KATARZYNA DOMAGAŁA
MATEUSZ ZIELIŃSKI

TRANSPARENCY
OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE
IN THE NETWORK PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION

One of the most important features of unconsolidated democracies is the unclear method of the decision-making process. Contrary to fully democratic systems, there are many indirect connections and feedbacks between the main political actors which have an effect in the non-transparent structure of a government. What we are arguing is, however, that 1. the transparency of political system functioning is fluctuating and looks differently during political turmoil and more stable period of time; 2. the question of transparency is connected with the capacity and goals of media actors who are usually pointed out as a main source of public information on political decision making process.

Therefore, we want to ask two general questions, concerning the mechanism of media "supervision" over political decision making process and one question concerning current political situation in Poland:

Q1. To what degree constitutional crisis makes personal ties influencing political decision making process more visible in media coverage?

Q2. What are the reasons of differences in various media actors descriptions of personal ties influencing political decision making process?

Mgr Katarzyna Domagała – Instytut Politologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego; adres do korespondencji: ul. Koszarowa 3, 51-149 Wrocław: e-mail: katarzyna.domagala@uwr.edu.pl

Mgr Mateusz Zieliński – Instytut Politologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego; adres do korespondencji: ul. Koszarowa 3, 51-149 Wrocław; e-mail: mateusz.zielinski@uwr.edu.pl

Q3. Who plays the central role in the decision-making process during constitutional crisis in Poland in 2015-2016 according to media coverage?

In order to answer these questions we want to use the network analysis to emphasize some of the personal connections between the main politicians. We focus on the last conflict between the politicians representing the ruling party and the Constitutional Court (and opposition as well) which polarised the political system in Poland at the turn of 2015 and 2016.

We test three main hypotheses in two different stages of our research:

1. The media coverage of personal ties influencing political decision making process depends on the life cycle of the analyzed constitutional crisis.
2. The way media cover personal ties influencing political decision making process is conditioned by technical capabilities of particular media types and the general attitude of particular media company toward main political actors.
3. Jarosław Kaczyński, the chairman of PiS, was depicted as the most active political actor during the constitutional crisis.

We collected the data from different sources. We have used the Google Trend tool and online available resources (described below) to show which political actors was portrayed as a central actor during the conflict between the Polish government and Constitutional Court on the Internet. We have also used newspapers to gain the data which was helpful to verify the picture of political system presented on the Internet with the information delivered by paper media.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are many studies on the evolution of the Polish political system after 1989[1]. The majority of them arrived at positive conclusions: Poland seemed to be a great example of an effective political and economic transformation which resulted in the polarised but stable party system as well as consolidated and balanced system of power sharing (checks and balances between the legislative, executive, and judicial powers). In 2015, after 8 years of governing by the conservative-liberal Civic

---

[1] A. ANTOSZEWSKI, *System polityczny RP*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN 2012; H. DOMAŃSKI, *A New Dimension of Social Stratification in Poland? Class Membership and Electoral Voting in 1991–2001,* "European Sociological Review" 24(2)/2008; B. STANLEY, *Confrontation by default and confrontation by design: strategic and institutional responses to Poland's populist coalition government,* "Democratization" 23(2)/2015; A. SZCZERBIAK, *Poles Together? The Emergence and Development of Political Parties in Postcommunist Poland*. Budapest: Central European University Press 2001.

Platform (PO) – Polish Peasant Party (PSL) cabinet coalition, the new government led by Beata Szydło and supported by conservative and social-oriented Law and Justice (PiS) was appointed. Some authors try to explain this political turnaround in Polish society by underlining the impact of a global crisis in liberal democracy and economy[2], the populist style of PiS's political communication[3] or the social exclusion of many Poles after 1989.

The rules of law established by the new democratic constitution in 1997 resulted from many discussions and compromises made in the early 1990 s. One of the most significant and indisputable parts of these rules was the checks and balances mechanism mirrored in article 10 of the Polish constitution. Moreover, the role of the Constitutional Court as a warrant of constitutionalism was indirectly expressed in article 188. The main competences of the Constitutional Court were the assessment of compatibility between the constitution and law established by legislative and executive power as well as solving the conflicts between the state administrative bodies.

There are no articles or books on the Polish political system in which the author attempts to use the network perspective to explain the Polish phenomena. The first attempt at implementation of some Social Network Analysis elements into the cabinet coalition research was the study of Banaś and Zieliński (2016) who tried to show which connections between some politicians are more likely to be effective in the process of a PO-PSL coalition formation.

2. POLISH CASE OVERVIEW –
THE 2015 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

On October 25th 2015, after an intensive campaign, parliamentary elections took place in Poland[4]. Two days later the State Electoral Commission announced their official results. Already exit polls indicated a victory for the Law and Justice (PiS), but official results just confirmed the survey data. Law and Justice emerged as the sole winner of the election, gaining 235 seats, which allowed them to form a one-party government. Apart from Law and Justice, four more parties hold their deputies in the Sejm: Civic Platform (PO), Kukiz'15, Modern and Polish People's Party. Detailed results may be found in the table below.

---

[2] R. Benedikter and I. Karolewski, *Poland's conservative turn of 2015: Where are its real origins?*, in: *Europe in Trouble*, ed. H. Marhold, Nomos 2016.

[3] A. Stępińska, A. Lipiński, A. Hess and D. Piontek, *Poland: A Fourth Wave of Populism?*, in: *Populist Political Communication in Europe*, eds. T. Aalberg [et all], London: Routledge 2017.

[4] K. Marcinkiewicz, M. Stegmaier, *The parliamentary election in Poland–October 2015*, "Electoral Studies" 41/2016.

Tab. 1. The results of the 2015 parliamentary elections

Party/Coalition	Seats	Votes (000's)	Votes (%)
Law and Justice (PiS) *including*: *Law and Justice* *Solidarity Poland* *Poland Together* *Independent*	235 *217* *8* *9* *1*	5712	37,58
Civic Platform (PO)	138	3662	24,09
Kukiz'15	42	1339	8,81
Nowoczesna (Modern)	28	1155	7,60
United Left (ZL)	–	1147	7,55
Polish Peasant Party (PSL)	16	780	5,13
KORWIN/New Right (Nowa Prawica)	–	723	4,78
Together (Razem)	–	550	3,62
Other	–	113	0,87

Source: PKW (State Electoral Commission), www.parlament2015.pkw.gov.pl

Voter turnout in the analysed election was 50.92%. PiS won the election in most voivodships, while PO only in two of them. It should be stressed that the outcome of the election might be quite surprising, because of the fact that this is a rather rare situation in the Polish party system to gain a majority in the Sejm with only 37.5% of vote.

It is not without significance that the PiS electoral committee constituted a three-party coalition. Clearly, PiS was the dominant party, while PR and SP commanded approximately 2–3% support each during the two years prior to the election[5]. The leaders of the coalition parties were entrusted with an important and one of the crucial functions in government, with the SP's leader, Zbigniew Ziobro, as head of the Ministry of Justice and the chief prosecutor and the PR leader, Jarosław Gowin, as head of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, but also as one of the deputy Prime Ministers.

The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of April 2nd 1997 includes four areas to the jurisdiction of the Constitutional Court: control of norms (abstract and concrete, a posteriori and a priori), a specific procedure for reviewing the norms is the handling of constitutional complaints; resolving disputes between the central constitutional authorities of the state; declaration of compliance with the Constitution of objectives or activities of political parties and finally, recognition of transitional inability to exercise office by the President of the Republic (Articles 79, 122, 133, 188, 189 of the Constitution). In 2015 the rank of the Constitutional Court and, above all, its effectiveness decreased significantly.

---

[5] R. MARKOWSKI, *The Polish parliamentary election of 2015: a free and fair election that results in unfair political consequences*, "West European Politics" 39(6)/2016, pp. 1314-1315.

The constitutional crisis has its origins in one of the provisions of the Act on the Constitutional Court of June 2015. It allowed the previous government to choose five new judges of the Court. Whereas in 2015, three judges ended their tenure during the Sejm's 7th term and two during the new one, elected in October 2015[6]. What is worth emphasising is that judges of the Court must not belong to any political party and cannot hold high public office (e.g. a seat in Parliament)[7].

As already stated in this paper, on October 25th 2015 PiS won the parliamentary elections and this electoral committee gained 235 seats in the Sejm. Such a number of deputies allowed the ruling party to work on the Act amending the Act on the Constitutional Court of June 2015, signed by President Andrzej Duda in November.

On 8 October Sejm of the 7th term appointed three elected judges: Roman Hauser, Krzysztof Ślebzak, Andrzej Jakubecki (their term of office began on November 7th 2015) and two more judges, who were appointed excessively: Bronisława Sitka and Andrzej Sokala (cadencies started on December 2nd and 3rd). President Andrzej Duda did not receive the oath from any of the judges selected by the Sejm in October. On November 25th the new Sejm voted on thelack of legal standing on the resolutions on the selection of five judges by the Sejm of previous cadence (it was possible with PiS and Kukiz'15 votes). The Constitutional Tribunal considered this legal act as against the Polish Constitution. Then, on December 8th the Sejm of 8th term adopted new resolution on the selection on five judges: Henryk Cioch, Lech Morawski, Mariusz Muszyński, Piotr Pszczółkowski and Julia Przyłębska. President Duda took the oath from the first four judges on December 3rd at night and from the last person on December 9th 2015. In mid-January 2016 the President of the Court decided to assigned two judges elected in December 2015 to cases.

At this time, the PiS-controlled parliament passed a series of statutes to weaken the Constitutional Court. Even the court ruled against them, the government elected neither to publish nor to follow the verdicts[8]. With the beginning of the new year the international community expressed its concern about the situation in Poland. The European Union launched the rule of law inquiry against Poland and the next month (February 2016) the Venice Commission visited Poland in order to examine the le-

---

[6] M. Szuleka, M. Wolny, M. Szwed, *The Constitutional Crisis in Poland 2015-2016*, 2016, p. 6, http://www.hfhr.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/HFHR_The-constitutional-crisis-in-Poland-2015-2016.pdf, [Access: 18.05.2017].

[7] L.L. Garlicki, *The Experience of the Polish Constitutional Court*, in: *Constitutional Justice, East and West. Democratic Legitimacy and Constitutional Courts in Post-Communist Europe in a Comparative Perspective*, ed. W. Sadurski, The Hague–London–New York: Kluwer Law International 2002, p. 271.

[8] E. Tamkin, *Polish Ruling Party Passed Unconstitutional Law, Now Controls Constitutional Tribunal*, "Foreign Policy" 2016, http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/12/19/polish-ruling-party-passed-unconstitutional-laws-now-controls-constitutional-tribunal-trump-law-justice/, [Access: 18.05.2017].

gality of the legislation on the Constitutional Court. The Venice Commission issued the opinion on the Act of December 2015 amending the Act on the Constitutional Court of June 2015[9], which was ignored by the ruling party. European Parliament members agreed to pass a resolution on Poland.

Nevertheless, this did not stop the parliamentary majority along with the government to work on the draft of a new Act on the Constitutional Court, which was signed by the President in July 2016 and published in the Journal of Laws as early as August 1st (Act on Constitutional Court, 2016).

Consequently, the constitutional crisis has disrupted the balance between the different branches of power in Poland. While analysing this issue it seems to be clear that executive power claims the right to verify the Constitutional Court's judgments and refuses to acknowledge and execute them. What is more, it has led to a deep polarisation of opinions on the systemic role of the Court in Polish public debate[10].

3.   RESEARCH METHODS

In our research on the Polish constitutional crisis we used the Google Trends tool to indicate the period of time when the topic of constitutional crisis was the most frequently searched by Polish-speaking Internet users. Based on that, our research concerned the period from November 22nd 2015 to January 9th 2016 – the time of the highest public interest in the aforementioned crisis. We also use Google statistic to specify the websites that were most frequently visited while searching for information and news on this topic. There are several arguments that explain the choice of Google as a tool. Firstly, it has an international reach while it is also the most popular Internet search engine in Poland. Secondly, if applying appropriate search constraints, it gives an strong basis for "public opinion online" research, concerning not only online editions of various newspapers but also independently created blogs and websites (Web 2.0).

It should be noticed that over 90 % of the "clicks" on Google come from the first page that contains the list of websites, of which over 30 % were first on the list[11]. The first 100 results from Google were tested with reasonable neutrality. Technical

---

[9] Opinion on Amendments to the Act of 25 June 2015 on the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland, Adopted by the Venice Commission on 11 March 2016, http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-AD(2016)001-e, [Access: 20.05.2017].

[10] M. Szuleka, M. Wolny, M. Szwed, *The Constitutional*, p. 6.

[11] S. Brin and L. Page, *The Anatomy of a Large-scale Hypertextual Web Search Engine. In Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on World Wide Web 7*, Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Elsevier Science Publishers B. V. 1998.

factors such as IP address of the computer the query was conducted with or the individual search history of the computer might influence the search results[12]. Nevertheless, in order for our analysis to be conducted objectively, the browser data were cleared and a new Gmail account was created to log in. On each page a list of names appearing in the context of this issue were collected and, secondly, on this basis we created the social network of the constitutional crisis for each webpage (sub-networks). It is worth stressing that there were many sites that we considered unfit for analysis because their contents have little to do with the constitutional crisis in Poland. At the last stage of our research we combined already prepared sub-networks into the final one, which shows the image of the Polish constitutional crisis on the Internet.

Taking into account the specific of the Internet content analysis – low quality of obtained information and lack of interpretation context such as information about the author of a particular comment or date of their publishing – we decided to use Word Co-occurrence Analysis, which is a part of manual Semantic Network Analysis. It can be explained as a variation of Content Analysis based on web research with broader elements of Social Network Analysis and graph theory[13].

At the second stage of our research we analysed two most popular Polish newspapers – Gazeta Wyborcza and Rzeczpospolita – in the same time period to compare our findings from the first stage of analysis with a picture of constitutional crisis presented in paper media. Furthermore, the differences in interpretation of political scene in those two magazines are well documented and openly commented by politicians of ruling party[14]. We choose slightly different method of analysis to distinguish connections between each actor as positive (or neutral) and negative. Using content analysis each author independently has assigned each media report covering the crisis situation to a particular level of political communication corresponding with levels of analysis: 1. level of direct meeting between major political and social actors; 2. level of mediated communication between them (how they use mass media to communicate); 3. level of connections assumed or suggested by journalists without strong evidences described in the articles, what helps us in the end to assessed the credibility of presented connections. We also coded each connections according to the time it was posted in media to analyze the processual aspects of analysing phenomenon. Information on each connection are documented in the

---

[12] J. Urban, K. Bulkow, *Tracing Public Opinion Online – An Example of Use for Social Network Analysis in Communication Research*, "Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences" 100/2013.

[13] J.W. Pennebaker, M.E. Francis and R.J. Booth, *Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count*. Mahwah, N.J.: LEA Software and Alternative Media, Inc., 2001.

[14] S. Skarżyński, *Wszyscy wrogowie Kaczyńskiego*, „Gazeta Wyborcza" 12.03.2016, http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,124059,19754376,wszyscy-wrogowie-kaczynskiego.html, [Access: 18.06.2017].

attached appendixes. While mentioning newspapers as a subject of our research we adopted specific code: we use an abbreviation "GW" for Gazeta Wyborcza and "RP" for Rzeczpospolita with a dates and page numbers referring to particular articles.

For both types of networks, we have used PAJEK software to illustrate our analysis. In particular, in the study on the coalition formation process we use PAJEK to take advantage of its computing capabilities: (Output) Degree Centrality, Proximity Prestige indexes. In the attached graphs we used the Kamada–Kawai energy command as an automated procedure for "finding an optimal layout"[15]. Values of connections are reflected in the width of edges (undirected connections). Dotted lines were used to emphasise negative relations. We also used simple Degree Centrality to illustrate the "importance" of each node in a graph by enlarging the most "central" actors.


4.   FINDINGS

To test the first hypothesis we focused on names co-occurrence in the text of selected websites although it needs to be noted that other important elements of sites' infrastructure – posted pictures, movies, links and tags – all together create a meaningful context for traced ties, latent content that is hard to be depicted in extended quantitative analysis[16]. Furthermore, we do not try to solve here the problem of *complexity gap* and therefore we argue that an extracted network of names represents a public perception of simple connections between main political actors based on interpretative skills and knowledge of researchers, although chaotic nature of the crisis and wide variety of presenting online information might give space for different interpretations[17].

---

[15] W. DE NOOY, A. MRVAR and V. BATAGELJ, *Exploratory social network analysis with Pajek*, New York: Cambridge University Press 2005, p. 16.

[16] B. BERELSON, *Content analysis in communication research*, New York: Hafner Press 1984.

[17] K. KRIPPENDORFF, *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology*, 2nd ed., Thousand Oak: SAGE Publications 2004; J. MARKOFF, G. SHAPIRO and S.R. WEITMAN, *Toward the Integration of Content Analysis and General Methodology*, "Sociological Methodology" 6/1975.
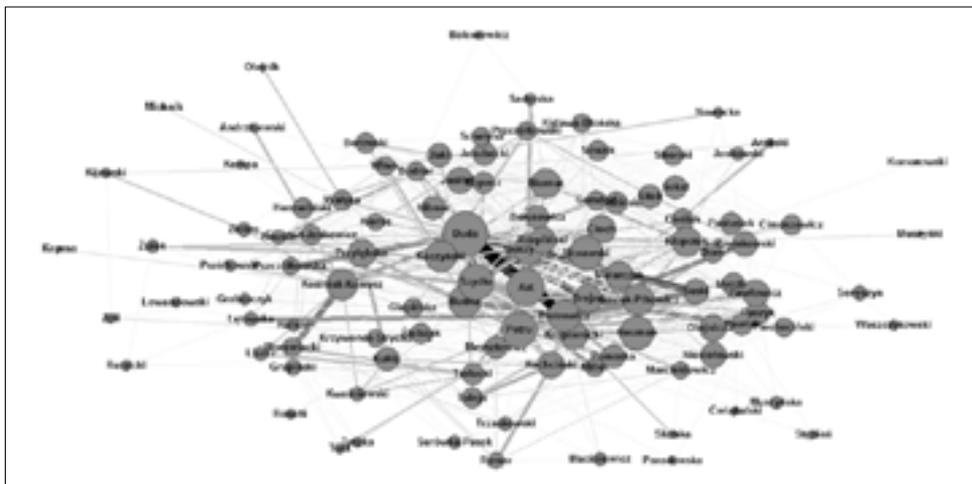
Pict. 1. Undirected network of connections (meet-network) between main actors based on names
co-occurrence 100 best positioned websites according to Google's search engine results,
(Graph's details: No. of nodes = 108; No. of edges = 698)

Combining connections on each site (sub-networks) we create a meet-network
and estimate the most 'active' actors within this network – we counted the number
of connections each actor 'produced' and assessed the weight of each connection ba-
sed on its recurrence (weight degree centrality). The connections between particular
actors do not stand for personal social ties, however, taking the holistic view retrie-
ved from a multiplicity of sub-networks we can also estimate the distance of each
actor from others to help assess public impression on the importance of each actor[18].

Tab. 2. Degree centrality

No.	Degree centrality in the network based on the Internet sources	Degree centrality in the network based on Gazeta Wyborcza	Degree centrality in the network based on Rzeczpospolita
1	209.000000 – Duda	35.000000 – Kaczyński	15.000000 – Petru
2	110.000000 – Piotrowicz	25.000000 – Duda	14.000000 – Duda
3	101.000000 – Petru	17.000000 – Petru	11.000000 – Kaczyński
4	93.000000 – Szydło	13.000000 – Rzepliński	9.000000 – Neuman
5	86.000000 – Ast	13.000000 – Kuchciński	7.000000 – Szydło

According to the gathered data, president Duda was the most 'active' actor and by
his closeness to other actors he occupied a central position in the whole picture.

---

[18] L.C. FREEMAN, *Centrality in social networks conceptual clarification*, "Social Networks"
1(3)/1978; W. DE NOOY, A. MRVAR and V. BATAGELJ, *Exploratory*, p. 127.

What is more, few politicians from PiS could be distinguished due to their high activity: Piotrowicz, Szydło, Ast and Kaczyński. Prime Minister Szydło was less active than MP Piotrowicz, who became a person responsible for supervision over the process of electing new judges for the Constitutional Court, although he did not play any significant role in Szydło's cabinet, but was more active than Kaczyński, who was often portrayed as the initiator of the turmoil. Since Andrzej Rzepliński – head of the Constitutional Court and main opponent of the proposed changes was less visible than the current leaders of opposition parties such as Ryszard Petru from "Modern" (.N) or Borys Budka from Civic Platform (PO).

Our findings proved that in a crisis situation, the formal structure of the Szydło cabinet is overshadowed by politicians hypothetically of less political significance – Kaczyński, Piotrowicz, and Ast were not the members of the government.

In the second phase of our analysis we gathered information on personal ties between politicians, omitting connection based on party membership. The media content delivered by Gazeta Wyborcza was strongly focused on personal ties between major political actors. The primary source of the information was numerous interviews with such politicians as Henryka Krzywonos-Strycharska (GW 5 XII 2015, p. 18), Marek Magierowski (GW 16 XII 2015, p.10), Aleksander Kwaśniewski (GW 9 XII 2015, p. 6) or the judge of the Constitutional Court – Andrzej Rzepliński (GW 5 XII 2015, p. 9). Another important source of information that helps journalists of GW to indicate connections between some politicians were analysis of protests and manifestations, both supporting and condemning actions undertaking by PiS government (GW 11 XII p.6 and 8). Furthermore, large part of suggested connection were simple stated without any proves presented to the readers – an example of that might be an article in GW (12-13 XII, p. 21) describing the outline of the secret meetings of PiS high officials posted without any evidence. Finally, the general picture of personal connections was confirmed by our interpretation of descriptions of press releases or parliament speeches where major politicians showed their support or expressed criticism to each other (GW 4 XII, p. 12; 2 XII, p. 4).

According to our analysis the most "active" actor was Kaczyński while Duda was the second. The strong connection between those two politicians is especially visible in the network but what is also worth mentioning are visible clusters of actors connected around Kijowski (leader of Committee of for the Defense of Democracy) and Michał Karnowski (influential journalist and supporter of PiS).
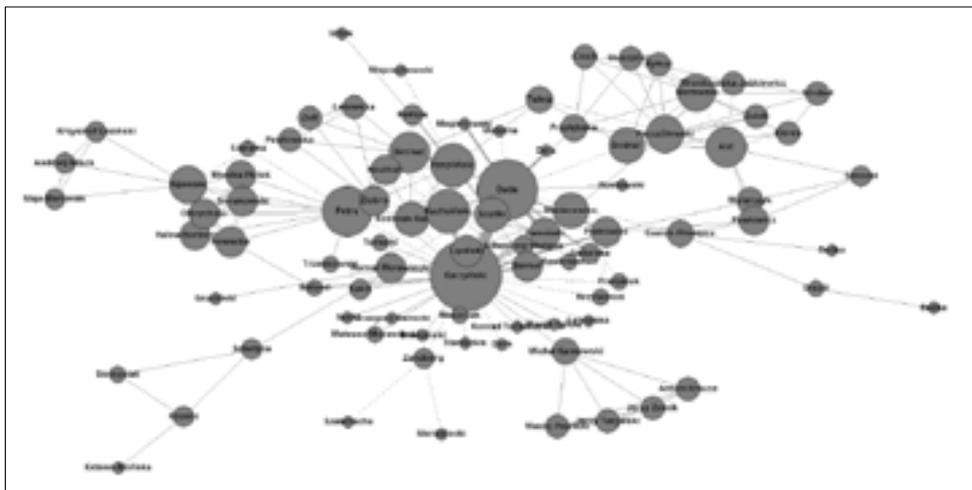
Pict. 2. Undirected network of connections between main actors based on Gazeta Wyborcza articles, collected between 22 XI 2015 and 09 I 2016
(Graph's details: No. of nodes = 88; No. of edges = 213)

In our last research step we use the same method to analyze the structure of connections presented in Rzeczpospolita. Our first, general finding is that there is a visible difference in the way both newspapers (comparing Rzeczpospolita with Gazeta Wyborcza) were presenting the importance of personal connections in the events of analyzed constitutional crisis. RP was definitely more focused on in-depth analysis, recognizing the role of Kaczyński, however without emphasizing the ambiguity of his connections (RP 2 XII, p. A9, 24 XII p. A6). The journalists of RP were also uninterested with personal connections of Kijowski (the reason why he is absent on the network) although pay much attention to Petru (the leader of Modern) who is according to our data the most "active" actor. The general approach of RP was to analyze the institutional aspects of the ongoing crisis and that is why such important actors as Rzepliński, who was frequently mentioned in the newspaper is less visible in the network. Official interviews were used not only to confirm some connections (e.g. with Petru – RP 7 XII, p. A4; or Pawłowicz – RP 4 XII, p. A8) but also to overthrow some suppositions (for example Stanisław Biernat in the interview reject accusations of his dependency from Civcic Platform – RP 24 XII, p. C7). In the end the presented bellow network is both - less dense (number of connections) and developed (number of nodes) when comprising both to the network based on the Internet resources and the second one, based on GW articles.
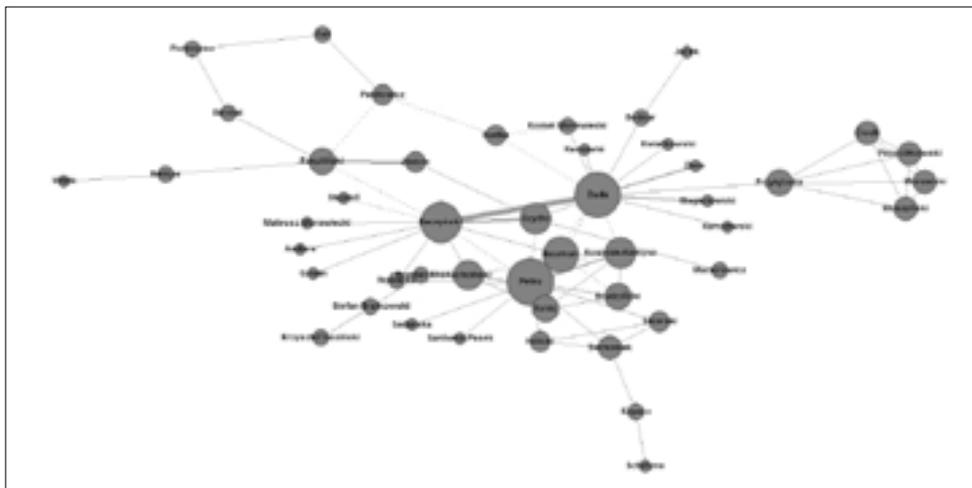
Pict. 3. Undirected network of connections between main actors based on Rzeczpospolita's
articles, collected between 22 XI 2015 and 09 I 2016
(Graph's details: No. of nodes = 47; No. of edges = 81)

5.   DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

Concerning our first aim, the analyzed materials from two major newspapers confirmed that the low transparency of the Polish government become more blatant during the crisis – the examples of personal connections where mentioned during the crucial moments of the crisis such as (RP: 3 XII, p. A6; 14 XII, p. A1; GW: 1 XII, p. 10; 11 XII, p. 6).

Several politicians from PiS played a significant role in this political breakdown after 1989, however their importance in the described events could not be explained simply by their formal status. The widely-commented position of Kaczyński gained some public attention, however he was depicted as the most 'central' only in the network based on GW findings. This help us to confirmed our second hypothesis – not only the technical issues are responsible for differences in description of the crisis situation, but also the general politics of particular media company. On the one hand both crisis situation (as a subject of analysis) and the Internet (as a source of information) are chaotic and ephemeral and therefore do not provide us with a reliable picture of how the government functions. This is the reason why the Internet as a general source of information concerning personal connections between politicians must be treated with high caution and not be treated as a basis for further conclusions. On the other hand the clearly visible difference between the network of connections depicted in RP and GW strongly supported our idea that the political reason and the general approach toward "watchdog" mission of press heavily influenced the way media uncover the meaning of personal connections in Polish political scene.
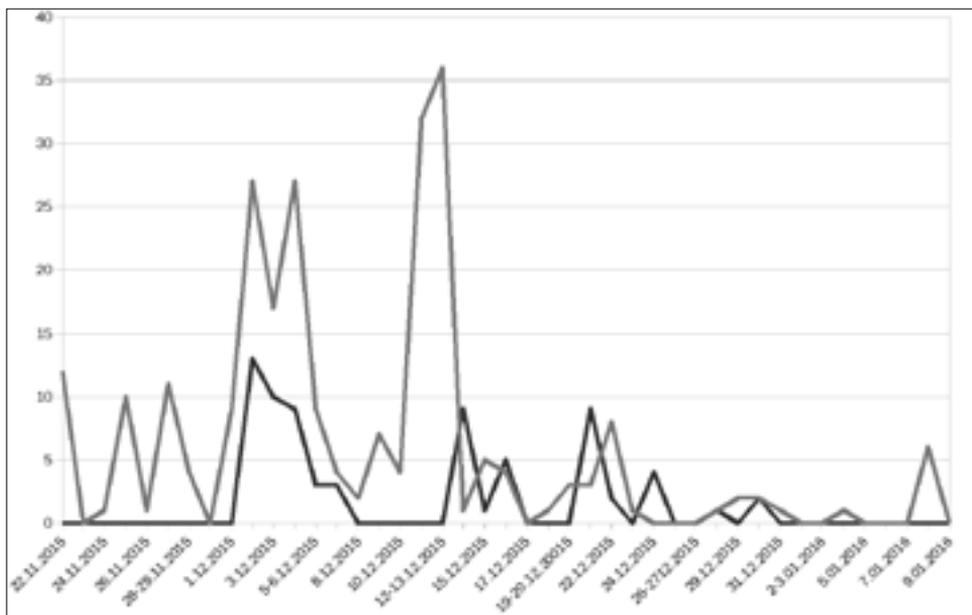
Pict. 4. Chart showing the frequency of publishing information
about personal ties in the newspapers.

Finally, as was mentioned above, our findings confirmed our last hypothesis only to some extent. The strong position of Kaczyński in decision making process was in each case presented using the output degree centrality index based on the network of connections created by us. The idea standing behind the mentioned measure is that an actor obtains a central position in a network due to its other-oriented actions (output). Our findings proved, however, that the received pictures were strongly influenced by media-created and unreliable information and therefore Kaczyński might be less influential than we initially assumed, although even central position in the media coverage might brings him some profits. The explanation for this paradoxical situation gives a different approach to the question of who occupies the central position in the network. The concept of prestige stands that an actor who is a target of a large portion of other actors' actions is more popular and therefore might gather additional benefits from the fact that the information and resources flow goes into his or her direction even if he stayed passive himself.

The useful way to understand his prestige positions is to emphasize that he is a leader not only of political party but also a coalition and that different motivations stood behind the negotiating in 2014 leaders of PiS, SP and PR. For Kaczyński, the coalition was a chance to gain support from voters of the two smaller parties, although for several years he ensured for his party a comfortable position of being

the main opposition party. On the other hand, PR and SP with poor results in the European Parliamentary elections had the impression that they might not get into parliament in the next election and can have serious problems in terms of party survival. Consequently for Ziobro and Gowin, leaders of the coalition parties, it was definitely more important to create a coalition. Kaczyński was also able to convince the media that the aim of collaboration between those parties was not only to win parliamentary elections but to unite the right wing of the Polish political scene. By adopting this line of argument the media put additional pressure on Ziobro and Gowin to submit to Kaczyński's vision.

What is more, Szydło played only a secondary role in the whole process, (opposing even the whole idea of coalition) while future president Duda was not even mentioned as a significant political player at that time. The fact that the Szydło government is based on a coalition created by Kaczyński and that President Duda (officially appointed by Kaczyński) won his position also thank to SP and PR voters, gives Kaczyński a lot of prestige.

According to the famous works of Nan Lin "through such social relations or through social networks in general, an actor may borrow or capture other actors' resources (e.g., their wealth, power or reputation). These social resources can then generate a return for the actor" and therefore there is a connection between social prestige and network location[19]. Lin proved that a network of social connections is a primary source of resources that enables one to gain a desired result[20]. Altogether, this allows us to argue that Kaczyński, thanks to his prestige position in a network of mediated connections, created a situation where other formally important actors were taking actions in line with political will of the leader of PiS.

REFERENCES

ANTOSZEWSKI A., System polityczny RP, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN 2012.
ATTEVELDT W. van, Semantic network analysis: techniques for extracting, representing and querying media content, Charleston, SC: BookSurge 2008.
BENEDIKTER R. & KAROLEWSKI I., Poland's conservative turn of 2015: Where are its real origins?, in: Europe in Trouble, ed. H. Marhold, Nomos 2016, pp. 81-88.
BERELSON B., Content analysis in communication research, New York: Hafner Press 1984.

---

[19] N. LIN, *A network theory of social capital*, in: *The handbook of social capital*, ed. D. Castiglione, J.W. van Deth and G. Wolleb, New York: Oxford University Press 2008, p. 51.

[20] M. GRANOVETTER, *The Strength of Weak Ties*, "American Journal of Sociology" 78(6)/1973; N. LIN, *A network theory*, p. 41.

Brin S. & Page L., The Anatomy of a Large-scale Hypertextual Web Search Engine, in: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on World Wide Web 7, Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Elsevier Science Publishers B. V. 1998, pp. 107-117.

Domański H., A New Dimension of Social Stratification in Poland? Class Membership and Electoral Voting in 1991-2001, "European Sociological Review" 24(2)/2008, pp. 169-182.

Freeman L.C., Centrality in social networks conceptual clarification, "Social Networks" 1(3)/1978, pp. 215-239.

Granovetter M., The Strength of Weak Ties, "American Journal of Sociology" 78(6)/1973, pp. 360-1380.

Garlicki L.L., The Experience of the Polish Constitutional Court, in: Constitutional Justice, East and West. Democratic Legitimacy and Constitutional Courts in Post-Communist Europe in a Comparative Perspective, ed. W. Sadurski, The Hague–London–New York: Kluwer Law International 2007, pp. 265-282.

Krippendorff K., Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology, 2nd ed, Thousand Oak: SAGE Publications 2004.

Lin N., Social capital: a theory of social structure and action, Cambridge, UK–New York: Cambridge University Press 2001.

Lin N., A network theory of social capital, in: The handbook of social capital, ed. D. Castiglione, J.W. van Deth, & G. Wolleb, New York: Oxford University Press 2008, pp. 50-70.

Marcinkiewicz K., Stegmaier M., The parliamentary election in Poland – October 2015, "Electoral Studies" 41/2016, pp. 221-224.

Markoff J., Shapiro G. & Weitman S.R., Toward the Integration of Content Analysis and General Methodology, "Sociological Methodology" 6/1975, pp. 1-58.

Markowski R., The Polish parliamentary election of 2015: a free and fair election that results in unfair political consequences, West European Politics 39(6)/2016, pp. 1311-1322.

Nooy W. de, Mrvar A. & Batagelj V., Exploratory social network analysis with Pajek, New York: Cambridge University Press 2005.

Opinion on Amendments to the Act of 25 June 2015 on the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland, Adopted by the Venice Commission on 11 March 2016, http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-AD(2016)001-e, [20.05.2017].

Pennebaker J.W., Francis M.E. & Booth R.J., Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count. Mahwah, N.J.: LEA Software and Alternative Media, Inc., 2001.

PKW (State Electoral Commission), www.parlament2015.pkw.gov.pl, [15.05.2017].

Stanley B., Confrontation by default and confrontation by design: strategic and institutional responses to Poland's populist coalition government, "Democratization" 23(2)/2015, pp. 263-282.

Stępińska A., Lipiński A., Hess A. & Piontek D., Poland: A Fourth Wave of Populism?, in: Populist Political Communication in Europe, ed. T. Aalberg [et all], London: Routledge 2017, pp. 311-325.

Szczerbiak A., Poles Together? The Emergence and Development of Political Parties in Postcommunist Poland, Budapest: Central European University Press 2001.

Szuleka M., Wolny M., Szwed M. (2016), The Constitutional Crisis in Poland 2015-2016, http://www.hfhr.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/HFHR_The-constitutional-crisis-in-Poland-2015-2016.pdf, [18.05.2017].

The Constitutional Tribunal Act of 22 July 2015, http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-REF(2016)052-e, [23.05.2017].

Tamkin E., Polish Ruling Party Passed Unconstitutional Law, Now Controls Constitutional Tribunal, "Foreign Policy", 2016, http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/12/19/polish-ruling-party-passed-unconstitutional-laws-now-controls-constitutional-tribunal-trump-law-justice/, [18.05.2017].

URBAN J., BULKOW K., Tracing Public Opinion Online – An Example of Use for Social Network Analysis in Communication Research, "Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences" 100/2013, pp. 108-126.

WAŁĘSA L., The State of Democracy in Poland and Europe, "Polish Political Science Yearbook" 45/2016, pp. 157-165.

TRANSPARENTNOŚĆ STRUKTURY POLSKIEGO RZĄDU W PERSPEKTYWIE SIECI

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest analiza kryzysu konstytucyjnego, który miał miejsce w Polsce po wyborach parlamentarnych w 2015 r., w perspektywie sieciowej. Przeprowadzone badania koncentrują się na ukazaniu braku przejrzystości działań rządu Prawa i Sprawiedliwości podczas wskazanego kryzysu. Dzięki użyciu analizy sieci (SNA) jako głównej metody badawczej, w artykule analizie poddane zostały nieformalne relacje pomiędzy głównymi aktorami politycznymi, które w znaczący sposób wpłynęły na działania rządu w tym okresie. W tym celu podjęta została próba rekonstrukcji najważniejszych wydarzeń na polskiej scenie politycznej, odnoszących się do tematu badań, w badanym okresie czasu.

Słowa kluczowe: wybory parlamentarne; kryzys konstytucyjny; Trybunał Konstytucyjny; Prawo i Sprawiedliwość.

TRANSPARENCY OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE IN THE NETWORK PERSPECTIVE

Summary

The aim of the paper is to analyze the constitutional crisis, which occurred in Poland at the end of 2015, shortly after the parliamentary election. Our research is focused on showing the low transparency of the Polish government during this political turmoil. We argue that there are many indirect connections and feedbacks between the main political actors which have an effect in the non-transparent structure of a government, which changes during political turmoil and more stable period of time. In this context the network analysis was used as a main research method to emphasize some of the personal connections between the main politicians.

Key words: parliamentary election; constitutional crisis; Constitutional Court; Law and Justice.