INSTITUTE FOR POLITICS AND SOCIETY

ANALYSIS



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The Senate in Its New Composition

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Summary

This study examines how ANO's Senate election results vary with the electoral cohort and its position in relation to the national government. The underlying dataset covers 21 successful candidacies nominated by ANO (including coalition candidates) between 2012 and 2026. The sharpest contrast is between periods in parliamentary opposition, when the movement won an average of six seats per Senate election, and periods as the senior governing coalition partner, when it averaged just 0.67 seats. Differences also emerge between the three recurring cohorts of Senate constituencies. The results suggest that ANO's gains in elections to the upper chamber of the Czech Parliament are highly sensitive to context.

Key Points

- ANO's Senate gains vary considerably from year to year. Results ranging from no seats to nine reflect uneven electoral performance, influenced primarily by ANO's position in relation to the government.
- When ANO is in parliamentary opposition, it averages six seats per election; as a coalition partner without the premiership, 3.5; and when leading the government, approximately 0.67.
- Each Senate election cohort changes the setting in which political support translates into seats. The third cohort (2014, 2020, 2026) produced a lower average result than the second (2012, 2018, 2024) and first (2016 and 2022).

A Complicated Story

A parliamentary party's Senate election results can be assessed simply or in greater depth. The simplest approach is to take the number of seats the party is defending from six years earlier and add this year's gains or subtract its losses. This tells us how its seat total compares with six years ago. What does that reveal? Very little. Six years ago, we were dealing with COVID, ANO and ČSSD formed the government, the Black Lives Matter movement was gaining strength in the US, and most European statesmen viewed Putin as an unconventional but important player in world politics. Six years later, much has changed. A better perspective comes from examining Senate contests more broadly, taking account of turnout differences, electoral cycles, and the movement's status in government or opposition. This gives a much more nuanced picture than simply adding and subtracting seats. Senate elections are unique in the Czech Republic. They are the only elections using a majoritarian system to select a collective representative body. Other elected political bodies use proportional electoral systems (Chamber of Deputies, regional, European and municipal elections). The only parallel is with presidential elections, which, despite also having two rounds, differ fundamentally, particularly in their frequency and constituency size. Unlike presidential elections, the second round of Senate elections takes place just seven days after the first, profoundly affecting voter mobilisation, or rather demobilisation, between rounds. Another distinctive feature of Senate elections is the chamber's continuous renewal. Every two years, elections are held in 27 constituencies, one third of the total, in a fixed sequence. This year, these were constituencies numbered 3, 6, 9 and so on, which we call the third cohort.[1] Each Senate election cohort has a slightly different settlement structure, with some containing more liberal and urban constituencies than others. Demographic shifts also slightly alter the electorate at every election. Comparing the socioeconomic and demographic profiles of individual constituencies in 1996 with today's situation reveals a very different picture from that facing legislators when they established the Senate in the 1990s. Consequently, the cohorts display different electoral tendencies and, above all, different average turnout in both rounds (see the table below).

[1] 2026 (designated as the 3rd series): 3 – Cheb; 6 – Louny; 9 – Plzeň-město; 12 – Strakonice; 15 – Pelhřimov; 18 – Příbram; 21 – Praha 5; 24 – Praha 9; 27 – Praha 1; 30 – Kladno; 33 – Děčín; 36 – Česká Lípa; 39 – Trutnov; 42 – Kolín; 45 – Hradec Králové; 48 – Rychnov nad Kněžnou; 51 – Žďár nad Sázavou; 54 – Znojmo; 57 – Vyškov; 60 – Brno-město; 63 – Přerov; 66 – Litovel; 69 – Frýdek-Místek; 72 – Ostrava-město; 75 – Karviná; 78 – Zlín; 81 – Uherské Hradiště.

2028 (1st series): 1 – Karlovy Vary; 4 – Most; 7 – Plzeň-město; 10 – Český Krumlov; 13 – Tábor; 16 – Beroun; 19 – Praha 11; 22 – Praha 10; 25 – Praha 6; 28 – Mělník; 31 – Ústí nad Labem; 34 – Liberec; 37 – Jičín; 40 – Kutná Hora; 43 – Pardubice; 46 – Ústí nad Orlicí; 49 – Blansko; 52 – Jihlava; 55 – Brno-město; 58 – Brno-město; 61 – Olomouc; 64 – Bruntál; 67 – Nový Jičín; 70 – Ostrava-město; 73 – Frýdek-Místek; 76 – Kroměříž; 79 – Hodonín.

2030 (2nd series): 2 – Sokolov; 5 – Chomutov; 8 – Rokycany; 11 – Domažlice; 14 – České Budějovice; 17 – Praha 12; 20 – Praha 4; 23 – Praha 8; 26 – Praha 2; 29 – Litoměřice; 32 – Teplice; 35 – Jablonec nad Nisou; 38 – Mladá Boleslav; 41 – Benešov; 44 – Chrudim; 47 – Náchod; 50 – Svitavy; 53 – Třebíč; 56 – Břeclav; 59 – Brno-město; 62 – Prostějov; 65 – Šumperk; 68 – Opava; 71 – Ostrava-město; 74 – Karviná; 77 – Vsetín; 80 – Zlín.

Table 1: Average voter turnout in the first and second rounds of Senate elections across individual election cycles

Series of Senate constituencies	Average turnout [1st round]	Average turnout [2nd round]	Number of election years
Series 1: 1, 4, 7, …, 79	38.09%	19.64%	5
Series 2: 2, 5, 8, …, 80	36.69%	18.98%	5
Series 3: 3, 6, 9, …, 81	36.46%	23.39%	5

This specific periodic, though non-linear, rotation, together with the fact that the first round of Senate elections is usually held alongside other second-order elections (see the table in Appendix 1 below), has a strong influence on election results. In general, holding Senate elections alongside other elections helps increase voter turnout. By contrast, elections held without any other elections taking place at the same time, or entirely outside the regular Senate election cycle (i.e. by-elections), tend to have low, sometimes critically low, turnout. A record low turnout was recorded, for example, in the 2020 election in constituency No. 75 – Karviná, where ANO candidate Ondřej Feber won in the second round after just 6,789 of the 87,940 registered voters cast a ballot (7.72%).

It is important to bear in mind, however, that Senate elections do not always coincide with other elections, nor does any such overlap occur uniformly across the country. For example, when the first round of Senate elections is held alongside regional elections, the synergy described above occurs only in regions outside Prague.[2] It is also worth remembering that the six-year Senate election cycle in a given constituency intersects with the four-year cycle of municipal and regional elections. This is another variable that can affect the final results to varying degrees. Moreover, when an important election has taken place in the previous year—such as the 2025 parliamentary election, which saw exceptionally high turnout—it is generally harder than usual to mobilise voters for the governing coalition. This, in turn, changes the environment in which the election campaign takes place.

Another important feature of Senate elections is the by-election, which is held whenever a senator's mandate ends before its term expires. This usually happens because of the senator's death or their election to an incompatible office, such as a seat in the Chamber of Deputies. Since 1996, there have been 15 such by-elections. They are exceptional cases: they take place outside the regular rotation of Senate elections and lack even the limited synergies that can help boost turnout. There are no concurrent elections, media coverage is low or nonexistent, and candidates' campaigns are limited. As a result, the number of voters who turn out is exceptionally low. The lowest turnout was recorded in the 2014 by-election in Prague 10, when only 7,332 of the 83,763 registered voters cast a ballot in the second round (8.75%). In the other cases, turnout was not much higher, fuelling debate about the questionable legitimacy of representatives elected in this way.

Another important factor affecting the likelihood of victory is the number and profile of candidates in each constituency. When only two candidates run—as, for example, this year in constituency No. 48 – Rychnov nad Kněžnou, where Jan Grulich and Petr Sadovský are standing—the senator is usually elected in the first round. If the candidates tie, however, neither wins an absolute majority

[2] Regional elections are not held in Prague; elections to the Prague City Assembly take their place.

and a second round is held. The outcome also depends on whether parties reach pre-election agreements and coordinate with one another, especially within their respective political camps. If several candidates come from the same camp—for example, the governing camp—while their opponent does not face the same disadvantage, the division of support among politically aligned candidates can benefit an opponent from the opposition camp, or vice versa. This year's election in Zlín was affected, for example, by the fact that, alongside ANO candidate Vladimír Sedlařík, SPD candidate Lubomír Nečas also performed well in the first round. This allowed Ivo Mitáček (STAN) to advance to the second round instead of Sedlařík, as support was split between candidates from the governing camp.

This factor also affects the "quality" of a particular victory. A candidate can win a Senate seat convincingly, as Josef Zieleniec did in Prague 4 in 2000, winning 52.11% of the vote against four other candidates, with turnout at 35%. Or the victory can be very narrow, as when ODS candidate František Konečný defeated his opponent Astrid Poučová (ČSSD) by just 103 votes in Nový Jičín in 1996. Both became senators, but under entirely different circumstances.

All this makes Senate election results very difficult to interpret, particularly when comparing them with previous years. The conditions under which a particular candidate is elected change substantially from one election to the next. For this reason, when assessing individual Senate elections from ANO's perspective, we focus primarily on the movement's position relative to the government, the election series, voter turnout, and the change in turnout between the first and second rounds.

Results by ANO's electoral performance

Our analysis of success in winning individual Senate seats includes candidates nominated by ANO, including Zdeněk Matušek, who ran in a coalition with ČSSD, and Petr Vícha, who was nominated by SOCDEM. We include only regular elections—that is, all Senate elections since 2012, excluding by-elections, which display statistically significantly different patterns. For a complete comparison, we also include 2012, when ANO contested the election as an extra-parliamentary movement, but none of its seven candidates won a seat. By far the most successful year was 2024 (see Table 2 below).

Table 2: Senate seats won by ANO since 2012 and its position in relation to the government

Year	ANO's position at the time of the election	Prime Minister	Seats won	In the 1st round	In the 2nd round
2012	Extra-parliamentary movement	Petr Nečas	0	0	0
2014	Governing coalition partner	Bohuslav Sobotka	4	0	4
2016	Governing coalition partner	Bohuslav Sobotka	3	0	3
2018	Main governing party	Andrej Babiš	1	0	1
2020	Main governing party	Andrej Babiš	1	0	1

Year	ANO's position at the time of the election	Prime Minister	Seats won	In the 1st round	In the 2nd round
2022	Parliamentary opposition	Petr Fiala	3	1	2
2024	Parliamentary opposition	Petr Fiala	9	3	6
2026	Main governing party	Andrej Babiš	0	0	

The table shows that ANO won more Senate seats on average when it was out of government than when it was part of the governing coalition. Across the five elections held while it was in government, it won a total of 9 seats, averaging 1.80 seats per election. In the three elections held outside government, including the movement's first election in 2012, it won 12 seats (including Vícha), an average of 4.00 per election. If the comparison is limited to 2022 and 2024, when ANO was in parliamentary opposition, its average was 6 seats per election—approximately three times the average for the period when it was in government (see Table 3 below).

Table 3: Average number of seats won per election since 2012, by ANO's position in relation to the government

ANO's position	Years included	Number of elections	Seats won	Average seats per election
In government	2014, 2016, 2018, 2020, 2026	5	9	1.80
Out of government, including as an extra-parliamentary movement	2012, 2022, 2024	3	12	4.00
Parliamentary opposition	2022, 2024	2	12	6.00

The results above suggest that, for a parliamentary party, "leading the government" may matter more than simply "being in government." When ANO was a partner in Bohuslav Sobotka's government, it won a total of seven seats in 2014 and 2016. When ANO led the government as the senior coalition partner, with its leader serving as prime minister, it won just two seats across the three elections examined (2018, 2020 and 2026). This is a more pronounced difference than the simple government–opposition divide. At the same time, being in opposition did not guarantee success. ANO won three seats in 2022, but nine just two years later.

The same position in relation to the government was therefore associated with very different results. It cannot be claimed that moving into opposition alone delivers a particular number of Senate seats. The 2026 results illustrate the difficulty of turning progress through the rounds into victories. As a governing party, ANO had thirteen candidates reach the second round in 2026, but none won. The problem was therefore not an inability to advance or weak vote totals for its candidates; the decisive setbacks came in the final contests, particularly in mobilising voters between the first and second rounds.

Which election series is the most successful?

If we use the fixed cycle of Senate elections as our framework, ANO's results reveal some interesting patterns. Senate elections are held in series, with one third of all senators' seats contested each time. Each series comprises 27 constituencies, which return to the polls every six years under the regular election schedule. The constituency numbers in each series advance in increments of three. ANO began fielding candidates in 2012, entering the Senate race in the second series (see Table 4 below).

Table 4: Overview of Senate elections and their respective election series since 2012

Series	Election years	Constituency numbers
First	2016, 2022	1, 4, 7, …, 79
Second	2012, 2018, 2024	2, 5, 8, …, 80
Third	2014, 2020, 2026	3, 6, 9, …, 81

We measure success by the number of seats won, using the same methodology as above: we count candidates nominated by ANO, including Matušek in 2022 and Vícha, who was nominated by SOCDEM in 2024. The calculations below are based on the election results for each year (Czech Statistical Office, 2026). We calculate the share of seats won out of all seats contested in the series, not only those in constituencies where ANO fielded a candidate. This provides at least a rough estimate of how successful a particular series is for ANO, from its ability to find, field, campaign for and support a candidate to its ability to build support between the first and second rounds, if a second round is held.

Table 5: Share of seats won in each Senate election series since 2012

Series	ANO seats won by year	Seats won	Number of elections	Average seats per election	Share of all seats contested
First	2016 (3); 2022 (3)	6	2	3.00	11.11%
Second	2012 (0); 2018 (1); 2024 (9)	10	3	3.33	12.35%
Third	2014 (4); 2020 (1); 2026 (0)	5	3	1.67	6.17%

Table 5 above points to roughly three conclusions. ANO has won the most seats in the second series, with a total of 10. The inclusion of 2012 is important: as an extra-parliamentary movement, ANO fielded only seven candidates, all of whom were eliminated in the first round. Despite this methodological disadvantage—its weaker starting position—the second series still leads by a clear margin. This is due primarily to ANO's strong performance in 2024. The results in this series are also highly uneven, ranging from no seats in 2012 and one in 2018 to nine in 2024. By contrast, ANO's performance in the first series has been consistent, with three senators elected each time. The third series (2014, 2020 and 2026) has been clearly the weakest.

The 2026 results cannot provide conclusive evidence for or against the claim that ANO is losing ground in Senate elections. ANO was defending just one seat. The defeat is politically and in the media uncomfortable, since ANO failed to win even in a constituency that strongly favoured it, such as constituency No. 75, Karviná. But losing one seat in an 81-member chamber is not, in terms of the balance of power, a disaster. By contrast, the next election year, 2028, will be important for understanding political trends. Results in the first Senate series have been relatively stable, so any upward or downward shift could be interpreted as a significant change in the movement's support in Senate elections. And in which constituencies and individual series has ANO succeeded?

Table 6: First series—six victories in five different constituencies

Constituency	Year(s) seat won	ANO candidate elected
1 – Karlovy Vary	2022	Věra Procházková
13 – Tábor	2016	Jaroslav Větrovský
58 – Brno-město	2016	Jiří Dušek
64 – Bruntál	2016 and 2022	Ladislav Václavec
73 – Frýdek-Místek	2022	Zdeněk Matušek (in coalition with ČSSD)

If repeat victories are taken as the main criterion, constituency No. 64 – Bruntál stands out as the sole case of a repeat win across the Senate elections as a whole. It was ANO's strongest-performing constituency: the movement won there twice during the period examined, with Ladislav Václavec elected in both 2016 and 2022. In 2022, he won in the first round. This is stronger evidence of sustained success than a one-off victory, though it may chiefly reflect the strength of the individual candidate and local factors: Václavec won both while ANO was in government (in 2016, in a coalition with ČSSD and KDU-ČSL) and in 2022, when it was in opposition to Petr Fiala's government.

Table 7: Second series—ten victories in ten different constituencies

Constituency	Year seat won	ANO candidate elected
2 – Sokolov	2024	Jana Mračková Vildumetzová
11 – Domažlice	2024	Jan Látka
29 – Litoměřice	2024	Ondřej Štěrba
32 – Teplice	2024	Jan Schiller
62 – Prostějov	2024	František Jura
65 – Šumperk	2018	Miroslav Adámek
68 – Opava	2024	Tomáš Navrátil
71 – Ostrava-město	2024	Martin Bednář

Constituency	Year seat won	ANO candidate elected
74 – Karviná	2024	Petr Vícha (in coalition with SOCDEM)
80 – Zlín	2024	Oldřich Hájek

In this series, ANO has yet to win in the same constituency more than once. It did not retain even the only constituency it had won in 2018—No. 65, Šumperk—in 2024. Independent candidate Stanislav Balík won there and later joined the ODS and TOP 09 Senate caucus. In 2024, ANO failed to retain the only constituency in which it had won in 2018. The broader total of nine victories also includes Petr Vícha's re-election; his previous victories as a ČSSD candidate are not counted as ANO results in this analysis.

Table 8: Third Senate series—five victories in five different constituencies

Constituency	Year seat won	ANO candidate elected
6 – Louny	2014	Zdeňka Hamousová
24 – Praha 9	2014	Zuzana Baudyšová
39 – Trutnov	2014	Jiří Hlavatý
72 – Ostrava-město	2014	Peter Koliba
75 – Karviná	2020	Ondřej Feber

ANO has not won repeatedly in the same constituency here either. The third series shows a downward trend (4 → 1 → 0), although this alone does not prove that its local support is declining: the elections took place under different political circumstances and with different candidates.

In total, the 21 successful candidacies represent 20 different people: Ladislav Václavec was elected twice for ANO. Turnout fell in all 17 cases in which ANO won in the second round; it did not rise in any of them (see Appendix 2). The largest drop among these victories was recorded for Věra Procházková in Karlovy Vary in 2022: 29.04 percentage points. The smallest was for Tomáš Navrátil in Opava in 2024: 9.48 points.

The claim that ANO cannot win Senate elections because it has limited ability to mobilise its supporters between the first and second rounds is not necessarily true. ANO has, in fact, won even when turnout fell substantially (see Appendix 2 below). Ondřej Feber's victory in 2020, when turnout was 7.72%, shows that ANO can succeed under such conditions. Rather, since 2012 ANO has struggled to build a sufficiently strong local base in individual constituencies; its voters are simply not very familiar with their own senator.

Seeking re-election is a key precondition for success in Senate elections, as 2026 confirmed once again. Of the 27 constituencies in which elections were held in October 2026, 21 incumbent senators ran again and 15 were re-elected. The re-election rate thus reached a record 71%. ANO can win seats in Senate elections, but it has been unable to defend them effectively. The fact that Ladislav Václavec in Bruntál is the only senator in the movement's history to have won re-election is telling in itself.

Conclusion

The analysis shows that ANO's success in Senate elections does not reflect a stable conversion of its party support into seats; rather, it depends heavily on the context. One important finding is the movement's limited ability to defend seats it has already won. In the data examined, ANO's position in government or opposition is the main descriptive factor associated with its results. The election series and local candidates shape the context in which this relationship plays out. The particular series of constituencies also matters. It is therefore not appropriate to compare two consecutive election years mechanically and attribute the entire difference to ANO's role in government. Nor should weak results be explained solely by unfavourable constituencies.

ANO's Senate results are highly sensitive to the electoral cycle and, in particular, to its position in relation to the government. Its strongest results in the period examined came when it was in parliamentary opposition, while its weakest came when it was the senior coalition partner. Participation in government as a junior coalition partner represents a different—and electorally more favourable—position than leading the cabinet.

Sources

- ČSÚ (2026). Senátní volby: Data a časové řady. https://csu.gov.cz/volby-do-senatu

Appendix 1

Table 9: Elections held in the Czech Republic since 1993 and whether they coincided with Senate elections

1993	Presidential: January – indirect		
1994	Municipal: November		
1995	None		
1996	Chamber of Deputies: May–June, Senate: November	1, 2, 3[1]	
1997	None		
1998	Presidential: January – indirect, Chamber of Deputies: June – early, Municipal and Senate: November	1	Municipal + 1st round of Senate
1999	None		
2000	Regional and Senate: November	2	Regional + 1st round of Senate
2001	None		
2002	Chamber of Deputies: June, Senate: October, Municipal: November	3	Municipal + 2nd round of Senate
2003	Presidential: January and February – indirect		
2004	European: June, Regional and Senate: October	1	Regional + 1st round of Senate
2005	None		
2006	Chamber of Deputies: June, Municipal and Senate: October	2	Municipal + 1st round of Senate
2007	None		
2008	Presidential: February – indirect, Regional and Senate: October	3	Regional + 1st round of Senate
2009	European: June		
2010	Chamber of Deputies: May, Municipal and Senate: October	1	Municipal + 1st round of Senate
2011	None		
2012	Regional and Senate: October	2	Regional + 1st round of Senate
2013	Presidential: January – direct, Chamber of Deputies: October – early		
2014	European: May, Municipal and Senate: October	3	Municipal + 1st round of Senate
2015	None		
2016	Regional and Senate: October	1	Regional + 1st round of Senate
2017	Chamber of Deputies: October		
2018	Presidential: January, Municipal and Senate: October	2	Municipal + 1st round of Senate
2019	European: May		
2020	Regional and Senate: October	3	Regional + 1st round of Senate
2021	Chamber of Deputies: October		
2022	Municipal: September, Senate: September–October	1	Municipal + 1st round of Senate
2023	Presidential: January		
2024	European: June, Regional and Senate: September	2	Regional + 1st round of Senate
2025	Chamber of Deputies: October		
2026	Municipal and Senate: October	3	Municipal + 1st round of Senate

[1] When the Senate was established in 1996, the entire Senate was elected at once, with constituencies in the 1st and 2nd series receiving two-year and four-year terms, respectively.

Appendix 2

Table 10: Successful ANO candidacies (including coalition candidates) and changes in voter turnout

Year	ANO candidate	Constituency	Elected in round	Turnout (%) [1st round]	Turnout (%) [2nd round]	Change in turnout
2014	Zdeňka Hamousová	6 – Louny	2	38.55%	17.73%	−20.82 pp
2014	Zuzana Baudyšová	24 – Praha 9	2	37.14%	17.46%	−19.68 pp
2014	Jiří Hlavatý	39 – Trutnov	2	39.55%	17.87%	−21.68 pp
2014	Peter Koliba	72 – Ostrava-město	2	32.26%	11.79%	−20.47 pp
2016	Jaroslav Větrovský	13 – Tábor	2	35.85%	17.37%	−18.48 pp
2016	Jiří Dušek	58 – Brno-město	2	39.90%	14.18%	−25.72 pp
2016	Ladislav Václavec	64 – Bruntál	2	27.45%	13.66%	−13.79 pp
2018	Miroslav Adámek	65 – Šumperk	2	40.37%	16.88%	−23.49 pp
2020	Ondřej Feber	75 – Karviná	2	26.44%	7.72%	−18.72 pp
2022	Věra Procházková	1 – Karlovy Vary	2	39.55%	10.51%	−29.04 pp
2022	Ladislav Václavec	64 – Bruntál	1	40.28%	Not held	—
2022	Zdeněk Matušek	73 – Frýdek-Místek	2	37.61%	16.08%	−21.53 pp
2024	Jana Mračková Vildumetzová	2 – Sokolov	1	27.05%	Not held	—
2024	Jan Látka	11 – Domažlice	2	30.69%	16.24%	−14.45 pp
2024	Ondřej Štěrba	29 – Litoměřice	2	30.98%	16.95%	−14.03 pp
2024	Jan Schiller	32 – Teplice	2	25.67%	15.03%	−10.64 pp
2024	František Jura	62 – Prostějov	2	30.47%	12.15%	−18.32 pp
2024	Tomáš Navrátil	68 – Opava	2	32.78%	23.30%	−9.48 pp
2024	Martin Bednář	71 – Ostrava-město	1	27.27%	Not held	—
2024	Petr Vícha	74 – Karviná	1	26.04%	Not held	—
2024	Oldřich Hájek	80 – Zlín	2	31.48%	17.93%	−13.55 pp

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