | Paweł | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 114 | 10 | Piotrków Trybunalski | PIS | Ciecióra | Krzysztof | Yes | The Renewal |
| 115 | 10 | Piotrków Trybunalski | KO | Wolosański | Bogusław | Yes | not a party member (KO) |
| 116 | 10 | Piotrków Trybunalski | KO | Witczak | Adrian | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 117 | 10 | Piotrków Trybunalski | TD | Klimczak | Dariusz | No | Polish People's Party |
| 118 | 11 | Sieradz | PIS | Lichočka | Joanna | No | Law and Justice |
| 119 | 11 | Sieradz | PIS | Przydacz | Marcin | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 120 | 11 | Sieradz | PIS | Rychlik | Paweł | No | Law and Justice |
| 121 | 11 | Sieradz | PIS | Polak | Piotr | No | Law and Justice |
| 122 | 11 | Sieradz | PIS | Woźniak | Tadeusz | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 123 | 11 | Sieradz | PIS | Matuszewski | Marek | No | Law and Justice |
| 124 | 11 | Sieradz | KO | Tomczyk | Cezary | No | Civic Platform |
| 125 | 11 | Sieradz | KO | Hanajczyk | Agnieszka | No | Civic Platform |
| 126 | 11 | Sieradz | KO | Habura | Krzysztof | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 127 | 11 | Sieradz | TD | Bejda | Paweł | No | Polish People's Party |
| 128 | 11 | Sieradz | TD | Zięba-Gzik | Jolanta | Yes | Polish People's Party |
| 129 | 11 | Sieradz | NL | Matysiak | Paulina | No | Left Together |
| 130 | 12 | Chrzanów | PIS | Bochenek | Rafał | No | Law and Justice |
| 131 | 12 | Chrzanów | PIS | Kmita | Łukasz | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 132 | 12 | Chrzanów | PIS | Kaczyński | Filip | No | Law and Justice |
| 133 | 12 | Chrzanów | PIS | Kurowski | Władysław | No | Law and Justice |
| 134 | 12 | Chrzanów | PIS | Krystian | Mariusz | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 135 | 12 | Chrzanów | KO | Niedziela | Dorota | No | Civic Platform |
| 136 | 12 | Chrzanów | KO | Sowa | Marek | No | Civic Platform |
| 137 | 12 | Chrzanów | TD | Śliz | Paweł | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 138 | 13 | Kraków | KO | Sienkiewicz | Bartłomiej | No | Civic Platform |
| 139 | 13 | Kraków | KO | Marczajtis-Walczak | Jagna | No | Civic Platform |
| 140 | 13 | Kraków | KO | Miszalski | Aleksander | No | Civic Platform |
| 141 | 13 | Kraków | KO | Marek | Dorota | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 142 | 13 | Kraków | KO | Matusik-Lipiec | Katarzyna | No | Civic Platform |
| 143 | 13 | Kraków | PIS | Wassermann | Małgorzata | No | Law and Justice |
| 144 | 13 | Kraków | PIS | Adamczyk | Andrzej | No | Law and Justice |
| 145 | 13 | Kraków | PIS | Duda | Elżbieta | No | Law and Justice |
| 146 | 13 | Kraków | PIS | Osuch | Jacek | No | Law and Justice |
| 147 | 13 | Kraków | PIS | Ścigaj | Agnieszka | No | The Polish Affairs Party |
| 148 | 13 | Kraków | TD | Komarewicz | Rafał | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 149 | 13 | Kraków | TD | Raś | Ireneusz | No | Centre for Poland |
| 150 | 13 | Kraków | NL | Gosek-Popiołek | Daria | No | Left Together |

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|-----|------------------|-------------|--------|-------------------|------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 151 | 13 | Kraków | KWIN | Berkowicz | Konrad | No | The New Hope |
| 152 | 14 | Nowy Sącz | PIS | Mularczyk | Arkadiusz | No | Law and Justice |
| 153 | 14 | Nowy Sącz | PIS | Terlecki | Ryszard | No | Law and Justice |
| 154 | 14 | Nowy Sącz | PIS | Bartuś | Barbara | No | Law and Justice |
| 155 | 14 | Nowy Sącz | PIS | Wicher | Patryk | No | Law and Justice |
| 156 | 14 | Nowy Sącz | PIS | Siarka | Edward | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 157 | 14 | Nowy Sącz | PIS | Gut-Mostowy | Andrzej | No | The Renewal |
| 158 | 14 | Nowy Sącz | KO | Smarduch | Weronika | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 159 | 14 | Nowy Sącz | KO | Lachowicz | Piotr | Yes | not a party member (KO) |
| 160 | 14 | Nowy Sącz | TD | Nowogórska | Urszula | No | Polish People's Party |
| 161 | 14 | Nowy Sącz | KWIN | Wilk | Ryszard | Yes | The New Hope |
| 162 | 15 | Tarnów | PIS | Pieczarka | Anna | No | Law and Justice |
| 163 | 15 | Tarnów | PIS | Szczurek-Zelazko | Józefa | No | Law and Justice |
| 164 | 15 | Tarnów | PIS | Krajewski | Wiesław | No | Law and Justice |
| 165 | 15 | Tarnów | PIS | Rusecka | Urszula | No | Law and Justice |
| 166 | 15 | Tarnów | PIS | Kaczmarczyk | Norbort | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 167 | 15 | Tarnów | TD | Kosiński-Kamysz | Władysław | No | Polish People's Party |
| 168 | 15 | Tarnów | TD | Górniewicz | Piotr | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 169 | 15 | Tarnów | KO | Augustyn | Urszula | No | Civic Platform |
| 170 | 15 | Tarnów | KO | Wardzała | Robert | No | Civic Platform |
| 171 | 16 | Płock | PIS | Małecki | Maciej | No | Law and Justice |
| 172 | 16 | Płock | PIS | Bortniczuk | Kamil | No | The Republicans |
| 173 | 16 | Płock | PIS | Wąsik | Maciej | No | Law and Justice |
| 174 | 16 | Płock | PIS | Ozdoba | Jacek | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 175 | 16 | Płock | PIS | Cicholska | Anna | No | Law and Justice |
| 176 | 16 | Płock | KO | Kierwiński | Marcin | No | Civic Platform |
| 177 | 16 | Płock | KO | Gapińska | Elżbieta | No | Civic Platform |
| 178 | 16 | Płock | KO | Krzemiński | Adam | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 179 | 16 | Płock | TD | Zgorzelski | Piotr | No | Polish People's Party |
| 180 | 16 | Płock | TD | Orliński | Miroslaw | Yes | Polish People's Party |
| 181 | 17 | Radom | PIS | Suski | Marek | No | Law and Justice |
| 182 | 17 | Radom | PIS | Kwiecień | Anna | No | Law and Justice |
| 183 | 17 | Radom | PIS | Fogiel | Radosław | No | Law and Justice |
| 184 | 17 | Radom | PIS | Kuzmiuk | Zbigniew | No | Law and Justice |
| 185 | 17 | Radom | PIS | Górska | Agnieszka | No | Law and Justice |
| 186 | 17 | Radom | PIS | Kosztowniak | Andrzej | No | Law and Justice |
| 187 | 17 | Radom | KO | Fryszak | Konrad | No | Civic Platform |
| 188 | 17 | Radom | KO | Kluzik-Rostkowska | Joanna | No | Civic Platform |
| 189 | 17 | Radom | TD | Maliszewski | Miroslaw | No | Polish People's Party |
| 190 | 18 | Siedlce | PIS | Koc | Maria | No | Law and Justice |
| 191 | 18 | Siedlce | PIS | Milewski | Daniel | No | Law and Justice |
| 192 | 18 | Siedlce | PIS | Kowalczyk | Henryk | No | Law and Justice |
| 193 | 18 | Siedlce | PIS | Tchórzewski | Krzysztof | No | Law and Justice |
| 194 | 18 | Siedlce | PIS | Czartoryski | Arkadiusz | No | The Republicans |
| 195 | 18 | Siedlce | PIS | Grabowski | Marcin | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 196 | 18 | Siedlce | PIS | Woźniak | Grzegorz | No | Law and Justice |
| 197 | 18 | Siedlce | KO | Gasiuk-Pihowicz | Kamila | No | Civic Platform |
| 198 | 18 | Siedlce | KO | Mroczek | Czesław | No | Civic Platform |
| 199 | 18 | Siedlce | TD | Sawicki | Marek | No | Polish People's Party |
| 200 | 18 | Siedlce | TD | Cwalina-Śliwowska | Zaneta | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 201 | 18 | Siedlce | KWIN | Mulawa | Krzysztof | Yes | Confederation (National Movement) |
| 202 | 19 | Warszawa I | KO | Tusk | Donald | No | Civic Platform |
| 203 | 19 | Warszawa I | KO | Gajewska | Aleksandra | No | Civic Platform |
| 204 | 19 | Warszawa I | KO | Szczerba | Michał | No | Civic Platform |
| 205 | 19 | Warszawa I | KO | Lubnauer | Katarzyna | No | Modern |
| 206 | 19 | Warszawa I | KO | Zielińska | Urszula | No | Greens |
| 207 | 19 | Warszawa I | KO | Łoboda | Dorota | Yes | not a party member (KO) |
| 208 | 19 | Warszawa I | KO | Jachira | Klaudia | No | Greens |
| 209 | 19 | Warszawa I | KO | Piekarska | Katarzyna | No | Polish Initiative |
| 210 | 19 | Warszawa I | KO | Domański | Andrzej | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 211 | 19 | Warszawa I | PIS | Gliński | Piotr | No | Law and Justice |
| 212 | 19 | Warszawa I | PIS | Jakubiak | Marek | No | Kukiz15 |
| 213 | 19 | Warszawa I | PIS | Gosiewska | Małgorzata | No | Law and Justice |
| 214 | 19 | Warszawa I | PIS | Kaleta | Sebastian | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 215 | 19 | Warszawa I | NL | Zandberg | Adrian | No | Left Together |
| 216 | 19 | Warszawa I | NL | Olko | Dorota | Yes | Left Together |
| 217 | 19 | Warszawa I | NL | Żukowska | Anna Maria | No | The New Left |
| 218 | 19 | Warszawa I | TD | Kobosko | Michał | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 219 | 19 | Warszawa I | TD | Bartoszewski | Władysław | No | Polish People's Party |
| 220 | 19 | Warszawa I | TD | Petru | Ryszard | No | Poland 2050 |
| 221 | 19 | Warszawa I | KWIN | Mentzen | Sławomir | Yes | The New Hope |
| 222 | 20 | Warszawa II | KO | Gajewska | Kinga | No | Civic Platform |
| 223 | 20 | Warszawa II | KO | Grabiec | Jan | No | Civic Platform |
| 224 | 20 | Warszawa II | KO | Lasek | Maciej | No | Civic Platform |
| 225 | 20 | Warszawa II | KO | Kandyba | Piotr | Yes | Civic Platform |

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| 226 | 20 | Warszawa II | PIS | Błaszczak | Mariusz | No | Law and Justice |
| 227 | 20 | Warszawa II | PIS | Czerwińska | Anita | No | Law and Justice |
| 228 | 20 | Warszawa II | PIS | Uściński | Piotr | No | Law and Justice |
| 229 | 20 | Warszawa II | PIS | Chorośńska | Dominika | No | Law and Justice |
| 230 | 20 | Warszawa II | TD | Zalewski | Paweł | No | Poland 2050 |
| 231 | 20 | Warszawa II | TD | Zelazowska | Bożena | No | Polish People's Party |
| 232 | 20 | Warszawa II | NL | Wicha | Joanna | Yes | Left Together |
| 233 | 20 | Warszawa II | KWIN | Bosak | Karina | Yes | Confederation (National Movement) |
| 234 | 21 | Opole | KO | Siemoniak | Tomasz | No | Civic Platform |
| 235 | 21 | Opole | KO | Zembaczyński | Witold | No | Modern |
| 236 | 21 | Opole | KO | Kostuś | Tomasz | No | Civic Platform |
| 237 | 21 | Opole | KO | Miller | Rajmund | No | Civic Platform |
| 238 | 21 | Opole | KO | Jazłowiecka | Danuta | No | Civic Platform |
| 239 | 21 | Opole | PIS | Kukiz | Paweł | No | Kukiz15 |
| 240 | 21 | Opole | PIS | Ociepa | Marcin | No | The Renewal |
| 241 | 21 | Opole | PIS | Czochara | Katarzyna | No | Law and Justice |
| 242 | 21 | Opole | PIS | Kowalski | Janusz | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 243 | 21 | Opole | TD | Gomola | Adam | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 244 | 21 | Opole | NL | Zawisza | Marcelina | No | Left Together |
| 245 | 21 | Opole | KWIN | Skalik | Włodzimierz | Yes | Confederation of the Polish Crown |
| 246 | 22 | Krosno | PIS | Kuchciński | Marek | No | Law and Justice |
| 247 | 22 | Krosno | PIS | Schmidt | Anna | No | Law and Justice |
| 248 | 22 | Krosno | PIS | Uruski | Piotr | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 249 | 22 | Krosno | PIS | Kurowska | Maria | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 250 | 22 | Krosno | PIS | Pamula | Teresa | No | Law and Justice |
| 251 | 22 | Krosno | PIS | Babinetz | Piotr | No | Law and Justice |
| 252 | 22 | Krosno | PIS | Chrzan | Tadeusz | No | Law and Justice |
| 253 | 22 | Krosno | KO | Frydrych | Joanna | No | Civic Platform |
| 254 | 22 | Krosno | KO | Rzasa | Marek | No | Civic Platform |
| 255 | 22 | Krosno | TD | Romowicz | Bartosz | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 256 | 22 | Krosno | KWIN | Zapałowski | Andrzej | No | Confederation of the Polish Crown |
| 257 | 23 | Rzeszów | PIS | Ziobro | Zbigniew | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 258 | 23 | Rzeszów | PIS | Leniart | Ewa | No | Law and Justice |
| 259 | 23 | Rzeszów | PIS | Weber | Rafał | No | Law and Justice |
| 260 | 23 | Rzeszów | PIS | Warchof | Marcin | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 261 | 23 | Rzeszów | PIS | Chmielowiec | Zbigniew | No | Law and Justice |
| 262 | 23 | Rzeszów | PIS | Sobolewski | Krzysztof | No | Law and Justice |
| 263 | 23 | Rzeszów | PIS | Kapinos | Fryderyk | No | Law and Justice |
| 264 | 23 | Rzeszów | PIS | Gołojuch | Kazimierz | No | Law and Justice |
| 265 | 23 | Rzeszów | PIS | Warzecha | Jan | No | Law and Justice |
| 266 | 23 | Rzeszów | KO | Kowal | Paweł | No | not a party member (KO) |
| 267 | 23 | Rzeszów | KO | Skowrońska | Krzyszyna | No | Civic Platform |
| 268 | 23 | Rzeszów | KO | Gawlik | Zdzisław | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 269 | 23 | Rzeszów | TD | Dziedzic | Adam | Yes | Polish People's Party |
| 270 | 23 | Rzeszów | TD | Burkiewicz | Elżbieta | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 271 | 23 | Rzeszów | KWIN | Braun | Grzegorz | No | Confederation of the Polish Crown |
| 272 | 24 | Białystok | PIS | Sasin | Jacek | No | Law and Justice |
| 273 | 24 | Białystok | PIS | Andruszkiewicz | Adam | No | Law and Justice |
| 274 | 24 | Białystok | PIS | Piontkowski | Dariusz | No | Law and Justice |
| 275 | 24 | Białystok | PIS | Zieliński | Jarosław | No | Law and Justice |
| 276 | 24 | Białystok | PIS | Bogucki | Jacek | No | Law and Justice |
| 277 | 24 | Białystok | PIS | Gwiazdowski | Kazimierz | No | Law and Justice |
| 278 | 24 | Białystok | PIS | Łukaszewicz | Sebastian | Yes | Sovereign Poland |
| 279 | 24 | Białystok | KO | Truskolański | Krzysztof | No | Civic Platform |
| 280 | 24 | Białystok | KO | Lepkowska-Golaś | Alicja | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 281 | 24 | Białystok | KO | Niedźwiedzki | Jacek | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 282 | 24 | Białystok | TD | Hołownia | Szymon | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 283 | 24 | Białystok | TD | Krajewski | Stefan | No | Polish People's Party |
| 284 | 24 | Białystok | TD | Okuła | Barbara | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 285 | 24 | Białystok | KWIN | Bosak | Krzysztof | No | Confederation (National Movement) |
| 286 | 25 | Gdańsk | KO | Pomaska | Agnieszka | No | Civic Platform |
| 287 | 25 | Gdańsk | KO | Karnowski | Jacek | Yes | not a party member (KO) |
| 288 | 25 | Gdańsk | KO | Adamowicz | Piotr | No | not a party member (KO) |
| 289 | 25 | Gdańsk | KO | Wałęsa | Jarosław | No | Civic Platform |
| 290 | 25 | Gdańsk | KO | Kołodziejczak | Magdalena | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 291 | 25 | Gdańsk | KO | Gabriel | Patryk | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 292 | 25 | Gdańsk | PIS | Plażyński | Kacper | No | Law and Justice |
| 293 | 25 | Gdańsk | PIS | Smoliński | Kazimierz | No | Law and Justice |
| 294 | 25 | Gdańsk | PIS | Sellin | Jarosław | No | Law and Justice |
| 295 | 25 | Gdańsk | TD | Buczyńska | Agnieszka | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 296 | 25 | Gdańsk | TD | Sroka | Magdalena | No | Agreement |
| 297 | 25 | Gdańsk | NL | Kotula | Katarzyna | No | The New Left |
| 298 | 26 | Ślupsk | KO | Nowacka | Barbara | No | Polish Initiative |
| 299 | 26 | Ślupsk | KO | Konwiński | Zbigniew | No | Civic Platform |
| 300 | 26 | Ślupsk | KO | Siemaszko | Rafał | Yes | not a party member (KO) |

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|-----|------------------|---------------|--------|-----------------------|-------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 301 | 26 | Ślupsk | KO | Lamczyk | Stanisław | No | Civic Platform |
| 302 | 26 | Ślupsk | KO | Krzywonos-Strycharska | Henryka | No | Civic Platform |
| 303 | 26 | Ślupsk | KO | Plocke | Kazimierz | No | Civic Platform |
| 304 | 26 | Ślupsk | PIS | Muller | Piotr | No | Law and Justice |
| 305 | 26 | Ślupsk | PIS | Horata | Marcin | No | Law and Justice |
| 306 | 26 | Ślupsk | PIS | Mrówczyński | Aleksander | No | Law and Justice |
| 307 | 26 | Ślupsk | PIS | Arciszewska-Mielewicz | Dorota | No | Law and Justice |
| 308 | 26 | Ślupsk | TD | Biernacki | Marek | No | Polish People's Party |
| 309 | 26 | Ślupsk | TD | Tomczak | Wioleta | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 310 | 26 | Ślupsk | NL | Dziemianowicz-Bąk | Agnieszka | No | The New Left |
| 311 | 26 | Ślupsk | KWIN | Tyszak | Stanisław | No | The New Hope |
| 312 | 27 | Bielsko-Biała | PIS | Szwed | Stanisław | No | Law and Justice |
| 313 | 27 | Bielsko-Biała | PIS | Puda | Grzegorz | No | Law and Justice |
| 314 | 27 | Bielsko-Biała | PIS | Drabek | Przemysław | No | Law and Justice |
| 315 | 27 | Bielsko-Biała | PIS | Gaża | Grzegorz | No | Law and Justice |
| 316 | 27 | Bielsko-Biała | KO | Nykiel | Mirosława | No | Civic Platform |
| 317 | 27 | Bielsko-Biała | KO | Pépek | Małgorzata | No | Civic Platform |
| 318 | 27 | Bielsko-Biała | KO | Tajner | Apoloniusz | Yes | not a party member (KO) |
| 319 | 27 | Bielsko-Biała | TD | Suchoń | Mirosław | No | Poland 2050 |
| 320 | 27 | Bielsko-Biała | KWIN | Foltyń | Bronisław | Yes | The New Hope |
| 321 | 28 | Częstochowa | PIS | Burzyńska | Lidia | No | Law and Justice |
| 322 | 28 | Częstochowa | PIS | Giżyński | Szymon | No | Law and Justice |
| 323 | 28 | Częstochowa | PIS | Gawron | Andrzej | No | Law and Justice |
| 324 | 28 | Częstochowa | KO | Leszczyna | Izabela | No | Civic Platform |
| 325 | 28 | Częstochowa | KO | Szewiński | Andrzej | No | Civic Platform |
| 326 | 28 | Częstochowa | KO | Witek | Przemysław | Yes | not a party member (KO) |
| 327 | 28 | Częstochowa | TD | Klepura | Henryk | Yes | Polish People's Party |
| 328 | 29 | Gliwice | KO | Szumilas | Krzyszyna | No | Civic Platform |
| 329 | 29 | Gliwice | KO | Golbik | Marta | No | Civic Platform |
| 330 | 29 | Gliwice | KO | Gzik | Marek | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 331 | 29 | Gliwice | KO | Głogowski | Tomasz | No | Civic Platform |
| 332 | 29 | Gliwice | PIS | Borys-Szopa | Bożena | No | Law and Justice |
| 333 | 29 | Gliwice | PIS | Wieczorek | Jarosław | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 334 | 29 | Gliwice | PIS | Szarama | Wojciech | No | Law and Justice |
| 335 | 29 | Gliwice | TD | Strach | Piotr | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 336 | 29 | Gliwice | NL | Nowicka | Wanda | No | The New Left |
| 337 | 30 | Rybnik | PIS | Woś | Michał | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 338 | 30 | Rybnik | PIS | Plecha | Bolesław | No | Law and Justice |
| 339 | 30 | Rybnik | PIS | Jabłoński | Paweł | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 340 | 30 | Rybnik | PIS | Matusiak | Grzegorz | No | Law and Justice |
| 341 | 30 | Rybnik | KO | Gadowski | Krzysztof | No | Civic Platform |
| 342 | 30 | Rybnik | KO | Krzakala | Marek | No | Civic Platform |
| 343 | 30 | Rybnik | KO | Lenartowicz | Gabriela | No | Civic Platform |
| 344 | 30 | Rybnik | TD | Osmalak | Lukasz | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 345 | 30 | Rybnik | KWIN | Fritz | Roman | Yes | Confederation of the Polish Crown |
| 346 | 31 | Katowice | KO | Budka | Borys | No | Civic Platform |
| 347 | 31 | Katowice | KO | Rosa | Monika | No | Modern |
| 348 | 31 | Katowice | KO | Kołodziej | Ewa | No | Civic Platform |
| 349 | 31 | Katowice | KO | Król | Wojciech | No | Civic Platform |
| 350 | 31 | Katowice | KO | Ściebiorowski | Lukasz | Yes | not a party member (KO) |
| 351 | 31 | Katowice | PIS | Morawiecki | Mateusz | No | Law and Justice |
| 352 | 31 | Katowice | PIS | Wesoły | Marek | No | Law and Justice |
| 353 | 31 | Katowice | PIS | Wójcik | Michał | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 354 | 31 | Katowice | PIS | Polaczek | Jerzy | No | Law and Justice |
| 355 | 31 | Katowice | TD | Gramatyka | Michał | No | Poland 2050 |
| 356 | 31 | Katowice | NL | Konieczny | Maciej | No | Left Together |
| 357 | 31 | Katowice | KWIN | Placzek | Grzegorz | Yes | not a party member (KWIN) |
| 358 | 32 | Sosnowiec | KO | Dolniak | Barbara | No | Modern |
| 359 | 32 | Sosnowiec | KO | Safuga | Wojciech | No | Civic Platform |
| 360 | 32 | Sosnowiec | KO | Bochenek | Mateusz | No | Civic Platform |
| 361 | 32 | Sosnowiec | PIS | Malik | Ewa | No | Law and Justice |
| 362 | 32 | Sosnowiec | PIS | Andzel | Waldemar | No | Law and Justice |
| 363 | 32 | Sosnowiec | PIS | Warwas | Robert | No | Law and Justice |
| 364 | 32 | Sosnowiec | NL | Litewka | Lukasz | Yes | The New Left |
| 365 | 32 | Sosnowiec | NL | Czarzasty | Włodzimierz | No | The New Left |
| 366 | 32 | Sosnowiec | TD | Wnuk | Kamil | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 367 | 33 | Kielce | PIS | Kaczyński | Jarosław | No | Law and Justice |
| 368 | 33 | Kielce | PIS | Krupka | Anna | No | Law and Justice |
| 369 | 33 | Kielce | PIS | Wojtyśzek | Agata | No | Law and Justice |
| 370 | 33 | Kielce | PIS | Lipiec | Krzysztof | No | Law and Justice |
| 371 | 33 | Kielce | PIS | Dorywalski | Bartłomiej | No | Law and Justice |
| 372 | 33 | Kielce | PIS | Kryj | Andrzej | No | Law and Justice |
| 373 | 33 | Kielce | PIS | Cieślak | Michał | No | The Republicans |
| 374 | 33 | Kielce | PIS | Gosek | Mariusz | No | Sovereign Poland |
| 375 | 33 | Kielce | KO | Okla-Drewnowicz | Marzena | No | Civic Platform |

| No. | Constituency no. | Main city | KW/KKW | Surname | Name | First term | Political affiliation |
|-----|------------------|-----------|--------|--------------------|------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 376 | 33 | Kielce | KO | Giertych | Roman | No | not a party member (KO) |
| 377 | 33 | Kielce | KO | Gierada | Artur | No | Civic Platform |
| 378 | 33 | Kielce | KO | Pietrzczyk | Lucjan | No | Civic Platform |
| 379 | 33 | Kielce | TD | Siekierski | Czesław | No | Polish People's Party |
| 380 | 33 | Kielce | TD | Kasprzyk | Rafał | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 381 | 33 | Kielce | NL | Szejna | Andrzej | No | The New Left |
| 382 | 33 | Kielce | KWiN | Wawer | Michał | Yes | Confederation (National Movement) |
| 383 | 34 | Elbląg | PiS | Śliwka | Andrzej | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 384 | 34 | Elbląg | PiS | Gontarz | Robert | No | Law and Justice |
| 385 | 34 | Elbląg | PiS | Krasulski | Leonard | No | Law and Justice |
| 386 | 34 | Elbląg | PiS | Wilk | Teresa | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 387 | 34 | Elbląg | KO | Protas | Jacek | No | Civic Platform |
| 388 | 34 | Elbląg | KO | Gelert | Elżbieta | No | Civic Platform |
| 389 | 34 | Elbląg | KO | Gorczyca | Stanisław | No | Civic Platform |
| 390 | 34 | Elbląg | TD | Ziejewski | Zbigniew | No | Polish People's Party |
| 391 | 35 | Olsztyn | KO | Cichoń | Janusz | No | Civic Platform |
| 392 | 35 | Olsztyn | KO | Papke | Paweł | No | Civic Platform |
| 393 | 35 | Olsztyn | KO | Wojciechowska | Anna | No | Civic Platform |
| 394 | 35 | Olsztyn | KO | Wróbel | Maciej | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 395 | 35 | Olsztyn | PiS | Cieszyński | Janusz | No | Law and Justice |
| 396 | 35 | Olsztyn | PiS | Chojceki | Artur | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 397 | 35 | Olsztyn | PiS | Arent | Iwona | No | Law and Justice |
| 398 | 35 | Olsztyn | PiS | Semeniuk-Patkowska | Olga | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 399 | 35 | Olsztyn | TD | Pasławska | Urszula | No | Polish People's Party |
| 400 | 35 | Olsztyn | NL | Kulasek | Robert | No | The New Left |
| 401 | 36 | Kalisz | PiS | Maląg | Marlena | No | Law and Justice |
| 402 | 36 | Kalisz | PiS | Sójka | Katarzyna | No | Law and Justice |
| 403 | 36 | Kalisz | PiS | Kaleta | Piotr | No | Law and Justice |
| 404 | 36 | Kalisz | PiS | Dziedziczak | Jan | No | Law and Justice |
| 405 | 36 | Kalisz | PiS | Mosiński | Jan | No | Law and Justice |
| 406 | 36 | Kalisz | KO | Urbaniak | Jarosław | No | Civic Platform |
| 407 | 36 | Kalisz | KO | Rusiecki | Grzegorz | No | Civic Platform |
| 408 | 36 | Kalisz | KO | Pawliczak | Karolina | No | not a party member (KO) |
| 409 | 36 | Kalisz | KO | Witczak | Mariusz | No | Civic Platform |
| 410 | 36 | Kalisz | TD | Grzyb | Andrzej | No | Polish People's Party |
| 411 | 36 | Kalisz | TD | Olliwiecka | Barbara | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 412 | 36 | Kalisz | NL | Szczepański | Wiesław | No | The New Left |
| 413 | 37 | Konin | PiS | Hoffmann | Zbigniew | No | Law and Justice |
| 414 | 37 | Konin | PiS | Dolata | Zbigniew | No | Law and Justice |
| 415 | 37 | Konin | PiS | Bartosik | Ryszard | No | Law and Justice |
| 416 | 37 | Konin | PiS | Czarnecki | Witold | No | Law and Justice |
| 417 | 37 | Konin | KO | Kołodziejczak | Michał | Yes | AGRUnion |
| 418 | 37 | Konin | KO | Nowak | Tomasz | No | Civic Platform |
| 419 | 37 | Konin | TD | Henning-Kłoska | Paulina | No | Poland 2050 |
| 420 | 37 | Konin | TD | Pyrzyk | Michał | Yes | Polish People's Party |
| 421 | 37 | Konin | NL | Tomaszewski | Tadeusz | No | The New Left |
| 422 | 38 | Piła | KO | Rutnicki | Jakub | No | Civic Platform |
| 423 | 38 | Piła | KO | Janyška | Maria | No | Civic Platform |
| 424 | 38 | Piła | KO | Głowski | Piotr | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 425 | 38 | Piła | KO | Szopiński | Henryk | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 426 | 38 | Piła | PiS | Czarnecki | Krzysztof | No | Law and Justice |
| 427 | 38 | Piła | PiS | Porzucek | Marcin | No | Law and Justice |
| 428 | 38 | Piła | PiS | Plechowiak | Grzegorz | No | The Renewal |
| 429 | 38 | Piła | TD | Paszyk | Krzysztof | No | Polish People's Party |
| 430 | 38 | Piła | TD | Luboński | Adam | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 431 | 39 | Poznań | KO | Szłapka | Adam | No | Modern |
| 432 | 39 | Poznań | KO | Bosacki | Marcin | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 433 | 39 | Poznań | KO | Kierzek-Koperska | Katarzyna | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 434 | 39 | Poznań | KO | Sterczewski | Franciszek | No | not a party member (KO) |
| 435 | 39 | Poznań | KO | Zawieja | Bartosz | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 436 | 39 | Poznań | PiS | Szynkowski vel Sęk | Andrzej | No | Law and Justice |
| 437 | 39 | Poznań | PiS | Wróblewski | Bartłomiej | No | Law and Justice |
| 438 | 39 | Poznań | TD | Schadler | Ewa | Yes | Poland 2050 |
| 439 | 39 | Poznań | TD | Tomczak | Jacek | No | Centre for Poland |
| 440 | 39 | Poznań | NL | Ueberhan | Katarzyna | No | The New Left |
| 441 | 40 | Koszalin | KO | Arłukowicz | Bartosz | No | Civic Platform |
| 442 | 40 | Koszalin | KO | Rak | Renata | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 443 | 40 | Koszalin | KO | Hok | Marek | No | Civic Platform |
| 444 | 40 | Koszalin | KO | Suski | Paweł | No | Civic Platform |
| 445 | 40 | Koszalin | PiS | Hoc | Czesław | No | Law and Justice |
| 446 | 40 | Koszalin | PiS | Szefernaker | Paweł | No | Law and Justice |
| 447 | 40 | Koszalin | PiS | Golińska | Małgorzata | No | Law and Justice |
| 448 | 40 | Koszalin | TD | Lubczyk | Radosław | No | Centre for Poland |
| 449 | 41 | Szczecin | KO | Nitras | Ślawomir | No | Civic Platform |
| 450 | 41 | Szczecin | KO | Filiński | Magdalena | No | Civic Platform |

| No. | Constituency no. | Main city | KW/KKW | Surname | Name | First term | Political affiliation |
|-----|------------------|-----------|--------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------------------|
| 451 | 41 | Szczecin | KO | Marchewka | Arkadiusz | No | Civic Platform |
| 452 | 41 | Szczecin | KO | Jaskulski | Patryk | Yes | Civic Platform |
| 453 | 41 | Szczecin | KO | Napierski | Grzegorz | No | Polish Initiative |
| 454 | 41 | Szczecin | KO | Lęcki | Artur | No | Civic Platform |
| 455 | 41 | Szczecin | PiS | Gróbarczyk | Marek | No | Law and Justice |
| 456 | 41 | Szczecin | PiS | Bogucki | Zbigniew | Yes | Law and Justice |
| 457 | 41 | Szczecin | PiS | Szałabawka | Artur | No | Law and Justice |
| 458 | 41 | Szczecin | PiS | Matecki | Dariusz | Yes | Sovereign Poland |
| 459 | 41 | Szczecin | TD | Rzepa | Jarosław | No | Polish People's Party |
| 460 | 41 | Szczecin | NL | Wieczorek | Dariusz | No | The New Left |

Legnica (1st constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 5 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 5 seats (+2)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Wałbrzych (2nd constituency) [8 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 3 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 4 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Wrocław (3rd constituency) [14 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 6 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (no change)

Bydgoszcz (4th constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 5 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Toruń (5th constituency) [13 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 5 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 4 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (+1)

Lublin (6th constituency) [15 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 8 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 3 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (no change)

Chełm (7th constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 7 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 2 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (+1)

Zielona Góra (8th constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (no change)

KO (Civic Coalition): 5 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (-1)

Łódź (9th constituency) [10 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 3 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 5 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Piotrków Trybunalski (10th constituency) [9 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 6 seats (no change)

KO (Civic Coalition): 2 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Sieradz (11th constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 6 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 3 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Chrzanów (12th constituency) [8 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 5 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 2 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 0 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (+1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Kraków (13th constituency) [14 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 5 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 5 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (no change)

Nowy Sącz (14th constituency) [10 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 6 seats (-2)

KO (Civic Coalition): 2 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (+1)

Tarnów (15th constituency) [9 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 5 seats (-2)

KO (Civic Coalition): 2 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Płock (16th constituency) [10 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 5 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 3 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Radom (17th constituency) [9 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 6 seats (no change)

KO (Civic Coalition): 2 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Siedlce (18th constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 7 seats (-2)

KO (Civic Coalition): 2 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (+1)

Warszawa I (19th constituency) [20 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-2)

KO (Civic Coalition): 9 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 3 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 3 seat (+2)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (no change)

Warszawa II (20th constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-2)

KO (Civic Coalition): 4 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (+1)

Opole (21st constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 5 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (+1)

MN (The German Minority): 0 seats (-1)

Krosno (22nd constituency) [11 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 7 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 2 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (+1)

Rzeszów (23rd constituency) [15 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 9 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 3 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (-1)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (+1)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (no change)

Białystok (24th constituency) [14 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 7 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 3 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 3 seat (+2)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (no change)

Gdańsk (25th constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 3 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 6 seats (no change)
TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+2)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (-1)

Ślupsk (26th constituency) [14 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 6 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (no change)

Bielsko-Biała (27th constituency) [9 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 3 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (+1)

Częstochowa (28th constituency) [7 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 3 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 3 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Gliwice (29th constituency) [9 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 3 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 4 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Rybnik (30th constituency) [9 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 3 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (+1)

Katowice (31st constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 5 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (no change)

Sosnowiec (32nd constituency) [9 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 3 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 3 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 2 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Kielce (33rd constituency) [16 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 8 seats (-2)

KO (Civic Coalition): 4 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 1 seats (no change)

Elbląg (34th constituency) [8 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 3 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Olsztyn (35th constituency) [10 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 4 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Kalisz (36th constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 5 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 4 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Konin (37th constituency) [9 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 2 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (no change)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Piła (38th constituency) [9 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 3 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 4 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+1)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Poznań (39th constituency) [10 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 2 seats (-1)

KO (Civic Coalition): 5 seats (no change)

TD (Third Way): 2 seat (+2)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Koszalin (40th constituency) [8 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 3 seats (no change)

KO (Civic Coalition): 4 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 0 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

Szczecin (41st constituency) [12 seats total]

PiS (Law and Justice): 4 seats (no change)

KO (Civic Coalition): 6 seats (+1)

TD (Third Way): 1 seat (no change)

NL (New Left): 1 seat (-1)

KWiN (Confederation): 0 seats (no change)

ELECTION IMPACT ANALYSIS

Market reactions

Financial markets reacted strongly to the exit and late poll results following the Polish parliamentary election. Even before the exit poll results were announced, the PLN exchange rate began to strengthen rapidly as leaks emerged about an outcome favourable to the opposition. As late as 6:30 pm Polish time on Sunday (2.5 hours before the exit poll results were announced), the EUR/PLN exchange rate was at 4.53, falling to 4.45 by 8 pm. A slight correction followed, but the exchange rate was back to 4.45 by the end of the day. There was a small correction on Monday, but fluctuations are currently within the 4.44-4.46 range. The same was true for the other major currencies - USD/PLN fell from 4.31 to 4.24, CHF/PLN from 4.78 to 4.70, and GBP/PLN from 5.24 to 5.14.

The reaction to the election results on the Warsaw Stock Exchange was also clearly positive. Immediately after the election day, the increase from the previous quotation for the general stock market index WIG was already more than 4%, and the index of the 20 largest companies listed in Warsaw, WIG20, was up by more than 5%. Relatively higher increases were achieved by state-owned companies - fuel and energy state-owned giant Orlen was up by more than 8% on Monday afternoon, bank PKO BP by more than 10.5%, Bank Pekao by almost 13%, insurance company PZU by nearly 5% and mining company KGHM by almost 4%. However, declines were recorded by energy companies - PGE (down 1.4%), Tauron (down 1.7%), and Enea (down 2%). According to some experts, this results from concerns about the continuation of energy policy and the further fate of coal mining companies.

Both the performance of the Polish

currency and the Polish stock market have suffered some correction since Monday's significant strengthening. Nevertheless, they remain at much more favourable levels than before the announcement of the election results. In general, it is to be expected that good investor sentiment will remain but that it will be toned down in the coming months. This will result from the prolonged political wrangling between the retreating Law and Justice party and the incumbent opposition and between the new coalition parties internally. This period, characterised by elevated levels of uncertainty and reduced state decision-making, will certainly be viewed by investors with caution and reserve.

The strong reaction of the financial markets coincides with earlier forecasts of such an outcome of the parliamentary elections. The possible victory of the opposition is primarily seen as a great opportunity for a marked improvement in relations with the European Union, which could result in the lifting of penalties imposed on Poland and, above all, in the release of funds from the new perspective of the Cohesion Fund and the Recovery Plan (KPO). In addition, a more cautious approach to the issue of public debt, improvement in relations with Ukraine, stabilisation of the legislative process, and overhauling of judiciary reforms are expected.

In addition to the changes in economic policy directions expected with the arrival of more liberal parties to power, the performance of the markets in the first few days after the elections is probably a reaction to the unexpectedly weak performance of the Confederation, considered to be relatively unpredictable and seeking further to sharpen relations with the EU and possibly the US.

Procedure for appointing a new government

The conclusion of the parliamentary elections has set in motion Poland's constitutionally prescribed timetable of subsequent events aimed at forming a new government. According to the schedule, 14 November is the last date for organising the first parliamentary session after the elections. Unofficial reports indicate that this is the most likely date for the first sitting of the new parliament. It is also worth remembering that exactly two weeks later is the last deadline for the President to nominate a new Prime Minister and his cabinet.

As things stand, the incumbent opposition has all the key prerequisites for forming a governing coalition, in line with pre-election announcements. Although many of the arrangements between the potential coalition partners had probably already been approved before the elections, the post-election reality and the knowledge of the final seating arrangement in parliament add new weight to the talks. Particularly significant in this context is the rise of the Third Way, which achieved a much better result than expected and has therefore clearly increased its strength in the talks.

PiS will delay and make coalition negotiations more difficult for the opposition, not least by making extremely favourable coalition offers to parties in the pre-election bloc of the so-called liberal opposition - above all, PSL and Poland 2050, but also the Left. The aim will not so much be to make a real attempt to build a parliamentary majority but, above all, to make internal negotiations between the parties of a potential new coalition more difficult. It seems unlikely that any of these parties will risk the reputation built among voters during the election campaign on anti-government rhetoric and seriously consider PiS's offers.

The key decisions now will be those of the President, who has so far not appointed anyone to the mission of forming a government. In fact, he has so far not even commented transparently on the outcome of the elections, despite the National Electoral Commission (PKW) having already announced the official results and has only openly praised the record-high turnout. Formally, he is not directly obliged to choose anyone specific to form a government. Still, the custom adopted so far dictates that the party with the best electoral result - in this case, PiS - should be given priority in the mission to form a government. The other thing is that until now, it has usually been the winner of the elections who has realistically had the best chance of forming a majority, and that is not the case this time. Although the President himself has not commented on the subject, his associates have. Marcin Mastalerek, the social advisor to President Andrzej Duda, announced that in the coming week, Duda will invite the leaders of each electoral committee to discuss the formation of a future government. However, it has already been suggested by PiS politicians that first the mission of forming a government will be entrusted to someone from the ruling party so far, most likely Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki. Only in the event of his failure to build a stable majority will the mission of building a government be handed over to an opposition representative.

The most likely candidate to eventually build the government of the incumbent opposition remains Donald Tusk, as the main opposition face of the election campaign and leader of the largest party outside PiS in the new Sejm. However, PiS's generous offers to the other parties in the KO+Third Way+Left coalition may contribute to them raising the stakes of the talks and trying to push through a prime ministerial candidate from

someone of their representation. In such a scenario, it would most likely be either Szymon Hołownia or Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz.

However, caution should still be exercised in describing such a scenario as likely. Donald Tusk has been considered the favourite to become Prime Minister of the opposition coalition for a very long time and certainly has the strongest negotiating position at the moment. Given the unprecedented opportunity for PSL, Poland 2050, and the Left to

gain a share of power - either for the first time at all or after a break of many years - it seems unlikely that they will risk a break-up of the coalition or talks with PiS only to obtain the nomination of a representative of their group as Prime Minister. Apart from the discussion about the appointment of the new Prime Minister, the rumour mill on potential candidates for specific ministers will be the key point of media speculations in the coming weeks. Still, as is often the case, decisions will only be finalised just before the formation of the new cabinet.

Referendum results and implications

A nationwide referendum, proposed by the ruling United Right camp, was held concurrently with the 15 October parliamentary elections.

It asked the following questions:

- 1) Do you support the sale of state assets to foreign entities, leading to the loss of control of Poles over strategic sectors of the economy?
- 2) Do you support raising the retirement age, including restoring the increased retirement age to 67 for men and women?
- 3) Do you support the removal of the barrier on the border between the Republic of Poland and the Republic of Belarus?
- 4) Do you support the admission of thousands of illegal immigrants from the Middle East and Africa per the forced relocation mechanism imposed by the European bureaucracy?

During this referendum, the turnout was 40.91%. Thus, this referendum is not binding as, according to Polish law, the participation of at least half of those eligible is required.

Regarding the first question, 'no' was answered by 96.49% and 'yes' by 3.51%.

For the second question, 'no' was answered by 94.61% and 'yes' by 5.39%. For the third question, 'no' was answered by 96.04% and 'yes' by 3.96%. Finally, for the fourth question, 'no' was answered by 96.79% and 'yes' by 3.21%.

The referendum, because of the content of the questions and the date of its organisation, was considered controversial from the beginning, especially among those associated with the opposition. It was accused of being biased, and the campaign conducted separately in its favour was considered an additional form of the ruling coalition's election campaign.

On the other hand, it is important to highlight the still very large nominal number of Poles who ultimately participated in the referendum - over 12 million. Such a number of voters who took part and expressed their views on the issues that were the subject of the referendum in an unusually emphatic manner testifies to the high and enduring support for at least some of the policies of the United Right government. This is also a sign of a solid and enduring base of PiS supporters and an evident polarisation that is unlikely to dissipate before the next elections.





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