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Parliamentary elections in the Czech Republic (8 and 9 October 2021)

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A. Czech Republic: the country and its economic, social and political evolution.

With the end of World War I, Czechia and Slovakia formed Czechoslovakia and with the World War II progressed, Nazi Germany was able to consume the Czech territory. With the fall of the country into Soviet hands, the communist party only bowed in 1989 with the so-called “Velvet Revolution,” and from this point on democratic implementation and the transition to a market economy began. In 1993 the “velvet divorce” takes place and the marriage that formed Czechoslovakia returns to the two sovereign independences that made it up. As two countries with war-torn histories and a geographic position that is unfavorable to the international eyes, it is noteworthy that both the revolution that drove communism from power and the separation between the two nations tended to be peaceful, so they were even called “velvet”.

Economically speaking, the Czech Republic is known for its growth since the adoption of a market economy system and also for joining the European Union in 2004. However - and Andrej Babiš⁵ Eurosceptic and interventionist stance represents this well - a more closed position has always been maintained, rather than a tendency towards a completely open market economy, which is nevertheless

less an economic-commercial goal of the European Union, aiming at ever greater integration.

At a trade level, Germany is its main partner, but at the time of 2008 recession it started to use Czech industry less and thus substantially broke down the industrial sector, thus affecting the trade balance, with the export balance getting slacker.

In 2009 there were some improvements, but the country didn't stop suffering from the economic crisis at the beginning of the last decade. This recession only started to improve in 2015.

The automotive industry has a considerable importance in the Czech economy. In 2010 more than one million cars were produced in this country, of which about 80% were exported⁶. And this was one of the sectors most affected by the pandemic crisis, which was already in recession in the pre-pandemic phase, with major brands looking for countries where they could find more affordable labor. However, this sector still accounts for about 32% of GDP and 37% of employment⁷.

The Czech Republic had a population of around 10 million and 65 thousand inhabitants, with a population increase around 0.39% compared to the previous year. The forecast is that the population currently stands at 10 million and 73 thousand inhabitants in 2021⁸.

GDP per capita is forecasted to have reached USD 25.806.38 by 2021 and economists expect it to rise sharply in the upcoming years, with predictions that by 2026 it could be around USD 35.909.72⁹. Such an increase is certainly due to the reinvestment that the auto-

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- 5 Andrej Babiš, was elected prime minister of the Czech Republic in December 2017 and stepped down from office in December 2021. He is the leader of ANO 2011.

6 Office of International Relations and Protocol International Relations Division of the Assembly of the Republic (april, 2017). “Ficha Técnica sobre a República Checa”. p.4

7 «The high level of integration of the global supply chain in the Czech economy meant that the automotive sector was especially sensitive to disruption. Additionally, the automotive industry was already experiencing stress, as domestic production of cars had been in decline before COVID. Producers, principally Skoda had been looking for lower labor costs in other parts of the “new” European states throughout the last decade. Nevertheless, industry accounts for 32% of GDP and 37% of the labor force, with the automobile industry the largest part of that sector.» DOMENICO, Reno (2021) in «The Czech Republic's economy in 2021»; *NewEurope*.

8 O'Neil, A. in «Czech Republic: Total population from 2016 to 2026»; *Statista*. 2021

9 O'Neil, Aaron in «Czech Republic: Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in current prices from 1996 to 2026»; *Statista*. 2021. In the same way, «FocusEconomics analysts see GDP expanding 4.3% in 2022, which is down 0.3 percentage points from last month's forecast, and 3.7% in 2023»; *FocusEconomics*. 2021 in «Czech Republic Economic Growth». Accessed on 6/12/2021 in <https://www.focus-economics.com/countries/czech-republic>.

mobile industry is undergoing, much due to the decrease of supply in this market, and in view of the community funds.

On the other hand, also at the social and political level, we find in the Czech Republic, several events worthy of in-depth analysis and truly capable of assisting in the study of the world's democratic systems. A careful look at the emerging impact of the accusation against Andrej Babiš in the Pandora Papers case, which brought to light information that large amounts of money had been schemed to evade taxation, is enough. A few days before this connection to the case was made public, and although it was far from a legal criminal trial, there was obviously an electoral trial.¹⁰

This illustrates the idea that democracy must remain as transparent as it can be, because voters will never wait or be governed by any principle of presumption of innocence, and a simple circumstantial connection is enough for active democratic pretensions to fade away.

During the entire campaign period, polls, even one week before the elections, were giving a victory to the party of the former Czech prime minister. In fact, according to the Czech Empirical Research Institute, the STEM Agency, in a study done about ten days before the elections, ANO would win the elections with 27.30%, followed by the coalition that proved to be the winner, SPOLU, which would have 21.40%¹¹. It will, therefore, be undeniable that the unexpected weight that fell on the ANO in general and on the person who was trying to reappoint the executive front of the country in particular had a ponderous impact on the choices made by the voters. The Czech Republic is going through a phase in which the call for better and more demanding policies is noticeable. In a ranking made by Freedom House¹², an American organization whose mission is to promote democracy, on a spectrum from 0 to 7, ranks the national democratic governance at 4.75 and corruption in the country at 4.50. It should also be noted that the management of the pandemic crisis itself was very poorly regarded, with this report saying that «*The COVID-19 crisis exposed the reality that the Czech state had been hollowed out over the years and was being poorly and weakly governed. The state, in fact, failed to properly track coronavirus cases or to prepare for the second wave of the pandemic*», reason why, any election occurring after the start of the pandemic will find in the management of the health crisis a powerful and decisive element.

As for corruption, Andrej Babiš himself, who had strongly taken a position to fight the pandemic, had always been quite controversial in this field¹³. As a matter of fact, the mentioned report men-

tions that «*Political corruption and lack of transparency in public procurement are common in Czechia*».

Well, all of the above combined with the decrease in the real growth of the GDP in 2020, by about seven percentage points compared to the 2019 figures, devised a formula that came to jeopardize the re-election of Andrej Babiš¹⁴, which thus proved to be the “chronicle of an announced death”.

B. Legal and Constitutional framework.

The legislative elections in Czech Republic, convened on December 28 of 2020 by the President of the Republic¹⁵, occurred between October 8 and 9 of 2021.

The Constitution of the Czech Republic¹⁶ establishes in article one, that the Czech Republic sees itself as a sovereign, democratic state that based on the rights and freedoms of man and citizens, which is why its political system is based on free competition between parties, respecting the various democratic principles and rejecting violence as a means of promoting and achieving its interests.

In advance, and since the analysis performed here is focused on the legislative elections, it is important to consider, essentially and briefly, some of the legal dispositions present in its Constitution and in its Electoral Law to the Parliament of the Czech Republic^{17/18}.

i. Parliamentary Composition.

According to article 15 of the Constitution, the Parliament - the body that holds legislative power - is bicameral, since it is composed by the Senate and the House of Deputies¹⁹: the Senate (up-

Prime Minister Babiš had established for his Agrofert holding did not alleviate his conflicts of interest. Consequently, the EU announced that it would not reimburse Czech projects funded within the EU structural funds scheme to boost small and medium-size enterprises. The Czech government, however, made no effort to extract the related subsidies from Agrofert coffers. Instead, the government tried to remove Babiš's conflicts of interest by proposing an amendment that would merely decrease transparency in company ownership. A provision in the amendment would have obfuscated the fact that Babiš indirectly controls and benefits from Agrofert and its subsidiaries. The government withdrew the amendment upon evidence revealing the companies' real owners, and under criticism from the opposition and Transparency International». *Ibidem*.

14 International Monetary Fund «Table A2. Advanced Economies: Real GDP and Total Domestic Demand» in «World Economic Outlook: Recovery during a Pandemic – Health Concerns, Supply Disruptions, Price Pressures». Washington, DC. Oct. 2021 p. 112. Available in <https://www.imf.org/-/media/Files/Publications/WE0/2021/October/English/text.ashx>

15 The Czech Republic has a semi-presidential regime.

16 It came into effectiveness on January 1st, 1993 (art. 113 of the Constitution).

17 Zákon o volbách do Parlamentu České republiky a o změně a doplnění některých dalších zákonů

18 For a deeper analysis, we must attend to the fact that parliamentary elections are regulated by the 1992 Constitution (amended in 2013), the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms (amended in 1998), and the 1995 Electoral Act (Act no. 247/1995, which was amended in 2021).

19 No one may simultaneously be a member of both Chambers (art. 21 of the Constitution), just as the office of President of the Republic, the duties of judge and other

10 You can read more about this in the publication of the “*International Consortium of Investigative Journalists*”, the institution that published the thousands of documents that drove this case, through <https://www.icij.org/investigations/pandora-papers/czech-prime-ministers-party-narrowly-loses-re-election-days-after-pandora-papers-revelations-in-surprise-outcome/>.

11 Accessed on 30/11/2021 in <https://echo24.cz/a/SMqmt/stem-spolu-a-pirstan-by-vet-sinu-neslozily-do-snemovny-by-se-dostaly-kscm-i-prisaha>

12 Freedom House «Nations in Transit: Czech Republic». 2021. Accessed on 27/11/2021 in <https://freedomhouse.org/country/czech-republic/nations-transit/2021>.

13 As for the contestation that was generated around the outgoing Czech prime minister: «In 2020, the European Union (EU) confirmed that the “blind trust” that

per house) is composed by 81 senators, elected for six-year terms²⁰, while the House of Deputies (Lower House) is composed by **200 deputies**, elected for a four-year term (art. 16, nr 1) of the Constitution and art. 24 of the Electoral Law).

Unlike the Senate, the House of Deputies can be dissolved (art. 17, nr 2, art. 33 and art. 35 of the Constitution). If this happens, elections will be held within sixty days after said dissolution²¹.

The Chamber of Deputies is extremely important, as highlighted, among other things, by the fact that it holds legislative power (article 39 of the Constitution). At the same time, due to its dependence on the Government, since it is not only answerable to the Government (article 68, nr 1 of the Constitution), but also requests its confidence (article 68, nr 3 and article 71 of the Constitution). On the other hand, it should be noted that the President and Vice President of the Court of Auditors are appointed by the President of the Republic at the proposal of the Chamber of Deputies (article 97 nr 2 of the Constitution).

ii. Mode of conducting the elections.

The elections for the House of Deputies are held by secret vote, through universal, equal and direct suffrage, under the principles of proportional representation (art. 18, nr 1 of the Constitution), where the voter votes in person (art. 19 of the Electoral Law).

iii. Electoral capacity.

The right to vote is granted to citizens who are at least 18 years old on the second day of elections²² (art. 18.º, nr 3 of the Constitution e art. 1.º, nr 7 of the Electoral Law) – **active electoral capacity** – and could be elected to the Chamber of Deputies, any citizen of the Czech Republic who is entitled to vote and has reached the age of 21 on the second day of elections (art. 19, nr 1 of the Constitution and art. 25 of the Electoral Act) - **passive electoral capacity**.

Once elected, the deputy takes the oath at the first meeting of the House of Deputies he/she attends (art. 23, nr 1 of the Constitution)²³, whose term will end when one of the situations established in art. 25 of the Constitution occurs.

Other conditions for exercising the right to vote, the organization

of elections and the scope of judicial review are set out in the Electoral Law²⁴.

C. Electoral Law.

The electoral law gives concrete expression to the constitutional dispositions and the analysis of its electoral system can be subsumed under the following points:

- i. Electoral Circles;
- ii. Attribution of the seats to be elected by the constituencies;
- iii. Submission of candidacies;
- iv. Vote;
- v. Attribution of parliamentary seats

i. Electoral Circles.

The House of Deputies is elected according to the proportional electoral system²⁵, based on 14 electoral circles, by which the 200 deputies to be elected will be distributed (art. 24.º e 26.º of the Electoral Law). Such distribution will respect the following rules:

ii. Distribution of seats by electoral circle:

The number of parliamentary seats to be allocated to each electoral circle is determined from the number of voters²⁶. This allocation is made in the following way:

- a) First, the total number of valid votes is determined for all political parties, political movements and coalitions in all circles, i.e., at national level. This total number of votes is divided by the number of Members to be elected, in this case 200 (art. 48, nr 1 of the Electoral Law). From this division we reach a national quota.
- b) Subsequently, the share is divided by the total number of valid votes expressed in each electoral region, resulting in the entire number of seats allocated to each electoral constituency (art. 48, nr 2 of the Electoral Law).
- c) If from such operation there are seats left, these will be allocated to the electoral constituencies that registered the most remainders in the division made (art. 48, nr 3 of the Electoral Law). Note that this would benefit the regions where the number of voters was highest.

iii. Submission of Applications:

The Applications for election to the House of Deputies may be pre-

duties prescribed by law are incompatible with those of deputy or senator (art. 22, nr. 1 of the Constitution).

In the same vein, a deputy member of the Government cannot be president or vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies, nor can he be a member of parliamentary committees, inquiry committees or commissions (art. 32 of the Constitution)

20 Article 16, nr. 2 of the Constitution. Without prejudice to one third of the senators being elected every two years.

21 In all other cases, elections for the Chamber of Deputies will be held between thirty days before the end of each electoral term and the day of its effective end (art. 17, nr. 1 of the Constitution).

22 Except those who have been deprived of their legal capacities.

23 Where he makes the following promise: “*I pledge my loyalty to the Czech Republic. I promise that I will uphold the constitution and its laws. I promise on my honor that I will perform my duties according to the interest of the people, to the best of my knowledge and conscience*”.

24 Art. 20 of the Constitution.

25 Principle of proportional representation.

26 It should be noted that in Portugal, the election of Deputies according to the number of voters was supported by Manuel Monteiro, in their work “*Do Recenseamento Eleitoral em Portugal*”, Coimbra, Almedina, 2012, pp. 354-359.

sented by registered political parties and movements, whose activities have not been suspended, and by coalitions (art. 31, nr 1 of the Electoral Law)²⁷.

iv. Vote:

The Czech Republic's electoral system allows the so-called “**preferential voting**”. Voters who vote for a particular party, political movement or coalition have the possibility to indicate up to four candidates from the list for which they vote (Art. 39 of the Electoral Law). If any of the candidates has received a number of preferential votes representing at least 5% of the total number of valid votes for that political party, political movement or coalition, in the electoral region, the mandate will be preferentially assigned to it (art. 50, nr 6 of the Electoral Law). Otherwise, the mandates will be assigned by the list order.

v. Distribution of parliamentary seats:

The election of parliamentary representatives has a number of specificities that should be briefly mentioned. The procedure does not end with one operation, and it is possible to divide the election of representatives into three distinct moments:

- **First moment:** the electoral system of Czech Republic foresees a barrier clause²⁸, so in order to be able to elect Members to the Parliament:

- a. Political parties or movements standing individually must obtain at least 5% of the total number of valid votes (art. 49, nr. 1, a) of the Electoral Law).
- b. Coalitions composed by two political parties or political movements must obtain at least 8% of the total number of valid votes (art. 49, nr 1, b) of the Electoral Law). Otherwise, the parties or coalitions do not participate in the distribution of seats. And in that case the votes allocated to them will no longer be taken into account in the subsequent determination of the election results and the respective allocation of seats (Art. 49, nr 2 of the Electoral Law).

- **Second moment:** once it has been determined which parties, political movements and coalitions can proceed to the first scrutiny, i.e., which have reached the barrier clause, the seats will be allocated within each electoral region (art. 50 of the Electoral Law). We then proceed as described below:

- a) Within each electoral circle, the total of the valid votes counted in the electoral region is divided by the number of

seats allocated to political parties, political movements and coalitions, plus two.

Therefore, while previously, the national quota was determined using the simple quotient method or Hare's quotient method, nowadays, it is the *Imperiali* method or quotient that is used, which is expressed by the formula: Quotient = Votes / (Seats to be allocated + 2). After all this, the calculated result - duly rounded to the units - will be the “regional electoral quotient” (art. 50, nr 2 of the Electoral Law).

- b) Subsequently, the total number of valid votes received by a political party, political movement or coalition (within the electoral region) is divided by the regional electoral quotient, allowing the number of parliamentary mandates to be attributed to each political party, political movement or coalition (art. 50, nr 3 of the Electoral Law).
- c) It should also be noted that if a political party, political movement or coalition does not present enough candidates to occupy the allocated parliamentary seats, it will only be entitled to the number of seats corresponding to the number of candidates (art. 50, nr 8 of the Electoral Law).

- **Third moment:** If it turns out that at the end of the first scrutiny, parliamentary seats are still to be awarded, a second scrutiny will have to be held (art. 51 of the Electoral Law).

In this second round of voting, the votes of the remaining political parties, political movements and coalitions will be counted and the sum of which is divided by the number of parliamentary seats not won on the first scrutiny, plus one. The Hagenbach-Bischoff quotient is now applied, translated by the formula: Quotient = Votes / (Seats to be allocated + 1).

The result will be the new “national electoral quotient”. Therefore, each political party, political movement and coalition will be allocated by the number of parliamentary seats resulting from the division of the sum of the remaining votes attributed to each political force by the national electoral quotient determined on the second scrutiny.

If, nevertheless, not all seats are allocated in this way, they will be allocated to the political parties, political movements and coalitions with the largest remainder. On the other hand, if one seat has been allocated more than was foreseen, the political party, political movement or coalition with the smallest remainder shall be deprived of the parliamentary seat.

D. The October 2021 election results: a brief commentary.

Write about the Czech Republic is to speak of a young republic, with a democratic model implemented just over three decades ago. In fact, the country's written constitution only came into effect in January 1993. However, it is already a consolidated democracy, with a percentage of 77% for Democratic Governance.²⁹

²⁷ Individual candidates are not admitted.

²⁸ Modified in 2021, following the Constitutional Court's ruling on its unconstitutionality, raised after the 2017 elections.

²⁹ Freedom House. Nations in Transit 2021. Available in: <https://freedomhouse.org/>

Several opinions and analyses have been carried out on the democratic and electoral systems in Central and Eastern Europe, pointing to high levels of voting volatility, mainly due to the low identification between voters and political parties. That is why the analysis of the political spectrum will always start from a theoretical framework that deepens into the transformation of these democratic models in post-communism³⁰.

However, a look at the Czech Republic and to the various election moments in this young republic, allows us to identify an exception to this rule, as we find a strong implementation of some political parties, such as the Social Democratic Party or the Communist Party, in certain regions of the country.

Note, nevertheless, that the Communist Party with the highest implementation is the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM) which, unlike other Central European communist parties, secured higher levels of electoral acceptance by guiding its political agenda during the transition to a liberal democracy³¹. Therefore, it ensured a strong implementation throughout the national territory, standing out in some regions such as Southern Moravia and Central Bohemia³². It should also be noted that this party's voters tend to be located in socially marginalized regions with high rates of industrial transformation³³.

On the other hand, the Social Democrats of the ČSSD, find a strong implementation throughout the national territory, reflecting a movement experienced in the region after the disintegration of Czechoslovakia and post-communism, which allowed them to lead successive governments³⁴.

Nonetheless, when we look at the results of the legislative elections that took place last October in the Czech Republic, we see that those two parties are not present in the new parliamentary composition, not having won any of the 200 seats in the House of Deputies.

On the other hand, this new framework resulted in the appointment of a new prime minister, namely the leader of the party with the most votes in these elections, Petr Fiala³⁵. It should be noted

that, until then, the Czech government was led by Andrej Babiš, leader of the ANO 2011 party that was the second most voted party in this year's legislative elections. Note that ANO 2011, only established itself as a political party in 2012, as a result of a manifest reaction to the political crisis existing in the Czech Republic at that time. Crisis emerging from the various corruption scandals and outrages.

ANO, acronym for "Action of Dissatisfied Citizens", is a center-right party that is largely changeable to public opinion, i.e., associated with a populist discourse trapped in the correlation between the nation and its development potential and, on the other hand, the incompetence of the political elites that, due to the interests and conveniences of this group in their society, have been holding back the nation's development³⁶.

However, in the recent and disputed election, the right-wing coalition SPOLU, between the conservative parties (ODS and TOP 09) and the Christian Democrats of KDU-ČSL, won the election with 27.79% of the vote, while the ANO 2011 stood at 27.12%. Although it secured the most votes, the SPOLU coalition, however, ended up with one less seat in the Czech parliament than ANO 2011, which secured 72 parliamentarians (cf. Table 1).

Even so, such a result meant a turnaround in the Czech political picture, since in the 2017 parliamentary elections, ANO 2011 won the most deputies and votes, achieving three times the votes of the opposing party in those elections the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), who competed independently (cf. Table 2).

The 2.51% drop of ANO 2011 in this electoral act compared to the 2017 elections, may find justification in several events, namely, the recent association of the Czech prime minister to real estate deals through offshore companies revealed by the Panama Papers, or, on the other hand, his aggressive anti-immigration speeches and attack on the European institutions.

In light of the above, SPOLU secured the electoral victory, distributing the 71 seats won in the lower house among the constituent parties of the coalition, namely with 34 seats for the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), 23 seats for the Christian Democrats of the KDU-ČSL, and finally 14 members of parliament for TOP 09.

The PaS electoral coalition comes third, with 37 seats in the house of Czech democracy, including 33 seats for Mayors and Independents and the Czech Pirate Party with 4 parliamentarians. On the other hand, the largest anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim party, The Freedom and Direct Democracy Party (SPD), finished fourth with 9.6% of the votes, having secured 20 seats.

The big losers in this election were the parties more to the left of the Czech political spectrum and, moreover, the so-called tradi-

an centre-right platform, focused on fiscal responsibility and closer relations with NATO. The alliance outperformed initial opinion polls and finished first in the election, though with one less seat in the Chamber of Deputies than second-place ANO 2011.

36 Kohutova, M. & Horvat, M. "Populism in Old and New Democracies: Comparative Analysis of True Finns, Sweden Democrats, ANO and OLaNO" *Little Leviathan*. University of Zagreb. Jul. 2018. P. 3-33.

country/czech-republic/nations-transit/2021. Consulted on 4th December of 2021.

30 Berglund, S. *The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*. Edward Elgar Publishing. 2013. P. 217.

31 Kitschelt, H. Constraints and Opportunities in the Strategic Conduct of Post-Communist Successor Parties. Regime Legacies as Causal Argument in Bozoki, A. & Ishiyama, J. T. *The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe*. Routledge. 2020.

32 Vide Bankov, P. *Czech Stalemate? The Role of Party Organization for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia since 2010*. Cambridge University Press. 2020.

33 Pink, M. The Electoral Base of Left-Wing Post-Communist Political Parties in the Former Czechoslovakia. *Středoevropské politické studie*, 14(2-3), 170-192. Získáno 2012.

34 Lewis, P. G. *Political Parties in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*. Routledge. 2020. P. 51.

35 Petr Fiala is a politician and political scientist who has been the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic since November 2021 and leader of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) since 2014. He previously served as the Minister of Education, Youth and Sports from 2012 to 2013. In 2020, Fiala led the initiative for a centre-right electoral alliance with KDU-ČSL and TOP 09, known as Spolu. He became its candidate for the premiership in the 2021 election, running on a pro-Western and pro-Europe-

tional parties in national political history, we are talking about the Communists of the KSČM and the Social Democrats of the ČSSD. Parties which, although strongly established in Czech democracy and having governed in the past, have now failed to secure any seats in the Czech parliament, something that has never happened since the Czech Republic’s separation from Czechoslovakia in 1993. Finally, it should be noted that this electoral act represented the largest dispersion of votes in parties that did not even reach 5%, leading to about 20% of the votes being distributed among smaller parties that failed to obtain any parliamentary representation.

Table 1 - Election Results for the Legislative Elections of 2021

Parties	Legislative Elections 2021		
	Votes	%	Terms
SPOU ³⁷	1.493.905	27.79	71
ANO 2011 (ANO)	1.458.140	27.12	72
PirStan ³⁸	839.776	15.62	37
Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD)	513.910	9.56	20
Přísaha ³⁹	251.562	4.68	0
Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD)	250.397	4.65	0
Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM)	193.817	3.60	0
Tricolour / Svobodní / Soukromníci ⁴⁰	148.463	2.76	0
Free Bloc (VOLNÝ)	71.587	1.33	0
Green Party (SZ)	53.343	0.99	0
We Will Open Czechia	21.804	0.40	0
Swiss Democracy	16.823	0.31	0
The Moravians (MORAVANE)	14.285	0.26	0
Alliance for the Future (APB)	11.531	0.21	0
Monarchist Party of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (Czech Crown)	8.635	0.16	0
Sources Movement	8.599	0.15	0
Urza.cz	6.775	0.12	0
ANS (Citizens 2011)	5.167	0.09	0
Pensioners 21	3.698	0.06	0
Moravian Land Movement (MZH)	1.648	0.03	0
The Left (Levice)	639	0.01	0
Vote for Right Block www.cibulka.net (PB)	586	0.01	0
Total	5.411.292	N/A	N/A
Registered	8.274.292	N/A	N/A
Voters	5.448.086	65.43	N/A
Abstention	2.826.206	34.57	N/A
Invalid Votes	36.794	0.68	N/A

Source: Czech Statistical Office. Available at: <https://www.volby.cz>.

Table 2 - Election Results for the Legislative Elections of 2017

Parties	Legislative Elections 2017		
	Votes	%	Terms
ANO 2011	1.500.113	29.64	78
Civil Democratic Party	572.948	11.32	25
Czech Pirate Party	546.393	10.79	22
Freedom and Direct Democracy	538.574	10.64	22
Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	393.100	7.76	15
Czech Social Democratic Party	368.347	7.27	15
KDU–ČSL	293.643	5.80	10
TOP 09	268.811	5.31	7
Mayors and Independents	262.157	5.18	6
Party of Free Citizens	79.229	1.56	0
Green Party	74.335	1.46	0
Party of Common Sense	36.528	0.72	0
Realists	35.995	0.71	0
Party of Civic Rights	18.556	0.36	0
Sportsmen	10.593	0.20	0
Worker’s Party of Social Justice	10.402	0.20	0
SPR–RSČ	9.857	0.19	0
Order of Nation - Patriotic Union	8.735	0.17	0
Civic Democratic Alliance	8.030	0.15	0
Bloc against Islamization – Defense of the Homeland	5.077	0.10	0
Referendum on the European Union	4.276	0.08	0
Happy Czechia	3.852	0.07	0
Path of Responsible Society	3.758	0.07	0
Good Choice 2016	3.722	0.07	0
Czech National Social Party	1.573	0.03	0
Vote Right Bloc	491	0.00	0
Society against Development in the Prokop Valley	438	0.00	0
H.A.V.E.L.	436	0.00	0
Citizens 2011	359	0.00	0
Nation Together	300	0.00	0
Czech National Front	117	0.00	0
Total	5.091.065	N/A	200
Registered	8.374.501	N/A	N/A
Voters	5.121.371	60.84	N/A
Abstention	3.283.436	39.16	N/A
Invalid Votes	30.306	0.6	N/A

Source: Czech Statistical Office. Available at: <https://www.volby.cz>.

37 Pre-electoral coalition between the following parties: ODS, KDU–ČSL, TOP 09
 38 Pre-electoral coalition between the following parties: Pirates e Mayors.
 39 Přísaha – občanské hnutí Roberta Šlachty (Přísaha – Robert Šlachta’s Civic Movement).
 40 Political alliance between Tricolour Citizen’s Movement, Party of Free Citizens and Freeholder Party of the Czech Republic.

Table 3 - Election Results for the Legislative Elections of 2013

Parties	Legislative Election 2013		
	Votos	%	Mandatos
Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD)	1.016.829	20.45	50
ANO 2011 (ANO)	927.240	18.65	47
Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM)	741.044	14.91	33
TOP 09	596.357	11.99	26
Civic Democratic Party (ODS)	384.174	7.72	16
Dawn of Direct Democracy (ÚSVIT)	342.339	6.88	14
Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-ČSL)	336.970	6.78	14
Green Party (SZ)	159.025	3.20	0
Czech Pirate Party (PIRÁTI)	132.417	2.66	0
Party of Free Citizens (SVOBODNÍ)	122.564	2.46	0
Party of Civic Rights – Zemanovci (SPOZ)	75.113	1.51	0
Worker's Party of Social Justice (DSSS)	42.906	0.86	0
Political Change Movement (Změna))	28.592	0.57	0
Head Up – Electoral Bloc (HV)	21.241	0.42	0
Sovereignty – Party of Common Sense (SSZR)	13.538	0.27	0
Freeholder Party of the Czech Republic (SSCR)	13.041	0.26	0
The Crown of Bohemia (KČ)	8.932	0.17	0
LEV 21 – National Socialists (LEV 21-NS)	3.843	0.07	0
Active Independent Citizens (ANEO)	1.237	0.02	0
Vote for Right Block www.cibulka.net (PB)	1.225	0.02	0
Roma Democratic Party (RDS)	609	0.01	0
Citizens 2011 (OBČANÉ 2011)	455	0.01	0
Club of Committed Non-Party Members (KAN)	293	0.00	0
Total	5.007,212	N/A	200
Registered	8.424,227	N/A	N/A
Voters	5.044,440	59.48	N/A
Abstention	3.417,0151	40.52	N/A
Invalid Votes	37.228	0.74	N/A

Source: Czech Statistical Office. Available at: <https://www.volby.cz>.

