



Fundacja
Odpowiedzialna
Polityka



MONITORING FACEBOOK

Parliamentary Elections 2019
Poland

Final Report





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9 December 2019
Warsaw, Poland

This project was supported by Civitates

DEMOCRACY
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INTERNATIONAL





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**Odpowiedzialna
Polityka**

Political Accountability Foundation/Fundacja Odpowiedzialna Polityka (FOP) is a Polish foundation active in the area of election observation, strengthening of democracy and civil society development.

FOP has organised several projects of elections observation and education for election observers:

- video-observation of the 2018 Presidential and 2019 local elections in Russia
- observation of the 2018 local elections in Masovian voivodeship, Poland
- Election Assessment Mission to the European Parliament elections in 2019
- assistance to domestic observation groups in Poland prior to the 2019 Parliamentary elections

From 1 September until 11 October, FOP, in cooperation with MEMO98 and DRI, monitored Facebook ahead of the 13 October parliamentary election in Poland.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Given the growing impact of social media, the way people consume political information has changed considerably over the past few years. The negative part of this change entails information that is often unverified, decontextualized, and manipulated to affirm or exploit pre-existing biases. There is a growing awareness that underlying societal grievances can be exploited in the media ecosystem by opportunistic actors, either from outside the country or from the inside. Previous experience from several countries has indicated that these risks can be exacerbated during times of heightened social and political debate, such as elections.¹ The issue of social media and disinformation has gained increasing attention as a possible threat to the integrity of elections worldwide. It was in this context that we decided to analyse the role of Facebook during the 13 October parliamentary elections in Poland.

Between 1 September and 11 October 2019 (till the beginning of the campaign silence), Political Accountability Foundation (FOP), in cooperation with MEMO 98, monitored 74 public Facebook accounts of political parties, election coalitions, politicians, media and other influential actors involved in the parliamentary elections. The main goal of the monitoring was to evaluate the importance of Facebook (FB) during the elections and the potential impact of the messages disseminated through this social platform on election integrity. Moreover, the monitoring tried to evaluate what topics and narratives were presented by political actors and others on their public Facebook accounts in

the run up to the election and which one of them generated the highest level of engagement (comments, shares and reactions, *see also the section on methodology*).

The monitoring was organized in the framework of a project carried out by DRI and MEMO 98 and funded by Civitates. The project seeks to significantly step up a real-time understanding of social media dynamics by providing a toolkit for social media monitoring in elections which is to be offered to observer organizations across the EU and beyond. The project builds on the methodology that DRI, MEMO98 and other experts developed in the context of Supporting Democracy, an EU project.²

The toolkit will be based on the methodology and will provide tools and up-to-date information to help observers monitor the influence of social media during elections, providing the basis for responsive advocacy (such as intervention with firms) and long-term advocacy for a better regulation. Apart from Poland, the social media monitoring methodology has been tested in Austria, Portugal, Croatia, Romania, and Slovakia.

Facebook was actively used by almost all monitored election stakeholders. There was no major party registered for these elections which would not have its official FB account. As many as 8.848 posts uploaded by 74 selected actors on FB were analysed between 1 September and 11 October. The main findings of the monitoring include:

1 „Monitoring of posts by political parties on Facebook European Parliament Elections 2019“ Preliminary Report, MEMO98

2 “Supporting Democracy” is an EIDHR-funded technical assistance programme working with EU Delegations (EUDs) to strengthen the role of local civil society in advocating and monitoring democratic accountability.



2. HIGHLIGHTS

- While the election-related campaign was harsh and characterized by intolerant rhetoric, our monitoring of official Facebook pages of politicians, parties, traditional media and influencers did not reveal either posts which would contain dangerous speech or disinformation.
- Political parties used Facebook mainly to mobilize their voters. In particular, Facebook accounts were used by parties to inform about campaign activities, usually including some short video materials and quotations by party leaders.
- The monitoring revealed that of the four observed categories, the FB accounts of traditional media produced the highest number of posts but generated the lowest share of interactions when compared to posts by other three monitored categories.
- The posts produced by politicians generated the highest number of interactions.
- The monitored official Facebook accounts of influencers produced the lowest number of posts amongst the four observed categories but these posts generated the second biggest share of interactions).
- There was a clear tendency to focus more on domestic issues and less on international topics.
- Given the high-media polarization and public TV's biased coverage in favour of the ruling party, Facebook served as an alternative platform for communication, particularly for those parties and actors with restricted access to mainstream media.
- Some 25 per cent of posts were assessed as not having either direct or indirect links to elections.
- When it comes to posts devoted to elections and disseminated by political parties and politicians, most of them focused on pushing narratives linked to mobilization of voters, elections in general, the rule of law and discrediting of the opposition.
- Among monitored actors coming from media and influencers, the situation was more varied. No single narrative had a dominant position but the most present referred to political scandals of the government, discrediting of the opposition, economy and elections in general.
- FB accounts of traditional media generally generated the highest number of posts, announcing their programs and providing links to articles and other types of content on their web sites.



3. FINDINGS

Our monitoring of Facebook focused on the set of actors who are important in the context of elections but did not go beyond the chosen four categories - politicians, parties, traditional media and influencers. While we did monitor traffic of posts related to all monitored actors, we did not focus on unofficial or private accounts which have been used in other countries to spread disinformation during elections. Our monitoring showed that Facebook was an important platform of communication in the election period with diversified content ranging from text, to pictures, multi-modal drawings and videos. While the monitored FB accounts refrained from using disinformation, many of the monitored actors used harsh criticism and vilification of their political opponents which contributed to further polarization of the Polish society.

Given the high media polarization and public TV's biased coverage³, Facebook served as an alternative platform for communication, particularly for those parties and actors which saw their access to the mainstream media restricted. In particular, this was the case of Konfederacja and Lewica Razem which did not have such opportunities to campaign in the mainstream media as the 'bigger' parties/coalitions (KO, PiS).⁴ If the motivation behind these restrictions in terms of access was the politicization of the media, particularly the public TV, then they cannot be justified as publicly funded media should provide equitable access to all registered parties. If the limitations stemmed from fears of spreading hateful messages, then

they could be justified under clear legal circumstances as even freedom of expression has certain limitations.

During the monitoring period, we analysed 8.848 posts uploaded on FB by 74 selected actors. Prior to the beginning of the monitoring, we prepared a list of 65 topics and narratives (see the list in the section on the methodology) related to the elections. Social media monitors analysed each post and assigned it a narrative if the post contained a narrative or topic from the list. If the narrative of the post was not included on the list but it was linked to the elections, we added such narratives to the list in the course of the monitoring. If, however, the narratives had no direct or indirect connection to the elections, monitors classified such narratives under "other issues".

The monitoring results indicate that as many as 2.265 posts (little more than 25%) were assessed by monitors as not having either direct or indirect links to elections and thus were classified under "other issues". Among the topics and narratives related to elections, 2.221 posts (25%) were devoted to mobilization of voters, 573 posts to "Elections in Poland", 319 posts to "Discrediting of the opposition", 224 posts to "Rule of Law" and 195 to "Economy". When it comes to the mobilisation of voters, here we could find announcements of meetings and rallies as well as references and links to speeches given by party leaders during these meetings with voters. When it comes to monitored accounts of traditional media and influencers⁵, there was

³ <https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/poland/435932>

⁴ In the case of Konfederacja, Facebook was used as a substitution for traditional media as given its radical and intolerant views, Konfederacja's access to the mainstream media was somewhat limited.

⁵ We included a category of social media influencers who are those people with a high visibility on social media, such as political activists or journalists. In order to identify them, we used Socialbakers which is a tool providing data about which Facebook pages are most influential in a given country, dividing it by category (politics, media, NGOs, etc.). We however had to filter those who are po-



not a single narrative that had a dominant position. Among the most present were “the political scandals of the government”, “discrediting of the opposition”, “economy” and “elections in Poland”.

Other discussed topics and narratives included issues related to taxes (raising and lowering taxes, extra taxes on fuel, withdrawing the obligatory payment for social security [ZUS]), health care (government’s plan to introduce new laws aimed to improve the system, opposition agenda related to healthcare and its systemic failures), social issues (additional pensions, 500+). There was a different approach to use individual accounts of political parties vs. account of the coalition among different coalitions. While in the case of Lewica

Razem, for example, the most active was the FB account of the coalition, in the case of Koalicja Obywatelska or PSL Koalicja Polska, more active were accounts of individual member parties, like Platforma Obywatelska or PSL.

Focusing on the actual posts of leading political parties, politicians, media outlets and influencers, we were able to determine:

- what were the main issues of focus by each monitored actor;
- which topics/narratives generated the highest level of engagement (comments, shares and reactions) among followers

3.1. POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICIANS

In general, Facebook public accounts were used as an additional channel to disseminate campaign-related information and to reach voters with specific narratives. From 1 September until 11 October, the monitoring team analysed 19 FB accounts of political parties and coalitions running in the elections. The highest number of posts during the monitoring period was posted by the ruling party Law and Justice (PiS - 338 posts), followed by the Democratic Left Alliance Lewica Razem (SLD, 309 posts), Civic Platform (PO, 253 posts) and Konfederacja (243 posts). The Civic Coalition (KO), which came second after PiS when it comes to the election results, posted only 26 posts in the monitoring period. As it was already mentioned, in the case of KO, it was individual member parties as well as public accounts of KO politicians which were more active than the official

FB account of KO. As for the number of followers of the monitored accounts of political parties (at the time of the data scrapping on 1 September 2019), Kukiz15 had the biggest number of them (283,050), followed by PiS (225,857), PO (190,499) and Partia Razem (122,838).

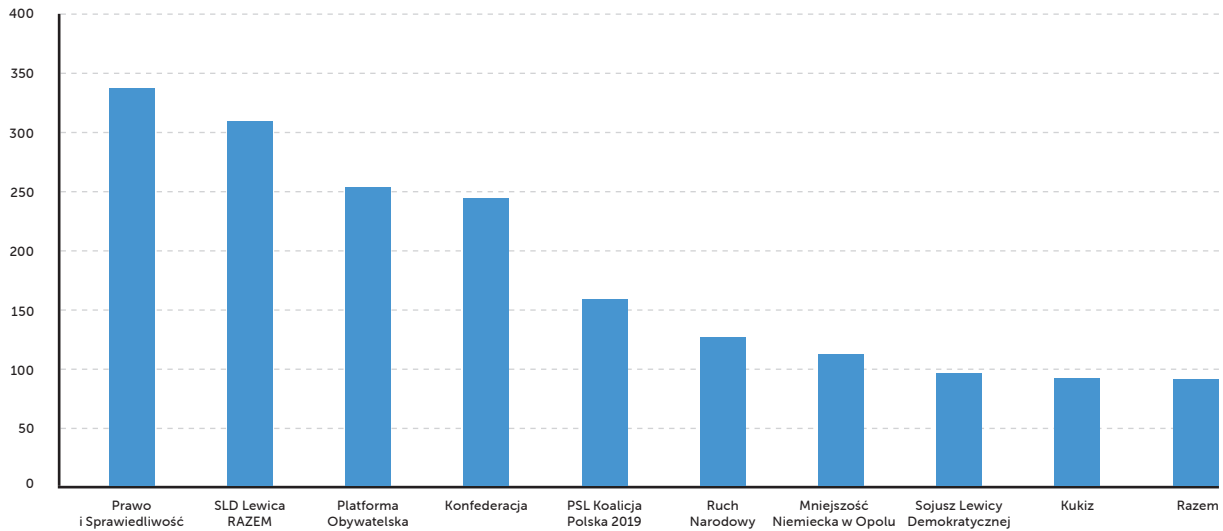
The majority of FB accounts (political parties, politicians and influencers) were posting numerous videos of all types (including live streaming home-made amateur videos, videos from big campaign rallies and press conferences, spontaneous meetings with voters as well as links to professional videos by other media – TV stations/radios).

Chart 1 shows the top 10 political parties and coalitions when it comes to the number of posts

pular but do not write about politics and include only those who do to make this category relevant for our monitoring.



CHART 1: TOP 10 PARTIES BY NUMBER OF POSTS

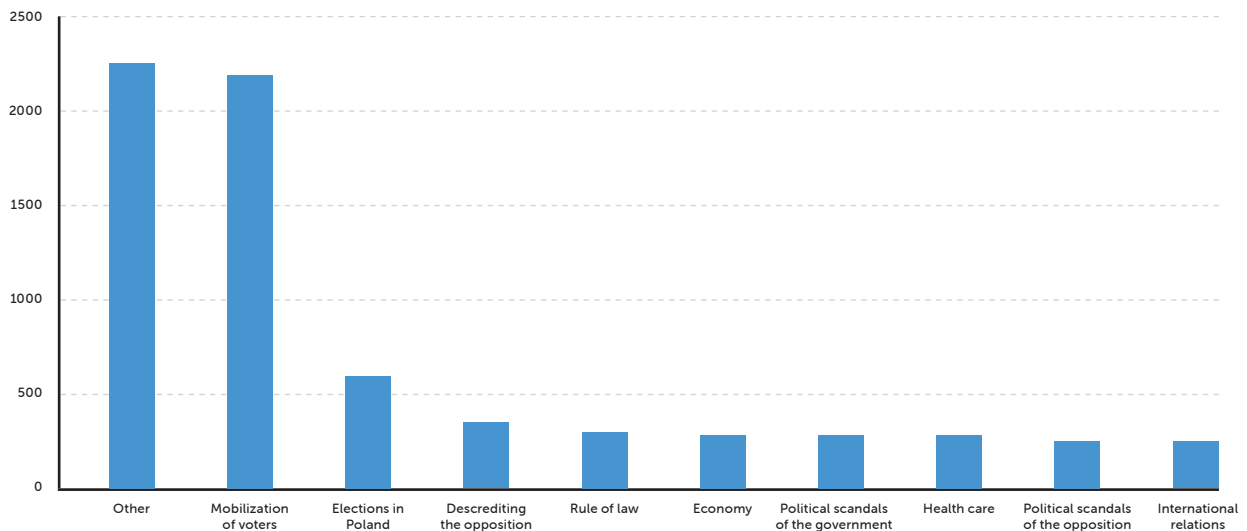


When it comes to narratives and topics which were the most prominent subjects of political parties' posts, these were mobilization of voters, healthcare, and Polish martyrology.⁶ While the ruling party focused primarily on the economy, the government's social programs and discrediting the opposition; the

opposition parties focused on healthcare, school reform, defending rule of law, ecology (climate crisis) and problems with the media independence.

Chart 2 shows the top 10 narratives and topics by number of posts.

CHART 2: NARRATIVES AND TOPICS BY NUMBER OF POSTS



⁶ Martyrology of the Polish nation became a very important element of PiS's historical policy. The party is trying to build Polish identity based on pride derived from bravery when fighting for Poland and victimisation as being the nation left by all others when in need. In addition, according to this policy, Poles are always honourable, courageous, and God-abiding; and their call is "God, Honour and Fatherland". This policy is targeting a very specific part of the society, rather very traditional, religious and homophobic/chauvinistic.

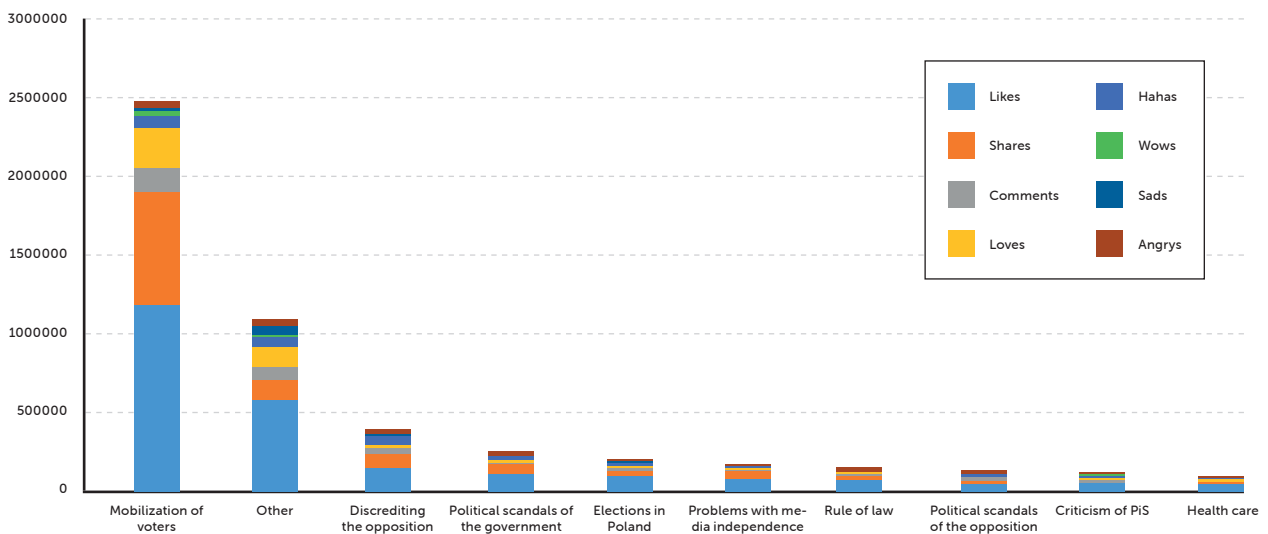


We also analysed the level and type of engagement of the monitored narratives and topics. The narrative which received the highest number of interactions was mobilization of voters, followed by discrediting the opposition, political scandals of

the government, elections in Poland and problems with media independence.

Chart 3 shows narratives and topics by the level of engagement.

CHART 3: TOP 10 NARRATIVES BY ENGAGEMENT



3.1.1. Political Parties

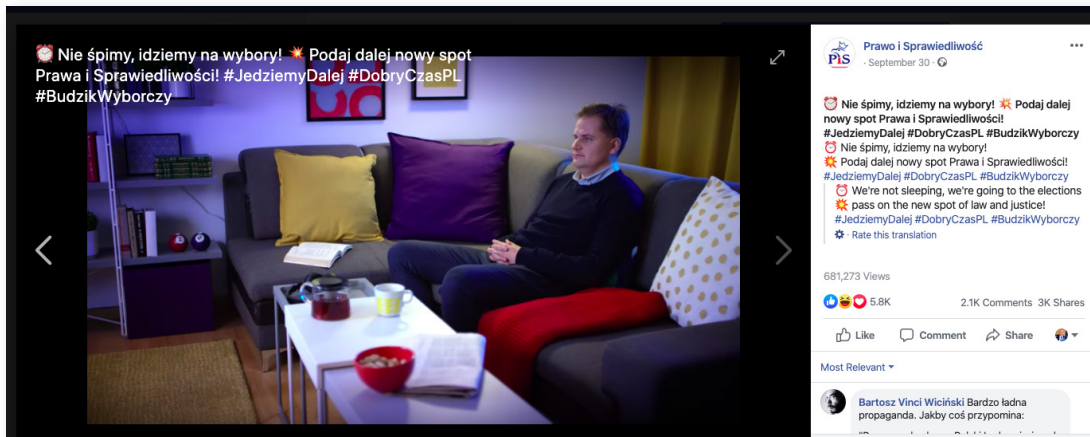
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)



During the monitoring period, PiS published 338 posts which was more than any other political party. More than half of these posts were aimed at mobilising voters (225). The rest of the posts were devoted to the economy (19), social programs of the government (12), discrediting the opposition (11), traditional



values (family+) and others. When it came to information about campaign events, PiS usually posted information about an event, photos or videos, followed by posts with quotations from PiS politicians who participated in the event (mainly Jarosław Kaczyński [Chief of the Party], Mateusz Morawiecki [Polish PM] and Beata Szydło [former Polish PM] who were traveling all the time around Poland to meet with local people).



The post that gained the highest number of interactions (more than 9.000 at the time of the data scrapping) was a mobilization post from 30 September showing a man sitting on a sofa. This spot, titled “We are not sleeping. We are going to vote. Forward the new spot by PiS”, had more than 681.270 views.



The second highest number of reactions (more than 6.300 at the time of the data scrapping) were given to a post from 8 October which featured leaders of KO. The post says “October 13th don’t take a risk! Vote for Law and Justice!”



Koalicja Obywatelska (KO)



Koalicja Obywatelska posted only 26 posts (between 1 September and 11 October) most of which were aimed to mobilize voters (15).⁷ The post published on 8 October celebrating victory by candidate Krzysztof Brejza who won his lawsuit against TVP received the highest number of interactions (531).⁸



⁷ Instead, most of the posts were posted on the FB account of Platforma Obywatelska (253) [leading member of KO] or accounts of individual politicians from KO, like Radostaw Sikorski (96) or Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska (91).

⁸ A court decided that TVP's journalist Mr. Gmyz would have to rectify the statement that Mr. Brejza was in anyway connected with the anti-PiS web portal 'SokzBuraka'.



Platforma Obywatelska (PO)



Between 1 September and 11 October, PO, the member of KO, produced 253 posts with 159 of them focusing on mobilization of voters. Other issues of focus in the posts, included health care (21), social issues (14), economy (11). The environment and gender equality were the subject of 8 posts each.

The highest number of interactions (26.193 at the time of scrapping) was received by a post titled "Cooperation, not fighting! October 13th, choose Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska. Tomorrow can be better!"⁹



9 KO's important campaign message was to call for cooperation rather than division between people (which is what the policy of PiS caused). As such, this was the main message of Ms. Kidawa-Błońska in the election spot.



SLD Lewica Razem



SLD Lewica RAZEM published 309 posts in the monitoring period which was the second highest number. Similar to other parties, the bulk of the posts focused on mobilization of voters (96), followed by elections in Poland (14), political scandals of the government (11), social issues and health care (9 each).



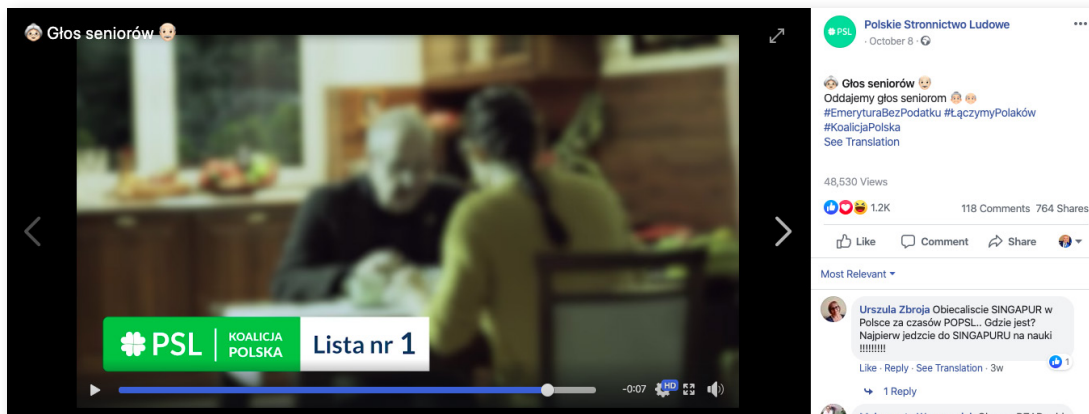


The highest number of interactions (approximately 1.386 at the time of data scrapping) were received by a post titled "Food prices are rising. Minister Emilewicz claims that Poles can afford it because they have higher salaries".¹⁰

PSL Koalicja Polska



During the monitoring period, Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL) and PSL Koalicja Polska 2019 posted 210 posts (51 and 159, respectively). Most posts focused on the mobilization of voters (34), followed by agriculture (8).



The highest number of interactions (2.028 at the time of scrapping) was received by a post titled "We give the vote to the seniors".¹¹

10 One of the arguments used during the campaign by Lewica Razem was that during PiS ruling, the prices of basic products, like food or services, has significantly increased which disadvantages people with low income. The response to this argument from Ms. Emilewicz, the Minister of Entrepreneurship and Technology, was that there was an increase in salaries, therefore, people could afford to absorb/pay higher prices.

11 PSL Koalicja Polska criticised PiS's policy towards seniors and pensioners pointing out that during the PiS government, while prices went up, pensions were not raised. Moreover, some additions to the pensions were canceled and the so called 13th pension in 2018 was only provided to buy their votes ahead of the election. Also, while the 13th pension was promised to be paid out also in 2019, the budget does not seem to envision it which is why seniors should vote for PSL who will change it and make the life of seniors more normal (by increasing the regular pensions instead of offering one-off pre-election payments).



Konfederacja



In total, Konfederacja posted 243 posts between 1 September and 11 October, most of them aimed at mobilization of voters (113). Other narratives and topics included the abolition/reduction of taxes (26), problems with media independence (25) and discrediting the opposition (20).



The post titled “Excellent Krzysztof Bosak in the TVN24 election debate!” featuring Konfederacja candidate Krzysztof Bosak and his participation in the TVN24 debate received the highest number of interactions (19.141 at the time of the data scrapping).¹²

12 Konfederacja claimed that Bosak was the best prepared participant during one of the debates broadcast by TVN24.



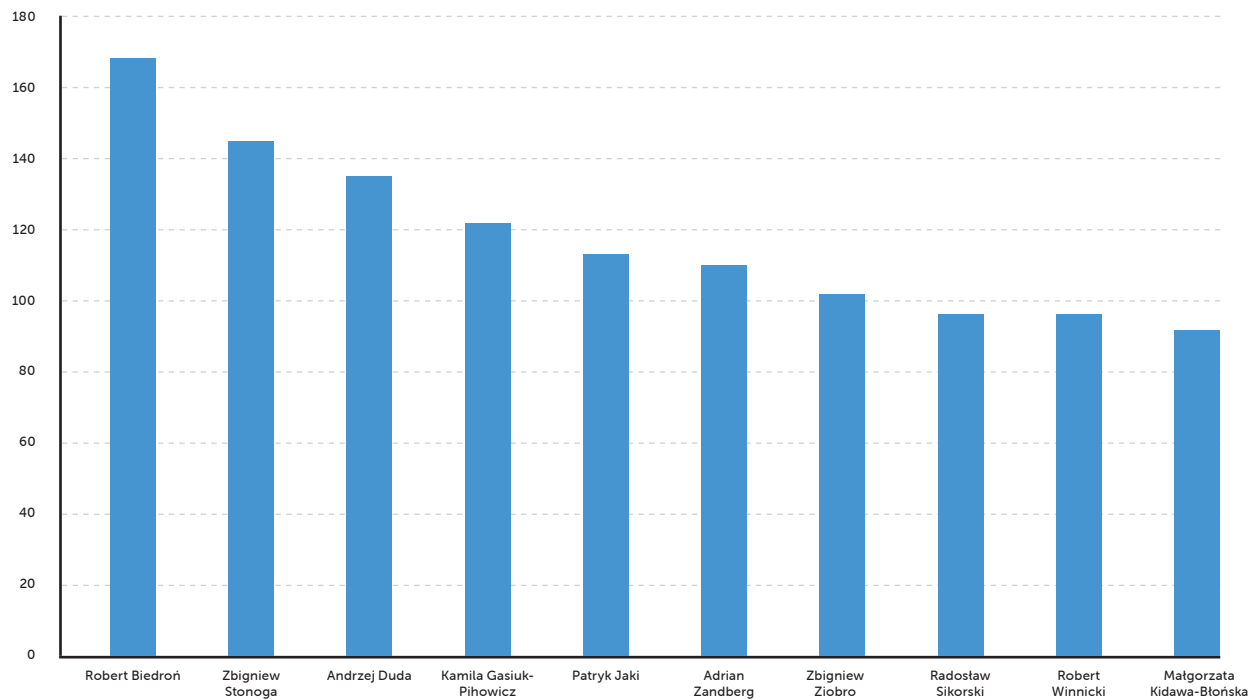
3.1.2. Politicians

When it comes to FB profiles of politicians and party leaders, we focused on 27 of them across the political spectrum. Robert Biedroń [Lewica Razem] (167 posts), Zbigniew Stonoga [independent] (144 posts), Andrzej Duda [the incumbent President] (136 posts), Kamila Gasiuk-Pihowicz [KO] (122 posts) and Patryk Jaki [PiS] (113 posts) were among the most actively posting politicians during the monitoring period. The politicians with the biggest follower-base were Janusz Korwin-Mikke [Konfederacja] (715,488 followers), Zbigniew Stonoga (606,307 followers) and Andrzej Duda (631,396 followers).

Politicians were using Facebook in three dominant ways: (i) to present their/their party's program [i.e. Adrian Zandberg (Lewica Razem)], (ii) to report on events of election campaign [i.e. Grzegorz Schetyna (KO), Robert Winnicki (Konfederacja)] or (iii) to support other candidates [i.e. Patryk Jaki, Zbigniew Ziobro (Solidarna Polska-PiS)].

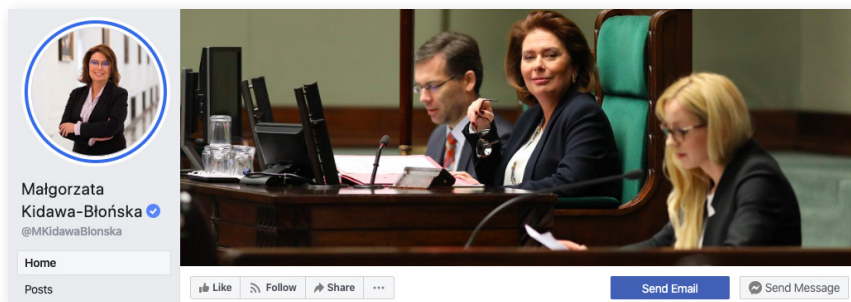
Chart 4 shows the top 10 politicians when it comes to number of posts

 **CHART 4: TOP 10 POLITICIANS BY NUMBER OF POSTS**





Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska [Koalicja Obywatelska]



During the monitoring period, Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska of KO produced 91 posts with 46 of them focusing on mobilization of voters. Other issues of focus in her posts, included healthcare (9 posts), gender equality (5 posts), rule of law and local government issues (4 posts each).

Grzegorz Braun (Konfederacja)



Grzegorz Braun of Konfederacja wrote 28 posts with majority of them focusing on mobilization of voters (12), the crisis of liberalism and LGBT rights (respectively 2), and other issues not related to elections (4).

Stanisław Tyszka (PSL Koalicja Polska/Kukiz15)



Between 1 September and 11 October, Stanisław Tyszka of Kukiz/PSL produced 38 posts with 14 of them focusing on mobilization of voters. He also focused on the crisis of democracy (3 posts), elections in Poland (3 posts), and economy, rule of law, discrediting the opposition and minimal salary raise (2 posts each).

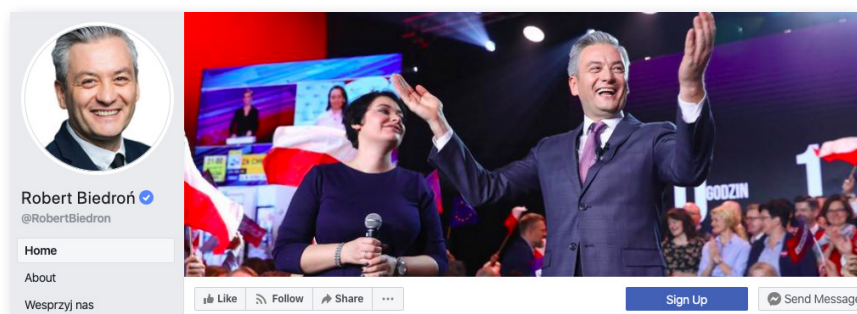


Zbigniew Stonoga (independent)



Between 1 September and 11 October, Zbigniew Stonoga produced 144 posts focusing on a wide range of topics and issues (many of them not among the monitoring topics and narratives or not directly related to elections). As many as 20 posts were devoted to mobilization of his voters and 11 posts to the rule of law. In 9 posts Zbigniew Stonoga wrote about the crisis of democracy and in 8 posts he criticised the ruling PiS party.

Robert Biedroń (Lewica Razem)



Robert Biedroń created 167 posts and focused mainly on mobilization of voters (78 posts). Among other issues of focus in the posts, these were political scandals of the government (14 posts), environment (11 posts), Poland as a secular state (9 posts) and gender equality (6 posts).

Andrzej Duda (President)



From 1 September and 11 October, Andrzej Duda of PiS produced 136 posts with 27 of them focusing on traditional/national values (patriotism), international relations (19 posts), US – Poland relations (14 posts) and the economy (12 posts). Interestingly, 7 posts were devoted to Polish martyrology.



Kamila Gasiuk-Pihowicz (Koalicja Obywatelska)



During the monitoring period, Kamila Gasiuk-Pihowicz posted 122 posts, 54 of which were devoted to the mobilization of voters, 12 posts to the rule of law and 10 to local government issues.

Patryk Jaki (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość)



From 1 September and 11 October, Patryk Jaki of PiS produced 113 posts with 41 of them focusing on mobilization of voters, political scandals of the opposition (29) and discrediting of the opposition (14). The communication of Patryk Jaki was extensive and complex. Apart from supporting PiS and Solidarna Polska and their candidates, he was responding to statements by others, commenting on ongoing political and public life, etc.

Janusz Korwin-Mikke (Konfederacja)



During the period, Janusz Korwin-Mikke posted 64 posts, 33 of which were devoted to the mobilization of voters, 8 to discrediting the opposition and 6 to the abolition/reduction of taxes.



3.2. MEDIA AND INFLUENCERS

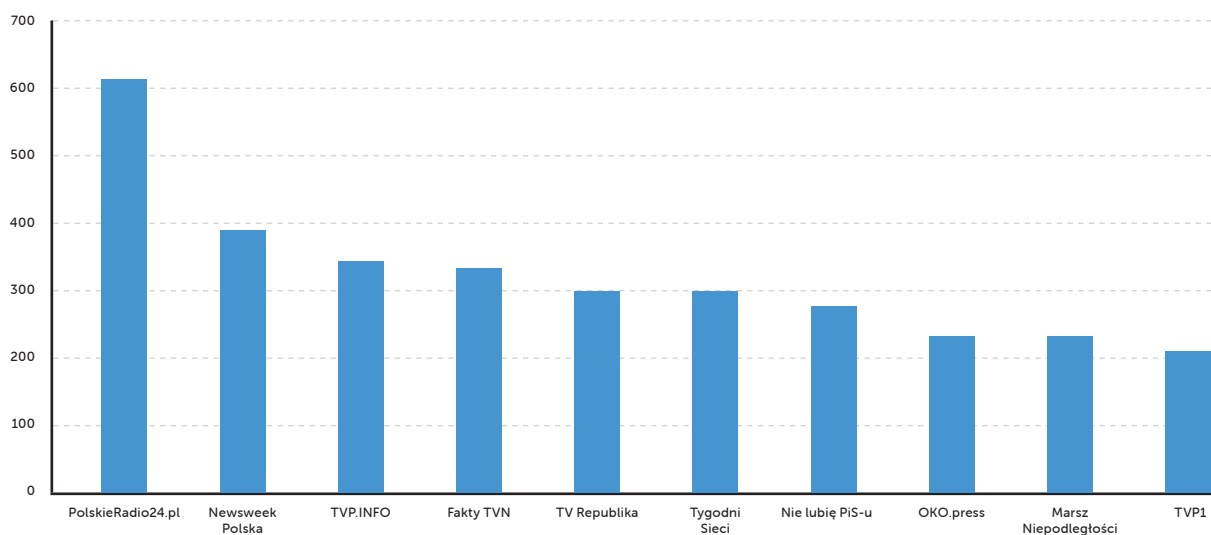
Given the close interaction between traditional and social media whereby the latter has become an important source of information for the former, we decided to include FB accounts of traditional media into our observation. Moreover, social media not only act as a potential source of information for professional journalists but also as an important vehicle for dissemination of information. We selected the following 17 media accounts for the monitoring: Bądźmy Razem TVP, Fakty TVN, Gazeta Wyborcza, Komitet Obrony Demokracji, Krytyka Polityczna, Marsz Niepodległości, Newsweek Polska, Nie lubię PiS-u, OKO.press, PolskieRadio24.pl, Rzeczpospolita, SokzBuraka, TVP.Info, TVP1, Tygodnik Lisickiego, Tygodnik Sieci, TV Republika.

The monitoring revealed that of the four observed categories, the FB accounts of traditional media produced the highest number of posts – all

together 4396. This was mainly due to the fact that all monitored traditional media used their FB accounts to announce their programs or provide links to articles. When looking at the number of interactions generated by posts from FB accounts of traditional media, their share is lower when compared to posts by other three monitored categories (the highest number of interactions were attributed to posts by politicians). Of the monitored 17 accounts of traditional media, the highest number of posts was produced by PolskieRadio24.pl (612), followed by Newsweek Polska (392), TVP Info (3w34) and Fakty (326). The highest number of shares was generated by posts from OKO.press (96470), followed by Newsweek Polska (39051) and Gazeta Wyborcza (25157).

Chart 5 shows the top 10 media when it comes to number of posts

 **CHART 5: TOP 10 MEDIA ACCOUNTS BY NUMBER OF POSTS**



Another group of actors we decided to include into the monitoring are political influencers. From a more general perspective, these could be religious leaders, well-known activists or lobby groups – in

the case of Poland, these are mainly journalists or commentators who have public profiles, including Leszek Balcerowicz, Magdalena Ogórek, Roman Giertych, Tomasz Sekielski, Monika Olejnik, Jarosław



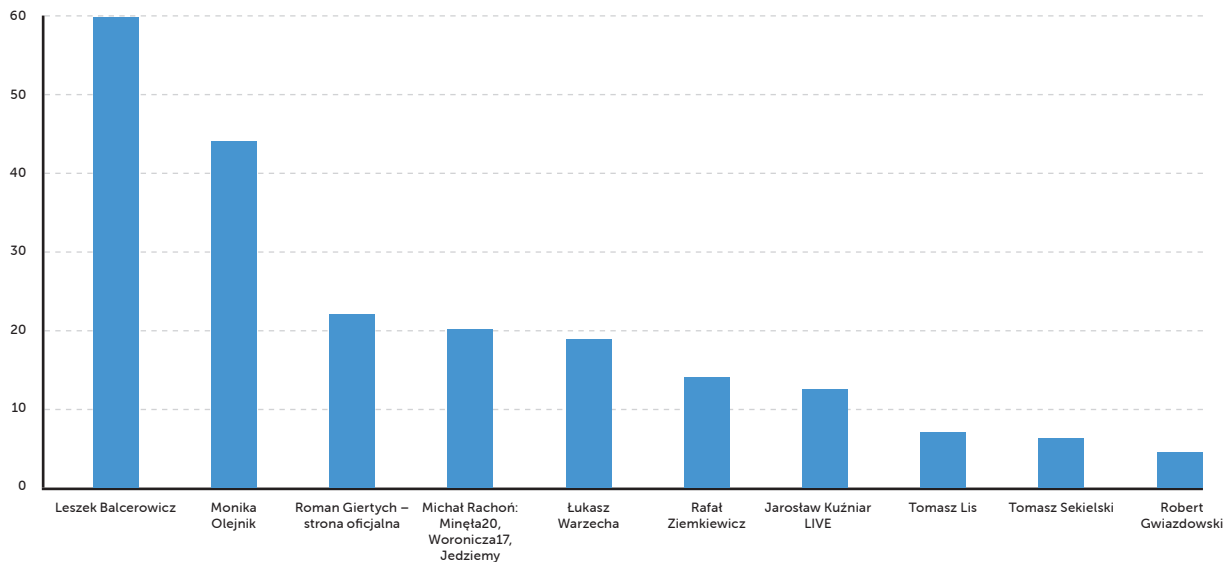
Kuźniar, Rafał Ziemkiewicz, Łukasz Warzecha, Michał Rachoń, and Robert Gwiżdowski. While selecting those influencers we were trying to take into consideration their potential biases and to include both pro-government and pro-opposition ones.

During the monitoring period, 11 monitored FB accounts of influencers produced 206 posts which was the lowest number amongst the four observed categories of official accounts. At the same time, however, these posts generated the second biggest

share of interactions (only politicians had a higher share). Of the monitored 11 accounts of political influencers, the highest number of posts was produced by Leszek Balcerowicz (60), followed by Monika Olejnik (43), Roman Giertych (21), Michał Rachoń (20) and Łukasz Warzecha (19). The highest number of interactions (181807) and shares (50077) generated by posts from Roman Giertych.

Chart 6 shows the top 10 influencers when it comes to number of posts

 **CHART 6: TOP 10 INFLUENCERS BY NUMBER OF POSTS**



4. TRUST IN MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA CONSUMPTION

With an average Internet and social media penetration, users in Poland trust on-line media more than average in Europe and are less concerned with fake news and misuse of private data in comparison with the EU and world averages. This, combined with the high usage of online media as a source of news (especially among users

from 18 to 44), a higher trust in media one uses than in any other media, and with the significant polarisation of the society (political preferences are usually related to using and trusting a particular media), creates potential space for the spread of disinformation campaigns as well as manipulation of potential voters.



According to the Countries in the EU by population (2019), Poland is the sixth most populated country in the EU with almost 38 million inhabitants (out of which 51.7% are women).¹³ According to the Polish Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS), approximately 69% of Poles (around 26 million) declared to use Internet at least once a week in 2019, an increase from 21 million in 2009.¹⁴ According to the Global Digital Report 2019, Internet penetration in Poland was approximately 79% in 2019.¹⁵ Social media (SM) penetration is lower, with approximately 47% of Poles (or almost 18 million) using them.¹⁶ While Internet penetration in Poland is higher than the world average (79% vs. 58% worldwide), the usage of SM is similar to the world average. The Internet penetration is similar to other countries of the former Soviet Union bloc¹⁷, whereas it is lower than in EU countries (approximately around 90%).¹⁸

When it comes to the dynamic of Internet and social media growth in Poland, it is lower comparing to the world average: 1.1% to 10% and 5.9% to 9.6% respectively (October 2018-2019 World, January 2018-2019 Poland).¹⁹ If one takes a look at generational differences, almost 100% of persons between 18 and 44 years old are using Internet, while only 26% of those above 65 years old do so. Also, the position in the society has an impact on the online media usage - over 90% of persons with secondary and higher education (self-employed,

managers, mid-levels clerks) are using the Internet, while only some 60% of those with lower education (performing more basic tasks or being less well-off). On average, 66% of Internet users have SM account(s) but it is worth noting that the figure is as high as almost 90% for those aged 18-34 and less than 70% for the rest of Internet users.²⁰

When it comes to social media use in Poland, YouTube is the most used platform followed by Facebook (FB), with Twitter being only the eight most popular platform. The most popular messaging platforms in Poland are Messenger (64%), Skype (33%) and WhatsApp (32%).²¹ For as many as 86% of Poles, Internet is the source of news. By comparison, as many as 60% of Poles declare social media to be their source of news (mainly FB).²²

According to the Digital News Report 2019 by Reuters Institute, online media and television are the most important sources of news (especially popular portals Onet and Wirtualna Polska), followed by social media (primarily FB) and only then print media.²³

When it comes to problems related to online media, its users are concerned with the misuse of personal data and the presence of "fake news".²⁴ As for the trust in Internet and social media in Poland, it is 47% and 33% respectively.²⁵ Interestingly, Poles present high confidence in their ability to identify

13 For more information, see also <https://www.worldometers.info/population/countries-in-the-eu-by-population/>

14 For more information, see also <https://cbos.pl/PL/publikacje/raporty.php>

15 For more information, see also Wearesocial.com: <https://datareportal.com/> [Oct 2019]; <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats9.htm>

16 For more information, see also Wearesocial.com: <https://datareportal.com/> [Oct 2019]

17 For more information, see also Wearesocial.com: <https://datareportal.com/> [Oct 2019]

18 For more information, see also <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats9.htm>

19 For more information, see also Wearesocial.com: <https://datareportal.com/> [Oct 2019]

20 For more information, see also <https://cbos.pl/PL/publikacje/raporty.php>

21 For more information, see also Wearesocial.com: <https://datareportal.com/> [Jan 2019]

22 For more information, see also Wearesocial.com: <https://datareportal.com/> [Jul 2019]; interestingly, the highest level is reported in Mexico (73%) while the lowest in Japan – 20% only; <http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2019/poland-2019/>

23 For more information, see also <http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2019/poland-2019/>

24 For more information, see also Wearesocial.com: <https://datareportal.com/> [Jul 2019]; <https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/survey/getsurveydetail/instruments/special/surveyky/2207>

25 For more information, see also <https://www.ebu.ch/news/2019/05/trust-gap-between-traditional-and-new-media-grows>; Poland is the third country in EU with the highest trust in Internet – Albania and Hungary have 48%



mis- or disinformation (as many as 71% of them claim to be able to do so) and Poland is among five countries with the highest number of respondents claiming they identified false or misinterpreting information in media (82%).²⁶ Over 90% of Poles think that one should get news from more than one source in order to make up their mind and 80% think that news in different sources are so different (on the same subject) that it is impossible to judge what is true and what is not.²⁷

According to the EBU Media Intelligence Service – Trust in Media 2019, 47% of Poles trust television whereas 45% do not trust it. The trust in written press is even lower with 42% of Polish people who trust it and 46% who do not. Interestingly, as many as 47% of Poles trust Internet (only 32% do not trust it) and 33% trust social networks and 42% do not trust them (Poland is among countries where the trust in social media is among highest among EU countries).²⁸

4.1. PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS

The election administration in Poland has a high level of trust whereas people generally do not trust politicians.²⁹ When it comes to voter turnout, it is approximately 50% in parliamentary and presidential elections. Poland had the third lowest turnout during the 2014 EP elections, but it increased significantly during the 2019 EP elections when it was over 45%. During the 2019 parliamentary elections, the turnout was the highest since the first democratic elections after the Second World War in 1989 and reached 61.74%.

Similar to other post-communist societies, Poles do not trust each other – as many as 76% of them declare to be cautious and suspicious towards other people. The most distrustful are persons with lower education, lower income, living in rural areas, unqualified workers, housewives, pensioners, politically undecided and socially inactive.

When it comes to trust in public institutions in Poland, people trust local institutions/ self-government (almost 65% of adult Poles trust them)

and the President (60%). By contrast, people do not trust political parties (63% of Poles do not trust them) and the parliament (over 53% do not trust it). Active participation in elections is positively correlated with the level of trust in people and institutions which generally means that people with the lowest level of trust vis-à-vis institutions are invariably less active politically.

At the same time, people trust the election process, as almost 70% of them are of the opinion that voters generally have the possibility to make an informed and free choice at the ballot box. Interestingly, supporters of the right-wing parties (like i.e. PiS) are more positive on this subject than supporters of other political parties. Over 60% declare that members of election commissions are always or almost always honest and fair in their work and the results of the last elections to the EP were credible for 86% of voters. In general, the work of the National Election Commission is assessed as good by almost 60% of the population, while 7% assess it negatively.³⁰

26 For more information, see also http://data.europa.eu/euodp/en/data/dataset/S2183_464_ENG

27 For more information, see also <https://cbos.pl/PL/publikacje/raporty.php>

28 For more information, see also <https://www.ebu.ch/news/2019/05/trust-gap-between-traditional-and-new-media-grows>

29 For more information, see also <https://cbos.pl/PL/publikacje/raporty.php>

30 For more information, see also <https://cbos.pl/PL/publikacje/raporty.php>



4.2. ELECTORAL CONTEXT

The 13 October parliamentary elections were very tight and competitive. Members of the Sejm and Senat (two chambers of the Parliament) are elected for four-year terms, in a first-past-the-post system in 100 single-mandate constituencies for the Senat and in a proportional open list system from 41 multi-member constituencies for the Sejm (460 members).³¹

Despite the fact that the ruling party enjoyed a significant lead and won over 50% of seats in Sejm (lower chamber), the opposition managed to win majority of seats in Senate. This is the first time ever when the ruling party/coalition has the majority in the Sejm but does not have a majority in the Senate.

NEC does not monitor social media during elections.³² The Ombudsman's office monitors campaigning across all media, including social media platforms, as well as the implementation of the EU Action Plan Against Disinformation. The National Broadcasting Council (NBC/ Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji) is mandated by the Constitution to safeguard freedom of speech and public interest. NBC does not undertake proactive monitoring of political advertising but it reacts upon the receipt of complaints.³³ There is no separate legislation regarding dangerous speech and disinformation online, however, the existing legislation applies to

both online and offline sphere.³⁴ However, it has to be noted that the implementation of these provisions online is limited because of the complicated nature of identifying such crimes and its perpetrators in Internet and in social media.

Almost 60% of Poles declared that they faced disinformation in the last six months. Interestingly, majority of them (over 46%) declared social platforms as the most involved in dissemination of "fake news" and considered political actors', blogs and/or websites very active in this as well – 33%. They also predominantly (51% of respondents) see Russia as the country that is the most interested in spreading disinformation on the Internet to impact the election results. At the same time, however, as many as 70% of respondents declared they have not liked or shared information they considered fake or false.³⁵

In order to define if information is reliable, one should check if: (i) it includes information about sources, (ii) it comes from a reliable source, (iii) it includes different points of view. Unfortunately, only slightly more than 40% of respondents are verifying information coming from the Internet. They have identified Internet portals and websites administrators, police and governmental agencies as the most responsible for combating disinformation and fake news.³⁶

31 For more information, see also <https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/poland/426569> (Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions)

32 NEC underlined in its Note from 26 September 2018 that regulations of the Electoral Code regarding campaigning online should be updated and adjusted to the newest technological capabilities (https://pkw.gov.pl/778_Finansowanie_kampanii_wyborczej/1/29283_Stnowisko_Panstwowej_Komisji_Wyborczej_z_dnia_26_wrzesnia_2018_r_w_sprawie_zasad_prowadzenia_i_finansowania_kampanii_wyborczej_w_Internecie)

33 For more information, see also <https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/poland/426569> (Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions)

34 This includes the following provisions of the Criminal Code: Art. 119, 190, 212, 219, 255, 257.

35 For more information, see also <https://kometa.edu.pl/biblioteka-cyfrowa/publikacja,744,bezpieczne-wybory-badanie-opinii-o-dezinformacji-w-sieci>

36 Ibid



METHODOLOGY

The issue of social media, especially in connection with spreading of disinformation, has gained increasing attention as a possible threat to the integrity of election processes worldwide. Given the increasing potential impact of social media platforms during elections, we decided to analyse the role and importance of Facebook during the 13 October Parliamentary elections in Poland. More specifically, we analysed the official Facebook profiles of selected stakeholders – political parties, politicians, influencers/journalists and media outlets. Taking into consideration the popularity ratings and status of stakeholders within the election process as well as our capacity, we decided to focus on 74 accounts/profiles. According to the Global Digital reports published by We Are Social Ltd. in 2019, Facebook was the second, and Twitter the seventh most popular and widely used social media platform in Poland.³⁷

The monitoring was organized in the framework of the project conducted by DRI and MEMO 98, in cooperation with FOP, and funded by Civitates. The project seeks to significantly step up a real-time understanding of social media dynamics by providing a toolkit for social media monitoring in elections which is to be offered to observer organizations across the EU and beyond. The project builds on the methodology that DRI, MEMO98 and other experts developed in the context of Supporting Democracy, an EU project. The toolkit will be based on the methodology and will provide tools and up-to-date information to help observers monitor the influence of social media during elections, providing the basis for responsive advocacy (such as intervention with firms) and long-term advocacy for better regulation.

In the first phase of the process, we used the data provided by Newswhip which extracted data from the public Facebook accounts of selected stakeholders' profiles into Microsoft Excel sheets. This enabled us to collect information on the type of post, post link, post message, picture, the time of posting, interactions, likes, shares, comments, reactions and other forms of engagement. Consequently, we further analysed the actual content of the posts and coded it according to a list of narratives & topics (see the list below) taking into consideration various aspects ranging from more general topics and issues (such as social issues, gender equality or education) to more local & specific issues and narratives (such as teachers' strike, child support 500+).

While observing Facebook, we also paid attention to potential external and internal disinformation efforts aimed to undermine citizens' trust in the democratic institutions and elections as such. We were interested to see if such narratives were used by any political parties/stakeholders involved in the elections with the aim to spread disinformation and confusion. In the long-term context, our intention was to focus on the social drivers, and thus the frustrations that are permeating into ever-wider national, European and international sphere and are implicitly reflected in some of the narratives. In general, we wanted to evaluate if such narratives were present on the monitored accounts and whether they received any significant attention.

The main reason for including these additional criteria was to get a sense on what kind of content is published by the stakeholders on Facebook and to

³⁷ For more information and statistics of social media use in all four countries, see also the Global Digital report 2018 available at <https://digitalreport.wearesocial.com/>



asses to what extent is this information useful for voters so they can make more informed choices at the ballot box. From a more general perspective, we analysed to what extent do parties, candidates and other stakeholders use social media (FB in this case) for campaigning and mobilization of voters and voter education.

We also looked at potential signs of dangerous speech³⁸ and inflammatory language (used in the posts) as well as attempts aimed at discrediting of political opponents. Finally, we also tried to determine if Facebook posts were focusing on

important public policy issues or whether they just tried to grab people's attention by focusing on scandals, conspiracies and myths.

Taking into consideration our experience from previous media-monitoring projects (i.e elections to the European Parliament in 2019), and taking into account the present situation in Poland, we have identified 65 narratives and topics, some of which were of a more general character, such as traditional values, nationalism or education, as well as more concrete ones such as Brexit, LGBT rights or Polish-Jewish relations.

38 We are using the term dangerous speech instead of hate speech as defined by professor Susan Benesch. According to her, "hate speech is variously defined in law and in common parlance but is generally understood to mean speech that denigrates people on the basis of their membership in a group, such as an ethnic or religious group. This category of speech is too broad for successful early warning of mass atrocities, for two related reasons. First, hate speech is common in many societies, unfortunately, including those at minimal risk of genocide. Second, some hate speech does not appreciably increase the risk of mass violence, although it may cause serious emotional and psychological damage." For more information, see also <https://worldpolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Dangerous-Speech-Guidelines-Benesch-January-2012.pdf>



6. ANNEXES

6.1. ANNEX I: LIST OF NARRATIVES USED DURING THE MONITORING:

1. Traditional values (family+)
2. Protecting Christian values
3. Reproductive rights
4. Pedophilia in church
5. Poland as secular state
6. Gender equality
7. Nationalism
8. The rise of fascism in Europe
9. The rise of racism and xenophobia
10. The rise of anti-Semitism
11. Traditional/national values (patriotism)
12. The rise of islamophobia
13. Minimal salary raise
14. Pensions
15. Childs support (500+)
16. Social issues
17. Social programs by the government
18. Rising prices
19. Teacher's strike
20. Workers' protests
21. Education
22. School reform
23. Health care
24. Rule of law
25. The crisis of democracy
26. The crisis of liberalism
27. NGO activities/financing
28. Migration as a problem
29. International relations
30. Brexit
31. Future shape of EU
32. Dictate from Brussels
33. Polish-EU relations
34. Anti-EU rhetoric
35. Anti-German sentiments
36. Polish-German relation
37. Polish-Russian relations
38. Nord-Stream 2
39. US - Poland relations
40. Polish - Ukraine relations
41. War in Ukraine
42. Corruption
43. Agriculture
44. Environment
45. Climate crisis
46. Energy
47. Economy
48. Elections in Poland
49. Elections in Poland will be manipulated
50. Mobilization of voters
51. Disinformation and fake news
52. Russian hybrid warfare
53. Political scandals of the government
54. Political scandals of the opposition
55. Problems with media independence
56. Other political scandals
57. Pensions increase
58. Discrediting the opposition
59. The abolishment of the legal obligation to pay social security
60. LGBT rights
61. Local government issues
62. The introduction of new taxes
63. The abolition/reduction of taxes
64. Polish - Jewish relations
65. Polish martyrology



6.2. ANNEX II: LIST OF FACEBOOK ACCOUNTS

6.2.1. Political Parties

PRAWO I SPRAWIEDLIWOŚĆ (PIS)	
Type	Public page
Created	14 October 2009
Likes	241,813
Subscribers	218,000
Frequency of use	338 posts (8,2 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/pisorgpl/	

PLATFORMA OBYWATELSKA (PO)	
Type	Public page
Created	13 July 2009
Likes	194,703
Subscribers	197,285
Frequency of use	253 posts (6,2 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/PlatformaObywatelska/	

KOALICJA OBYWATELSKA	
Type	Public page
Created	10 July 2018
Likes	2,429
Subscribers	2,587
Frequency of use	26 posts (0,6 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/Koalicja-Obywatelska-531102127292760/	

PRAWICA RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ	
Type	Public page
Created	21 January 2010
Likes	11,963
Subscribers	12,183
Frequency of use	6 posts (0,15 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/prawicarzeczypospolitej	

**KWW KOALICJI BEZPARTYJNI I SAMORZĄDOWCY**

Type	Public page
Created	13 August 2014
Likes	22,014
Subscribers	21,943
Frequency of use	10 posts (0,2 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/bezpartyjniamorzadowcy	

POLSKIE STRONNICTWO LUDOWE (PSL)

Type	Public page
Created	17 November 2009
Likes	39,586
Subscribers	39,681
Frequency of use	51 posts (1,2 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/nowePSL/	

PSL KOALICJA POLSKA

Type	Public page
Created	22 July 2019
Likes	1,359
Subscribers	1,411
Frequency of use	159 posts (3,9 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/PSLkoalicjaPolska/	

SLD LEWICA RAZEM

Type	Public
Created	29 July 2019
Likes	3,640
Subscribers	3,770
Frequency of use	95 posts (2,3 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/PolskaLewica/	

KOMITET LEWICY

Type	Public
Created	2 February 2011
Likes	82,441
Subscribers	83,299
Frequency of use	95 (2,3 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/KomitetLewicy/	

**KW SKUTECZNI PIOTRA LIROYA-MARCA**

Type	Public
Created	14 March 2016
Likes	9,491
Subscribers	10,364
Frequency of use	29 posts (0,7 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/skuteczni.liroy/	

KUKIZ 15

Type	Public page
Created	4 February 2015
Likes	284,203
Subscribers	280,961
Frequency of use	92 posts (2,2 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/KUKIZ15/	

KW WYBORCÓW MNIEJSZOŚĆ NIEMIECKA

Type	Public page
Created	17 January 2011
Likes	5,349
Subscribers	5,611
Frequency of use	112 posts (2,7 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/DeutscheMinderheitInOppeln	

PARTIA RAZEM

Type	Public page
Created	17 March 2015
Likes	124,658
Subscribers	127,330
Frequency of use	90 posts (2,2 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/partiarazem/	

NOWOCZESNA

Type	Public page
Created	21 April 2015
Likes	97,224
Subscribers	96,474
Frequency of use	85 posts (2,1 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/Nowoczesna.oficjalnie/	



MŁODZIEŻ WSZECHPOLSKA	
Type	Public page
Created	31 July 2017
Likes	28,720
Subscribers	29,794
Frequency of use	79 posts (1,9 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/Wszechpolacy1922/	

RUCH NARODOWY	
Type	Public page
Created	7 December 2016
Likes	30,238
Subscribers	31,433
Frequency of use	126 posts (3,1 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/RuchNarodowy/	

WIOSNA ROBERTA BIEDRONIA	
Type	Public page
Created	20 January 2019
Likes	76,739
Subscribers	80,073
Frequency of use	49 posts (1,2 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/wiosnabiedronia/	

KONFEDERACJA WOLNOŚĆ I NIEPODLEGŁOŚĆ	
Type	Public page
Created	26 February 2019
Likes	144,280
Subscribers	152,991
Frequency of use	243 posts (5,9 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/KONFEDERACJA2019/	



6.2.2. Politicians

MAREK JAKUBIAK (INDEPENDENT)	
Type	Public page
Created	21 October 2014
Likes	159,357
Followers	165,581
Frequency of use	35 posts (0,9 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/Marek-Jakubiak-871948612817182/	

GRZEGORZ SCHETYNA (KO)	
Type	Public page
Created	30 September 2015
Likes	41,306
Followers	42,527
Frequency of use	26 posts (0,6 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/G.Schetyna/	

KAMILA GASIUK-PIHOWICZ (KO)	
Type	Public page
Created	23 July 2015
Likes	129,979
Followers	133,156
Frequency of use	122 posts (3,0 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/Kamila.Gasiuk.Pihowicz	

ROBERT WINNICKI (KONFEDERACJA)	
Type	Public page
Created	12 May 2012
Likes	71,665
Followers	73,234
Frequency of use	96 posts (2,3 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/robertwinnickipubliczny/	

**ADRIAN ZANDBERG (LEWICA RAZEM)**

Type	Public page
Created	21 October 2015
Likes	54,838
Followers	58,931
Frequency of use	111 posts (2,7 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/zandberg.razem/	

PATRYK JAKI (PIS)

Type	Public page
Created	8 March 2012
Likes	229,452
Followers	239,666
Frequency of use	113 posts (2,8 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/PatrykJaki/	

ZBIGNIEW ZIOBRO (PIS)

Type	Public page
Created	2 July 2017
Likes	26,232
Followers	27,267
Frequency of use	101 posts (2,5 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/ZiobroPL/	

ZBIGNIEW STONOGA (INDEPENDENT)

Type	Public page
Created	28 December 2014
Likes	658,740
Followers	663,134
Frequency of use	144 posts (3,5 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/zbigniewstonoga.ilovezuckerberg/	

BARBARA NOWACKA (KO)

Type	Public page
Created	29 January 2014
Likes	105,889
Followers	106,294
Frequency of use	90 posts (2,2 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/BarbaraANowacka/	

**GRZEGORZ BRAUN (KONFEDERACJA)**

Type	Public page
Created	9 August 2014
Likes	117,384
Followers	118,148
Frequency of use	28 posts (0,7 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/grzegorz.michal.braun/	

ROBERT BIEDROŃ (LEWICA RAZEM)

Type	Public page
Created	22 July 2011
Likes	544,461
Followers	547,616
Frequency of use	167 posts (4,1 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/RobertBiedron/	

ADAM ANDRUSZKIEWICZ (PIS)

Type	Public page
Created	6 March 2014
Likes	191,367
Followers	203,537
Frequency of use	52 posts (1,3 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/andruskiewicz.blog/	

WŁADYSŁAW KOSINIAK-KAMYSZ (KOALICJA POLSKA PSL)

Type	Public page
Created	3 July 2014
Likes	44,477
Followers	45,395
Frequency of use	35 posts (0,9 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/kosiniakkamysz/	

MAŁGORZATA KIDAWA-BŁOŃSKA (KO)

Type	Public page
Created	11 January 2016
Likes	28,805
Followers	29,396
Frequency of use	91 posts (2,2 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/MKidawaBlonska/	



RAFAŁ TRZASKOWSKI (KO)	
Type	Public page
Created	30 March 2009
Likes	159,526
Followers	165,662
Frequency of use	57 posts (1,4 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/rafal.trzaskowski/	

STANISŁAW TYSZKA (KOALICJA POLSKA)	
Type	Public page
Created	13 July 2015
Likes	141,174
Followers	141,869
Frequency of use	38 posts (0,9 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/stanislaw.tyszka/	

WŁODZIMIERZ CZARZASTY (LEWICA RAZEM)	
Type	Public page
Created	1 May 2012
Likes	10,054
Followers	10,364
Frequency of use	41 posts (1,0 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/WlodzimierzCzarzasty/	

ANDRZEJ DUDA (PIS)	
Type	Public page
Created	18 September 2010
Likes	650,221
Followers	632,257
Frequency of use	136 posts (3,3 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/andrzejduda/	

JACEK SASIN (PIS)	
Type	Public page
Created	30 July 2012
Likes	27,227
Followers	27,239
Frequency of use	75 posts (1,8 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/jacek.sasin.1/	



MARIAN KOWALSKI (INDEPENDENT)	
Type	Public page
Created	6 February 2012
Likes	177,983
Followers	176,706
Frequency of use	41 posts (1,0 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/Kowalski.Marian/	

RADOSŁAW SIKORSKI (KO)	
Type	Public page
Created	4 June 2011
Likes	103,933
Followers	103,648
Frequency of use	96 posts (2,3 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/radeksikorski/	

JANUSZ KORWIN-MIKKE (KONFEDERACJA)	
Type	Public page
Created	30 January 2010
Likes	753,708
Followers	722,486
Frequency of use	68 posts (1,7 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/janusz.korwin.mikke/	

PAWEŁ KUKIZ (KOALICJA POLSKA)	
Type	Public page
Created	14 October 2014
Likes	407,796
Followers	401,371
Frequency of use	57 posts (1,4 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/kukizpawel/	

MARCELINA ZAWISZA (LEWICA RAZEM)	
Type	Public page
Created	20 September 2014
Likes	15,568
Followers	16,099
Frequency of use	77 posts (1,9 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/mmzawisza/	



BEATA SZYDŁO (PIS)	
Type	Public page
Created	6 March 2012
Likes	184,861
Followers	186,822
Frequency of use	44 posts (1,1 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/BeataSzydlo/	

PIOTR LIROY-MARZEC (SKUTECZNI)	
Type	Public page
Created	17 November 2007
Likes	323,444
Followers	326,373
Frequency of use	45 posts (1,1 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/LiroyPolska/	



6.2.3. Journalist and Influencers

ŁUKASZ WARZECHA	
Type	Public page
Created	12 September 2010
Likes	8,861
Followers	9,324
Frequency of use	19 posts (0,5 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/%C5%81ukasz-Warzecha-126827660700097/	

RAFAL ZIEMKIEWICZ	
Type	Public page
Created	10 August 2010
Likes	98,962
Followers	101,455
Frequency of use	13 posts (0,3 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/rziemkiewicz	

MONIKA OLEJNIK	
Type	Public page
Created	22 March 2011
Likes	231,160
Followers	231,900
Frequency of use	43 posts (1,0 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/Monika-Olejniki-155449451181502/	

TOMASZ SEKIELSKI	
Type	Public page
Created	15 March 2017
Likes	252 291
Followers	273 320
Frequency of use	6 posts (0,1 posts per day)
https://pl-pl.facebook.com/Sekielski/	



ROBERT GWIAZDOWSKI	
Type	Public page
Created	30 September 2010
Likes	60,102
Followers	62,572
Frequency of use	4 posts (0,1 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/robertgwiazdowski	

MICHĄŁ RACHOŃ	
Type	Public page
Created	02 November 2017
Likes	16,428
Followers	17,875
Frequency of use	20 posts (0,5 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/MRMinela20/	

LESZEK BALCEROWICZ	
Type	Public page
Created	11 August 2011
Likes	91,211
Followers	93,323
Frequency of use	93,323
https://www.facebook.com/LeszekBalcerowicz/	

TOMASZ LIS	
Type	Public page
Created	13 September 2012
Likes	79,700
Followers	82,133
Frequency of use	7 posts (0,2 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/TomaszLis.Fanpage/	

MAGDALENA OGÓREK	
Type	Public page
Created	01 April 2011
Likes	54,917
Followers	55,051
Frequency of use	1 posts (0,02 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/2MagdalenaOgorek/	

**JAROSŁAW KUŹNIAR**

Type	Public page
Created	16 December 2009
Likes	163,546
Followers	160,720
Frequency of use	12 posts (0,3 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/Jarosław-Kuźniar-LIVE-218219766896/	

ROMAN GIERTYCH

Type	Public page
Created	09 June 2011
Likes	165,623
Followers	178,387
Frequency of use	21 posts (0,5 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/Roman-Giertych-strona-oficjalna-215392231834473/	



6.2.4. Media Outlets and Internet Sources

DORZECZY/TYGODNIK LISICKIEGO	
Type	Public page
Created	12 December 2012
Likes	105,982
Followers	103,460
Frequency of use	193 posts (4,7 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/TygodnikDoRzeczy	

TVP	
Type	Public page
Created	10 June 2018
Likes	348,238
Followers	350,409
Frequency of use	205 posts (5,0 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/BadzmyRazem.TVP/	

GAZETA WYBORCZA	
Type	Public page
Created	06 April 2009
Likes	679,852
Followers	667,861
Frequency of use	146 posts (3,6 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/wyborcza	

NIE LUBIĘ PIS-U	
Type	Public page
Created	02 August 2011
Likes	431,616
Followers	415,542
Frequency of use	263 posts (6,4 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/nie.lubie.PiSu/	



MARSZ NIEPODLEGŁOŚCI	
Type	Public page
Created	07 October 2010
Likes	264,731
Followers	256,830
Frequency of use	221 posts (5,4 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/MarszNiepodleglosci/	

TVP INFO	
Type	Public page
Created	23 July 2009
Likes	357,942
Followers	358,444
Frequency of use	334 posts (8,1 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/tvp.info	

KOMITET OBRONY DEMOKRACJI (KOD)	
Type	Public page
Created	19 November 2015
Likes	250,920
Followers	238,477
Frequency of use	173 posts (4,2 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/KomitetObronyDemokracji/	

OKO.PRESS	
Type	Public page
Created	23 March 2016
Likes	273,599
Followers	283,197
Frequency of use	223 posts (5,4 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/oko.press/	

SOK Z BURAKA	
Type	Public page
Created	12 March 2014
Likes	833,188
Followers	822,580
Frequency of use	159 posts (3,9 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/sokzburaka/	



RZECZPOSPOLITA	
Type	Public page
Created	13 May 2010
Likes	124,131
Followers	126,983
Frequency of use	200 posts (4,9 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/dziennikrzeczpospolita	

TV REPUBLIKA	
Type	Public page
Created	09 January 2013
Likes	175,259
Followers	174,570
Frequency of use	298 posts (7,3 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/RepublikaTV/	

NEWSWEEK	
Type	Public page
Created	18 July 2010
Likes	473,160
Followers	470,281
Frequency of use	392 posts (9,6 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/NewsweekPolska	

TVN/FAKTY	
Type	Public page
Created	11 January 2011
Likes	599,332
Followers	586,212
Frequency of use	326 posts (7,9 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/Fakty.TVN/	

POLSKIE RADIO 24	
Type	Public page
Created	17 January 2013
Likes	70,058
Followers	72,729
Frequency of use	612 posts (15,0 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/PolskieRadio24pl/	



WSIECI	
Type	Public page
Created	24 October 2012
Likes	208,208
Followers	200,083
Frequency of use	298 posts (7,3 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/wsieciprawdy/	

KRYTYKA POLITYCZNA	
Type	Public page
Created	01 April 2009
Likes	103,444
Followers	105,348
Frequency of use	180 posts (4,4 posts per day)
https://www.facebook.com/KrytykaPolityczna	



6.3. ANNEX III: SUMMARY OF SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT:

Monitoring period: 1 September – 11 October 2019

Summary of social engagement: Sum (comments & shares & reactions) Comments & shares

Aktivty		No of posts	Number of interations	Number of shares	Number of comments	
Tone	(Všetko)					
Source_type	Facebook Page Name	Hodnoty Počet z Posts	Súčet z Facebook Interactions	Súčet z Facebook Shares	Počet z Facebook Comments	
Influencers	Jaroslav Kužniar LIVE	12	4722	278	12	
	Leszek Balcerowicz	60	17718	2123	60	
	Lukasz Warzecha	19	825	170	19	
	Magdalena Ogórek	1	1	0	1	
	Michał Rachoń: Mingła20, Woronicza17, Jedziemy	20	9615	2037	20	
	Monika Olejnik	43	85610	6755	43	
	Rafał Ziemkiewicz	13	9498	1000	13	
	Robert Gwiżdowski	4	3691	322	4	
	Roman Giertych - strona oficjalna	21	181807	50077	21	
	Sekielski	6	58366	8020	6	
Tomasz Lis	7	13652	1584	7		
Influencerstotal		206	385505	72366	206	
Media	Bądźmy Razem. TVP	173	123442	7912	173	
	Fakty TVN	326	196666	20075	326	
	Gazeta Wyborcza	146	121538	25157	146	
	Komitet Obrony Demokracji	173	58778	11309	173	
	Krytyka Polityczna	180	27877	3261	180	
	Marsz Niepodległości	221	30406	6121	221	
	Newsweek Polska	392	174661	39051	221	
	Nie lubię PiS-u	263	59571	12972	263	
	OKO.press	223	300875	96470	223	
	PolskieRadio24.pl	612	64620	10936	612	
	Rzeczpospolita	200	31288	4861	200	
	SokBuraka	159	67359	13531	159	
	tvp.info	334	168415	20110	334	
	TVP1	205	11716	1054	205	
	Tygodnik Lisieckiego	193	29578	3979	193	
	Tygodnik Sieci	298	62681	6447	298	
TV Republika	298	99210	17269	298		
Mediatotal		4396	1628681	300515	4225	
Parties	Bezpартijni Samorządowcy	10	1130	258	10	
	Koalicja Obywatelska	26	2768	417	26	
	Komitet Lewicy	53	44184	5990	53	
	KONFEDERACJA	243	586446	143665	243	
	KUKIZ'15	92	72153	13722	92	
	Lewica - KW Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	95	68743	8652	95	
	Młodzież Wszechpolska	79	13145	1695	79	
	Mniejszość Niemiecka w Opolu / Deutsche Minderheit in Oppeln	112	4575	1087	112	
	Nowoczesna	85	7835	702	85	
	Platforma Obywatelska	253	512794	92116	184	
	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	51	18736	6388	51	
	Prawica Rzeczypospolitej	6	196	48	6	
	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	338	297445	102100	338	
	PSL Koalicja Polska 2019	159	921	142082	159	
	Razem	90	73668	8648	90	
	Ruch Narodowy	126	14335	2071	126	
	Skuteczni Piotra Liroya-Marca	29	2398	349	29	
	SLD Lewica RAZEM	309	22206	6445	309	
	Wiosna Biedronia	49	18936	1071	49	
	Partiestotal		2205	1762614	537506	2136
Politicians	Adam Andruszkiewicz	52	97016	279028	50	
	Andrzej Duda	136	126272	6209	136	
	Barbara Nowacka	90	38773	3753	90	
	Beata Szydło	44	44982	1582	44	
	Grzegorz Braun	28	2077	114	28	
	Grzegorz Schetyna	26	12111	2456	26	
	Jacek Sasin	75	5511	539	75	
	Janusz Korwin-Mikke	68	103963	11131	68	
	Kamila Gasiuk-Pihowicz	122	85928	7595	122	
	Leszek Balcerowicz	55	17253	2146	55	
	Liray	45	7719	1231	45	
	Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska	91	173068	17669	91	
	Marcelina Zawisa	77	14060	594	77	
	Marek Jakubiak	35	39501	5625	35	
	Marian Kowalski	41	9300	1526	41	
	Patryk Jaki	113	320168	45443	113	
	Paweł Kukiz	57	90130	25966	57	
	Radosław Sikorski	96	81388	11587	96	
	Rafał Trzaskowski	57	105711	13106	57	
	Robert Biedroń	167	488201	44781	166	
	Robert Winnicki	96	83718	8530	96	
	Stanisław Tyska - Kukiz'15	38	24863	2898	38	
	Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz	35	15428	2551	35	
	Włodzimierz Czarzasty	41	25410	2273	41	
	Zbigniew Stonoga	144	433205	30305	144	
	Zandberg	111	57976	2225	111	
	Ziobro	101				
	Politicianstotal		2041	2503732	530863	1937
	Grand Total		8848	6280532	1441250	8504



Summary of social engagement: Reactions (like, love, haha, wow, sad, angry)

Aktivty							
Tone	(Wszystko)						
Source_type	Facebook Page Name	Počet z Facebook Likes	Súčet z Facebook Loves	Súčet z Facebook Hahas	Súčet z Facebook Wows	Súčet z Facebook Angrys	Súčet z Facebook Sads
Influencers	Jaroslav Kulinar LIVE	12	198	76	20	1117	833
	Leszek Balcerowicz	60	700	479	128	453	483
	Łukasz Warzecha	19	25	20	3	1	2
	Magdalena Ogórek	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Michał Rachoń: Minęła20, Woronicza17, Jedziemy	20	735	295	40	613	96
	Monika Olejnik	43	10818	1808	281	1024	1324
	Rafał Ziemkiewicz	13	579	703	30	11	8
	Robert Gwiżdowski	4	268	265	4	13	61
	Roman Giertych - strona oficjalna	21	15512	13199	772	1061	1293
	Sekielski	6	10080	69	451	28	25
Tomasz Lis	7	1784	64	16	127	127	
Influencerstotal	205	40699	16978	1745	4338	4252	
Media	Bądźmy Razem, TVP	173	14923	3677	671	803	3725
	Fakty TVN	326	20607	16270	2770	30431	17965
	Gazeta Wyborcza	146	14043	8237	984	9872	2367
	Komitet Obrony Demokracji	173	4255	2770	721	10079	1587
	Krytyka Polityczna	180	2639	1780	168	809	924
	Marsz Niepodległości	221	1200	5451	387	3128	630
	Newsweek Polska	392	10793	12321	2506	22159	7008
	Nie lubię PiS-u	263	4739	5185	844	8029	2196
	OKO.press	223	14670	21725	3504	60634	9316
	PolskieRadio24.pl	612	5856	6720	544	3014	2846
	Rzeczpospolita	200	2071	4938	704	2928	870
	Sobiburka	159	4234	6535	514	4649	503
	twp.info	334	12595	26170	3996	20231	4822
	TVP1	205	1189	114	29	448	513
	Tygodnik Liściakiego	193	1449	4610	465	2829	1118
Tygodnik Sieci	298	3524	11324	1008	8684	1078	
TV Republika	298	7325	10449	1152	9651	2826	
Mediatotal	4396	126132	148276	19967	198378	60294	
Parties	Bezpартyni Samorządowcy	10	26	48	21	106	8
	Koalicja Obywatelska	26	380	35	5	18	6
	Komitet Lewicy	53	6278	270	267	117	178
	KONFEDERACJA	243	46029	6688	3246	6150	2295
	KUKIZ15	92	2710	9098	440	2106	1215
	Lewica - KW Sojuszu Lewicy Demokratycznej	95	11526	1173	287	246	46
	Młodzież Wszechpolska	79	1427	1279	80	284	132
	Mniejszość Niemiecka w Opolu / Deutsche Minderheit in Oppeln	112	236	44	15	37	1
	Nowoczesna	85	885	264	35	99	45
	Platforma Obywatelska	253	60742	14659	1051	6987	6622
	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	51	1486	447	62	114	27
	Prawica Rzeczypospolitej	6	15	1	0	1	12
	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	338	49552	16970	631	8878	1249
	PSL Koalicja Polska 2019	159	302	89	3	14	5
	Razem	90	8646	1395	705	1503	782
	Ruch Narodowy	126	968	176	62	127	121
	Skuteczni Piotra Litwy-Marca	29	146	163	10	9	12
	SLD Lewica RAZEM	309	2675	1286	172	989	132
	Wiosna Biedronia	49	2536	853	211	513	274
	Partiestotal	2205	196565	54938	7303	28298	13662
Politicians	Adam Andruskiewicz	52	7146	3742	132	2374	3391
	Andrzej Duda	136	16905	1106	239	632	2521
	Barbara Nowacka	90	4846	315	254	1025	295
	Beata Szydło	44	6347	1068	65	593	2196
	Grzegorz Braun	28	408	123	26	26	9
	Grzegorz Schetyna	26	849	440	18	369	71
	Jacek Sasin	75	651	69	3	45	29
	Janusz Korwin-Mikke	68	9894	3739	392	386	183
	Kamila Gasiak-Pihowicz	122	9942	1101	218	1863	1394
	Leszek Balcerowicz	55	667	526	151	444	417
	Litoy	45	532	158	243	87	23
	Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska	91	26091	5651	798	4059	290
	Marcelina Zawisa	77	2784	202	155	69	14
	Marek Jakubiak	35	2335	1571	286	1525	522
	Marian Kowalski	41	810	346	46	74	15
	Patryk Jaki	113	21676	42955	2944	20296	1997
	Paweł Kukiz	57	2554	7592	620	5865	2908
	Radosław Sikorski	96	7388	4283	596	2506	555
	Rafał Trzaskowski	57	14118	807	799	1205	3356
	Robert Biedroń	167	69079	39594	5890	34594	9257
	Robert Wiśniowski	96	7494	2149	390	1018	997
	Stanisław Tyśka - Kukiz'15	38	936	4263	138	405	437
	Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz	35	1524	165	23	99	196
	Włodzimierz Czarzasty	41	3894	1055	94	1064	34
	Zbigniew Stonoga	144	58571	28666	2866	3132	10758
	Zandberg	111	4258	13345	33415	200	59
	Ziobro				11	139	55
	Politicianstotal	1940	281699	165031	50812	84034	41978
Grand Total	8747	645095	385223	79827	315048	120186	



6.4. ANNEX IV: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(CBOS)	Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej/Polish Public Opinion Research Centre
(DRI)	Democracy Reporting International
(EBU)	European Broadcasting Union
(EIDHR)	European Instrument for Democracy & Human Rights
(EP)	European Parliament
(EU)	European Union
(FOP)	Fundacja Odpowiedzialna Polityka/ Political Accountability Foundation
(KRRiT/NBC)	Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji/The National Broadcasting Council
(PKW/NEC)	Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza/National Election Commission
(NGO)	Non-governmental Organisation
(ZUS)	Zakład Ubezpieczeń Społecznych
(KO)	Koalicja Obywatelska/Civic Coalition
(PiS)	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość/Law and Justice
(PO)	Platforma Obywatelska/Civic Platform
(PSL)	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe
(SLD)	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej/Democratic Left Alliance
(TV/TVP)	Public TV
(FB)	Facebook
(SM)	Social Media



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Final Report

